governing the good teacher

a white governmentality lens on the ‘white’ teacher in South Australia’s APY Lands

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a qualitative examination of race relations in contemporary Australia. It specifies these dynamics by exploring the dispositions of 'white' teachers – meaning those of predominantly Anglo heritage – to their work in South Australia's Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands. The APY is a remote site where contests over cultural authority, ownership of land and governance of education have historically played out. Anangu is the name the Indigenous people of the region use in self-reference, and Anangu Education is a system that is regulated by Anangu and whites. It is within this context of dual educational governance that this thesis asks, what does it mean to be a good 'white' teacher?

The 'white' teacher of Anangu students is positioned at the nexus between the desires and worldview of Anangu, and the dictates and dominant epistemology of the state. The central research question locates the teacher within these relations, and is considered through life history interviews with white teachers who were living in the APY at the time of interview. By asking what it means to be a good white teacher the thesis creates a context for considering: the 'cultural baggage' of white teachers; how growing up 'white' in White Australia has shaped them; and how the teacher subsequently draws upon racialised discursive resources in order to construct, and reconstruct, a good white teacherly identity. The research is therefore situated in a number of key contexts that together provide a space for analysis. The broadest of these is the White Nation, which influences the more specific sites of Indigenous and Anangu Education, as well as the individual white teacher's life.

White governmentality is the conceptual frame for considering these relations. This framework brings together the concepts of whiteness and governmentality to create a lens for tracing racialised power. This includes the more patent ways in which we are governed, as well as governance in covert forms as vested in a range of naturalised beliefs and practices. The latter are mostly invisible to white people and therefore not experienced as acts of racialised domination. As a lens for interpreting the full range of research materials, white governmentality is therefore useful for bringing these hidden processes to light.

The first half of the thesis establishes the social, political and historical context of Anangu Education, while the second half utilises this framework to locate the white teacher in contemporary relations. I establish the subject position of the 'white' teacher and argue that s/he may adopt a range of stances that work to reproduce, or resist, racialised domination. I argue that previous research into Anangu Education has insufficiently critiqued the historical record, failing to inform our pedagogical efforts today. I also argue that colonial continuities often characterise the dispositions of today's white teachers, unintentionally buttressing the foundations of white race privilege. This thesis therefore provides a critical contribution to the field by highlighting the everyday means by which white domination is reproduced.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Samantha Schulz

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AES	Anangu Education Services (AES) provides services for all Aboriginal Lands District schools "in management of policy, personnel matters and finances, public relations, liaison with other Department of Education and Child Development (DECD) services, recruitment and induction, and curriculum development including materials development and publication" (Anangu Education Services, 2008).
AEW	AEW stands for Aboriginal Education Worker, or in the context of Anangu Education, Anangu Education Worker. MacGill notes that in 2008 AEWs in South Australia were renamed Aboriginal Community Education Officers (2008, p. 17). I retain the term 'AEW' given its use in this study at the time of interviews.
AnTEP	The Anangu Tertiary Education Program (AnTEP) is a course of study carried out in the APY for Anangu adults wishing to gain tertiary qualifications.
APY	APY is shorthand for Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands; an area of land spanning 103,000 square kilometres across the South Australian, Northern Territory and Western Australian cross-border region. The APY is sometimes referred to, colloquially, as 'The Lands'; this term is also used sporadically throughout.
PYEC	The Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) is a centralised body of local Anangu decision makers who have policy and operational control over schooling across the vast APY. The PYEC are supported by AES.

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Anangu	Anangu is the name the closely related groups of Indigenous people of the Ananangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands (in the cross-border region of South Australia, Northern Territory and Western Australia) use in self-reference. These groups include the Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara, Ngaatjatjarra, Ngaanyatjarra and Antikirinya people.
Aboriginal/ Indigenous	These terms are located within contested power relations. As Carey points out, 'Aborigine' and 'Aboriginal' are colonial constructions "that homogenise the multiculturalism and multilingualism of Aboriginal people" (2008, p. 8). She asserts the possibility of resisting the colonialist connotations associated with these terms by investing them with new meanings that subvert white supremacy. Similar disputes surround the term 'Indigenous', for instance when it is used to homogenise all first nations peoples. In the context of these contested relations I use the terms Aboriginal and Indigenous in this thesis to describe First Nations Australians, however I do so with a view to resisting the processes of racialised domination inherent in such terms.
'White'	'White' is used in this thesis to describe the paramount group in Australia, a race structured society. Inverted commas are applied to highlight the socially constructed nature of this subject position, which is always constituted at the nexus of the relations of race, class, gender and sexuality. Given its historical constitution in Australia, 'white' is also used to signify Australians of predominantly Anglo lineage. For readability, inverted commas are not used tirelessly throughout.
White Governmentality	White governmentality brings together the theoretical concepts of whiteness and governmentality to denote a critical orientation to research that turns the analytical gaze back upon the white subject of colonial heritage. White governmentality is used in this thesis as a lens for tracing racialised power – or *governance* – in its obvious and covert manifestations. The latter are often invisible to 'white' people and as a lens for research, white governmentality is therefore useful for bringing these invisible reproductions of racialised domination to light.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the dispositions of 'white' teachers to their work in a remote Australian context; the term 'white' denotes the entwinement of gender, class and race in the making of white identity. The aim and significance of the research is to expose the invisible and unintentional ways that 'race' is reproduced via white people's everyday thoughts and actions. It is also to explore how these processes may filter through into white teachers' professional dispositions. At a general level, the research is about cultural reproductions of race in contemporary Australia and therefore could be applied to a number of contexts. However, South Australia's Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands[1] provides a unique context for research, and not least owing to the complex location of 'white' teachers inside this space. Anangu Education, a system that is regulated by Anangu and whites, grows out of the legacy of the first Western school to be established in the region – the Ernabella Mission School where the progressive approach of committed white missionaries is still upheld as an exemplar of 'good' schooling. With few exceptions,[2] the Ernabella Mission School is rarely critiqued; however, this thesis questions the historical record, as well as the dispositions of today's white teachers, in order to develop a robust examination concerning the ways in which racial hierarchy is covertly reproduced. This chapter describes the catalyst for research and unfolds the central research question. It highlights the theoretical and methodological tools used to explore what it means to be a 'good white teacher', and concludes by overviewing the organisation of the thesis.

Catalyst for Research: 'Am I making things worse?'

I completed a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring in sociology in the mid-1990s. Although upon finishing I remained unsure which career path to pursue, one aspect of the degree remained firmly in mind. This was Edward Said's (1979) concept of *Orientalism* and his theories concerning the power and dominance of Western representation and its effects. Said asserted that the West – the 'Occident' of Western[3] or European heritage – comes to know and understand itself through the generation of knowledge of the East – the 'Orient'. From this standpoint the Western subject is shaped through an impulse for colonisation and unity in the making of 'white' subjectivity. I was interested in the power relations involved in these dynamics and how my position as an Australian woman of Anglo heritage continued to be informed by them.

After completing the Bachelor of Arts I undertook a voluntary teaching role in rural Kenya. The decision to do so was at least partially the result of Said's work and my desire to get closer to the relations about which he wrote. At that time I was only vaguely cognisant that my capacity to travel to Kenya was underwritten by my privileged position as a Western subject of colonial heritage. Travelling

[1] An area spanning roughly 100,000 square kilometres; see Appendix 4 for site maps.
[2] Highlighted in chapter three.
[3] West is capitalised to highlight White Australia's discursive position as part of the 'West' rather than the 'East', part of the centre rather than the margins. Hodge & O'Carroll (2006, p. 201) suggest that to see Australia as part of the West is geographically illogical, and doing so begins to dismantle the imperialism inherent in the term.

to rural Kenya to help 'disadvantaged' children – while overlooking the privileges that brought me there – was arguably an act of unconscious or covert racialisation. But at that point those relations remained largely hidden to me as I struggled with everyday challenges and sought to make sense of my place on 'third world', non-white lands. Slowly I found myself reflecting upon the implications of my colonial heritage in post-colonial Kenya. To borrow a phrase from Schlunke (2005, pp. 43-44); Said's ideas bobbed uneasily around the edges of my thoughts, provoking me to question why I was there and if my presence was potentially making things worse.

Three years later I undertook further study in Australia and it was through the Bachelor of Education that I started to view Australia itself in terms of being 'non-white lands'. The degree was critical in that it asked students to contemplate their position in relation to questions of class, gender and race, and with regard to education's embedment in privilege and disadvantage. Consequently, I started to contemplate the implications of my cultural identity as a white teacher not only 'over there', but inside White Australia – this to me was a critical turning point that many of the predominantly white cohort of pre-service teachers had yet to make.

During the penultimate year of study, an opportunity then arose that drew those questions to light. A compulsory component of the degree was a course on preparation for teaching. The course coordinator often invited guest speakers and on one occasion called upon a recruitment officer for Anangu Education in the state's far northwest – Anangu being the name the Indigenous people of the region use in self-reference. The officer began:

> With the end of your teaching degrees approaching you'll need to consider where you want to teach. Many of you will choose a mainstream school but if you're one of those people interested in something a little more *off the beaten track*, this could be the opportunity for you.

The officer was recruiting students to undertake their final placement in one of several remote Anangu communities with a view to potential employment. He explained; Anangu Education provides education services for Aboriginal communities located across the vast APY, Maralinga Tjarutja and Yalata Lands. Historically, Anangu people remained isolated from Europeans for much longer than most Aboriginal groups. Explorers and dingo scalpers did not enter the region until the early 1870s and Western education was not established there until 1940. At this time, the Mission School at Ernabella[4] was run only in the morning to make way for the rhythms of traditional life. The white staff of the Mission spoke the local vernacular fluently and Anangu played significant leadership and teaching roles inside the School. As indicated, this was a time when white missionaries and Anangu people are purported to have lived together harmoniously. The 'mission days' therefore tend to be depicted in the historical record as a time of cross-cultural inclusion and respect.

A second mission school was eventually opened at Fregon in the APY and later, a Lutheran mission school was established at Yalata – the community established following forced removal of Anangu

[4] Ernabella (*Pukatja*) is one of nine main APY communities. The Ernabella Mission, and then school, was established by Presbyterian lay minister and local Adelaide surgeon Dr Charles Duguid in 1937.

groups from their traditional lands in the 1950s owing to nuclear weapons testing by the British and Australian Governments. The Department of Education eventually assumed responsibility for the school at Yalata in 1964, for the mission schools at Ernabella and Fregon in 1971, and then quickly extended Western education such that nowadays there are twelve Anangu schools in operation that are co-governed between Anangu and the state: nine in the APY, one at Yalata, one at Oak Valley and a further incorporated into the Woodville High School Wiltja Program in metropolitan South Australia.[5]

As the recruitment officer spoke, the wide-screen filled with images of rugged desert landscapes, barefooted, dark-skinned children and cracked red earth. The officer explained; since establishment of government-run schooling, many changes had swept through the APY and associated regions. Anangu had become a people undergoing swift social and cultural change with contemporary conditions including high welfare dependency, acute social unrest, substance abuse, pervasive health problems and comparatively low levels of Western literacy and numeracy – a stark contrast to the Ernabella Mission days when students are claimed to have thrived academically.[6] The APY of today started to emerge in the recruitment officer's speech as a disordered space, not unlike images I had seen on television depicting remote Aboriginal communities countless times.

Key moments in recent history included passing of the historic Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act of 1981, the return of native title to the southern Anangu people of the Yalata and Maralinga Tjarutja Lands in 1985, and the granting of policy and operational control over education by the Minister for Education in 1992 to a centralised body of local Anangu decision makers incorporated under the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC)[7] – the same year as the historic 'Mabo' land rights case in which the High Court of Australia recognised Aboriginal people's sovereign rights to native title. The granting of policy and operational control to Anangu people was carried out, not dissimilarly, in a spirit of self-determination and designed to embed Western education more deeply within Anangu communities. The idea was to establish a system of dual educational governance thus ensuring that decisions affecting Anangu would be made by the people themselves.

The significance of these moves for white teachers at that time was that they were now positioned at the juncture between the desires and worldview of Anangu, and the dictates and dominant epistemology of the state. For Anangu, the significance of operational control was that it granted them the autonomy they had long demanded and desired. However, paradoxically, operational control also tied Anangu more firmly to the state. Now in the difficult position of being accountable to external, non-Anangu bureaucracies, Anangu were also responsible for endorsing community wishes and protecting their cultural heritage lest have Western schooling rejected by their own people.

[5] See Appendix 4.
[6] Edwards and Underwood (2006, pp. 108, 111) make the argument that children at the Ernabella Mission learned to read and write 'fluently and correctly' in contrast to the ensuing period of government run schooling. These arguments and their significance are explored in chapter three.
[7] There is some confusion in the written record. Iversen (1999, p. 1) states that the PYEC were granted policy and operational control in 1992. Edwards and Underwood state 1987 (2006, p. 114).

The recruitment officer stressed;

> We want the best teachers to work in this remarkable region … 'The Lands' are part of Central Australia's red desert. They are restricted to outsiders but if your application is successful you will be granted special entry … Once inside, the stars at night are like nothing you've ever seen … The children, so open and friendly …

As the talk drew to a close I found myself pulled between the romance of a 'life changing experience' (his words), and concern over the position of white teachers of Indigenous students more generally. I wondered if working in the APY could constitute a positive manoeuvre – reparation for ongoing acts of colonisation and a chance to work toward a state of decolonisation. Or, I questioned, could my presence on Anangu lands somehow prove detrimental? I wanted to do the right thing as a white teacher, yet questioned what the right thing was.

What does it mean to be a good white teacher?

Since that time I have taken several trips to the APY as a student, teacher and researcher and throughout this period I have turned the original questions over: Why am I here? What makes this destination, like Kenya, desirable? In my efforts to do good how is my thinking unintentionally shaped by discourses of race? Moreover, what am I gaining as a white person from the experience of working in a remote Aboriginal context?

This thesis emerges in response to these unresolved concerns and poses the figurative question of what it means to be a good 'white' teacher in the APY today. As the previous section detailed, the APY constitutes a contact zone; in other words, a place of contact and cross-cultural interaction where the relations of race are both challenged and reproduced, and where conflicts inside Anangu communities and classrooms continue to play out the problems brought about by the first waves of colonisation. Consequently, the APY is an ideal site for considering how wider dimensions of black white relations in Australia manifest in struggles at the local level, and how the white teacher negotiates these relations. Indeed the APY is a space to which 'white' teachers have long travelled for various reasons and lengths of time, in order to live and work. The great majority of teachers working in the region draw from the Anglo-dominated mainstream. Thus the significance of asking what it means to be a good 'white' teacher in this particular context is that doing so highlights the processes of privilege and domination in which white people may be unintentionally caught.

Within the scope of this research, and as elaborated in chapter two, 'white' is understood as a raced, classed and gendered location, and the paramount location in a race structured society.[8] 'Race' is understood as a social construction bearing material effects. And 'the teacher' is understood as a

[8] Inverted commas are used to highlight the constitution of 'white' at the nexus of gender, class and race. For readability, inverted commas are not used tirelessly throughout.

discursive identity; 'a professional identity-in-motion' (Green & Reid, 2008, p. 20). Thus while the white teacher of this study is not viewed as being accountable for the full range of ways that racial hierarchy may be challenged or reproduced, 'the teacher' is nevertheless conceived as having agency to adopt different orientations to his/her role, dependent upon the discursive resources available to him/her at any given time.

To ask what it means to be a good white teacher is therefore to situate the teacher within the historical relations that shape them. It is to consider how growing up 'white' in White Australia influences the teacher's worldview and their consequent impulse to work in a remote Aboriginal context. It is to explore how the teacher draws upon racialised discursive resources in order to construct a good white teacherly identity. And finally, to ask what it means to be a good white teacher is to explore the significance of the APY as a framing context with its own particular histories, narratives and legacies. And while, as chapter three will illustrate, a small amount of previous research into Anangu Education has grappled with questions concerning the dispositions of non-Aboriginal teachers in the region, none have done so from the standpoint taken here.

Orientalism, Aboriginalism & White Governmentality

To explore the central research question this study examines life history interviews with fifteen 'white' teachers, the majority of whom were living and working in the APY at the time of interview.[9] The interviews are considered against the fields of Indigenous and Anangu Education in White Australia – fields that shape the teacher's possibilities for acting. However, to analyse the interviews and the fields that frame them, when planning this research I first required a theoretical approach that would illuminate the everyday privileging of whiteness. In this section I touch on the work of Edward Said as a starting point for that approach. I then turn briefly to 'white governmentality' as the study's primary analytical lens, before addressing questions of methodology.

As stated, Said describes the Orient (the East) as being vital in defining European (the West's) self-definition, and as such Western representations of the East have had much "less to do with the Orient than [they have] with 'our' world" (Said, 1979, p. 12). For Said, Orientalism is the West's way of coming to terms with the Orient and he describes Orientalism as the historically and materially situated corporate institution by which the West has governed the Orient

> […] by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient. (Said, 1979, p. 3)

Said's ideas establish the ontological grounds of this study, which put forward that Western identity is constructed through the establishment of difference. In this sense, what it means to be a good 'white'

[9] As outlined in chapter five, two participants had recently left.

teacher is contingent upon a number of factors, including the historical organisation of white subjectivity where subjectivity refers, in this thesis, to the poststructuralist conception of the 'self' as an effect of discourse, as outlined in the following chapter. Drawing from Said, a key theoretical idea that runs through the thesis is thus the understanding that the distinction between Self and Other forms the bedrock epistemology of the West. Western identity is characterised by an impulse for integration, and this constitutes the hegemonic basis of Western consciousness. This dialectical relation between Self and Other is illustrative of imperial relations whereby the white Self/ Nation establishes its authority by subsuming the identity of the Other. In this sense, the hegemonic white Self of colonial heritage comes to rely upon the Other as a basis for colonial rule.

In Australia, the concept of Aboriginalism has been developed to similar effect as Orientalism whereby the 'Aboriginal' emerges as the most enduring 'Other' in the re-making of the 'white' Australian (see for example Barney, 2006; Langton, 1993b; McConaghy, 2000). This process continues to play out at both the national and individual levels in Australia such that concerns about the settlement of the White Nation are refracted through concerns about the settlement of white identity. At the level of the nation the shifting governance of Aboriginality in Australia has reflected endeavours to secure white cultural and political power through resolving the 'Aboriginal problem' (the problem that Aboriginality presents to the project of white settler nationalism). The different phases of white governance of Aboriginality in Australia illustrate dominant ways of attending to this task – for instance, from extermination and protection to Christianisation, assimilation, self-determination, reconciliation and neo-assimilation.

These ideas provide a basis in this thesis for considering how the fields of Indigenous and Anangu Education are governed within the historical context of Australia, and consequently, how the white teacher may position him/herself in relation to different educational models. Drawing from Said, Indigenous Education can be viewed as an expression of Aboriginalism, or a system of governance for authorising views of, describing, teaching, settling and having authority over the 'Other'. The following chapter will explore in detail how the field of Indigenous Education in Australia has thus sought to deal with the 'Aboriginal problem' in a range of contested ways; for example, from exclusion to segregation and inclusion, on a number of different terms. The dominant discourses associated with each of these phases overlap providing standpoints for today's white teachers to approach their work with Indigenous students. And while Said's work is thus useful as a starting point for broadly conceptualising these relations, as I progressed with the research I required a lens that would simultaneously highlight the macro and micro processes of 'race' that structure white teachers' routine, everyday experiences.

Foucault's (1991) concept of governmentality builds on the work of Said by theorising 'governance' at the macro and micro levels in terms of social 'power'. Whereas Said's ideas are useful for understanding the historical constitution of the West, Foucault's work illuminates the micro processes of governance that subjects engage in routinely. In this sense, governmentality connotes a lens for examining power in its mundane, everyday forms. This includes the more patent ways in which we

are governed as well as governance in its covert forms, as vested in subtle expressions of power. Applying a whiteness lens to these relations, the latter may include routine expressions such as 'rhetorical silence' (Crenshaw, 1997; Rowe, 2000) or 'strategic rhetoric' (Dolber, 2008; Fassett & Warren, 2004; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995) – terms that reflect modes of knowledge production that tend to be naturalised for white people and are therefore not experienced as instances of racialised domination.

In brief, white governmentality is understood in this thesis as a lens for tracing racialised power. And while Said and Foucault have both been critiqued for being overly deterministic in their theorisations,[10] in this thesis I argue that their frameworks provide a basis for highlighting the productive aspects of discourses in which all people routinely engage. For instance, the white teacher who engages a discourse of 'strategic rhetoric' might embrace the helpful assumption that the Aboriginal students in their care simply need to 'try harder' in order to participate in mainstream life. Likewise, the white teacher who exercises 'rhetorical silence' may defend the belief that one's ability to gain employment or scholastic accolades has everything to do with hard work, talent and intellect, but nothing to do with race. In each situation the white teacher establishes a 'good' identity by including the Aboriginal students in their care in a seemingly 'non-racialised' way. However, by avoiding speaking 'race', they also obscure the everyday privileging of whiteness that inadvertently discriminates against non-whites.

This thesis therefore addresses issues related to 'race' on a micro level by examining the narratives of its white teacher research participants. It addresses issues related to race on a macro level by contemplating the discursive regimes that differentiate between white and Aboriginal people, and which shape people's everyday options for acting. It undertakes these analyses in order to critically view how whiteness invisibly discriminates against non-whites in a range of discursive settings. A white governmentality lens is applied to each of these settings, and is thus developed throughout the thesis.

Research Methodology: Speaking Race

To approach the research in an anti-discriminatory way, I also required a standpoint which would highlight the biases that I may unintentionally bring to the research act. In this study I adopt a reflexive orientation in which the analytical gaze is therefore turned back upon whites and whiteness. In this sense 'whiteness' is used as a standpoint to disrupt the invisible reproductions of 'race' that tend to emerge in more traditional, or objectivist, frameworks. To resist these dynamics, I started this chapter with a window onto 'my' story as a young white teacher in non-white contexts. Doing so illustrates that I remain implicated in the critiques of whiteness that are applied throughout the thesis. To this end I

[10] Said, for overemphasising the role of the West in making the Orient, and Foucault for reducing subjects to the effects of discourse. For critiques of Said see for example Ahmad (1992) and McConaghy (2000). For Foucault see Butler (1993, 1997), Hall (1996), Hartsock (1990), Lane (1997) and Zipin (2004).

sometimes utilise collective terms such as 'us' and 'our' rather than 'they' or 'their'. Rather than presume that all people reading the study will identify as 'white', by intermittently deploying first-person and collective pronouns I aim to establish the research within the critical tradition where to acknowledge oneself in the writing serves to recognise one's place in the relations of 'race'.[11] As Dyer has said of his own work:

> The position of speaking as a white person is one that white people now almost never acknowledge and this is part of the condition and power of whiteness. […] The impulse behind [my work] is to come to see that position of white authority in order to help undermine it. (1997, p. xiv)

Despite the fact that Dyer's work is over a decade old, the impetus to avoid speaking 'race' or acknowledging whiteness remains pertinent in white people's everyday talk and practices. Riggs and Selby describe this evasive behaviour in terms of the 'masking of whiteness' (2003, p. 190), a phenomenon which fuels critical efforts to avert the gaze 'from the racial object to the racial subject' (Morrison, 1992, p. 90). For Back and Solomos (2000, pp. 21-22), this shift in critical writing serves the important task of reorienting the sociological focus from the 'victims' of racism and common sense assumptions of 'race' as synonymous with non-white people, to the prioritisation of whiteness as an area of critical endeavour. This thesis examines interviews with 'white' teachers for the same strategic reasons. Yet, I also acknowledge that in turning the analytical gaze onto the white subject of colonial heritage a number of problems may arise. For instance, there is the danger of recentring the white subject and of "reifying whiteness and reinforcing a unitary idea of race" (p. 22). Garner (2007, p. 10) and Hesse (2000, p. 25) concur that in exposing the entanglement of white-centred knowledge with the race privilege of whiteness the focus of research can shift problematically to the details of white identities.

To avoid this problem, the narratives in this thesis are not examined from a standpoint which valorises individualism. Rather, they are presented as vehicles for exploring cultural reproductions of 'race' in which white people collectively engage. To adopt a position such as this is to decentre the individual by giving attention to the racialised fields that shape us. But a further problem that the decision to focus solely on white subjects may generate is the inadvertent silencing of Anangu.[12] One possible resolution is to acknowledge the micro-practices of social power in which *all* social agents engage. As Blood (2005, p. 48) explains, power courses throughout society and all subjects partake in power, 'hence the strength of power is precisely in this fact'. This view of power also reflects my conceptualisation of the APY region as a space of "cross-cultural interaction and agency rather than a static picture of domination" (Haggis, Schech & Rainbird, 2007, p. 237). I adopt this stance and view all social actors as agentic, and yet it must be acknowledged that the problem of avoiding indirect

[11] Heron (2007), Riggs (2004a) and Schulz (2007) make similar attempts to move from the margins to a more accountable position within their writing.

[12] For Spivak (1990), the challenge for privileged groups is knowing the limits of all representations and acknowledging the issue of what the work cannot say. While I acknowledge I am in no position to speak on behalf of Anangu, I also acknowledge that the danger of silencing them remains problematic. Chapter five deals with issues of voice and researcher standpoint.

discrimination remains a challenge throughout – this is viewed in this thesis as part of the process of 'becoming' a reflexive white researcher.

Writers such as Heron (2007) have adopted stances that mesh with the one delineated here. Heron views whiteness in terms of racialised power, and uses this stance to explore the dispositions of 'white' Canadian women undertaking development work in sub-Saharan Africa. Heron argues that these women's stories are not unique. Rather, the story of the 'white' subject who seeks adventure (or enlightenment) by virtue of travelling to where 'our' services are presumably most needed is in fact reflective of a wider story "that continues to be reiterated across time and location" (p. 2). Thus Heron's work provides a standpoint for seeing 'white' people's stories in collective terms. And while she too concedes that focusing solely on 'white' identities is problematic; Heron also argues that this is the risk of deconstructing dominance:

> […] for in the moment it is challenged, it reclaims centre stage […] yet if not challenged, the relations of domination will continue. (P. 20)

I concur with Heron and use a critical stance in this thesis, firstly to understand 'my' story, and secondly to critically deconstruct the research participants' narratives. According to Heron, the desire of 'white' subjects to do good in 'third world' spaces is really about the making of Self via racialised discourses. In 'my' story, tropes of 'adventure' and 'life changing experiences' for white teachers who desire to work 'off the beaten track' can therefore be theorised as effects of discourses that circulate about remote Aboriginal communities and what 'we' white people are doing to help *them over there* (cf. Heron, 2007, p. 2). Inside these discourses white people are depicted in benevolent terms – for instance, as saviours or saints – while Aboriginal people are viewed as requiring white interventions. Similarly, in 'my' story, the APY is depicted as a disorderly space, and stereotypes emerge that circumscribe Aboriginality. The latter take form in rugged desert landscapes and cracked red earth; representations that resonate with 'authentic' or 'savage' visions of Aboriginality that turn the Aboriginal into a happy object of assimilation; a spectacle, exhibit or source of entertainment (Pickering, 2001, p. 49).

Thus the critical standpoint delimited here is used as a platform for deconstructing whiteness. I have briefly deconstructed the whiteness of my own story in this chapter to illustrate that voyages to the spaces of the Other,[13] while often genuine if problematic attempts by white people to engage with and help others, can also be about the making of Self via processes which sustain racialised domination. This understanding underpins the analyses that are taken throughout.

Organisation of the Thesis

[13] Throughout the thesis I use terms such as 'Other' problematically, and primarily to highlight the ways in which marginalised identities are often depicted in the teachers' narratives.

The first half of this thesis establishes a number of key fields for analysis, while the second half utilises this framework to locate today's 'white' teacher within social relations. This chapter has introduced the study and its aim to reveal the inadvertent ways that white teachers may reproduce racial domination. The significance of the study has therefore been defined as the attempt to unveil processes of discrimination that continue to resonate with colonisation. The chapter introduced the catalyst for research which, based upon my own experiences, reflects a critical methodology. The chapter also introduced 'white governmentality' as a lens for examining race in its obvious and covert forms, a lens that is used throughout.

Chapter two utilises white governmentality as a lens to analyse the broad field of Indigenous Education in White Australia. Indigenous Education has shifted from a patently racialised model in which Indigenous children were mostly excluded, to more progressive models in which Aboriginal children have been included, though on the terms of the dominant culture. The 1990s saw the turn to a conservative government and the repositioning of Aboriginal students and communities as requiring strict monitoring and control. But resistance models have challenged this conservative vision while appealing to the need for a reflexive stance in which Aboriginal people are positioned as powerful agents in their own right. Chapter two thus illustrates that while whiteness originally operated overtly inside the field of Indigenous Education, it has continued to operate through discourses of inclusion that are purportedly 'non-raced'. This elision of race beneath a veneer of inclusion reflects the conflation of discourses from the colonial period with the emergence of discourses relating to equality, sovereignty and mutual obligation in Australia. Chapter two demonstrates how these discourses provide a range of standpoints for white teachers of Indigenous students to adopt, and it concludes by examining literature concerning the 'white' teacher.

Chapters three and four taper the research by examining the more discrete site of Anangu Education in South Australia's APY.[14] Chapter three starts by utilising a white governmentality lens to undertake a detailed examination of life during the Ernabella Mission days; the celebrated period between 1937 and 1971 when Presbyterian missionaries are believed to have provided Anangu with a safe environment in which they were 'free' to take or leave the gift of Western education. Chapter three challenges this benign vision by developing a view of the Mission that is cognisant of 'race'. Chapter four then reviews previous research in Anangu Education, while chapter five outlines the study's research design. The latter includes a deconstructive approach to the life history interview as the study's primary research vehicle. The first four chapters of the thesis therefore establish an historical framework for considering the subject positions of white teachers in the APY today.

In the second half of the thesis, chapters six through nine unpack the 'white' teachers' life history interviews. Chapter six begins by exploring what it means to grow up 'white' in White Australia and how the teachers' shared subjectivity as 'white' people endows them with cultural lenses that incorporate particular blind spots. Chapters seven and eight explore the interviewees' decisions to

[14] For pragmatic reasons, the study is limited to this region rather than include the Maralinga Tjarutja and Yalata Lands as well.

pursue teaching as a career path, and their experiences of *becoming* teachers. These chapters develop a picture of the standpoints the teachers' occupy, and they indicate what this may mean for their work as white teachers on remote Aboriginal lands. Chapter eight also highlights the teachers' eventual desires to work in a remote Aboriginal context, while conceptualising desire in Foucauldian terms, as a discursive construct in which subjects choose to invest.

Chapter nine then considers what the life history interviews revealed about the teachers' experiences of living and working in a remote Aboriginal community. The chapter highlights that for some of the teachers 'living' and 'working' in the region are quite separate phenomena. For these white teachers their white lives are separated from their 'job', which is seen in limited terms. For others, their role in the region is viewed differently, and together these standpoints generate a range of visions of the 'good white teacher' today. Finally, chapter ten comprises a discussion and evaluation of the research findings, and brings the thesis together. I argue that colonial continuities tend to characterise the dispositions of white teachers in the region, and I conclude by commenting on the implications of these findings for future research and practice.

SUMMARY

'White' people in Australia occupy a historically and materially privileged position that is often taken-for-granted. When white teachers of Aboriginal students take their 'white privilege' for granted, an indirect form of discrimination takes place that marginalises non-whites. This chapter has mapped the scope of the thesis, which plays out across a number of key sites. These include the broad fields of Indigenous and Anangu Education in White Australia, and the context of individual white teachers' lives. The chapter drew together the concepts of whiteness and governmentality to develop a critical approach to research. This theoretical and methodological standpoint is necessary in order to locate the white teacher in the discursive fields that shape them, and to deconstruct their life histories in a manner that resists reproducing 'race'. The aim and significance of the study is to reveal the unintentional processes of privilege and discrimination that continue to resonate with the broadest structures of domination in Australia – processes that constitute covert modes of social governance. The following chapter develops 'white governmentality' as a conceptual lens by undertaking a discursive analysis of the broad field of Indigenous Education in the context of White Australia.

Chapter Two

WHITE GOVERNMENTALITY

The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to delineate white governmentality as a theoretical lens for the empirical work to follow. That work is a close analysis of the discourses that inform white teachers' subjectivities, their understandings of themselves as teachers, their desires to teach in a remote context, and their experiences *in situ*. Secondly, the chapter analyses the broad field of Indigenous Education in White Australia through a white governmentality lens. The purpose here is to illuminate how the field is structured through discourses of race, but also to highlight the discursive relations that shape teachers' options and determine the stances available to them for working with Indigenous students. Finally, the chapter considers literature on the 'white' teacher in order to emphasise common discursive identities historically associated with 'white' teachers in non-white spaces. The purpose of introducing these identities is to explore how they enable different performances of whiteness. This chapter therefore provides an extensive context for considering the good white teacher of remote Indigenous students while developing a conceptual lens for application throughout the thesis.

Whiteness & White Subjectivity

To ask what it means to be a good white teacher implies an orientation to subjectivity. For several writers (see for example, Heron, 2007; Chow, 2002; and Stoler, 1995), 'white' subjectivity is formed during the era of Empire when race, class and gender emerge as 'articulated categories' (McClintock, 1995, p. 4). With this entwinement, middle-class males of Anglo-European heritage are subjectivated into a positioned considered 'most white'. Reid (2005, p. 3) suggests, the colonial processes that produced and refined 'white' subjectivity during the nineteenth century consequently made white women less white than white men, limited in the amount of whiteness to which they could lay claim. The moral authority of white womanhood was therefore reachable only through white women's alignment with an ideal of goodness. And while issues of gender and class are therefore pivotal to studies of whiteness, they are not this study's primary focus.

These relations nevertheless form the basis of Western identity which, as Said (1979) illustrates, is constructed through the establishment of difference. In the Australian context, the 'Aboriginal' remains the most enduring 'Other' against which White Australia constructs itself (Batty, 1997). This distinction between Self and Other therefore represents a key axis of differentiation, and it is along these lines that contemporary Australian society is forged. Throughout Australian history we have subsequently seen the normative position of 'white' man enforced and reproduced through allusions to the 'real' Australian: the digger (Nicoll, 2001), battler (Perkins & Thompson, 1998), sporting hero (Judd, 2005, 2007), and outback pioneer (Garbutt, 2006); identities which are stereotypically (if implicitly) white, male, heterosexual and predominantly of Anglo heritage.

Pease (2004, p. 123) demonstrates how racialised and masculinised notions of Australian identity arise from these images "against the image of Indigenous men, immigrant males and non-Caucasian males." Likewise, in contrast to middle-class whites, working-class whites are typically configured as less white, 'as white but not quite' (Nicoll, 2004; Roediger, 1991; Wray, 2006). In this way, discourses of whiteness produce notions about national belonging that simultaneously include and exclude. 'White' is therefore used in this thesis to denote the enduring classed, raced and gendered privileges of white subjectivity – which historically flow to 'white' Australians of Anglo lineage (Schech & Haggis, 2001, p. 148; Stratton, 1999, p. 163) – as much as it signifies the fluidity of the category into which different groups have been allowed in and forced out over time (Elder et al. 2004, p. 209; Randell-Moon, 2006, p. 2).[15]

White Governmentality

But whiteness is also conceived here along Foucauldian lines in terms of 'power', and thus as a discourse that 'structures the field of possible actions' (Hesse, 1997; Dean, 1999, pp. 13-14; McLaren, Leonardo & Allen, 2000). Whiteness is transfigured around changing concepts of 'race' (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007; López, 2000; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Pugliese, 2002; Riggs & Augoustinos, 2004; Rodriguez, 1998; Shore, 2001b), and its source of power is dispersed (Aanerud, 1997; Carey & McLisky, 2009; Randell-Moon, 2006; Shome, 2000; Sullivan, 2006). In this way, whiteness (as power) can be understood from a governmentality standpoint.

The previous chapter delineated Foucault's (1991) concept of governmentality as a lens for tracing power in its dynamic forms. Governmentality emerges from Foucault's observations concerning the transformation of pre-modern forms of government, by which feudal sovereigns exercised brutal disciplinary control. But with the rise of modernity came the institution of gentler, more diffuse, but ultimately more insidious forms of control, that Foucault coined 'the disciplines' (Foucault, 1977, p. 222). The disciplines represent organised bodies of knowledge – or discourses – that filter through disciplinary institutions and manifest in multiple, everyday beliefs and practices.

Within studies of governmentality, 'discourse' refers to statements that bind around a particular topic and provide a way of talking about and responding to it (Blood, 2005, p. 49; Foucault, 1971). Such statements may be produced across a range of texts or institutional sites – such as in academia, schools, the media or political spheres – but will remain connected by an 'underlying regularity' (Blood, 2005, p. 49). Discourse underpins social practices, relations and experiences; it constructs subjectivity and offers multiple, contested ways of making meaning of social phenomena. Discourses limit and enable social interactions and are "constitutive of power relations […] that frame representations of Indigenous culture" (Howard-Wagner, 2006, p. 7).

[15] For instance, on the proximate whiteness assigned to Italian migrants in Australia, see Pugliese (2007). And for an overview of the way in which 'marginal' whites are allowed in to the category 'white', not necessarily to be accepted but to compete for power, resources and status, see Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007, p. 395).

With the move to a disciplinary society, these organised bodies of knowledge made possible the disciplines of educational psychology, clinical medicine, psychiatry and child psychology, fields that in turn generated knowledge which was thereby applied to

> […] prisoners, patients, schoolchildren, and workers to refine and multiply the effects of power, a process that in turn [led] to further advancements in the various fields of knowledge. (Pitsula, 2001, p. 387)

Within a governmentality framework, power and knowledge are therefore intimately linked and come together to enforce one another in a cyclical fashion (Foucault, 1980, p. 52). Governance of this kind characterises Western liberal democracies wherein bodies of ideas compete for control of subjectivity.

In this thesis, the concept of governmentality is therefore used to illuminate how power shapes us, and how we in turn exercise social power, in complex and dynamic ways. This includes patent modes of governance as expressed via policy constructs, which may be visibly raced.[16] But it also includes more covert forms of governance that manifest in routine communication. In this sense, whiteness-as-power operates as a system of sanctioned thoughts and practices, which (for the most part) works invisibly to bolster the racial order. Examples highlighted in the previous chapter included 'rhetorical silence' and 'strategic rhetoric' – everyday expressions of whiteness that constitute *naturalised* modes of racialised domination. Similar forms of covert racialisation (or 'white' governance) include, for instance, 'dysconscious racism' (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2004; King, 1991), 'colour and power evasion' (Frankenberg, 1993) and 'whitespeak' (Moon, 1999; Wojecki, 2004).

Together these terms denote coded communication practices that exclude and marginalise by ignoring the larger issues related to 'race'. For instance, 'whitespeak' may include the belief that many Aboriginal people in remote regions are 'lazy' for subsisting on government welfare. However, overlooked in this statement are the systems and frameworks that historically, and in the present day, act as racialised barriers to Indigenous employment. Thus, incorporating these threads, white governmentality is thought of in this study:

> […] as a broad framework for analysing the racialised management, or governance, of race relations in the Australian nation-space: both in terms of governance by the state and in the workings of the state administration, but also governance of a less visible, but equally powerful, kind. […] Governance in the wider more ubiquitous sense – our compliance with it, resistance to it, negotiating it, rationalising it, avoiding it. (Elder, Ellis & Pratt, 2004, p. 210)

Within these relations 'white' teachers may be viewed as relay points for the transmission of racialised power. However, they/we are also viewed as being capable of resistance and refusal by embracing different positions within discourses of race. A range of these positions takes shape inside the complex terrain of Indigenous Education, which I discursively examine now.

[16] Such as the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, otherwise known as the White Australia Policy, which persisted officially until 1973 (Jayasuriya, Walker & Gothard, 2003).

Tracing 'Race' in Indigenous Education

McConaghy (2000, p. 1) argues; Indigenous Education is both an academic discipline and social institution of colonial governance within which knowledge claims are contested. Indigenous Education in Australia has shifted from a patently essentialist model – a model of segregated schooling from which most Indigenous children were nevertheless excluded – to more progressive models in which Indigenous children have been included, though on the terms of the dominant culture. The latter models have been shaped by developments at the broader political level whereby hopes for a pure White Nation were gradually superseded by the need to secure non-British migrants (Hage, 2002). As these stages in Australian history unfolded, broad-scale policies of protection and segregation of Aboriginal peoples were slowly replaced by debates over assimilation, integration and eventually, multiculturalism.

For example, during the period of segregated schooling[17] (spanning roughly 1815 to the 1960s, with mass compulsory schooling taking root across most Western countries between 1869 and 1882),[18] what little formal schooling was extended to the Indigenous child was based on the dominant cultural assumption that the Aboriginal 'race' was socially and biologically inferior (Howard-Wagner, 2007a). Throughout much of this phase, Australian race relations were blatant and discourses of race authorised the separation of Indigenous children from mainstream classrooms in the name of safeguarding whites against 'racial contamination' (Anderson, 2002, pp. 3, 245; Crouch, 2006, p. 76). But while discourses of race positioned Indigenous children as essentially 'uneducable', discourses of progressivism paradoxically went further in extending the improvement ethic to (at least some) Aboriginal children.

For the Aboriginal children who received a modicum of formal education during this period, they were hence entered into a form of educational 'panopticon' designed to shape subjectivity in the interests of the dominant culture (see for example Foucault, 1977, pp. 198, 216, 222). As a panoptic mechanism, institutions of Western education individualise students who are trained to internalise self-regulatory practices in order to become the 'good' student (Meadmore, 1993; Millei, 2007; Nadesan, 2006; Thompson, 2006). 'Good' students, like prisoners or soldiers, must effectively learn to 'become their own jailer [sic]' (Pitsula, 2001, p. 386). Millei (2007) suggests that schools are sites where student identities are shaped, and where acts of resistance typically effect the construction of 'problem' categories. Schools are thus places where 'oppositions' (obedient /rebellious, white/black) are reinforced via powerful normalising metaphors, and where prescriptions may be invoked in relation to

[17] This chapter's analysis of Indigenous Education draws loosely on a framework adapted from the work of Connelly (2002) and Partington (2002). It includes extracts from the long period of Segregated Schooling that persisted until the 1960s, the Cultural Deprivation and Assimilation phases of the 1960s and 70s, the Empowerment Models of the 1970s and 80s – (this phase coinciding with the rise of Australian Multiculturalism) – and the more recent turn to a Mutual Obligation approach, which took root in the 1990s.

[18] On the spread of mass compulsory schooling throughout the discursive West, see for example Miller (1998, p. 184).

problem categories in order to effect 'a possible normalisation' (Foucault, 1977, p. 21; see also Ball, 1990, p. 4).

Elements of these relations are evident in the work of Attwood (1989) who provides clear expression of the attempted normalisation of Indigenous children within schools during the early period of segregated schooling. Attwood explains that the children at Ramahyuck Mission (in 1860s eastern Victoria) were first, "removed as far as possible … from the influence of their elders' and other sources of 'savagery'," and then trained in the habits of 'industry, cleanliness and order' (p. 18). Key elements of the 'proper' regulation of Aboriginal children at Ramahyuck incorporated the cultivation of individuality through the panoptic-like establishment of separate desks, beds, tasks, and by displacing kinship names with individual European names. The governance of Indigenous children was also achieved via careful regulation of space and time whereby, similar to missions elsewhere in Australia during this period, Ramahyuck's white authority figures considered that the work of transforming children lay in their schooling (pp. 23-4).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries throughout other parts of Australia, the common attitude continued to hold that the Indigenous 'race', although admittedly human, was fast dying out (Duguid, 1963, p. 19).[19] Within this discursive milieu there remained little mainstream support for Indigenous Education and, with few exceptions (see for example Tripcony, 2001), schooling for Indigenous children remained of a characteristically low standard. The 'white' teacher – invariably a missionary or station owner, for it was they to whom the task of civilising the native was given – was typically untrained and curriculum limited to reading, writing, simple arithmetic, sewing, agriculture and the inculcation of Christianity (Partington, 2002, p. 2). As at Ramahyuck, emphasis was on regulating the untrained Indigenous mind; moreover, to people who could conceive of no higher state than Britishness, "making it available to natives seemed an act of enlightened generosity" (Scrimgeour, 2006, pp. 36-37).

But the following phases of Indigenous Education reflected far more subtle references to race, as expressed through discourses of progressivism. During the 1930s and into the 1940s, when Australia's profile in world affairs attracted attention for its treatment of Indigenous people, the way that Aboriginal children were discussed in the context of education therefore changed. Partington (1998, p. 44) notes; white authorities began to realise the need to care for Indigenous children, thus the Indigenous child was slowly repositioned within the field of education as an object of sentiment. In this way 'power' – (power relations constituting knowledge claims about Indigenous students) – works through 'language'. Within a governmentality framework, language, or in its more comprehensive sense discourse, is of central importance for it is via language that knowledge is constructed and power expressed (Foucault, 1990, p. 101). Language forms and is formed by social organisation, hence subjectivity, which is constructed in language, is formed within the 'social and cultural order'

[19] For instance, prominent thinkers such as Frazer (1887, 1909), Lang (1865), Durkheim (1971 [1912]) and Freud (1950 [1950]) argued that "Aboriginal inferiority was axiomatic, and represented the progressive course of the human race in which European man was a standard of perfection against which to measure the inferiority of others" (Glover in Howard-Wagner, 2007a, p. 3).

(Blood, 2005, p. 48). Subjectivity is not the reflection of an innate or essential individual, "but is theorised as being constructed through language in ways that are socially specific" (p. 48). In governmentality terms, subjectivity is therefore a discursive product, not fixed but fluid and changing like the social relations that produce it. Foucault theorises this in terms of 'deconstructed subjectivity'.[20]

The social relations shaping Indigenous Education from this point forth are captured in the cultural deprivation and assimilation phases, which came to fruition during the 1960s and 1970s. Australia's national identity had undergone significant change, which in turn affected the landscape of Indigenous Education. As indicated earlier, key movements included the eventual dissolution of the White Australia Policy in favour of policies that embraced assimilation, integration and then, cultural pluralism. These moves prompted the need for a more formal system of education for Aboriginal children, who were gradually absorbed into mainstream schools (Gale, 1998, p. 4). This manoeuvre was viewed by the dominant culture as a compassionate form of population management that would help offset 'the worst' of Aboriginal culture (Partington, 2002, p. 3). The purview of policy makers was not to preserve Aboriginal culture but to assist Indigenous children to abandon it (Palmer, 1971).

But by the second half of the 1970s, efforts were being made nationally to empower and support Indigenous groups (HREOC, 2005-2006). This triggered the rise of 'cultural empowerment' in Indigenous Education (1970s-80s), and thus the language of Indigenous Education again underwent change. Up to this point, non-indigenous academics and policy-makers had more often than not 'gazed upon' Indigenous learners through a deficit lens that ultimately 'blames the victim' (Buckskin, 2008; Hewitt, 2000). But when assimilation was officially abandoned in the 1970s in favour of policies of self-determination and multiculturalism, a new era emerged that went a considerable way toward challenging deficit assumptions and encouraging a modicum of 'white' reflexivity. Researchers[21] began to explore the complexities of Indigenous 'failure' within schools from a critical standpoint. They acknowledged that denial of Western education for several generations of Indigenous students had created patterns of intergenerational disadvantage[22] and that Indigenous peoples' lives had been affected by a range of intersecting issues, including:

> […] poverty, ill health, remote rural living and historical and contemporary experiences of oppression, prejudice, and racism […] creating, in Bourdieuian terms, the 'embodied capital' of Indigenous students that has little currency in white schools. (Connelly, 2002, pp. 37-38)

[20] Rather than an unfettered agent existing independently of structure, such as in humanist ontological conceptions, or even in Bourdieu's notion of a 'true agent' (cf. Bourdieu, 1992; Zipin, 2004), Foucault's subject is neither entirely autonomous nor enslaved, but mediates the process of becoming (Matza in McGrew, 2011, p. 245; Sawicki, 1994, pp. 103-104). Foucault's subject is therefore agentic; on agency see also Caldwell (2007).
[21] Such as Watts and Gallacher (1964), Duke (1972) and Folds (1987).
[22] Later theorists would recognise the overwhelming impact of a multitude of compounding intergenerational problems and trauma affecting Indigenous people and their children, particularly associated with the forced removal of children from their families (Atkinson, 1990; Gray & Beresford, 2008, p. 205; HREOC, 1997; Memmott et al., 2001).

On the one hand, these moves prompted a rearticulation of Indigenous Education in terms of 'welfare' (Gale, 1998, p. 1). This in turn created a 'sorryness' standpoint for white teachers characterised by a well-meaning disposition that seeks to compensate for perceived deficiencies of Indigenous cultural inheritance (Connelly, 2002, p. 47). But on the other, discourses of 'cultural empowerment' also meant that Aboriginality was starting to be discursively linked together with notions of 'power'. Thus the entwinement of these discourses contributed toward contested views of Aboriginality, marked by disadvantage as well as power. And while, in the name of *empowering* Indigenous groups, teacher education programs began to focus on equipping white teachers to teach Indigenous students, mainly through focus on transmission of "appropriate culture and language" (Partington, 2002, p. 7), throughout this phase the white core curriculum ultimately retained its normative position of privilege and centrality.

The phases of Indigenous Education outlined here demonstrate that while whiteness operated in the field originally according to openly essentialist beliefs, it continued to operate decades later through 'inclusive' mechanisms that (at least ostensibly) disregarded the physiological reality of 'race'. The same period saw a steady rise in alternative perspectives on Indigenous Education (see for example Craven, 1999 and Partington, 2002), and a shift to a form of 'cultural pluralism' at the political level that saw overt references to 'race' fall out of favour with a seemingly more tolerant and open-minded mainstream. This elision of race beneath a veneer of inclusion reflects the conflation of discourses from the colonial period, which were openly oppressive, with the emergence of discourses relating to 'equality, diversity and human rights' in Australia (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007, p. 392). This also reflects what Hage (2002, pp. 425-426) has termed the rise of 'benevolent whiteness'.

From Self-Determination to Resistance

During the 1970s and into the 1980s, the issues signaled above were equally refracted through the rise of multiculturalism and self-determination in Australia. Inside Australian schools, multiculturalist discourses manifested in celebrations of diversity and in prescriptions for social change. But even critical multiculturalist approaches aimed at creating equitable social change were often framed by policies which continued to imply that "access to power and self-determination comes only through acquiring the skills of mainstream culture" (Kalantzis, Cope & Hughes, 1985, p. 201). Within prevailing expressions of multiculturalism, 'white' culture therefore tended to remain naturalised and drained of ethnicity in contrast to a variety of observable 'ethnic' and 'cultured' Others (Larbalestier, 1999). In this sense, 'race', now subsumed beneath 'culture' with the move to benevolent whiteness, remained a novelty or problem in the minds of the dominant culture that was essentially attributed to 'Others'.

Simultaneously to this, the period of multiculturalism and cultural empowerment coincided with a self-determination thrust, which saw Indigenous Education recast in terms of Indigenous rights. Inside education, self-determination came to mean that Indigenous people were being involved, not only in "matters which affected them" (Partington, 1998, p. 48), but in the design and setting of policy. A

string of developments followed[23] highlighting that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people desired, above all, skills in mainstream Australian literacy and numeracy for their children alongside the preservation of Indigenous culture. These contests played out under the mantle of 'self-determination', which can be conceptualised in different ways.

In governmentality terms, self-determination is both a white Australian strategy of governance as well as strategy of reconciling the coloniser to the colonised, 'the Self to the Other' (Wadham, 2002, p. 34). Like extermination, Christianisation and assimilation, self-determination is a strategy and attempt "to deal with the difference that Aboriginal people and their cultural practices present to the project of white Australian nationalism" (p. 38). And while conservative standpoints see self-determination in terms of what Aboriginal people need to do to become 'self-determining', self-determination of a more 'critical' kind contributes to a process of disintegrating the logic of white settler nationalism by focussing on what the 'white' Self needs to do to make space for a state of decolonisation. The latter standpoint refuses to see Indigenous self-determination merely as an Indigenous 'problem', goal or responsibility. Rather, to approach self-determination in this way is to acknowledge whiteness processes and the problems they generate for everyone.

Throughout the 1970s to 1990s, calls for Indigenous 'cultural inclusion', 'self-determination' and 'empowerment' created a shift in widespread thinking that repositioned Indigenous people, for the first time, as powerful agents in their own right. This led to significant critiques of the dominant culture, hence paving the way for the creation of more equitable models of education commensurate with (or at least moving toward) the 'critical' mode of self-determination outlined above. More appropriate education of 'white' teachers was stressed (Craven, 1999, pp. 7, 21), and it was considered that social justice for Indigenous Australians would need to be achieved, not merely through education which equips Indigenous students to find employment and appreciate their cultural inheritance, but by training 'white' teachers to teach Indigenous Australian Studies as a means of countering racism and developing widespread understanding of Australia's Indigenous cultural heritage (p. 16). This placed deliberate onus on White Australia to redress historical inequalities brought about as a result of white invasion and, for the first time, repositioned 'white' teachers as potential agents of resistance to the reproduction of colonial relations.

However, as these moves were playing out, conservative sectors of the white community began to express concern surrounding 'lack of achievement' by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, particularly in remote regions (Johns, 2006; Partington, 2002, p. 13). This was during a shift to a conservative government in the early 1990s during which both the 'quest for reconciliation and the idea of multiculturalism' were abandoned at the federal level (Hamilton & Madison, 2007). These developments bolstered a discourse of 'new' racism in the dominant imagination whereby middle-class whites were now perceived to be the new disadvantaged – let down by Aboriginal people whom

[23] Including the creation of a national 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy', a Higher Education Policy, initiatives to boost tertiary participation amongst Indigenous peoples and, in 1985, the House of Representatives created a select committee on Indigenous Education which produced an extensive review (*Aboriginal Education,* September, 1985).

they had generously endeavoured to 'help'. A 'mutual obligation' approach was thus embraced inside Indigenous Education wherein the focus was returned to Indigenous people, their attitudes and allegedly poor behaviours. Mutual obligation in education saw the setting of specific nation-wide standards and far greater emphasis on monitoring Indigenous students and communities to ensure greater compliance and scholastic returns.

But Indigenous Education is contested and as mutual obligation discourses came to fruition, so too did a 'resistance' approach that, in many parts of Australia, returned emphasis to Indigenous empowerment and the critical education of 'whites'. Research by Rigney, Rigney and Tur (2003) describes developments that took place in South Australia at that time, which were being mirrored elsewhere in the country.[24] Inside schools, deficit conceptualisations of Aboriginality were also being resisted through a process of valuing Aboriginal perspectives, adopting whole-school approaches, subscribing to high expectations of Indigenous learners, and valuing Indigenous staff and community (see for example Sarra, 2003).

Tertiary courses were designed to enable pre-service teachers of Indigenous students "to analyse and reflect on their practice in schools and their relationship to the Indigenous child and their communities" (Rigney et al, 2003, p. 136). Rather than focus on Indigenous students' proficiencies, unique needs or (in)abilities, within discourses of resistance the gaze was redirected to the way in which historical representations of Indigenous identities have been constructed "mainly through the eyes of the European settler society" (p. 138). The pre-service teacher's consciousness was to be raised "by highlighting that Indigenous understandings of identities are very different from the hegemonic European assumption about them and that stereotypes still permeate the teaching fraternity" (p. 138). Resistance in this sense was not merely about opposition, but about agitating for equitable social change by exposing and destabilising covert essentialist discourses. 'White' teachers were therefore encouraged to engage as active agents in the struggle for social justice in education and in society.

As this overview demonstrates, Indigenous Education in Australia has thus moved through a series of broad and contested phases. It has shifted from the exclusion of Aboriginal children to their inclusion on 'white' terms. Ensuing phases have been shaped through discourses of empowerment, mutual obligation and resistance, and together these relations provide positions for white teachers of Indigenous students to adopt. Historically, the 'white' teacher was positioned as a 'paternalistic disciplinarian' in relation to an Aboriginal child to be 'regulated and transformed'. More inclusive phases positioned an Aboriginal child to be 'saved' in relation to a white teacher as 'benevolent saviour'. The period of empowerment in Indigenous Education then saw the emergence of a largely non-reflexive white teacher who was 'tolerant, inclusive and progressive' with their increasing use of culturally appropriate curricula and terminology, such as Aboriginal Learning Styles Theory – an

[24] See for example Aveling (2004, 2006) for an exploration of the complexities of teaching a similar compulsory education course as the one described by Rigney et al that grapples with Indigenous and multicultural issues.

approach that does nothing necessarily to challenge covert racism.[25] But the phases of empowerment, and more recently 'resistance', also created space for a white teacher as potential 'agent of resistance' to the reproduction of colonial relations. In contrast, the rise of mutual obligation firmly located a white teacher as agent of the White Nation in respect to an Aboriginal student who is once again to be 'regulated and controlled'.

The dominant discourses associated with each of these phases overlap providing contexts for resisting or reproducing hegemonic whiteness[26] today. In this thesis, those positions are theorised in terms of essentialist, complicit, subordinate and reflexive standpoints. Essentialist stances reproduce hegemonic whiteness by palpably reinforcing the dominant order. For instance, the white teacher adopting an essentialist stance may invest in the notion of an inferior 'race'. Complicit positions align with the discursive strategies described earlier as 'rhetoric' and 'colour and power evasion' by deferring to an essential sameness. In other words, white teachers adopting a complicit stance will overlook difference by treating 'everyone the same' or by appealing to naturalised standards in education that are built on an underlying essentialism. In contrast, subordinate stances are those in which white teachers will benevolently acknowledge 'difference' and 'disadvantage', but will fail to subvert the grounds of white hegemony, perhaps by occupying a 'sorryness' stance. In respect to these positions a reflexive stance is one that returns the analytic gaze back upon the relations of power and whiteness, and is thus most capable of enabling white teachers to challenge their complicity with racialised domination.

An Analytics of White Governmentality

Taking these positions and the broad field of Indigenous Education which produces them into consideration, an analytics of white governmentality may proceed along a number of interrelated lines. An analytics of this kind may be used at the macro level to highlight how discourses of race structure the social field. At the more localised level, the same analytics can be used to examine how the practices and beliefs of individuals feed into these dominant relations. Drawing from Rose (1996), this may include a focus upon that which the 'white' research participants *problematise;* in other words, how they rationalise certain beliefs or behaviours (of Indigenous people) as problematic by way of specific *authorities;* by taking note of the *teleologies* (end points, ideal types) that subjects wish to influence or emulate; and by observing the specific *strategies* and *technologies* availed by social actors in their quests to be, for example, 'good' teachers of Indigenous students.

[25] Culturally appropriate education approaches included, for instance, 'Aboriginal Learning Styles Theory' (Harris, 1980; 1984; Hughes, 1997), 'Two-Way Schooling' (Harris, 1990; McConvell, 1982) and 'Scaffolded Literacy' (Gray, 1998; Gray & Cowey, 1999; Rose, Gray & Cowey, 1999); approaches that are progressive insofar as being distinct from the more traditional, standardised approaches of previous eras.

[26] 'Hegemonic whiteness' is used to avoid positing whiteness as a monolithic category but to suggest a range of positions within whiteness. Frankenberg (2001), Hughey (2010) and Pease (2010) view 'whiteness' as differentiated. Connell (1987) and Pease (2004) favour a similar view of 'masculinities'.

Hence, Rose advocates for understanding the discursive frames by which subjects govern themselves and others, and the strategies and rationalisations involved in making thought practical. Incorporating a whiteness lens onto Rose's taxonomy, when analysing the 'white' teachers' life history interviews in this thesis I look for that which the participants *fail* to problematise – in other words, what they take-for-granted in the manner of whitespeak or strategic rhetoric. I consider *strategies* in terms of discursive manoeuvres that (mostly inadvertently) support discourses of whiteness, for instance through minimising the significance of 'race' or overlooking one's mundane investments in racialised domination. *Authorities* are equally viewed in terms of modes of reasoning that feed into the epistemological foundations of whiteness. Likewise, *technologies* are conceived as practices that are grounded in an essentialist modality and worldview.

In short, a white governmentality framework is used in this thesis to shed light on the 'covert' ways that 'white' teachers' dispositions toward their work in remote regions feed into the relations described above. And just as 'race' slipped beneath a veneer of benevolent inclusion of Aboriginal children inside Indigenous Education from roughly the 1960s onward, whiteness in the present moment continues to operate elusively. Whiteness is largely understood as an empty category, defined in relation to what it appropriates and what it is not (Brewster, 2005; Dyer, 1997; Sen, 2010). Given this, white people tend not experience life through an awareness of race. The privileges bestowed on 'white' people through institutional structures are therefore viewed as 'natural and normal' (Brodkin, 1999; Kameniar, 2007). Indeed, 'being a teacher' itself is often taken-for-granted as a product of 'hard work' or 'natural predisposition' in much the same way that the statistical whiteness of the teaching profession in Australia is rarely viewed in terms of white racial privilege. As Austin and Hickey point out,

> […] perpetuating the invisibility of white racialised identity, characterisations of the heavily 'white' teaching profession in the contemporary Australian context are similarly marked by an absence of race. (2007, p. 83)

A white governmentality lens therefore highlights that which the 'white' research participants may naturally overlook. This does not mean that white people are viewed as *a priori* racist. Nor does it mean that they/we are locked into a cycle of reproducing the relations that habitually disenfranchise non-whites. Rather, white people are capable of taking up different positions in relation to hegemonic whiteness, and in this thesis, as outlined above, these positions are broadly conceptualised in terms of essentialist, complicit, subordinate and reflexive stances, as highlighted in the following brief review of literature concerning the 'white' teacher.

The White Teacher

Literature concerning white teachers who choose to live and work in non-white spaces provides another useful layer for 'positioning' the white participants in this study. Critical literature on the white

teacher deals with recurrent themes and issues to arise from situations wherein white subjects of colonial heritage have long sought to help, inform, discipline, educate, save, learn from or teach those historically marked as 'Other'. These situations bring questions of race to the fore precisely because of the cross-cultural nature of the encounter. But they also raise questions concerning whiteness because whiteness practices (normative and invisible inside white territory) are most at risk of being challenged or contravened by non-white people who may not subscribe to the same social norms and frames of reference as white subjects. As Schick explains; "constructions of gender, sexuality, race, and class […] are most noticeable when their normative expectations are contradicted" (2000, p. 302).

A significant proportion of the literature I consider here emerges from Australia and Canada. Both of these contexts reflect racially stratified settler societies that continue to bear the legacies of colonisation. Harper (2004, p. 210) explains; both the Canadian north and Australian 'outback' are often discursively depicted as blank or 'terra nullius' and are therefore viewed by the dominant culture as open to exploration and development. Furthermore, both of these sites are portrayed inside colonial paradigms as 'dangerous' and yet 'feminine' and have historically organised "a masculine, Western explorer against an exotic and dangerous feminine landscape as well as a feminised indigenous 'Other'" (p. 210).

In contemporary times, Aboriginal communities in central Australia, like indigenous communities across the Canadian north, have been home to volatile social relations as First Nations groups have struggled for control over manifold aspects of life, including education. Aboriginal resistance to white incursion in the area of schooling has tended to manifest in student absenteeism and high drop-out rates (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003). Similarly, the imposition of inappropriate Eurocentric models of education has resulted in low levels of literacy attainment in the dominant language amongst young people in these regions (Malin & Maidment, 2003). Both the Australian desert and Canadian north are similarly typified by a long history of white teachers traveling to them, and in more recent times by high rates of turnover of white staff (Harper, 2004). Not surprisingly, literature exploring the historical organisation and positioning of white teachers across both geographical regions reveals a number of similarities. Among them is frequent reference to the white teacher as 'missionary, mercenary or misfit', or the white teacher as 'tourist'. Consequently, these identities provide a context against which to analyse this study's teacher research participants, and are introduced here to explore how they enable different performances of whiteness.

The missionary, mercenary, misfit and tourist are identities made possible owing to the discursive materials available to white teachers with which to form transitory attachments at given points in time. They are produced and regulated in social relations, and their frequency in the literature speaks to the reproduction of dynamics that make them (or versions of them) possible in specific socio-historical contexts. As Harper (2004, p. 210) notes; subjects' shifting attachments to particular identities reflect the history of the individual and society at the time. Like all identities, they are socially constituted and their historical production is important for understanding what they mean in practice today. The intent of discursively analysing the white teachers' experiences with reference to the 'three Ms' and 'tourist'

is therefore to determine what work these discourses and their subject positionings may do "in delineating a teaching 'self' and 'Other'" (Harper, 2004, p. 221). The latter part of this section also introduces a fourth identity – the 'social justice advocate'[27] – to theorise the possibilities that this identity articulates.

The Three Ms

Historically, literature on the 'three Ms' represents a well-known discursive repertoire concerning 'white' teachers who choose to live and work in non-white spaces. Wojecki explains;

> The three M's are discourses on teacher identities that are commonly utilised by teachers to help articulate why they are living and working in the desert. (2004, p. 253)

Characteristically, the three M's provide a resource for examining the tensions and contradictions of white people living and working in historical colonial contexts. This may include teachers, medics, health, development or other aid workers. Common to all of these subjects is the position they occupy in relation to imperialism, which is reflected in the fact that the 'missionary', 'mercenary' or 'misfit' is a person who travels from the 'centre' to the periphery. They are white, a member of the discursive mainstream and the bearer of highly prized capitals (namely, whiteness). But despite their location within contact zones that are characterised by cross-cultural interaction, the 'whiteness' of the three M's often remains implicit. This is reflective of the fact that, as white people, 'we' rarely talk about our identity in terms of 'race'; race is relegated to 'Others'. This is one of the normative effects of whiteness whereby white people are typically considered themselves to be 'just human' (Dyer, 1997; Haggis, 2004; Levine-Rasky, 2000a; 2000b; Moreton-Robinson, 2004b; Roman, 1997; Scheurich, 1993).

The three M's are often associated in the literature specifically with 'white' teachers living and working in the Australian desert (Brown & Parding, 2009; Harper, 2001; Wojecki, 2004). The way that 'white' teachers use these identity constructs in order to position themselves (for instance, to identify who or what they *are not*) illuminates an important strategic practice. For instance, by claiming that they are *not* 'on a mission' or working in the desert for mercenary motivations, contemporary 'white' teachers may manage to avoid interrogating their own privilege by establishing an *other* 'white' teacher whose motivations are ostensibly less pure. Alternatively, they may form an attachment to one of these identities owing to the moral veneer that they may provide.

The missionary, for example, is archetypically opposed to the world of mercenaries. Rather than motivated to live and work in the spaces of the Other for financial gain, "the missionary is motivated by a sense of duty and obligation [characterised by] commitment, enthusiasm and verve" (Stirrat, 2008, p. 412). Though the missionary's motivations for travelling to the dangerous, mysterious or

[27] Also referred to in the literature as the 'white ally' (Aveling, 2004; 2006; Cochran-Smith, 2000; Titone, 1998).

disadvantaged 'frontier' (Davis, 2005, p. 7) may vary, their desire is stereotypically drawn around "Western Christian ideals, such as service, mission and enlightenment in 'the right, moral, clean, modern ways of living'" (Wojecki, 2004, p. 254). As the stereotype goes, "they seek to import these values and beliefs upon their Indigenous students and the community as a whole" (p. 254).

The image conjured up of the 'white' teacher as missionary is of someone "enduring privation, of sharing suffering and poverty with the poor of the world, of being actively involved in a direct and unmediated way with the poor" (Stirrat, 2008, p. 412). It is assumed that such contact will guarantee a more 'authentic' or 'true to life' experience, which will impart on the missionary an understanding of the 'real' situation given that they are engaged at the 'grassroots'. This relates an objectivist epistemology grounded in the assumption that the social world yields itself to us unproblematically. Thus race, class and gender have no business here when it comes to 'accurately' interpreting the Truth of a particular situation.

But notwithstanding their benevolence, missionaries are also historically characterised as having an agenda which is fundamentally paternalistic: they act for the good of 'Others' without their consent and seek to advance Others' interests at the expense of their liberty, and in this sense, "suppose that they can make wiser decisions than the people for whom they act" (Suber, 1999, p. 632). The missionary tends to avoid reflexive self-analysis on the basis that his/her motivations are beyond critique. Their work revolves around tropes of sacrifice for the needy and in this sense missionaries are inclined to reproduce deficit conceptualisations of otherness that reflect a sorryness position (or subordinate standpoint) – a stance which acknowledges 'difference' and 'disadvantage' but mostly fails to subvert whiteness by evading critical self-analysis.

The white missionary in the Australian desert carries a vision of "what their Indigenous students may become" (Wojecki, 2004, p. 255). Reminiscent of the periods of segregated schooling, cultural deprivation and assimilation in Indigenous Education, they appeal to the conviction that individuals can be improved toward ends considered desirable by white society. Consequently, the missionary teacher's dealings are often characterised by some form of conversion experience; essentially, they are in the business of changing hearts and minds (see for example Attwood, 1989; Stirrat, 2008). In contrast, the mercenary represents the 'white' subject who travels to remote regions for the material benefits that such a manoeuvre promises to engender. In terms of mercenary 'whites' in remote Australian contexts, as Brown and Parding point out,

> The facts are bleak. Pay rates and conditions of service are attractive. There are incentives such as rental subsidies of up to 90%, retention benefits, additional annual leave, travel expenses, tax incentives, promotion and priority transfer arrangements and removal expenses. (2009, p. 1)

Similar perks apply to white people working in the remote APY. Thus the mercenary is motivated by self-interest and this stereotypical understanding of the 'white' teacher in remote regions pervades

official reports which seek the closure of costly desert schools.[28] In this sense, the mercenary is typically seen as having a vested interest in the reproduction of Indigenous disadvantage and, unlike the missionary who strives for a 'grassroots' experience by getting involved with the needy, the mercenary represents a white subject who is 'out of touch' with the real world of the Other (Stirrat, 2008, p. 408). Mercenaries are primarily interested in personal gain and for that reason are often configured as representing 'bad' white people by the white teachers who invoke them. The mercenary is therefore most likely to occupy an essentialist or complicit stance in relation to hegemonic whiteness – a stance that either openly, or by default, reproduces hegemonic relations.

Of the three Ms, the 'missionary', 'mercenary' and, who I refer to shortly as the, 'secular missionary' are of greatest relevance to this study.[29] In exploring articulations between the subject position of 'teacher' and the more particularised manifestation of 'missionary teacher', Schick begins by highlighting the normative association of teaching with 'whiteness' across the discursive West. She states:

> Because teaching is largely a white-identified profession, and since whiteness is unmarked, the profession presents itself as racially neutral and normal. Because white domination has colonised the definition of what it means to be normal (Dyer, 1988), a 'normal' teacher is white. (Schick, 2000, p. 303)

Harper (2004, p. 215) also notes a foundational association of 'teacher' with 'whiteness', and for both of these writers the white missionary teacher (in particular) is inextricably caught up in dominant Western conceptions of what it means to be 'good' as a white person. In effect, the 'good' teacher is a powerfully invested fiction and "the authority afforded to the position of 'teacher' is premised on the teacher's performance of white middle-class social norms" (Schick, 2000, p. 299). The 'good' teacher is stereotypically 'white', and this association is habitually naturalised. In idealised Western constructions, the good teacher is indeed viewed in terms of being natural. As the stereotypes go; good teachers are 'born not made' (Scott & Dinham, 2008); teaching is viewed as a 'calling' (Danielewicz, 2001); the good teacher is naturally 'caring, loving or charismatic' and has a 'natural affinity with young people' (Bullough, 1991). These constructions of the good (implicitly white) natural teacher mesh with the construct of the missionary given that both are in the service of a higher calling and both adhere to essentialist epistemological foundations.

For instance, Harper's missionary travels to the truth and the true self, which are always some distance away (2004, p. 213). The missionary's purpose links to a higher calling and their practices reflect the work of progress by helping the world to become "orderly, stable and determined so that the record of past travels – the path – is preserved and progress celebrated" (p. 214). Historically, the

[28] See for example Johns (2006), whose work is reviewed in chapter four.
[29] An admitted limitation of this study is its lack of useful interrogation of the 'misfit' as an identity construct and how, for some of the teachers – such as Cliff and Faith – refusing or failing to 'fit in' with white, mainstream norms in fact enabled them to generate a comparatively reflexive subjectivity. While for others – for instance, Joseph – being something of a misfit in mainstream society owing to his overt religious beliefs had the reverse effect of shoring up a conservative, 'essentialist' standpoint, which he foisted upon Anangu students and community. This limitation will be explored in writing to emerge from the thesis.

Western school is an institution of modernist progress wherein records are preserved and progress celebrated. Thus through enduring the wilderness and committing to self-sacrifice the white missionary teacher or secular missionary brings progress and certainty to the marginalised (p. 221).

Not dissimilarly, the 'goodness' of Moore's (2004) contemporary 'natural' teacher is entwined with the notion of a calling. Within this construct 'good teaching' is configured in terms of the innate characteristics of the individual who was born to teach. Proof of good teaching ability may be drawn from any number of decontextualised situations, including teaching neighbourhood friends, giving tuition to less able peers, babysitting, playing school from an early age, or simply being 'charismatic'. In masculinist terms, this teacher is a born leader (McWilliam, 2008, p. 34), while in feminine versions the natural 'good' teacher is conflated with 'good' or natural mothering and is thus entwined with stereotypically feminine constructs such as caring, nurturing and having an affinity with young children.

Given its foundational appeal to the natural and inborn qualities of character of individuals, the contemporary natural teacher discourse can be aligned with complicit or subordinate standpoints within discourses of whiteness. And although this teacher is not necessarily religious, their purpose, like the missionary teacher, is to serve and save; to make the world into a 'better place' (see for example Lasky, 2005, p. 905). Hence contemporary discourses of the 'good' natural teacher invoke notions of a secular missionary. And given that both the missionary and secular missionary are presumed to be 'natural', within these discourses, raced, classed and gendered normative identifications with the teaching role slide out of view. To disrupt discourses of the secular/missionary who is naturally 'called' to the teaching vocation, Schick (2000, p. 305) therefore suggests that we start by asking why this *natural* process of *becoming* a teacher occurs most frequently among whites. Chapter seven will consider this question.

The Tourist

In contrast to the mercenary, missionary or secular missionary is the image of the white teacher as 'tourist'. The tourist represents a discursive identity that sometimes overlaps with the misfit in that both of these identities are 'looking for something': an escape, adventure, an 'authentic' experience or a change from the 'cultureless' mainstream. Evident in the work of several writers (see for example Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2004; Hoffman, 1996; Reyes & Bishop, 2005 and Schulz, 2007), the tourist can also resonate with the mercenary when their reason for travel is tied to financial or career perks. A common pattern in remote Australia reflects a 'two-year tour of duty' articulated by some white teachers as 'hardship duty' resulting in "extra points for country service" (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2004, p. 68). When tourist teaching is configured in this way (in other words, when tourist teaching invokes sacrifice on the part of the white teacher), the notion of the white man's burden (Laforteza, 2007) is restored and the white teacher remains in a subordinate position within discourses of whiteness. Tourist teaching can also reflect an orientation to curriculum whereby the

white teacher engages in pedagogical voyages that incorporate the token inclusion of 'Other' cultures (i.e., a unit on 'Aboriginal culture' or a Home Economics lesson involving 'bush tucker'). In doing so, the tourist teacher reinforces the normativity of whiteness by relegating essentialised understandings of otherness to the margins of the normative 'core' curriculum.

Harper's tourist, unlike the modern missionary, garners resources for identity construction from postmodernity; a time of fracture, dislocation and uncertainty. Unlike the missionary who is committed, determined and prepared to endure privation, the tourist does not commit to one path, one destination, one truth, or one dream of a perfect place (Harper, 2004, p. 217). Rather, the tourist seeks to experience,

> […] the new, the novel and/or the exotic. A sense of home is important as a place to return to if the journey proves unexciting or, alternatively, too dangerous. However, it is the very mundane nature of home that sends the tourist out in the first place. (P. 218)

Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist's (2004) 'two-year tourist' resonates with this image and overlaps with the image of the mercenary. Their research, set in a rural state primary school in Australia situated many hundreds of kilometres distant from an urban settlement, describes a newly graduated teacher who travels to a remote centre, in part for adventure but primarily as a career stepping-stone. The community in their research had been established artificially by the government for Aboriginal people dispossessed of their traditional lands by aggressive European settlement. There was little in the way of job infrastructure for the local people, and unemployment was intergenerational. Like remote Aboriginal communities across the APY, problems of poverty, welfare dependency and social dislocation were therefore endemic.

The two-year tourist teacher in Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist's study had little understanding of the history of the region, or of Indigenous history in wider Australia before entering the region. They tended to exhibit fossilised views of Aboriginality and would conceptualise student failure in terms of 'Aboriginal' problems (such absenteeism, health issues or issues related to community). They often took the stance that it was not their role to teach Aboriginal culture, a culture that is 'dying anyway' (p. 4). Instead, they sought out "pedagogical techniques in an instrumental rather than a culturally sensitive manner" in order to improve their 'craft' (p. 4). The pattern played out by these two-year tourists reflected initial culture shock typified by feelings of isolation (p. 3). Still learning to teach, this tourist teacher would attempt to assuage feelings of anxiety by socialising almost exclusively with other whites and by dealing with the 'problem' of Indigenous learners by adopting a complicit strategy of *treating them the same* as mainstream students. Their university preparation, predicated on an assumption of the 'universal child', had left the tourist teacher in Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist's study ill-prepared to teach in a remote Aboriginal context. By the time s/he was feeling comfortable in the classroom, the tourist teacher was preparing to leave.

Thus the tourist teacher as depicted in the literature would adhere most commonly to a complicit stance which overlooks 'race', or a subordinate stance which fixates on a needy or exotic Other. Chapters eight and nine consider these dynamics in relation to this study's white participants.

The Social Justice Advocate

Despite their differences, the missionary, secular missionary, mercenary and tourist all tend to reproduce racialised domination through remaining in complicit and subordinate positions that naturalise racial inequality. And while there are different orientations to social justice,[30] the 'social justice advocate' in this thesis is s/he who understands "that power is differentially distributed in society and that social institutions, including the educational system, are generally organised to advantage the more powerful groups" (Villegas & Lucas in Aveling, 2004, p. 42). The social justice advocate is therefore critical of existing inequalities and will seek to challenge them.

The social justice advocate occupies (or at least works toward occupying) a reflexive stance that offers 'white' teachers the greatest chance of breaking their complicity with whiteness. A reflexive pedagogical position is likely to incorporate the understanding that our racial biographies as teachers unavoidably shape our teaching (Connell, 1985; Reid, 1994, p. 5). The social justice advocate will understand the contingency of whiteness and will strive to recognise his/her own complicity and investments in reproducing domination (Heron, 2007, p. 153). The social justice advocate is also aware of the historical antecedents of contemporary Australian race relations, and is likely to have some knowledge of the critiques of white incursion on Indigenous lands.

Unlike the missionary or secular missionary, the social justice advocate will relinquish the need to be viewed as innocent or pure – s/he will not adopt a sorryness stance. At the heart of the endeavour to decolonise is the effort to 'relinquish power' (Aveling, 2004, p. 24), thus the social justice advocate will seek to develop equitable working relationships with Indigenous students and colleagues wherein traditional power relations are inverted. Moreover, the social justice advocate will aim to develop cultural consciousness of white race privilege and its foundations on Indigenous disadvantage (Wadham, 2002, p. 305). The social justice advocate in remote Australia will also have some awareness of the broad field of Indigenous Education, and will recognise the Eurocentric nature of most Australian classrooms (Hickling-Hudson, 2003).

This white teacher is likely to recognise 'difference' on its own terms, rather than filtered through the 'white' man's logic. The social justice advocate will also modify their teaching to assist the academic achievement of students from non-white backgrounds in ways that do not stigmatise (Aveling, 2004, p. 41). Further, this teacher will incorporate cooperative, rather than competitive and individualistic learning activities, and will recognise students' social contexts in order to counter educational environments that routinely exclude non-whites – one way of doing this is by incorporating Indigenous

[30] See for example Starr (1991).

perspectives across the curriculum. Finally, this white teacher will hold high expectations of Indigenous learners, and will demonstrate an ability to critically examine their own deeply entrenched perceptions of Self and Other. Thus unlike the discursive identities aforementioned, this white teacher presents the possibility of exercising 'reflexivity' – a stance that highlights and challenges whiteness.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been threefold: to present white governmentality as a theoretical lens; to analyse the broad field of Indigenous Education as a key framing context; and to introduce a range of discursive identities commonly associated with 'white' teachers who choose to work in remote, non-white contexts. As a conceptual framework, white governmentality allows for an analysis of racialised power simultaneously at the macro and micro levels. It enables a view of governance in its obvious and covert manifestations, and hence allows for whiteness processes, normally invisible to white people, to be exposed. White governmentality also offers a view of subjectivity as a discursive construct – shaped by the social relations that produce it. The broad field of Indigenous Education has undergone significant changes over time, hence offering a range of ways of 'being' a white teacher in remote Aboriginal lands. White teachers are not limited to adopting one disposition to their work, but rather are influenced by the discourses in power in any given moment and in any particular space. Literature on the white teacher highlights the discursive identities typically embodied by white teachers in contact zones, such as the APY. Like the positions commonly available to white teachers throughout the phases of Indigenous Education, these identities have characteristically aligned with subordinate and complicit performances of whiteness – stances which either benevolently acknowledge 'difference' while failing to subvert the grounds of white race privilege, or which deny that 'race' plays any significant role inside education at all. Adherents of the latter standpoint are therefore likely to resort to a strategy of 'treating Aboriginal students the same way as everyone else'. In contrast, the 'social justice advocate' endeavours to arrest racialised domination through the gradual development of reflexive awareness.

Overall, this chapter has presented the field of Indigenous Education in White Australia as a contested space and in which a range of overlapping discourses compete for control of subjectivity. The aim of following chapters is to refine the research field and determine what today's 'white' teachers bring to the remote context in their efforts to be good white teachers. The following chapter begins that process by undertaking a white governmentality analysis of the Ernabella Mission – the first white school to be established in South Australia's APY.

Chapter Three

NO ORDINARY MISSION

The previous chapter established that studies of white governmentality position their object of study within a racialised field. It delineated the study's general area of investigation – Indigenous Education in White Australia – and theorised a 'white' teacher at the centre of these relations who has historically operated through an imperative to 'help', 'include', 'monitor' or 'improve' Aboriginal students, thus failing to subvert the grounds of white race privilege. Similarly, of the 'white' teacher identities that were explored, all but the social justice advocate overlooked the importance of critically acknowledging race and whiteness.

This chapter refines the research field by examining the more localised space of Anangu Education through a white governmentality lens. Specifically, it focuses on the first Western school to be established at Ernabella Mission where the missionaries prided themselves on being more progressive than those to have preceded them in other parts of Australia.[31] I consider the comparatively 'good' deeds of the white missionaries at Ernabella and examine how they structured the field of possible actions for Anangu people, both within and outside the classroom. I draw upon memoir, official correspondence and newspaper archives, and interpret the significance of these texts in political and historical terms.[32] This chapter thus provides a window onto the means by which dominant cultural ideas and practices shaped social relations at the Ernabella Mission, dialogically constructing the white missionary teacher in relation to 'full-blooded' Anangu. In doing so it outlines the historical antecedents of Western education in the region, and elucidates the origins of a geographically specific 'missionary discourse'. This chapter is important for it lays the groundwork against which I contemplate the 'good' work of today's white teachers in the region in later chapters.

Celebrating Ernabella

Accounting for history is never impartial and the history of Australia's colonisation continues to be a contested site "wherein narratives of a 'civilising mission' challenge narratives of dispossession and genocide" (Riggs, 2005, p. 39). Contemporary discussions about the Ernabella Mission continue to be caught within this binary with its white missionaries commonly positioned as caring, selfless and essentially beyond critique. The Ernabella Mission days represent the celebrated period between 1937 and 1971,[33] a period against which contemporary endeavours to provide education to Anangu

[31] By the time Ernabella Mission was established in 1937 – nearly eight decades following Ramahyuck Mission in eastern Victoria – austere or openly intolerant forms of protection and segregation were falling out of favour with more progressive sectors of the white mainstream.
[32] Wetherell describes this movement, "from talk to the interpretation of the place of this talk, the broader social context" as being crucial in developing "arguments about the political and ideological significance of particular kinds of talk" (in Blood, 2005, p. 99).
[33] With the Mission School opening on June 11, 1940.

are frequently judged. A strong thread throughout the literature on the Ernabella Mission is the belief that the Mission was 'unlike other missions' and thus that the practices of its missionaries were neither paternalistic nor detrimental to Anangu culture. A recent documentary celebrating restoration of the Ernabella church nearly sixty years following its establishment attests,

> […] right from the start it was different from other missions of its day. There was no pressure on the Anangu to give up their own beliefs or way of life. "We weren't even allowed to put clothes on them," recalls one former missionary. Instead they respected and learnt the local language and culture, and found parallels with Anangu stories and the Old and New Testament. (Corfield & Boynton, 2011)

The documentary, from which this chapter borrows its name, claims that the missionaries came with the Christian Bible "but they also came with a radically different approach to their work as missionaries" and that, "for many, this was the golden era at Ernabella" (Corfield & Boynton, 2011). A contemporary white teacher at Ernabella School, who was interviewed during the documentary, expressed widely held beliefs when attesting,

> If success is measured by the urban mythology around the importance of the mission days, it must have been very successful because people talk about them as the good days. […] There is really strong research and evidence that suggests that the children that went through the Mission School era were well educated and literate as adults. (Salomon in Corfield & Boynton, 2011)

Duguid's Vision

Ernabella Mission, and then school, was founded by Dr Charles Duguid, Adelaide surgeon and Presbyterian layman, with support of the Presbyterian Board of Missions. Rather than attempt to 'civilise and Christianise' Anangu children by separating them from the detrimental influence of family, Ernabella Mission was designed to establish harmonious community relations while observing 'tribal' life. The goal of the Mission was to settle Anangu, slowly train them in the Christian Gospel, and save them from indiscriminate contact with dangerous outsiders (Edwards, 1982). According to Nancy Sheppard, a white teacher at the Mission from 1955 to 1963,[34] Ernabella was "not just another of your common or garden missions." Its white staff saw other missions' work as "well-meaning but paternalistic and destructive of local culture" (Sheppard, 2004, p. 9). Sheppard recalls;

> We all thought we were a cut above everybody else because, I think, in other places they worked harder to bring the people into the modern day. Whereas we thought that they should stay as they were and only change as absolutely necessary. (In Corfield & Boynton, 2011)

[34] In her later years, Sheppard worked at the Fregon Mission School for a brief period.

Duguid upheld three policies in particular that shored up the missionaries' 'exalted' opinion of themselves (Sheppard, 2004, p. 10). First, was Duguid's insistence that Christianity not be forced, but that conversion and attendance at worship be a choice made freely by Anangu. Second, was Duguid's mother tongue language policy whereby white personnel were made to conduct all day to day communication, evangelism and education in the local vernacular (which they did alongside Anangu teaching assistants). Third, was the no clothing policy outlining that 'full-blooded' Anangu should be free to remain unclothed as they would in nature.

For Duguid, his 1934 expedition to Central Australia to assess the 'plight of inland aborigines [sic]' (1963, p. 22) proved beyond doubt there was neither interest in nor security for the Indigenous people of the vast interior:

> [W]ith one solitary exception, even ministers of the Christian Church were not interested. The Inland Missions of the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches did not include aborigines [sic] in their ministry, and the Presbyterian Inland Mission Hostels did not in any circumstances admit aborigines. […] Every padre of the Australian Inland Mission whom I met at that time regarded the natives as unworthy of attention, and they treated them accordingly – with contempt and scorn. (Duguid, 1963, p. 24)

Rather than hold to dominant scientific beliefs in a 'dying race', Duguid maintained that "the present aborigines [sic] of the mainland of Australia […] are akin to the Caucasian race, not to the Negroid or the Mongolian" (1963, p. 17). Thus Duguid held to the notion of a 'Great Chain of Being', and his rationale for establishing the Mission relied upon scientific as well as theological principles. His thinking turned on the conviction that inculcation of the Christian faith was in fact crucial to the survival of inland Aboriginals. Winifred Hilliard, missionary at Ernabella for thirty-two years, was an initial supporter of Duguid's rationale. She explained:

> The ancient customs of the Pitjantjatjaras were not ways that could easily adapt to a changing world. They were essentially backward looking […]. Ernabella [Mission] is attempting to give the people the time and opportunity to assess for themselves the value of the Christian Gospel that they may see for themselves that a faith binding them to the past cannot carry them forward into the rapidly changing future […]. To fill the spiritual vacuum created by the spreading European culture is the most important aid to assimilation or integration. As long as they are spiritually focused on the land of their birth, their tribal territory, the encouragement of any movement away from that territory could cause irreparable damage to the people. When they have a new spiritual concept which does not bind them to one particular area, but to a world at large under the Lordship of one God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, they are free from the bonds of their past. (Hilliard, 1968, pp. 182-193)

Thus Duguid's vision incorporated assimilatory ideals – a progressive stance at that time given the aforementioned beliefs in a dying race – and he sought to construct a mission unlike those that had preceded it. According to Kerin (2006, p. 8), Duguid described it as a 'Christian Anthropological

Mission', which would reflect "contemporary shifts in thinking about the nature and purpose of missionary work." Duguid professed; "anthropologists and missionaries – or science and religion – should work together for the preservation and 'uplift' of the Aborigines [sic]" thus uniting in their work, "the critical nexus between science and religion" (p. 8) – the progressive ideals of the Enlightenment. Duguid proposed that the white people of the Mission be of the 'finest Christian type' (p. 84). He also stated that there should be neither compulsion nor imposition of Western ways of life upon Anangu, "nor deliberate interference with tribal custom" (Duguid, 1972, p. 115).

For many commentators – Anangu included[35] – the Ernabella Mission days reflect a period of cross-cultural reciprocity and harmony. This standpoint sees Ernabella Mission as reflecting 'the golden years'. From this perspective the white missionary teacher is viewed as being committed, engaged in traditional life and fluent in the local vernacular. In contrast, the white teacher of more contemporary times (under the auspices of the state) is viewed as comparatively transient, less culturally sensitive, unskilled in the local vernacular and colloquially known as a 'tourist teacher'. Thus while one white teacher is viewed as having offered Anangu 'the best' of white society within a context of mutual respect and understanding, the other is seen as working fleetingly for a state apparatus intent upon imposing the dominant culture. But relations inside the Ernabella Mission were more complex than this.

From a whiteness standpoint, Duguid's construction of his staff as reflecting the 'good' of white society and the 'finest Christian type' establishes the Ernabella missionaries as existing beyond critique – a position that remains complicit with racialised domination. Duguid relied upon tropes of 'goodness' and 'Christianity' that have filtered through into common beliefs about the Mission, and while Christianity is not of its essence 'white' – for instance, there are many types of Christianity just as there are different orientations to progressive education or mission work – historically, Christianity has been "thought and felt in distinctly white ways for most of its history, seen in relation to, for instance, […] the Manichean dualism of black-white that could be mapped on to skin colour difference" (Dyer, 1997, p. 17).

Dyer (1997), Said (1979), Shore (2001a) and Sunderland (2007) tease out the connections between Christianity, race and whiteness. Their work suggests that the tropes of 'goodness' and 'Christianity' to which Duguid deferred establish the 'white' subject within the Christian/Enlightenment separation of mind and body. According to Dyer (in Shore 2001a, p. 3), this separation informs the trope circumscribing 'white' subjects with control and 'Others' without. As the logic goes; "the white spirit [can] master and transcend the white body, while the non-white soul [is] prey to [the body's] promptings and fallibilities" (p. 3). The notion that Anangu were 'at risk' in this manner – implicit as it was in Duguid's desire to bring, not just medical assistance, but education to Anangu through inculcation of the Christian Gospel – fed into a long history of the "enlistment of ostensibly wiser, more conscious, more civilised, white Selves" (Frankenberg, 2001, p. 78). Duguid's positioning of his white

[35] See for example, Minutjukur (2006), and Armstrong, Ingkatji, Kulyuru, Minutjukur, Nyaningu, Tapaya and Tjilari (in Corfield & Boynton, 2011).

staff as exemplars of Christian goodness thus established a racialised binary on which Ernabella's 'civilising mission' was founded (Spurr, 1993, p. 113).

The following sections deconstruct the veil of goodness and Christianity that Ernabella's supporters continue to uphold.[36] I begin with the writing of Ronald Trudinger – graduate from the Teachers College in Adelaide, son of missionary parents, first white teacher at Ernabella, and later, Superintendent of the Mission. I then consider excerpts from Sydney-sider Nancy Sheppard's memoirs detailing her nine years in the APY as a mission teacher, also newly graduated from Teachers College. While I present their stories separately, there is some overlap given that their time at the Mission intersected. And while the materials provided by each teacher reflect 'white' representations of life at Ernabella, they also highlight some of the differences within whiteness as a shared positionality – Sheppard and Trudinger's divergent standpoints as writers are a case in point.

Trudinger's writing reflects official correspondence to the State Director of Education during his time as a teacher at Ernabella. It is written from the standpoint of a 'white' man in Australia during the early 1940s. Sheppard's memoirs are written in the present from the viewpoint of a woman with considerable time to reflect on her work as a 'white' teacher in the region. Sheppard's work is shaped by a sociological lens (given that she undertook studies in sociology on leaving the Mission), and by the shifting phases of Australian cultural politics that Sheppard had lived through by the time of writing – from protectionism through assimilation, self-determination, multiculturalism, reconciliation and neo-assimilationism. Sheppard herself states, her stories of life among the Pitjantjatjara[37] were lived in the 1950s and 60s when she was 'a starry-eyed young missionary', but they are also written with the hindsight of the twenty-first century. Furthermore, Sheppard begins her memoirs by stating that her stories while 'her truth', have been shaped and sculpted over time. Thus Sheppard's memoirs are coloured by a more reflexive awareness of the perspectival nature of 'truth', and her position within cultural relations.

Unlike Trudinger, Sheppard was also paradoxically located at the nexus between racial privilege and gender subordination (Rowe, 2000, p. 64). Thus her writing reveals a perspective sometimes critical of the revered white men in charge of everyday life at Ernabella. Sheppard speaks of the impact of the actions of one particular male leader – actions that sundered her idealistic worldview as a young missionary and would open her to a more critical modality concerning the missionary endeavour. And in archival documents Sheppard outlines how tirelessly the white women of the Mission worked, how very few holidays they were afforded by the Board of Missions (despite repeated appeals for annual leave) and she also candidly notes that when Dr. Duguid would visit the Mission, "he would assume the role of champion and advocate"[38] despite carrying out none of the hard graft of Mission life. Sheppard's record thus reveals some of the complexities and difficulties of life at Ernabella, often

[36] See for example Edwards (2004) and Edwards and Underwood (2006).
[37] Sheppard often uses the term 'Pitjantjatjara' in place of Anangu in reference to the fact Anangu is a collective name for several Aboriginal groups across the vast APY, and also given that during her time at Ernabella Mission, the people alongside whom she lived referred to themselves as Pitjantjatjara rather than Anangu.
[38] Sheppard's comments (dated 2000) are recorded in the photographic archives of Bennett and Bennett (1957, p15732).

glossed over in less analytic parts of the written archive. However, I begin here with Trudinger's story given that Trudinger was the first white teacher at Ernabella Mission.

'No child is to be detribalised …'

Ronald Trudinger's official reports to the Director of Education (given that Ernabella School was subsidised by and subsequently accountable to the Education Department), as well as his contributions to the *Advertiser, Mail* and *Education Gazette* provide glimpses of the relations of race and whiteness inside the school gates at Ernabella. The March 1941 issue of the *Education Gazette* explains:

> Mr Trudinger came out of Teachers College twelve months ago. He is of a missionary family, and has entered upon his work with missionary zeal. Clearly the college course must have developed his initiative and power to permit and develop freedom. (In Duguid, 1940-1941, pp. 80-1)

This issue of the *Gazette* praises Trudinger and his 'dusky little pupils', describing Ernabella as a freedom school, "probably without counterpart anywhere in the world" (in Duguid, 1940-1941, p. 81). The 'freedom school' movement in Australia, United Kingdom and United States betrays a long and complex history. By the time Trudinger had assumed a position at Ernabella Mission his 'freedom' approach is likely to have been influenced, like other South Australian teachers at that time, by advice laid down by Mr. William Adey, State Director of Education (1929-39). Adey had been observing educational trends in the United States and United Kingdom, and one year prior to Trudinger's appointment, had instigated a comprehensive review of primary school programs across the sector ("New Education Not New," 1939, p. 20). According to Adey, the new syllabus was to be an "important step in the development of greater freedom in the planning and presentation of lessons" ("Important Changes in Education," 1939, p. 20). It was to conform to more modern ideas around teaching practice and be 'suggestive' rather than 'dictatorial', 'definite' but not 'cramping and rigid'. South Australian teachers were to have greater freedom (under guidance) to govern their schools and classrooms, and were to find constant opportunities for the formation of habits in their students, such as the implanting of ideals and sentiments, the growth of virtues and the practice of wellbeing, regardless of whether these aspects were prescribed.

According to Adey, these virtues included promptness, neatness, accuracy, perseverance, due regard for the rights of others, self-reliance, patriotism, religious toleration, freedom of thought, reverence for age, and sympathy for the needy and suffering ("Important Changes in Education," 1939, p. 20). Within the "freedom discourse" espoused by Adey, good teachers were thus to use their 'common sense' in the organisation and government of the school and, above all, were to utilise teaching methods that proved most effective in achieving the Department's desired ends: the cultivation of students who demonstrated 'interest' in learning and who engaged in 'self-activity' (p. 20). Thus, the

discourses shaping South Australian teachers at that time, as in the previous chapter's reference to the impact of discourses of progressivism on mass compulsory Australian education, related to the cultivation of students to adopt of self-regulatory techniques deemed desirable by the dominant culture. Moreover, it was taken-for-granted within the Education Department's freedom discourse that teachers would adhere to a 'common' set of cultural assumptions, described by Adey as common sense. But given that 'common sense' is only common to those who share the same cultural worldview, this notion of common sense can be construed here in terms of a racialised construct that simultaneously includes and excludes.

The 'freedom' to which the *Education Gazette* alludes can therefore be viewed as a cultural construct grounded in particular local and national contexts. As an expression of whiteness, 'freedom' needs to be 'delimited and localised' (Aveling, 2006, p. 263; Frankenberg, 1993, p. 231). For the South Australian Education Department of 1941, the Ernabella School's 'free' attendance policy (i.e., 'not enforced' and 'free of charge'), its 'no clothing' rule and 'mother tongue' language policy constituted an especially free approach to schooling grounded in a 'progressive' discourse. Likewise, for Nancy Sheppard, as a young missionary, these policies were liberatory insofar as they denoted "respect for the ancient culture of the Pitjantjatjara [which was] Duguid's most cherished maxim" (Sheppard, 2004, p. 10). An examination of Trudinger's classroom management strategies inside these general boundaries provides a more nuanced window onto the ways in which 'freedom' and 'progressivism' were refracted through racialised relations inside the Mission School.

In terms of day to day life, though the school ran only in the mornings, the Mission adhered to a firm schedule. Mission work was not for the faint-hearted and as Sheppard recalls, all Anangu adults were offered employment: "they worked on three-month contracts and many were glad when their contract ended [to] enjoy a break from the regimen of mission routines" (Sheppard, 2004, p. 11). Trudinger's classroom was similarly marked by relations of 'reward and regulation' (see for example Foucault, 1977; Grabosky, 1995; Millei, 2008; Nadesan, 2006). Specifically, he sought to instil discipline in his Anangu students, thus in one report writes:

> In deputised lessons, the 'little masters' – maidja djuku-djuku – as they are called, are shown what to teach and they take sole charge of a class or classes combined. Many of them make excellent little teachers, especially considering that they themselves have only had a few months of schooling at most. The monitor system is used for all routine duties with a change around each week. As many of them can now read and write their names, a list of class monitors is posted up each week. (Trudinger in Duguid, 1940-1941, n.p.)

Trudinger's orientation to 'progressive' or 'free' education included a form of monitorialism whereby the students demonstrating the greatest obedience were rewarded with the opportunity to become monitors. By way of the monitorial system, instructions are imparted from the head teacher to apprentice teachers, or monitors, and then to pupils. The monitorial system is typically characterised by hierarchy, rote instruction, drill, strict discipline and order. Monitors act like duplicate teachers ('little

masters') and so surveillance by the teacher over his/her pupils is exponentially increased (Miller, 1998, pp. 154-160). Students are usually seated individually in order of 'rank', and this in turn renders the monitorial system akin to a panoptic mechanism which emphasises uniformity, repetition and order to ensure the production of obedient students. In this sense, the monitorial system reflects a form of bio-political control that aims to enmesh students more closely with the institutions and objectives of the state.

During this early period, Anangu had nevertheless received little schooling. Together with the short school day it may be unwise to overstate the extent to which Anangu were indoctrinated through the bio-political control of monitorialism. Perhaps more salient is the observation that Trudinger contributed to the establishment of a mode of discipline which, over time, has rendered Anangu increasingly accountable to the White Nation. For instance, with small achievements in Indigenous rights during the 1970s through early 1990s in Australia, Anangu gained land rights and greater control over the schooling of their children. However, this also meant increased accountability to 'white' mainstream systems and practices – a pattern that in some regards begins here.

The means by which Trudinger buttressed Anangu freedom, by relinquishing a modicum of authority within tightly prescribed regulations signals a pattern of power relations, aspects of which have become normalised over time. Trudinger's approach was characterised by a desire for the gradual transformation of Anangu minds and souls. Despite the dominant beliefs that continued to underpin the inferiority of Aboriginality, Trudinger hoped that the children at Ernabella would defy expectations in becoming civilised, and in turn that this would reflect favourably upon the Mission. After the school's first year, Trudinger remarked:

> This school, commenced just last year […] is in the nature of an experiment. Spiritual, mental, and social ends are in view; but the principle is that no child is to be in any way detribalised, nor, for the present, are they to be thrust from a stone-age civilisation into the twentieth century one. Hence they are not kept in dormitories or even on the Mission compound; they are not given white man's clothing or much of white man's food; they speak and are taught little or no English. [… Physically they] are for the most part fair-haired; some are golden and even 'snowy'-haired; brown skinned, lithely built, splendidly healthy and free from any disease, attractive of feature and abundantly so of personality, quick-witted, amazingly adaptable and tractable, sensitive and well-mannered, very affectionate, and easy to control. ("Ernabella – A Freedom School," 1941, pp. 80-1)

Of the students' academic abilities he wrote,

> They are almost entirely unsophisticated [but] are extremely responsive and willing in their work. They have no idea of competition and very little leadership, which has its disadvantages. On the other hand, however, there is no bullying or showing off. The 'top boy', by far the most brilliant and efficient of all, is one of the humblest. [In addition] there [have

> been] very few occasions for patent disciplinary measures [with] insubordination, thefts, etc. being surprisingly rare. (Trudinger in Duguid, 1940-1941, n.p.)

Along with aspects of monitorialism, these excerpts from Trudinger's records highlight his pedagogical approach, which is clearly inflected by race thinking; his surprise at there being remarkably few cases of insubordination or thefts being an expression of this. Moreover, Trudinger's racialised beliefs appeared to be well entrenched on entry to the region given that his detailed observations, as though based on preconceptions, were "formed quickly rather than after a long period of reflection" (Haynes, 1998, p. 50). In terms of the deployment of 'little masters' it should also be noted, that by the time Trudinger assumed responsibility for education at Ernabella, the monitorial system had long fallen out of favour amongst progressive educators. Several writers point out; the monitorial system was criticised for its machine-like character (Gascoigne, 2002, p. 106; Miller, 1998, pp. 162-163). However, in Trudinger's case, monitorialism takes on a charitable veneer given that his deployment of little masters enabled selected Anangu greater access to what were typically thought to be 'white' positions of authority.

The Education Department supported Trudinger's approach, for despite purportedly having the option to 'not attend', the *Education Gazette* (a publication of the Department) outlined that Anangu students were 'keen' to come to the school where Trudinger worked hard and where his novel 'mother tongue' approach proved successful. Another newspaper writes; "Our strangest school: There is one school in Australia where students 'break-up' with reluctance and plead to continue their lessons in the midst of a bush holiday" ("Our Strangest School," 1942, p. 6). And later; "What has actually been achieved in the ordinary school subjects in the time given to them shows a new light on aboriginal [sic] mental powers" (p. 6). Trudinger's writing also details the hard work undertaken to progress the school with the 'unclothed, uncivilized, un-anglicized, full-blooded nomadic children' in his charge (Trudinger in Duguid, 1940-1941).

Beyond 'the three Rs', Geography, Drill and the other important subjects to which the 'native child should be exposed', Trudinger held that Gardening and General Outdoor Activity was "one of the most important lessons" (in Duguid, 1940-1941, p. 79). During this subject, students would cut wood to keep the school braziers going, tend to the stoves and sweep the school yard. As a matter of daily routine they would also scrub the desks, paint the desks and blackboards, wash the towels, put material out each day for every class and lesson, and then replace such items at the lesson's end. In terms of 'the natural environment', Trudinger remarked; "actually, the children know a lot more than I do about nature, [though] from a superficial and practical aspect" (p. 79). To rectify the superficiality of their knowledge the students were hence made to become thoroughly educated in European agricultural norms. Furthermore, they were made to do the marking out, digging, manuring, watering, planting of seeds and tending of plants. Trudinger explained,

> They also cut down their own fence posts in the Bush (under supervision) and sink these, and are completing the erection of a fence and gates […] Each day some gardening work is done;

> the children are enthusiastic about this work, and very frequently beg to be allowed in the garden. (In Duguid, 1940-1941, p. 78)

Singing and Hygiene were also keen interests of Trudinger's, with each subject being recognised on the school timetable that Trudinger delineated with hourly precision. These topics were justified as especially important in his reports to the Director of Education, and in one report Trudinger explains:

> [Singing] is one of the most pleasing – and surprising – parts of the curriculum. […] I have tried to inculcate some appreciation for good music in the teaching of some classical tunes – Beethoven, Sibelius, classical hymn tunes. […] Native words are set to these tunes as to the native, words are more important than tune. [Also surprising], the quality and range of their voices, I think, exceeds that of the average white child. (In Duguid, 1940-1941, n.p.)

In terms of sanitation, Trudinger remarked; "it would be unthinkable to allow children, living in camp and their natural life, to come into school daily without being bathed" (in Brock, 2007, p. 29). Trudinger had the children assemble at nine and spend one quarter of one hour each morning washing and combing, for he remarked: "as I usually have to demonstrate and assist in this (a new process for most of them particularly during their first days at school), I have put it down as Hygiene on the Time Table" (Trudinger in Duguid, 1940-1941). Trudinger's classroom was also divided along blood lines, which entailed separating the 'half-caste' from the 'full-blooded' children, teaching them separately and applying the 'no clothing' rule differentially. Brock comments:

> There was an important exception to the [no clothing] policy which applied only to children of full blood Aboriginal descent. Mixed descent children were fully clothed at school. These children lived with their Aboriginal families in an Aboriginal society, yet the missionaries treated them differently from the other children. During his first few weeks at Ernabella while he was settling in and learning the Pitjantjatjara language, Trudinger ran classes for the mixed descent children. They were then integrated into the general classes, but continued to be marked as different by their clothing. Photographs of the Ernabella School show the full descent children, including pubescent girls, naked, with one or two clothed children in their midst […] The Presbyterian Mission Board planned to remove the mixed descent children from the mission so that these lighter skinned children would not grow up in an Aboriginal environment. (Brock, 2007, p. 30)

Despite that Ernabella is framed in the historical record as a 'freedom' school, it is never made clear in Trudinger's reflections whether policies such as the 'no clothing rule' were what Anangu actually wanted. In her research into the relationship between white missionaries in Australia and the mundane governance of clothing, Brock observes,

> [S]everal Pitjantjatjara women remembered the impact [the clothing policy] had on their lives. Nellie Patterson, who was a student at the Ernabella School when Mr Trudinger was the teacher, was deeply disturbed by the insistence she could not wear clothes. In winter she was

> cold, so would run away from school. If Trudinger caught her she would be put under the cold water tap. She decided to leave Ernabella with her uncle who was going to another Aboriginal settlement run by the Lutherans at Areyonga […] Patterson remembers many others left Ernabella because of this school policy. (2007, pp. 39-40)

As a form of white governmentality, the no clothing policy reflects a 'technology of the self' imposed upon Anangu and deployed by the white staff under Duguid's expert medical authority. As a young missionary, Sheppard originally supported the 'no clothing' policy given Duguid's insistence that "wearing wet clothing had contributed substantially to the prevalence of tuberculosis on other missions" (Sheppard, 2004, p. 10).[39] This is an expression of the means by which knowledge (expert medical knowledge) and power (the power to structure the field of actions for Anangu) came together and reinforced one another, circumscribing and shaping the thoughts and actions of those at the Mission. Trudinger also continued to claim, as late as 1995, that in terms of the no clothing policy "Dr Duguid's dictum […] was proved beyond all doubt to be the right thing" (in Kerin, 2006, p. 93). However, in more recent reports by Brock (2007) and Kerin (2006), a marginalised discourse is brought to light. These writers suggest that the no clothing policy at Ernabella reflected a paternalistic outlook by the white missionaries who refused to acknowledge that Anangu were a changing culture, "and that part of that change was reflected in the desire for 'white man's clothing'" (Kerin, 2006, p. 95).

The no clothing policy effectively buttressed the view that full-blooded Anangu – for it was they to whom the policy was applied – were racially different to those with even a quotient of 'white' blood.[40] In this sense, though Duguid did not openly support the notion of a dying race, he never abandoned racial hierarchy. As racialised subjects, full-blooded Anangu were positioned as 'at risk' (of ailments, such as tuberculosis), a discursive positioning which ultimately feeds into discourses of Aboriginalism that posit an 'archaic race': "vanishing scientific curiosities […] worth studying before they [die] out" (Barnes, 2007, p. 88). What is not acknowledged in the literature upholding the 'goodness' of the white missionaries at Ernabella (and how unquestionably right they were to maintain the no clothing policy), was that Trudinger – often regarded as one of the main supporters of the policy – also preyed on the young women at Ernabella whom he insisted were not to wear clothing. According to Brock,

> Concerns were raised as early as 1943 that he was inclined to be foolish with the girls. By 1949 there were rumours that he had fathered a 'half-caste child', nevertheless, he was appointed Superintendent at the beginning of that year, and remained in that position until his behaviour was formally investigated and, following a court case, he was briefly gaoled in 1957. (2007, p. 36)

Though Sheppard reveals no names, her memoirs tell a similar story and highlight the impact of the incident on her self-perceptions as a young missionary. She explains:

[39] Kerin (2006) undertakes a thorough analysis of this claim.
[40] On 'blood' and the social construction of 'race' see for example López (2000).

> [...] a young Anangu man claimed that a staff member had been sexually assaulting women. I was stunned. How could this man make such an accusation? We were all Christian missionaries, such a thing just couldn't happen. [... Yet] the accusation turned out to be true. Our world was irreparably damaged. For an idealistic young missionary it was a traumatic experience. How much more so for the victims. (Sheppard, 2004, pp. 64-5)

Brock adds, that "although there is little evidence of it in the written records," there was opposition by some of the white female missionaries and by many Anangu to the no clothing policy for full-blooded Anangu at Ernabella (2007, p. 38). Clothing had become associated with modesty, especially among Anangu women who were frequent targets of the white male gaze. Further, the Anangu people she interviewed who were subjected to the no clothing policy as children, "associate it with Trudinger, even though there were female teachers who implemented [it] after Trudinger became Superintendent, and long after he left the Mission" (p. 46). Sheppard falls into this category and her early memoirs reflect gender subordination to the policies that were upheld by Trudinger, "born of Duguid's vision" (Sheppard, 2004, p. 11).

But in terms of day to day life inside the classroom, and well before accusations were made concerning misconduct, Trudinger's detailed anthropological observations of his students – reported back and measured against mainstream norms – suggest a form of surveillance in which the white gaze fixes on the Aboriginal, thus precluding reflexive 'self' analysis. As surveyor of Anangu, Trudinger positioned his students as curiosities warranting examination and as uncivilised 'little pupils' requiring discipline. When the children exhibited knowledge beyond his own, thus threatening to subvert the hierarchical relationship between white male teacher and black student, Trudinger remedied the situation by constructing their rich and intricate knowledge of their lands as superficial, and by imposing superior Western 'facts', such as those pertaining to the European cultivation of land.

Grimshaw (2007, p. 155) suggests; turning the wilderness into English norms has historically functioned as an important means by which whiteness was, and is, deployed, for it asserts and legitimates white incursion. Likewise, Attwood asserts in relation to Ramahyuck Mission:

> In order to establish the Mission and gain control, [the missionaries] had to civilise and convert not only the Aborigines [sic] but the land itself, transforming it for their purposes, giving it a new significance which would destroy what was unknown to them and undermine those meanings so integral to the Aborigines' sense of themselves. (1989, p. 4)

In written records by Trudinger (in Duguid, 1940-1941), Edwards (2004) and Sheppard (2004), white incursion on Indigenous lands is perceived as self-evidently 'good'; symbolic of the hard work and productivity of the Ernabella missionary. Whiteness is in operation here beneath a guise of goodness and through the institutionalisation of white norms and farming practices. Whiteness practices underpin the acts of benevolence the white missionaries claimed as markers of their selflessness. And while such practices may have represented sincere attempts on the part of the missionaries to

'do good' by Anangu, such attempts were also problematic in lieu of their propensity to supplant Anangu knowledge and ways of being.

Also problematic, though almost certainly unintentional, Duguid's mother tongue language policy was entangled in colonising objectives. The imposition of mother tongue language policies therefore should not be seen in simplistic terms – either as a political manoeuvre to 'divide and rule', or a humanitarian endeavour to 'preserve and protect'. Rather, as Pennycook explains, "it is important to view education in mother tongues as linked to far more complex modes of governmentality and to forms of protectionist discursive production" (2002, p. 15). At Ernabella, use of the local vernacular enabled Anangu to engage more meaningfully with Western education. But it also enabled a much more penetrating permeation of 'white' ideals through the inculcation of white, middle-class Christian norms and values. For instance, when Trudinger set 'native words' to Western classical and Christian harmonies to bestow upon Anangu 'the best' of white music, he also effected the discursive entwinement of whiteness, class and 'goodness', for throughout the Western world during this time (the 1930s and 40s in particular), classical music represented at least two axes of division – race and class – and the institutions of classical music were, in Goodman's terms, "overwhelmingly white" (2007, p. 225).

Although Trudinger appeared to provide a rigorous education, his curriculum was comprised primarily of practical, hands-on activities: gardening, cleaning, daily chores and personal hygiene. This pedagogical approach relates an assumption of Aboriginal inferiority in that the students were not engaged in more intellectual pursuits. Thus despite the fact that Trudinger framed his pedagogical approach in terms of ensuring Anangu 'freedom', when viewed through a white governmentality lens his day to day actions were in fact tightly mediated along race, class and gender lines. Furthermore, his collection of classroom rules and regulations operated as means by which the Anangu child was made the subject of white ideals. McNicol Jardine (2005) argues that the barrage of disciplinary techniques employed by the Western school in order to monitor, classify, rank and control students – such as the gaze, panopticon, timetable and examination – position the student as the subject of Western ideals, and hence of the colonial order:

> [N]o longer seen or able to function as independent, creative, unpredictable human beings living for their own history, passions, and energy, individuals subject to disciplinary power are known to others and eventually to themselves only insofar as they contribute to the efficient progress of the efficient production of their society. […] The individuals at the focus of this vortex […] are unable to collaborate with others unless this is done within society's prescriptions and norms. (Pp. 57-58)

Trudinger's 'rank and divide' approach 'fixed' Anangu children – whether of full or 'partial' descent – at points along a hierarchy. For instance, while Trudinger never openly grappled with questions of gender, his earlier remarks regarding the 'top boy' represent a clear expression of gender insofar as he is 'naturally' perceived to be the 'most brilliant, humblest and efficient of all'. His suggestion that

'words are more important than tune to the native' also suggests a covert essentialism grounded in a racialised logic. And throughout his observations, Trudinger habitually invokes mainstream 'norms' against which the Anangu child is judged. It is also in respect to mainstream norms that Anangu are made a 'population' marked by official statistics and 'observed facts'. In turning Anangu into a 'population' they were hence made more amenable to processes of normalisation and regulation. For, according to Foucault, unlike the characteristics which shape individual wills, populations have to be understood "by means of specific knowledges and to be governed through techniques that are attuned to those emergent understandings" (in Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006, p. 84).

Trudinger's detailed notes thus created a specific, racialised knowledge about Anangu, which supported a range of disciplinary techniques. For example; ranking and disciplined instruction within a timetable tightly mediated by a Western orientation to time. Trudinger's 'free approach' therefore provided Anangu with a well-regulated mode of freedom that was grounded in 'white' values, beliefs and 'common sense' norms. In short, Trudinger *problematised* and sought to transform Aboriginality in the interests of white culture, but whiteness itself was never *problematised* in his records.

Into the Harsh Heart of Australia

Sheppard's memoir detailing her life at Ernabella Mission, *Sojourn On Another Planet* (2004), is distinct from Trudinger's writing in that it is a reflection on the past that portrays gradual movement toward reflexivity. In this section I begin by critiquing Sheppard's standpoint as a young missionary before considering her stance as a comparatively reflective autobiographer.

For young Sheppard, Duguid's no clothing policy, his mother tongue language policy and the guiding principle that Christianity 'not be forced down people's throats' represented a stark departure from the more openly paternalistic orientations to mission work that had preceded Ernabella. In Sheppard's early memoirs[41] there is an implied separation between missionaries who supported the preservation of Indigenous life and those who (whether consciously or not) effected its destruction; similarities might be drawn here between contemporary distinctions between good anti-racist or bad racist whites (Riggs, 2005, p. 25). For Sheppard, while the latter white missionary practised paternalism, the former enabled a 'free' environment in which Anangu were positioned as autonomous beings "with varying degrees of freedom to choose what kind of a person to be" (Davies, 2006, p. 425).

It is clear from this standpoint that a strategy for securing the 'goodness' of the Ernabella missionaries was the enunciative technique of abjection (Hall, 1996, p. 18); of marking out what the Ernabella missionary *was not.* According to Sheppard, Duguid's policies confirmed that Ernabella was not a repressive Mission. Thus, the Ernabella missionary is implicitly produced as more enlightened, progressive and benevolent than missionaries elsewhere. However, from a critical whiteness standpoint, binary distinctions between 'good and bad' white people function to secure white privilege

[41] By 'early memoirs', I refer to Sheppard's standpoint as a missionary, opposed to autobiographer.

by overlooking the manifold ways in which all white people are privileged (Casey & Syron, 2005). Binary distinctions promote an understanding of racism as an isolated and individual act, rather than embedded in interlocking systems of privilege and oppression. They downplay the intricate role that colonisation continues to have in constructing subject positions along race lines. Likewise, they enable the belief that institutions, such as the Mission, and benevolent subjects such as the white Ernabella missionary, operated within a social vacuum; as though untouched by the relations of race.

In Sheppard's early recollections the Mission is depicted as a place of salvation; isolated, hallowed, a world unto itself. It was a place of freedom for Anangu, of preparation for their imminent contact with 'civilisation' and refuge from nearby doggers, pastoralists and adventurers. For Sheppard as a young missionary, the Mission was indeed untouched by non-puritan thinking, and this is not surprising given Ernabella's considerable geographic isolation. But physical isolation also meant that the Mission was positioned precariously inside Sheppard's memoirs under the threat of dangerous outsiders and also of the encroaching desert. Sheppard remarked that 'back then' (in 1955 when she left her Sydney home), "Central Australia was in our national psyche only as the remote and forbidding dead centre that had lured explorers to their death" (2004, p. 3). Her first morning in the "harsh heart of Australia" revealed "earth and sky alike in barrenness" and thus she wondered, "could this forbidding landscape nourish me?" (p. 4).

Healy (2002, p. 33) explains; places are spaces of representation, thus to write the land is to construct subjectivities. Representations of the APY as a remote, dangerous and exotic 'outback' have implications for the way Indigenous and non-indigenous identities are organised. Spaces such as the Australian desert are rendered intelligible in the dominant imagination through the myths and beliefs that are inscribed onto them. Heavily circulated in dominant discourse, such myths set the desert and its Aboriginal people unevenly against the coastal mainstream and its presumably more progressive 'whites'. Crang (2004, p. 76) describes this "as a very literal sort of 'geography' with its direct translation as 'writing the earth'." As outlined in chapter two with reference to Harper (2004, p. 210), like other sites of colonisation the desert is thus rendered exotic, dangerous and feminine, which in turn organises a feminised Indigenous 'Other' against a masculine, Western explorer. By discursively constructing the APY as dangerous and exotic, young Sheppard therefore reproduces an implicitly 'intrepid' white Self who – altruistically prepared to devote his/her life to work on 'another planet' – embodies an *a priori* sense of innocence. In this sense, Sheppard's initial constructions of the APY reflect a mixture of touristic and mercenary imperatives.

Constructions of Ernabella Mission as a place of 'freedom' feed in to this racialised logic. Ernabella as a 'free' space organises a selfless white missionary who traverses dangerous lands to protect Aboriginals in need. However, the 'freedom' to which Sheppard refers buttresses domination insofar as it supports, while obscuring, the workings of whiteness. It is a conceptualisation of freedom which, while made to appear 'enlightened', enables the erasure of its own racialised constitution. As Spurr would say, recourse by Sheppard to Ernabella Mission as a 'free' environment appears merely "to celebrate the selfless humanity of the civilising mission" (1993, p. 113). But as Trudinger's written

record reveals, freedom of this nature is neither value free nor race-neutral. It is freedom defined by those who are privileged, which in turn secures white supremacy by organising a benevolent white subject. Morrison describes this as a 'fantasy' of freedom,

> the structuring void at the centre of this fantasy, the figuration that covers over the presence of the unfree within the heart of the democratic experiment, is, in fact, the critical absence of democracy, its echo, shadow, and silent force that grounds the parasitical nature of white freedom. (In Kintz, 2001, p. 341)

By constructing the Mission as a 'free' space, as a young missionary Sheppard also overlooks the manifold ways the Mission functioned as a structured grid in which surveillance over even the smallest aspects of day to day life for Anangu, such as clothing and sanitation practices, were routinely carried out. Through the logic of identity of the Enlightenment Sheppard constructs Anangu as autonomous individuals with freedom to choose what kind of person to be. The Mission's 'freedom policies' are presented as a range of choices made humbly available to Anangu: to attend Christian worship, or not; to remain naked, or not; to sustain the use of their own language and take part in Mission life, or not. Yet, this overlooks the means by which the missionaries controlled Anangu and how their choices were carefully scripted.[42] But in order to highlight the complexity of life at the Mission, it bears reiterating that the missionaries' lives were themselves carefully scripted and that the Mission was also a highly gendered space.

The white staff at Ernabella comprised single women, like Sheppard, and married men whose wives would work for free (Sheppard, 2004, p. 9). In this regard, the Mission institutionalised the 'patriarchal dividend' (see for example Whitehead, 2007, 2009). And while the literature celebrating the Mission tends to locate the white missionary within an egalitarian collective, there is substantial evidence to suggest that the white people at Ernabella were not only differentiated from Anangu, and that Anangu were differentiated along blood lines, they were also organised in relation to gender. As an organising category, gender meant that the everyday rules and regulations underpinning life at Ernabella were those set out by the sovereign power of the Western male; in Moreton-Robinson's words, this reflects the possessive logic of patriarchal white sovereignty (2004a). Russell (2007) has pointed out that these relations may not have been so clear-cut within the domestic sphere during the first phase of the colonising mission in Australia. Nonetheless, the policies and practices defining Mission and school life at Ernabella reflected the overarching authority of the few white men in charge.

In this vein, there were unequal rules for the Indigenous and white men and women working on the Mission. In terms of Trudinger's misconduct with the young Anangu women, sexual relations on the frontier are an example of this. As Ellinghaus (2003; 2007, p. 187) has pointed out, interracial sexual

[42] In positing an 'autonomous chooser' (Fitzsimons, 2002; Marshall, 1996a; 1996b; Peters & Marshall, 1996), this perspective constructs an individual who is at the mercy of unconscious internal desires but also capable of self-directed intervention. This image of the Cartesian Self maps onto psychoanalytic conceptions of identity, which direct individuals "to a set of normative behaviours" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 21). Within this logic the choices made by Anangu are thus circumscribed by dominant discourse, and deviations from prescribed 'norms' are liable to be pathologised.

relationships between white men and Aboriginal women throughout colonial Australia were not uncommon. Trudinger's exploitation of the young women at Ernabella was part of a much broader historical system of sanctioned practices in which peoples' lives were mapped by the discourses of class, gender and race. Any child fathered by a white man who had sexual relations with an Indigenous woman could be absorbed back into the Indigenous community – or removed to a boarding house for 'half-caste' children.[43] The child of a white woman and black man could not be so easily explained away. Furthermore, 'white' women played an important role in the colonial imagination owing to expectations that white women act as "racial/national reproducers and physical and moral guardians of racial purity" (Reid, 2005, p. 53) – it was therefore incumbent upon white women like Sheppard to constantly prove their purity.

However, less obvious than sexual misconduct were the ways in which the architecture at Ernabella, introduced by the white missionaries, was also infused with gendered, raced and classed significance. For example, housing for the white staff was gendered insofar as the sexes were divided into separate living quarters. Particular residences were also suffused with raced and classed beliefs that were reflected in the practices enforced in each dwelling. Along with Phyllis Duguid, wife of Charles Duguid, Sheppard recollects daily practices and regulations reflective of these relations. Phyllis recalls that when the 'house girls' – meaning local Anangu women whose job it was to clean the white women's quarters – came to 'the house', particular rules were applied, which did not apply in other spaces. Normally naked, Phyllis notes:

> As for the 'house girls' their coverings were strictly temporary. […] The girls helping in the house wear dresses but go back to the native camp at night – the idea being not to give [them] any sense of promotion to the house for it was only at the house that clothing was worn. (In Kerin, 2006, p. 80)

Allison Elliot, also a white missionary at Ernabella, confirms that while the missionaries developed close relations with Anangu, Anangu were not invited to visit white quarters in an unmediated way; "not to formal meals and things like that. We had house girls [and] perhaps the modern generation looks upon that as a sort of colonial outlook that we would have house girls, but the fact of the matter is that the girls liked doing it and it gave them great opportunities" (in Lister & Elliot, 1999, p. 7). In a similar vein, Sheppard recalls that at 'the Oleanders' – the cottage where she, the nurse and craft supervisor lived – conventions of cleanliness and hierarchy were rigorously observed:

> My first letters home record that […] my room in the Oleanders was sparkling clean (literally dripping with furniture polish). […] The two Oleanders' house girls, having made sure every last grain of sand was removed from the new teacher's sleepout, were waiting to welcome me. These two angels, I soon learned, lived about a mile away in the camp with their friends and families, about 200 people in all. (Sheppard, 2004, p. 6)

[43] According to Kerin (2005, p. 85.84), Duguid was responsible for 'rescuing' several 'half-caste' Ernabella children in this way.

In these instances a social structure is discernible whereby 'white' quarters are associated with the wearing of clothing, strict protocol, limited access by non-whites, and cleanliness. Although framed as being in the interest of the house girls, their menial role inside the white women's quarters reinforced their position within gender and race relations. Similarly, while presented as being in the interest of Anangu people's physical wellbeing and the preservation of 'native life', the no clothing policy at Ernabella served an added, if implicit, function: the maintenance of racial hierarchy between those who wore clothing, and were therefore civilised, and those who did not. This hierarchy also mapped onto the racialisation of space at Ernabella Mission whereby 'white' quarters were associated with clothing, civility and cleanliness – *the removal of every last grain of sand* – which, according to Dyer, is inherent in discourses of whiteness:

> Cleanliness is the absence of dirt […] Baptism unites cleanliness and goodness […] Non-white people are associated in various ways with the dirt that comes out of the body, notably in the repeated racist perception that they smell. [Thus] to be white is to have expunged all dirt, faecal or otherwise, from oneself: to look white is to look clean. (1997, pp. 75-76)

From this perspective, it makes sense that a primary aim of the missionaries was to Christianise the Anangu people. According to Sheppard (2004), to Corfield and Boynton (2011), and also to Edwards (2004), the Ernabella Mission was highly successful at converting several hundreds of Anangu to Christianity through the ritual of Baptism, free from force or coercion. The cultivation of land by the Ernabella missionaries, the erection of church buildings, gardens, a school, clinic, baptisms, religious conversions … all of these technologies are positioned by advocates of the Mission alongside "caring for people in times of sickness and death [with] meagre resources and limited government support" (Edwards, 2004, p. 2). For Edwards, such feats serve to authenticate the tireless dedication of the white missionaries, and the commitment of individuals like Sheppard and Trudinger whose perseverance and morality were unwavering.

We should note here that white incursion onto Indigenous land and the destruction of Indigenous means of self-identification through transforming the land is recognised as moral good. Religious conversion, in particular, is identified by Edwards as part of the success of the ingenious Ernabella missionary precisely because it did not need to be 'pushed down people's throats'. He notes; conversion for Anangu was 'deeply experienced' and 'absolutely meaningful' (2004, p. 17). In contrast, Attwood suggests that for many Indigenous people caught within contact zones such as the Ernabella Mission, religious conversion was part of an adaptive strategy of survival. It was a tactic on the part of Indigenous people, who, acting as historical agents, "were prepared to fake interest in the missionaries and their spiritual message, mollifying them so they could get their material goods, particularly food and blankets" (1989, p. 6).

In Edwards' and Attwood's historical portrayals, power is being exercised but its effects result in quite different constructions of the subjects involved. In this sense, the recounting of history is a political act, and potentially, "an instrument of colonisation […] used to establish cultural and moral legitimacy"

(Wadham, 2002, p. 85). In Edwards' vision – like young Sheppard's – Anangu are peacefully subdued and submit wholeheartedly to religious conversion. However, in Attwood's revisionist account, Indigenous people such as Anangu are positioned as historical agents, reacting to European invasion and playing an important part in the 'exchange' or 'dialectic' between the dominant and the dominated, and thus in their own making (1989, p. xi). We might assert that Sheppard's early memoirs do more than provide a window onto social relations at Ernabella during its zenith; they contribute to the durability and perseverance of the colonial project. Indeed, like Trudinger's, Sheppard's early writing constitutes a disciplinary technology insofar as tying Anangu to a corpus of 'official' knowledge, constructing them and making them more amenable to surveillance and control. Thus despite that Sheppard was subordinated by gender, her writing at this point betrays complicity with hegemonic whiteness, and Sheppard the recipient of white race privilege.

'They knew where my wisdom ended and theirs began ...'

But from the standpoint of a woman attempting to turn the analytic gaze back upon herself, Sheppard's writing is also patently self-critical. For instance, Sheppard states early in her memoir that, "with the wisdom of hindsight we old missionaries now look back on all our early precepts and endlessly re-evaluate them" (2004, p. 11). Sheppard states that the policies born of Duguid's vision were under constant review and, looking back upon herself as a 'brash young teacher' (p. 14), Sheppard realises the many errors of her well-intentioned judgements that were detrimental to Anangu. In this way, Sheppard the autobiographer demonstrates reflexivity.

At different points throughout her memoir Sheppard questions her use of Western forms of discipline – such as hitting – that she and the other missionaries instinctively used without grasping its inappropriateness in an Anangu context. She acknowledges that she had become dangerously arrogant with her use of the local vernacular without understanding cultural protocols around the use of 'taboo' words by different people. Sheppard describes herself, at one stage, as 'self-important' in her religious faith (p. 61) and, in her efforts to help Anangu, as insensitive of Anangu cultural mores and beliefs. For instance, Sheppard reconsiders seemingly small things such as her taken-for-granted Western understanding of 'dirt' as filth, something to be scrubbed away. Later in her memoir, Sheppard remarks; "in no circumstances would [Anangu] have thought of earth as other than [their] friend. Earth was something [they] sat, walked and slept on, something [they] dug into deeply for delicious honey ants" (p. 31).

Sheppard outlines, retrospectively, that differences in cultural mores were the constant source of misunderstandings between Anangu and the white staff at Ernabella Mission. For example, while in 'white' culture it is polite to 'offer a hand' to someone in need, from the Anangu worldview it is polite to wait to be asked. Thus when Anangu men, who had become adept at repairing white men's vehicles, did not offer help to a white man who had become bogged, all too easily the Anangu men would be labelled as 'lazy' by whites, a misunderstanding that eventually stuck.

Inside the classroom, Sheppard reflects that, rather than 'slow' or academically inferior in respect to their white counterparts, differences in cultural concepts made Western knowledge extremely difficult for Anangu students to grasp. In terms of numeracy, she recalls:

> In the Pitjantjatjara language there are no words that relate to each other as, for example, 'three' and 'two' and 'five' relate to each other in English. There is also no concept of equality in the mathematical sense [...]
>
> There is no doubt that many children in mainstream Australian schools have difficulties, but at least they have the advantage of living with two brothers and one sister, in a five-roomed house constructed of right angles. (Sheppard, 2004, pp. 20-21)

Rather than judge Anangu with reference to an invisible norm, Sheppard the autobiographer goes some way toward highlighting the whiteness of the education system (despite its delivery in Pitjantjatjara) and its consequences for students marked by 'race'. Moreover, as an autobiographer, Sheppard highlights the political nature of education in stating that rather than teach the children decontextualised skills in an ideologically neutral space, the classroom, to her, was unavoidably positioned:

> Each of us took a different stance on questions as to how – and how quickly – the Pitjantjatjara should be moving towards integration. (The word, if not the idea of assimilation was out of favour by then). It seemed to me that such questions did not affect the day to day work of other staff as they did mine. Burns and diarrhoea were to be cured regardless of ideology, and anyone could see that the sheep industry should be prospered whether the Pitjantjatjara were to be living in their traditional way for the next thousand days or the next thousand years. For me such questions directly affected daily decisions and long-term policy. (2004, pp. 61-2)

And yet, as a white woman, Sheppard's viewpoints were frequently overlooked by the Board of Missions who, she explained, 'did not want to hear her opinions on such issues' (p. 62). Presumably, nor did they entertain the opinions of Anangu, for as Sheppard further reflects:

> In my time *we* lived in houses, *they* lived in *wiltjas. We* were paid about £7 a week, *they* received seven shillings plus rations. *We* had all the administrative positions, *they* were the workers. *We* determined the policy, *they* accepted our decisions. (P. 69)

Here, Sheppard acknowledges that racial hierarchy existed in myriad ways at Ernabella Mission. Rather than ensure a 'free' and reciprocal environment, whites structured the field of actions for Anangu and circumscribed the knowledge to which Anangu students were exposed. For instance, Sheppard recalls attempting to teach the students Australian History by describing Captain Charles Sturt as he stood proudly "firing over the heads of the natives to frighten them off" (p. 76). Observing a picture of the scene from the book that Sheppard held, one Anangu student rejoined; "Don't say that.

White people didn't shoot over our heads. They shot at our bodies ..." (p. 76). Reflecting soberly on this incident, Sheppard the autobiographer explains how it forced her to question key aspects of her white upbringing that, until then, she had simply taken-for-granted:

> [...] thinking over the history I had been taught and mindlessly accepted and then, just as mindlessly, tried to pass on to these students, my only consolation lay in the fact that they knew where my wisdom ended and theirs began. (P. 76)

Thus Sheppard's memoirs begin to articulate an awareness of the contingency of whiteness, and this shift toward a more reflexive standpoint is discernible in other long-term members of Ernabella's white staff. For instance, in the latter recordings of Winifred Hilliard – who, as mentioned, worked at the Mission for thirty-two years and originally supported the idea that Anangu be taught to accept Duguid's 'new' spirituality[44] – Winifred states that living in the APY had led her to 're-assess her own values' and 'look at her society's own norms' (in Robin, 1980, p. 27). Likewise, Sheppard remarks; "looking back it can be seen that the Board [of Missions], along with almost everyone else in the 1950s, had little understanding of Aboriginal populations and their historical connection with particular areas. [Among other things] the Board also failed to take into consideration the kinship system" (2004, p. 68).

Sheppard thus shifts from a paternalistic governance of Anangu to a far more liberal standpoint in which she concludes her memoirs with a desire for white society to 'live harmoniously' with Anangu, in a spirit of reciprocity (p. 93). 'Benevolent' approaches such as power sharing and working together on the part of 'white' people may therefore be conceptualised in terms of 'progression' and cultural sensitivity. Yet they also often remain grounded in a form of foundationalism that seeks unity and the creation of 'One' Australia. Such impulses justify white presence on Indigenous lands and, if unintentionally, exonerate histories of racist violence and the ongoing racist structuring of the White Nation. As an autobiographer, Sheppard's standpoint does not reflect an ultimate shift toward decolonisation in which Indigenous sovereignty is centralised, yet she clearly works toward it.

The Missionary Impulse inside Anangu Education

The analyses carried out in this chapter illustrate the origins of the development of a missionary impulse exercised by 'white' teachers who choose to live and work in the APY. Unlike the missionary identity outlined in the previous chapter, the APY missionary is not historically characterised as having an agenda which is ostensibly or fundamentally paternalistic. Rather than acting for the good of Anangu without their consent, or at the expense of their liberty, this missionary is formed by a new discourse on the missionary endeavour. This new discourse is characterised by freedom, progress and cultural sensitivity – aspects which are also believed to permeate the classroom. The white missionary teacher wishes to work alongside Anangu, and to this end, takes the time and effort to

[44] Which would unlatch them from their essentially 'backward looking ties to land'.

master the local vernacular over long periods of committed service. S/he also encourages and supports the continuation of 'tribal' existence (i.e., hunting, living in wiltjas and remaining unclothed), rather than denounce 'essential' aspects of Aboriginality.

This celebrated view was well-circulated throughout mainstream media during Ernabella's zenith. In turn it enabled the white missionary teacher to overlook racialised aspects of this 'new' missionary discourse that shaped and circumscribed their place at the Mission. From a critical viewpoint, the white missionary teacher supported Anangu 'freedom' only insofar as Anangu were able to make choices that were highly circumscribed by white norms and values: i.e., promptness, neatness, accuracy, cleanliness, perseverance, patriotism and 'common sense'. The white missionary teacher also positioned Anangu as 'needy' insofar as viewing them as amenable to and requiring 'white' expert interventions. The white missionary teacher reproduced, rather than resisted, racial hierarchy, especially through recourse to racial taxonomies, such as 'half-caste', 'quarter-caste' or 'full blood'. This nomenclature was in turn endorsed by Duguid's expert medical 'authority' and, moreover, strategies deployed by the missionary teachers in their everyday organisation and governance of the school were linked to wider moral and political objectives about the kinds of 'Aboriginal' that the Board of Missions and the Education Department wished to produce: those who demonstrated 'interest' in learning the 'best' of Western culture and who engaged in acceptable self-regulatory activity. The development of a missionary discourse at Ernabella Mission therefore marks the cultivation of the self-regulating individual.

Moreover, the whiteness strategy at the centre of these relations – the strategy employed by both Trudinger and (the young) Sheppard – was the deflection of a critical gaze through recourse to their axiomatic goodness. The white missionary at Ernabella thus avoided acknowledging their embedment in racialised domination through promoting a self-image that is 'beyond critique'.

SUMMARY

While commentators have long framed Ernabella Mission as the "greatest venture ever proposed in the interest of Aborigines [sic]" (*News* (Adelaide), 10 February 1937 in Kerin, 2006, p. 81), this chapter has questioned aspects of life at the Mission that tend to be overlooked in the historical archive. While white staff members at Ernabella, such as Trudinger and Sheppard, undoubtedly worked hard, long periods of service and fluency in the local vernacular did not erase processes of racialised domination. On the contrary, the 'good' work of the missionaries was in some respects more insidious than openly paternalistic stances given the way that recourse to 'benevolence', 'progressivism' and 'freedom' enabled the missionaries to evade critical self-appraisal. But the chapter has also shown that the 'white' Ernabella missionary is far from a homogenous construct and does not map seamlessly onto the 'missionary' identity outlined in the previous chapter. For instance, although written retrospectively, Sheppard's memoirs detail a shift toward a more race cognisant stance marked by the gradual questioning of white norms, the shattering of a moral pretence, and

debates over the expert policies to which the missionaries deferred. Sheppard's writing reveals that social relations at the Ernabella Mission were complex and deeply marked by the relations of gender, class and race. Moreover, what it meant to 'do good' by Anangu in this complex setting was contested by the missionaries, but as the following chapter delineates, few studies have carefully considered these nuances or what it means to 'do good' for Anangu in lieu of the historical reproduction of processes of racialised domination. As Sheppard's memoirs ultimately illustrate, writing that sings the praises of the Ernabella Mission does not necessarily enable us as 'white' people to appreciate the lived realities of life at Ernabella Mission. Nor does it allow us to use the historical record tactically in our pedagogical efforts today.

Chapter Four

FROM FREEDOM TO OBLIGATION

The previous two chapters developed pictures of the field in which this study plays out. Together they offer a window onto the cultural politics shaping and delimiting the place of white teachers who choose to live and work in the APY. This chapter provides a final contribution to the field by tracing developments in Anangu Education since 1971; the time when the Presbyterian Board of Missions relinquished educational authority to the state. Since then, contests over educational governance have grown alongside Anangu desires for self-determination, rights to their land and control over the schooling of their children. A range of progressive models has typified the state's approach, including biculturalism (the use of Anangu culture and language as a foundation for learning with gradual immersion into a Western framework), domain separation (division of the curriculum into sections that are taught by Anangu alone), and operational control (the devolution of educational decision-making and responsibility to local Anangu representatives). These approaches can be conceptualised through a white governmentality lens in terms of being essentialist, complicit, subordinate or reflexive. To do so, and to explore these shifts, this chapter draws on four studies that highlight patterns over time in the way that Anangu resistance to white control strategies has manifested, and how white teachers and policy makers have responded. The studies reviewed in this chapter emphasise themes against which to consider today's white teachers' sense-making of their roles on Anangu lands, and to this end, patterns identified here are revisited in the final analysis chapter. This chapter also considers the missionary impulse described previously as the desire on the part of 'good' whites to help an essentially needy Other, and it contemplates whether the shifting context of Anangu Education has worked to challenge or sustain this impulse.

From Freedom

The broad approach to Western education in the APY has changed. As the previous chapter established, during the Ernabella Mission days (1937-1971) there were high levels of Anangu involvement, important links were maintained between school and community, school ran only in the morning to allow for the rhythms of traditional life and, at least ostensibly, children were not forced to attend. The school timetable did not impact onerously Anangu ways of being, schooling was carried out in the local vernacular, and the use of English was increased gradually over many years (Edwards & Underwood, 2006, p. 109). The few white staff employed by the Mission spoke Pitjantjatjara fluently, and they also stayed for long periods of committed service.

Although the previous chapter challenged this benign vision, common belief holds that the Mission adhered to a 'freedom' approach; the view that Anangu were free to remain traditional and accept or decline the gift of Western education. Edwards and Underwood stress:

> While the mission schools[45] were poorly resourced and had low staffing levels, they were also characterised by the commitment of teachers who remained for long periods of service; steady development in the learning of both Pitjantjatjara and English literacy; high levels of attendance; and good relationships between schools and communities. (2006, p. 110)

Iversen adds, that to their credit, the mission schools "were established on the philosophy of minimising the impact of Western civilisation, respecting local culture, retaining customs and using the local vernacular" (1999, p. 7). Similarly, Johns points out that the missionaries developed skills in the local vernacular "and devoted their lives to the local people, but few teachers are willing and/or able to achieve such facility [today]" (2006, p. 22).[46]

The state assumed responsibility for schooling in the region due to a formal request put forward by the Board of Missions who could no longer manage the expense and difficulty of recruiting teachers (Iversen, 1999, p. 7). This was during the latter part of the cultural deprivation and assimilation phase of Indigenous Education (1960s-70s) where, in other parts of Australia, Indigenous children were being charitably included in mainstream classrooms as a strategy to offset the supposedly negative influence of Aboriginal culture. Schooling in the APY now adhered more rigorously to a Western timetable. Anangu schools fell in line with mainstream centres and were staffed by less committed 'white' teachers and support workers in that government employees typically stayed for far shorter periods. And despite the fact that a principle of bilingualism was originally supported by the state and enshrined in policy outlining that government Aboriginal schools in all remote areas should be bilingual, Edwards and Underwood argue that with the shift to state-administration,

> […] the provision of support infrastructure for bilingual education was spasmodic [and] implementation of the policy depended on the understanding, interest and commitment of [white] principals and other staff. (2006, p. 110)

These writers maintain that unlike the missionaries, white school staff and policy makers under the auspices of the state were unsupportive of mother tongue language instruction given that such an approach was seen as an impediment to the successful assimilation of Indigenous children.[47] This standpoint feeds into a vision of the missionaries as benevolently preserving traditional culture. Indeed Folds maintains that "after the government took over the mission schools, few if any concessions were made to Indigenous culture at any level of schooling" (1987, p. 9). Folds argues that Anangu consequently 'resisted' Western education, but despite the fact that his work effectively supports an overly simplistic view of the 'Mission days' in this instance, Folds also develops a more nuanced view, and I turn to his work directly. However, in terms of explicating the basis and rationale for the texts included in the following review – including Folds' book, Iversen's doctoral thesis, Riphagen's Masters dissertation, and Johns' report – it first bears mentioning that this decision was

[45] Following establishment of Ernabella Mission School in 1940, a second mission school for Anangu children was opened at Fregon in 1961.
[46] With the exception of MacGill (1999) and Schulz (2011), few studies have critiqued the Ernabella Mission.
[47] On this point, see also, MacGill (1999, p. 122) and Riphagen (2005, p. 22).

somewhat involuntary; there are very few substantial investigations into Anangu Education in the written record. Those included here constitute the most extensive on offer, while less substantial works[48] are weaved in where appropriate (including elsewhere in the thesis) along the way. Nevertheless, as the review will demonstrate, the four texts under examination remain useful for the different standpoints from which they are written, and the different renderings of whiteness processes that they subsequently reveal (or obscure) – I return to this point at the chapter's end.

Whitefella School

In his controversial text *Whitefella School* Ralph Folds (1987) contends that white schools (and by inference white teachers) in the APY have been unavoidably entangled in colonising practices responsible for systematically destroying Anangu culture. *Whitefella School* is a landmark study on Anangu Education that quickly attracted notoriety from educationalists who argued, at that time, that Folds' research constituted a vitriolic attack on the South Australian Education Department (see for example Gale, 1987, p. 38, and Nathan, 1988). But Folds' study is considered useful in this thesis and not least for providing space to contemplate the reaction of well-meaning whites to criticisms of their work. Folds' work is valuable owing to his careful overview of the shift from mission to settlement schooling, and the broader political context. It is useful for considering the reproduction of a missionary impulse in the APY by way of 'whitefella' schooling; an approach primarily aimed at assimilating Anangu into mainstream culture through a myriad of implicit and explicit techniques. And Folds' work is also useful for conceiving a critical approach that I will later describe in terms of a critical or 'reflexive' discourse of Anangu Education.

For Folds, the mission schools at Ernabella and later Fregon were only partially assimilative in contrast to the settlement schools that followed. By the time the Board of Missions relinquished educational authority, the state had started establishing settlements across the region.[49] The settlements were the government's response to white pastoralists who had complained acrimoniously about Anangu in South Australia's far north-west. After years of providing inexpensive labour in exchange for government-provided rations, Anangu were now "discarded when pastoral companies refused to pay them award wages" (Folds, 1987, p. 5). No longer able to live entirely off the land, Anangu had consequently little choice but set up camps characterised by conditions of endemic poverty, often located in close proximity to homesteads and small white population centres. Since Anangu were no longer able to provide cheap, if not free, labour "their former employers took to making loud and bitter complaints about such things as the disease risk to themselves and their families created by the camps" (p. 5). The government was eventually obliged to act.

[48] Including a journal article by Edwards and Underwood (2006), sections of MacGill's 2008 doctoral thesis, and a 1976 report by Penny. Masters theses by Lines (1975) and Hart (1970) have not been incorporated, and primarily owing to the thorough investigations carried out by included writers, whose work renders the former superfluous.
[49] These include the main communities across the region where research for this study was undertaken: Indulkana, Mimili, Kenmore Park, Fregon, Amata, Ernabella, Murputja, Pipalyatjara and Wataru.

At this time, official government policy was assimilation and the work of the settlements reflected this. Their aim was to absorb Anangu into the dominant culture through settling and exposing them to white culture training: "Anangu were to be taught to speak English, to work and use money. They were to live in European-style houses and maintain the standards of hygiene and cleanliness of white Australians" (Folds, 1987, p. 5). The 'settlement' of Anangu involved, in Folds' words, deliberate destruction of Pitjantjatjara society and culture, "[and] much of this centred on breaking people's links with the land and making them dependent on white-run services" (p. 5). One settlement administrator cited in his daybook that the assimilation of Anangu should involve three stages: domiciliation, in which the 'nomads' are settled and trained; parole, in which they enter a less circumscribed environment; and assimilation, when the Aboriginal goes into the 'proper community' as a worker (Hope in Folds, 1987, pp. 5-6). These stages reflect a form of panopticism with the ultimate end-point – or telos – being the 'new' Anangu citizen who embodies white cultural beliefs and practices. And although, as previous chapters have illuminated, the Ernabella Mission was in fact working toward the same ends, the settlements sought to do so much more quickly and in a manner bereft of cultural sensitivity.

Folds suggests that the destructive effects of the settlements became obvious almost immediately. Not only did they fundamentally disrupt the community social order; the settlements were established on lands that bore little spiritual significance to Anangu:

> The basic and most important social unit for the Pitjantjatjara is a fairly independent kinship group which is determined by descent and marriage. However, in the missions and settlements these were artificially brought together, setting up factions which continue today. [… Moreover] children born in the settlements often had less claim to and affinity with the country of their parents. They learned less of the lore of the land and had a scanter knowledge of its flora and fauna. (Folds, 1987, p. 6)

Within the settlements, Anangu adults were expected to cultivate a 'proper' European work ethic. Settlement administrators fashioned various futile job creation schemes, which Folds argues, were of little functional value. They were poorly conceived and primarily aimed at expanding the settlements while justifying the position of settlement administrators. The consequence was creation of apathy among Anangu; "laziness was effectively taught and then served to reinforce white prejudice" (Folds, 1987, p. 8). Administrators could use racist explanations to explain the failure of their job schemes; "then they could justify rigorous supervision and other paternalistic practices" (p. 8). Added to this, housing in the settlements paid no heed to Anangu people's social and cultural needs. Described by Folds as 'aluminium hot boxes' (p. 8), the houses were based on a nuclear domestic configuration and proved unbearable in the fierce desert heat. But despite this, Anangu were increasingly dependent on white run services and the growth of the settlements put enormous pressure on those who did endeavour to remain in the bush. During the 1960s and into the 1970s "the demise of the traditional lifestyle [therefore] seemed inevitable and the growth of the settlements self-perpetuating" (p. 7).

These historical details frame Folds' exploration into state-administered schooling during the 1970s and 80s in the APY. Settlement schools were modelled on white middle-class schools, though with added emphasis on the development of 'hygiene and manners' to compensate for Anangu children's alleged deficiencies in these areas (Folds, 1987, p. 8). In this sense, the settlement schools continued a tradition first established at the Ernabella Mission. As in wider Australia, an assumption of schooling during the early settlement period was that Anangu culture would eventually submit to the dominant European ways and that Anangu would ultimately have to find employment outside of the settlements: "School therefore trained the people, not for running their own communities but for employment in the majority society" (p. 9). The primary aim of white school staff on the settlements was to "get the children away from the 'negative' influence of the community and 'train' them for assimilation into the majority society" (p. 21). But paradoxically, the settlements also aimed to inculcate white language and skills through the strategic use of Pitjantjatjara language and culture.

To achieve these ends, a policy of biculturalism was originally implemented with the assumption being that a firm basis in the traditional culture would enable a better grasp of the new one. Biculturalism is built on the idea that "a grounding in the Aboriginal environment underpins intellectual growth and provides for the development of a strong sense of identity and positive self-concept" (Folds, 1987, p. xvi); the emphasis here being on individuals' proper intellectual development and cultivation of self-esteem. In the settlement schools, biculturalism found expression through a bilingual program made possible primarily owing to local Anangu Education Workers (AEWs) for, unlike the growing majority of white settlement school teachers, AEWs were fluent in the local vernacular. The official mandate was that younger Anangu children should start school immersed in their first language with the use of Pitjantjatjara language and culture tapering back dramatically as students entered the latter years of schooling. 'White' teachers were expected to incorporate Anangu culture into everyday curriculum, for example by devoting time to activities which would draw the world of community into the school. According to Hart, one of the founders of biculturalism in the APY, the role of the AEW was therefore critical for it was the AEWs task "to bring the richness of his [sic] culture into the school and bridge the gap between school and home, parents and white teachers" (in Folds, 1987, p. xvii).

Biculturalism in APY schools could therefore appear to be enlightened for it was inclusive of Anangu and culturally appropriate. But Folds argued that biculturalism disguised the essentially assimilatory nature of the white schools, and he denounced its use as a panacea. Moreover, we might add that unlike Trudinger's use of 'little masters' inside the Mission School, under a state-administered biculturalist model, AEWs were now being charged with providing a bridge between school and community (a point to which I return).

For Edwards and Underwood (2006, p. 110), while a biculturalist approach had worked for the Ernabella missionaries, it hadn't been properly supported by 'white' teachers and leaders in the settlements. The end result, in their view, was a state-administered system in which the literacy and numeracy levels of Anangu students were in woeful decline. In contrast, Folds argued that the problem was not merely poor management of the policy – though this played a significant role – but

that the idea of biculturalism was fundamentally flawed. He contended that its practice in Anangu schools was problematic owing to manifold processes that take place in Western educational structures that ultimately reduce Anangu knowledge and language to a functional role: "a means to get to English and other forms of Western knowledge as quickly as possible" (Folds, 1987, p. 27). Moreover, Folds' work suggests that by focusing on biculturalism alone, the greater issue of white incursion on Anangu lands, and the Eurocentric nature of Anangu schools, continues to go unnoticed. In this sense, Folds' research is useful for illustrating aspects of the workings of whiteness that other studies of Anangu Education (for example, the work of Edwards & Underwood, 2006) tends to overlook.

Folds adopted a resistance[50] perspective to make his claims, a view that plays out along three interrelated lines. Firstly, from a resistance standpoint white incursion on Anangu lands[51] results in the breakdown of Anangu life and their growing dependence on white-run services. Secondly, Anangu are not passive subjects in this process but learn to distrust and resist white assimilation, and thus conflict underpins resistance. Anangu resist the assimilatory nature of the settlements, and this extends to the settlement schools that colloquially become known among Anangu as 'whitefella business'. European houses are abandoned (Folds, 1987, p. 12), children are discouraged from attending school by their parents (p. 38), and Anangu take to absconding from the settlements in order to take part in ceremonies on traditional grounds (p. 14). Parents are not included in white decision-making processes (p. 12), and despite their reliance on the settlements, they care little, and are little able to influence, how the settlements are run (p. 14). This shores up the powerful (if vexed) position of white administrators, and Anangu become a thoroughly 'administered' people. Thirdly, despite the seemingly enlightened policy of biculturalism, deep tensions emerge between school and community. These conflicts create the conditions for the emergence of a youth sub-culture of resistance to whitefella schooling, which makes Anangu youth complicit in their scholastic 'failure' (p. 2). For Folds, the most poignant expression of this was the increasing practice of petrol sniffing among Anangu youth.

Folds thus drew a clear correlation between social breakdown in Anangu communities and the white schooling system that had been imposed. Further, he argued, while Anangu had become aware of the need for at least some of their youth to learn English literacy and numeracy in order to someday take a stake in running their own communities, at no stage had they asked for the policy of biculturalism, which he suggested was imposed by 'helpful whites' (Folds, 1987, p. 19). Compounding these issues was the swing toward self-determination in Aboriginal affairs during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Anangu were now able to take a stand in the management of their communities, and by 1981 had

[50] A critical ethnographic tradition with Marxist roots. Like Willis (1977), Folds' use of the concept attributed human agency to the Anangu boys. Rather than position Anangu as failures of a progressive system, Folds argued that Anangu resisted a system that was culturally inappropriate. The resistance approach to Indigenous Education signalled in chapter two builds on this by not only resisting racial dominance, but transforming it.
[51] Primarily through pastoralism and the establishment of settlements.

been granted rights over their land with passing of the historic Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act.[52] But this change did not abolish dependency. Rather,

> Anangu were now told they could assume more responsibility for areas which had been whitefella business; they could play a role in the schools, in community health and housing and in financial management. This raised many problems [for these] were areas in which Anangu had been rigorously excluded. […] Another new responsibility included control of social problems such as alcohol abuse and petrol sniffing, which were themselves problems of contact. (Folds, 1987, p. 15)

By the mid-1980s when Folds undertook observations in Anangu schools, he noted a range of significant issues within and beyond the classroom. Foremost among these was the observation that traditional schooling amongst Anangu is entirely antithetical to the form of European schooling that had been imposed. In Anangu society, the success of the group is more important than individual development or achievement. Moreover, children learn through imitation and gradually develop skills that will fit them for later roles in community life. Young men and women become knowledgeable in different areas and are trained only by the right person with the right knowledge who stands in appropriate relationship to them. Only elders can attain the highest forms of knowledge and children are not privy to the more formal or ritualised aspects of learning. In contrast, European schooling focuses predominantly upon the development of individual children. It starts early in a formalised manner, and adults are considered to have developed maturity and knowledge by virtue of being older. For Folds, the fundamental ill-fit European schooling for Anangu had not been resolved over time, and its perpetuation not only constituted a form of assimilation but fuelled the erosion of Anangu culture.

Folds also argued that while AEWs were recognised for their ability to teach Pitjantjatjara language and culture, and were vital in this regard, their importance had not been recognised by whites in terms of salary or status. AEWs' ways of teaching and managing children, while in keeping with Anangu culture, brought them into constant conflict with white teachers in the 'white' educational context. White teachers are shaped by a worldview and institutional structure that supports individualism and competition whereas competition among Anangu is uncommon. AEWs must work within these, and other, cultural boundaries in order to be accepted by community and students alike. But while Anangu ways of teaching may be considered abhorrent from a white standpoint – especially if such practices sunder Western ideals surrounding individual responsibility and ethics[53] – Anangu practices ultimately reinforce group solidarity in culturally appropriate ways.

More recently, MacGill (2008) has written about the position of AEWs within South Australian schools – including in the APY – and her work is important here. Drawing on a critical whiteness standpoint

[52] Now the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Rights Act.
[53] For instance, it may be entirely appropriate for AEWs to allow Anangu children to resolve group tensions through physical retribution or revenge. In the Western worldview, these practices are unacceptable and are likely to indicate that the authority figure – in this case the AEW – has 'lost control' over the group.

that enables exploration of how white race privilege 'functions through institutional systems and social relations inside the power/knowledge nexus' (p. 44), MacGill describes AEWs as men and women who are caught within the contact zone

> between the expectations and values of schools and Indigenous communities [where they must] develop resistance strategies to protect themselves and Indigenous students from […] misrecognition and marginalisation. (2008, p. 234)

MacGill describes misrecognition in terms of being "constituted by institutionalised patterns of cultural value in ways that prevent one from participating as a peer in social life" (Fraser & Honneth in MacGill, 2008, p. 17). Misrecognition is an example of white governmentality, or the unconscious strategy of securing white authority by conceptualising Anangu through an unreflexive white lens that marginalises. MacGill traces misrecognition of AEWs in schools to several origins, including the absence of mention of AEWs in the tertiary preparation of 'white' teachers. MacGill also highlights a dearth of research pertaining to the role of AEWs and their position in educational theory, where qualitative methodologies grounded in whiteness have historically inhibited recognition of AEWs' work in schools and their communities (p. 84). For MacGill, these silences and omissions manifest at the local level to provide a dominant framework for the majority of 'white' teachers working in the APY "to engage with AEWs inside a binary relationship that is incommensurate" (p. 17). This also constitutes a description of white governmentality whereby dominant beliefs and institutionalised practices form a grid of intelligibility that invisibly shapes interactions at the local level.

Thus as MacGill and Folds both illustrate, the location of AEWs inside Anangu schools is fraught. These workers are positioned within a gendered and classed location, which is further demarcated by race. Informed by discourses of whiteness and pedagogical models that recentre a Western liberal individual, white teachers often fix Aboriginal identity in the classroom through harbouring low expectations of their Indigenous colleagues, by assuming control of the classroom and lesson planning duties, by relegating Indigenous associates to menial tasks, and by overlooking the complexity of the role of AEWs in maintaining a bridge between community and school. Thus in contrast to the 'little masters' who acted as monitors inside the classroom during Ronald Trudinger's time at the Ernabella Mission, contemporary AEWs must shoulder a far more complex process of maintaining relations between the 'white' school and Anangu community, relations that are often fractious. As MacGill further states:

> AEWs are required to cross borders between schools, communities and students. They are required to consider the needs of the students, operate through the school values and at the same time maintain and build trusting relationships that are achieved through following community protocols. (2008, p. 225)

MacGill adds that in terms of power sharing in schools, white teachers' status as 'professionals' tends to exacerbate these relations:

> [White] teachers' frame of reference as professionals includes a folklore that they uphold the institutional framework as torch bearers of truth and knowledge. […] As gatekeepers of the institutional framework, non-indigenous teachers feel obliged to ensure that children are cared for, managed and controlled. AEWs' roles are therefore relegated to following non-indigenous teachers' authority, which generally leads to a mistreatment of AEWs in the delegation of tasks that include photocopying and routine manual labour, such as cleaning up or setting up activities on behalf of the non-indigenous teacher. (MacGill, 2008, p. 185)

AEWs' work inside classrooms is thus subject to the micro-practices and politics of white governmentality whereby AEWs' professional identities and options for acting are regulated without consent by white people whose frames of reference remain inflected by whiteness. AEWs are often charged with low responsibility and status within schools, yet paradoxically, are burdened with the high expectation that they will perform routine crowd control duties, maintain links between school and community, and serve as 'lackeys' for their white co-workers.

At the time of Folds' research, the representation of AEWs in schools across the region had long been in decline – he attributed this to the ways in which white teachers were more interested in inculcating the dominant culture than genuinely involving Anangu, and how, in turn, this alienated AEWs. For those who remained, their role had largely been reduced – to reiterate MacGill's sentiments – to a mode of 'crowd control' (Folds, 1987, p. 26). This created a situation whereby onus was on white teachers to teach Anangu culture; however, white teachers stand outside of Anangu culture and cannot realistically or ethically fulfil the demands of biculturalism (p. 34).

Thus biculturalism 'failed' in Folds' view for three reasons. Firstly, it was imposed. Secondly, AEWs were never properly assisted to teach in a culturally acceptable way. And lastly, the task of delivering a biculturalist approach fell, by de facto, to white teachers who were not equipped to teach Anangu culture. Perhaps most importantly, we can assume from Folds' research that biculturalism as a progressive approach failed because the fundamental whiteness of the classroom was never genuinely challenged. An example is the way that many of the white teachers in Folds' study claimed that only a remnant of Anangu 'culture' remained, which ameliorated them from trying to teach it anyway. From a critical whiteness standpoint, this reflects a mode of Aboriginalism whereby the culture of the *Other* is viewed as fixed and essential, commensurate with the notion of a dying race. This therefore highlights that the white teachers in Folds' study were not cognisant of whiteness (i.e. they were not cognisant of 'race' being a social construct rather than biological 'fact'), and had not learned to resist or challenge the racialised frames of reference with which they had entered the region.

Faced with diminishing AEW support, and with students whose resistance to school was now entrenched, the 'white' teachers in Folds' study turned to problematic practices to bolster student engagement. In addition to demonstrating an ongoing penchant for rote learning, order and cleanliness (Folds, 1987, p. 65), the white teachers in Folds' study would use aspects of Western

material wealth and ‘pop culture’ to bribe Anangu students into staying at school. For the younger students, this often meant watching animated movies or engaging in busywork activities such as individual colouring books and worksheets based on Western fantasy (i.e., Disney films and characters). For the older students, girls in particular given that the older boys had mostly dropped out and many had been absorbed into the petrol sniffing sub-culture – this included looking at glossy magazines and writing short sentences copied from the blackboard describing which of the items they most wished to possess. Indeed, the Anangu girls in Folds’ study had embraced aspects of Western culture, with their favourite morning activities being the application of makeup and styling one another’s hair. Morning rituals such as these would monopolise inordinate amounts of time in the classroom, but for the white teachers in Folds’ study, being ill-prepared to teach in any other way, they had little choice but to tolerate such activities if they wanted the girls to stay.

Although such practices as rote learning and ‘busywork’ would promote a semblance of learning and order inside the classrooms that Folds observed, they also created problems. Folds conceptualised individualistic busywork activities as strategies on the part of white teachers that broke down Anangu resistance to school while weakening group power. This can therefore be viewed as an expression of whiteness, though Folds did not use this terminology. For Folds, the use of glossy magazines to lure the young women into learning amounted to ‘white culture training’. The Anangu girls learned to covet white material culture and mainstream life without being savvy to the actual position of urban Aboriginals in the context of White Australia. Enticed by the promise of a fantasy life outside of the communities, the girls learned to reject camp life and the options that were realistically available to them (Folds, 1987, p. 82).

By pacifying students with busywork, Folds also noted that the white teachers in his study were implicated in reproducing a culture of low expectations of Anangu. These low expectations were endemic with Anangu parents resigned to low expectations of white teachers, and white teachers harbouring low expectations of students in order to explain away poor results inside their classrooms. Thus it may be assumed that the white teachers’ low opinions of their students appeared divorced from a reflexive view of their own inadequate pedagogy. Moreover, their failure to provide a rigorous and empowering education for Anangu ultimately repositioned Anangu students as ‘failures’ requiring ongoing help. This cycle can hence be understood as contributing to the reproduction of a missionary discourse that, built upon negative conceptualisations of Aboriginality, reinforces the idea that Anangu require expert white interventions. Furthermore, it is evident here that the teachers in Folds’ study had adopted a similar strategy as the missionary teachers at Ernabella Mission in that they deflected a self-critical gaze.

Folds’ research thus points toward a significant lack of reflexive awareness that might otherwise have enabled the white teachers in his study to work with Anangu in ways that do not alienate AEWs, nor reproduce racial domination. But Folds’ recommendations did not include the repositioning of whites as potential agents of resistance. Rather, working from a far less nuanced view, Folds advocated for a radical de-schooling across the region, which would amount to the abolition of white schools in the

APY. He recommended that this be followed by the establishment of Nganampa (Anangu run) schooling, which is free from input by well-meaning whites. Folds argued that "it is almost certain that [white] expert help, except that which can genuinely effect the end of the role of helpful whites, will do nothing but exacerbate a process of social disintegration" (p. 19). In this regard, a good white teacher in Folds' estimation is s/he who ultimately works toward his or her own redundancy in the remote Indigenous context.

Within the scope of this thesis, Folds' work is problematic given his lack of recognition of his study's limitations. For instance, by calling for the abolition of white presence on Anangu lands, Folds does not make white domination simply go away. While his work usefully contributes to the deconstruction of micro-practices of whiteness inside Anangu schools and classrooms, as López says, the point is not simply to 'abolish' or destroy whiteness since this is neither desirable nor possible (2005, p. 13). By positing whiteness as a monolithic entity that requires extermination, Folds' paradoxically reinforces white power and negates the possibility of a reflexive white subject who builds relationships and engages in a critical pedagogy of whiteness in order to become an effective colleague with AEWs. Furthermore, his recommendations may result in burdening Anangu with the task of 'sorting out' the problems brought about by white incursion. A more realistic approach would be to show how whiteness is contingent and may be destabilised, for as López further states, decolonising work with whiteness must move beyond narrow anti-colonialism "to ask whether a new relation to whiteness is possible after empire" (p. 14). From this stance, Folds' might have discussed the work of white teachers who challenged assimilatory discourses, rather than fixating solely upon a white teacher who is uniformly harmful and ultimately redundant. Folds' work is problematic in this regard in that he overlooks productive aspects of white contact with Anangu in the APY, and yet it is also critical for the following reasons.

Above all, Folds' research opens space for rethinking everyday aspects of schooling in the APY which, while ostensibly progressive, secures white privilege on a foundation of Anangu disadvantage. His research shows how the dominant 'biculturalist' approach of the 1970s and 1980s constituted a subordinate stance in relation to hegemonic whiteness for, while it appealed to cultural appropriateness and sensitivity, biculturalism played out within classroom contexts that remained overwhelmingly 'white'. Given that the whiteness of APY classrooms was not adequately addressed during this period, when Anangu culture was introduced it was effectively reduced to a token element existing on the periphery of a naturalised 'white' centre. The consequence was widespread feelings of alienation from school on the part of AEWs, and Anangu student resistance from a system that was culturally inappropriate. As one student in Folds' study remarked; "This is not our way" (p. 32).

Folds' study is also useful within the context of this research for enabling contemplation of education in the region from a standpoint that takes into consideration socio-historical dimensions and the ongoing effects of colonisation. In exploring wider dimensions of black white relations from the time of white influence on Anangu, Folds' revealed ways in which white schools in the APY had (by the mid-1980s) ultimately remained assimilatory. From this position Folds' research shows how conflicts inside

the Anangu classroom continued to play out the problems brought about by the first waves of colonisation. Folds' resistance perspective also allows for a view of student disengagement, not in terms of deficiency or 'failure', but in terms of a sub-culture that had emerged in response to problems generated by the imposition of white structures and the fracturing of community relations. Furthermore, Folds makes space for Anangu sovereignty by reasserting Anangu ownership of land, and the significance of relationships between kin and country.

Operational Control

In the APY during the late 1970s and into the 1980s, as elsewhere in Australia, political movements were also prompting a shift in the governance of Anangu Education; Folds' captured only some of these moves and their importance. A key development in the APY was instantiation of the Anangu Tertiary Education Program (AnTEP); a course of study for Anangu adults wishing to gain tertiary qualifications, primarily the qualification to teach. Recommendations for a program of this nature had stemmed back to a report by Penny (1976) who called for legitimate teacher training for AEWs which should take place on the Pitjantjatjara settlements. In 1984, during the final year of Folds' fieldwork, ten Anangu adults began AnTEP training at Ernabella, and by 1988, the program had rolled out across the APY.

A key rationale of the program was aimed at supporting Anangu culture and protecting Anangu teachers and AEWs by acknowledging "the expressed desire of Anangu to maintain the integrity of their culture within the wider context of Australian society" (Edwards & Underwood, 2006, p. 113). The AnTEP program promised to reposition Anangu teachers and AEWs as key players in school chiefly through their ability to teach Pitjantjatjara literacy. And although the bilingual program was eventually abolished – (only to later re-emerge) – the sanctity of the place of AEWs and Anangu teachers was to be maintained through the idea of 'domain separation'; the notion that certain areas of the curriculum can only be taught by Anangu, and that Anangu want to preserve and protect their culture while deriving from Western education only what they choose and need. Domain separation was thus a strategy to reposition AEWs as powerful players within the context of Western education, though it did little to arrest white domination in its broader sense. In this regard domain separation, like biculturalism, is understood within this thesis as a progressive approach that occupies a subordinate position in relation to hegemonic whiteness for it fails to destabilise the foundations of white control.

It is also noteworthy – as signalled in chapter two – that in other parts of Australia during the 1980s a number of 'progressive' educational approaches were emerging and among them was the notion of Aboriginal Learning Styles Theory. This theory, which is also based on a concept of domain separation, quickly became a dominant discourse inside Indigenous Education. The theory asserted that there are essential differences in the ways that Aboriginal (and by inference 'white') people learn. Harris (1980), who developed the theory, challenged the notion that Indigenous students are incapable of learning or that they ought to be educated for the primary purpose of assimilation. In this

respect, Harris' work was powerful and went a considerable way toward legitimating Aboriginal cultures and practices both within and outside the broader field of Indigenous Education. However, just as domain separation within Anangu Education constituted an inadequate response to issues ultimately brought about by race relations, Aboriginal Learning Styles Theory represented a limited panacea to the 'problem' of Indigenous so-called failure inside Western education. Learning Styles Theory offered a strategy that remained complicit with whiteness for it was built upon an underlying essentialism that did nothing to change "the structures of subordination and domination in which Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations […] have been embedded since the first wave of invasion" (Nicholls, Crowley & Watt, 1996, p. 11). But, like other progressive approaches, Learning Styles Theory also reflected a strategy for promoting Indigenous rights.

Inside Anangu Education in the late 1980s to early 1990s, the struggle for Anangu rights took several forms. These included struggles for rights over land, and also over education. Anangu people in many communities across the APY had not simply requested but demanded the abolition of control of education in their region by external, non-Anangu bureaucracies (Iversen & Thomas, 1996, p. 4). Consequently, along with the AnTEP program, the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) was established and comprised Anangu community members who largely retained their traditional values and customs. In 1992 the Minister for Education granted policy and operational control over schooling in the APY to the body incorporated as the PYEC. This meant, in Iversen and Thomas' terms,

> that generally semi-literate Anangu with minimal Western school experience [were granted] decision making control over all education policies and operational practices in the communities of [the] geographic [APY] area of some fifty thousand square kilometres. (1996, p. 3)

While creation of the PYEC and granting of operational control did not exactly amount to the birth of Nganampa (i.e., Anangu run) schooling, it did reflect a movement of Anangu into executive positions where they employ whites to represent them and carry out functional tasks – Anangu Education Services (AES) was established to shoulder this task at the administrative level. For Folds, this may have reflected a step in a broader movement toward abolishing Anangu dependency on whites; the AnTEP program, domain separation and creation of AES were also designed to assist in this process. Iversen's 1999 doctoral thesis and associated publication[54] look closely at the reality of 'operational control'; at the challenges which were now facing Anangu leaders, and at the outside measures of school 'effectiveness' to which they quickly became accountable. In his study, Iversen begins by explaining that unlike the majority of devolution schemes throughout mainstream Australia at that time, the impetus for granting operational control to Anangu had not emanated from economic rationalist goals to achieve fiscal efficiency. Rather, he stated, there was

[54] Co-published with Thomas and presented at the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference in New Mexico, 1996.

> […] a genuine desire based on social justice philosophies, that authority for decisions be delegated as close as possible to the individuals affected by those decisions, improving response time to educational needs, the development of positive partnerships between school and parents, and the right of Anangu people to determine their own future in order to improve the effectiveness of Anangu schools. (Iversen & Thomas, 1996, p. 6)

Effectively, the granting of operational control was a structural response to the way that Anangu had resisted 'whitefella schooling'. In white governmentality terms, operational control constituted a strategy that tied Anangu more closely to Western education, while paradoxically acknowledging Anangu rights. In practice, this intricate system of dual educational governance (with Anangu people controlling aspects of schooling within a 'white' bureaucratic system alongside white teachers and leadership staff) is couched within a complex socio-political, historically fraught contact zone. Folds' work attests to this. Iversen sought to map these complexities and inquire into the possibility of creating a framework for measuring the effectiveness of Anangu control that would respect the expectations, culture and perspectives of Anangu. His concern was that if educational effectiveness continued to be judged by mainstream criteria alone, increased marginalisation of Anangu would occur. Furthermore, he argued that narrow assessments of Anangu schools would do little more than demoralise communities now so contingent on the school itself. Iversen thus generated a critical review that eschewed the notion that white presence on Anangu lands be abolished entirely. Rather, he sought to develop a middle ground wherein whites take responsibility for arresting racialised domination while allowing for Anangu input and control. In this thesis, Iversen's work is therefore seen as an important corollary to Folds' for it opens a slightly more nuanced view which starts to theorise, in López' terms, a new relation to whiteness.

While Iversen acknowledged that Anangu decision makers are accountable to White Australia since public monies fund the operation of Anangu schools, he also outlined that Anangu schools must be responsive to their immediate communities and that "community needs are often contrary to the views held by the wider non-Anangu community" (Iversen & Thomas, 1996, p. 5). Anangu decision makers are caught within a significant conflict of having to satisfy external non-Anangu providers while remaining responsive to Anangu communities lest risk having the people reject Western schooling altogether. This continues to represent a key tension that characterises the contemporary governance of Anangu Education where, in white governmentality terms, Anangu community resistance marks the limits of white control.

Iversen was aware that while operational control had been granted in a spirit of self-determination, in reality it had little chance of succeeding inside a Western framework. He concurred with Folds when explaining that Western education had been introduced and, since being taken over by the state, had gradually become an agent of separation of Anangu children from the collective of community that altered the community social order. Nevertheless, in this regard Iversen, like Folds, tended to gloss over the finer details highlighted in the previous chapter, which illustrates how practices of white

domination, far from emerging with the change to state control, are evident in the micro practices of white agents inside the Ernabella Mission.

Yet, Iversen did highlight that by the time of operational control, Western schooling was increasingly critical to Anangu for their interactions with mainstream society. Thus the primary intent of granting operational control was "to dramatically increase educational awareness via this exclusive focus and to galvanise educational action and decision making at the local community level" (Iversen & Thomas, 1996, p. 4). Despite being an endeavour to support Anangu self-determination, the creation of PYEC nonetheless disrupted Anangu community structure in important ways. PYEC necessitated that Anangu with minimal English literacy or experience with Western schooling quickly learn how to engage managerially with the state. It also required members with a grasp of the dominant language over those without, thus placing "many young people into positions of power over community and daily life they would never have enjoyed in their traditional culture" (Iversen, 1999, p. 252).

Understandably, the early years of operational control were characterised by power struggles from multiple angles, by lack of clarity over the distribution of control, and by questions concerning the proper measurement of administrative 'success'. But despite these difficulties, the need for control over their communities was critical to Anangu, particularly *watis* (initiated men) whose rights to exercise decision making power over particular cultural responsibilities were diminishing in their significance to daily life. PYEC control met the need for certain Anangu to retain their dignity and a valid identity inside communities that had been irrevocably changed by white incursion. But for those in control of Anangu Education at the ground level, they faced other, seemingly intractable problems.

For instance, while Anangu had been unanimous in expressing desire for their children to be equipped with skills to participate in mainstream society, this did not necessarily equate to a view in which *all* young Anangu are required to gain scholastic qualifications. In Anangu culture, it is accepted that those who do not wish to gain academic credentials will be supported by those who do, and who are prepared to act on their behalf:

> This is a point of view which is seemingly constantly overlooked by […] powerbrokers residing in the city centres. Generalised comparison of Anangu student outcomes with mainstream students has often been made, the assumption being that similar achievement levels are expected. In the process the superficial conclusion has also been reached that because of this continuing mismatch, self-management of the educational organisation of Anangu is not working. (Iversen, 1999, p. 245)

Iversen highlights a taken-for-granted feature of the governmentality of Western schooling that also arose in Folds' exploration: the expectation that *all* students will reach specified standards in order for the education system itself to be regarded 'successful'. The epistemological underpinnings of dominant measures of school effectiveness are strongly quantitative in orientation and often restricted to quantifiable 'standards' and descriptors. Such measures "suffer from an almost simplistic, apparently unproblematic identification of what constitutes quality schooling in a Western scenario"

(Iversen & Thomas, 1996, p. 9). Western measures do not take into consideration the broad cultural acceptance amongst Anangu that not all students will want to achieve academic credentials, and nor do 'white standards' allow for student absenteeism owing to cultural maintenance practices, which often take precedence over the school timetable in the Anangu context.

This was another key tension between Anangu and 'white' worldviews that was identified by Iversen. While poor student attendance in the APY is undeniably related to a number of factors,[55] there are also cultural commitments, which are outside the control of Anangu families. Some cultural commitments may even invoke physical retribution if not attended to, but this is overlooked in the Western worldview of education (Iversen, 1999, p. 272). Iversen outlined that in mainstream classroom settings, students are also expected and publicly encouraged to be individually competitive and to strive for academic accomplishment. However, such competition and public endorsement is not culturally appropriate amongst Anangu and will alienate some students from the classroom environment. This was problematised by Folds and remained problematic at the time of Iversen's research some ten years later. In the scope of this research, competitive individualistic practices that weaken Anangu group solidarity are therefore considered to constitute a colonial continuity and evidence of white governmentality.

Iversen argued that all of these cultural factors must be taken into consideration if education is to be embraced at the community level by Anangu; in this regard his work offers a critical response to some of the issues raised by Folds. Iversen explained; the 'culture' of everyday life in Anangu communities is contingent on a seemingly chaotic timetable of daily events – chaotic at least to the Western eye – and this extreme fluidity can itself be regarded as a cultural pattern. In Anangu communities this fluidity must be acknowledged inside the classroom for the school itself to be considered acceptable by Anangu standards. Thus the challenge in constructing indicators of educational effectiveness is to strike a balance between Anangu and 'white' expectations about how education should play out.

To this end, Iversen recognised that there remained a variance of expectations of the education system by its different stakeholders. He gathered comprehensive data to create a picture of stakeholder expectations with this negotiation process culminating in the development of indicators reflecting widespread aspirations. These indicators were coupled with principles to be adhered to when using the performance indicators to gauge school effectiveness. The latter included: the need for indicators of educational effectiveness to measure those aspects of performance that Anangu parents really value; the need for performance indicators to measure a wide range of outcomes (rather than narrow, quantitative indicators alone); and the need for performance indicators to be couched within a sociocultural awareness of factors impacting schools and their communities, thus acknowledging the different cultural worldviews of the players involved.

[55] For instance, lack of sleep at night resulting from disruptions from home (i.e., gambling, drinking and loud music among some Anangu adults), or students choosing not to attend school given that independence is developed early in Anangu youth (Iversen, 1999, p. 263).

A key theme to emerge from Iversen's research was the significance of school-community relationships to Anangu interpretations of educational effectiveness. He explained: "the importance attached by Anangu to the awareness of protocols, conduct and quality of interaction with them by non-Anangu, cannot be underestimated" (Iversen, 1999, p. 255). The ability and willingness of 'white' teachers to establish quality relations with Anangu thus impacts on the relationship between the school and its community, for as Iversen further explained,

> Whilst some [white teachers] undoubtedly enter the host culture with a readiness to learn, others seemingly bring their non-Anangu background and an emphatic attitude of the irrelevance of having to deal with binding relationships to be effective professionals, doggedly adhering to this unhelpful position. (1999, p. 256)

Iversen noted that lack of cultural awareness of the importance of relationships was prevalent among 'white' staff at the time of his research. While a modicum of cultural awareness training might be covered in teachers' inductions programs, there is a great deal of knowledge that can only be learned in situ. For instance he noted that some white teachers in his study would call on Anangu parents to discipline children when culturally calling personally on the assistance of an older sibling is more appropriate. Some white teachers in his study had not learned simple things, such as the correct pronunciation of student names. Other teachers included culturally inappropriate materials in their lessons and others still would resort to Western disciplinary methods considered offensive in Anangu society. Instances such as these resulted in breakdowns in communications and thus the white teacher in Iversen's study tended to miss valuable opportunities to develop effective relationships with Anangu given their closed dispositions toward learning new cultural protocols.

Iversen's work usefully highlights the shift from biculturalism to domain separation and operational control. It illustrates that the whiteness of educational governance structures had yet to be adequately addressed at the time of his study. It also highlights many of the taken-for-granted aspects of Western schooling that disregard Anangu ways of being, including the need for 'white' staff in Anangu communities to learn cultural protocols and appreciate the significance of developing quality relationships with Anangu. This early period of 'operational control' can hence be viewed as a manoeuvre that ultimately remained in a subordinate relationship with hegemonic whiteness *despite* the fact that Anangu had been granted far greater scope to exercise control over the educational endeavour. Riphagen's research inside Anangu classrooms some six years later builds on these findings, further highlighting limitations of the progressive approaches to Anangu Education that have been trialled since the move to state administration.

Value Conflicts & Ongoing Resistance

Riphagen's research is based upon nine weeks' anthropological field research exploring cultural relations at Fregon Anangu School in 2005. *My Values, Our School* charts the interplay of cultural

'values' within the Anangu school and wider community. Riphagen sought to theorise value conflicts between non-indigenous and Indigenous subjects, and her study provides a critical contribution to the work of Iverson and Folds by looking more closely at classroom interactions.

Riphagen began her research by acknowledging that the interests of Australian governments and scholars have often been on the poor results achieved by Indigenous children inside Western education frameworks. In keeping with Folds, she investigated the concept of Aboriginal scholastic 'failure' in terms of the ways in which Aboriginal children *resist* Western values, and "the influence dominant Australian society has on the educational achievements of Indigenous children" (2005, p. 2). Riphagen's focus was the interplay of white and Anangu 'values' in the implicit and explicit curriculum taught in Anangu schools. She considered value conflicts inside Anangu classrooms and their ultimate impact on the results achieved by Anangu children on standardised tests.

Riphagen's study is based on a view of 'values' as fluid, socially constructed and subject to modification over time, a view that denaturalises the taken-for-granted authority of white cultural values in Western schools. Riphagen views 'values' as beliefs and practices that bind cultures, though she highlights that members of cultural groups may not always adhere to the same values, hence making it difficult to define "Western values, Australian values or Aboriginal values in general" (2005, p. 31). Riphagen notes that value conflicts generally occur because members of a cultural group may consider their values to be universal (and thus deviations from one's cultural 'norms' may be viewed as contraventions of important social conventions). Or, members of different groups may share similar value sets but place different emphasis on particular values or may interpret the meaning and function of values in different ways.

Inside the curriculum taught at Fregon School, a dynamic interplay of explicit and implicit value sets was identified by Riphagen. Explicit values outlined by the state[56] and explicated in policy documents and curriculum frameworks included: caring for others, self-esteem, social justice, equity, participation, respect for the environment, honesty and excellence. Alongside these, and embedded in the 'hidden curriculum', Riphagen noted a range of implicit values. These included the unspoken expectation that students accept the hierarchical nature of power, that they comply with authority and submit to one's own powerlessness (i.e., be docile to the racial and classed order), and that students accept job fragmentation and extrinsic job motivation. Riphagen thus noted a level of disparity between the dominant culture's implicit and explicit values sets, for while students are expected to accept, and exhibit, equity as a core value, society itself is far from equitable. For equity to be realised in practice, Australian schools would first need to address the historical antecedents of current patterns of inequality that mean that students do not enter education on a level footing. They would

[56] Here Riphagen notes the South Australian Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS) – now DECD – which has primary responsibility for the curriculum implemented in South Australian schools by way of the South Australian Curriculum, Standards and Accountability (SACSA) Framework. Riphagen also notes the Commonwealth's considerable influence over school curricula within the Australian states and territories, by way of the federal minister for Education, head of the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST).

then need to redress the implicit expectation that students submit to one's place in hierarchical relations, thus accepting a fundamental social *in*equality.

Riphagen also recognised that the values brought to school by the teachers in her study (only implicitly acknowledged by her as 'white'), tended to reflect the Western values outlined above that are enforced by the state; values relating to education and work, to self, other people and their property, those concerning communication, and also civic values. The 'white' teachers in Riphagen's study expected Anangu children to respect the teacher's authority, obey the teacher's instructions, strive for excellence in their academic work, and respect material possessions. Implicit values held by these teachers included: honesty, personal hygiene, keeping the schoolyard and classroom clean, and respect (defined implicitly as listening to the teacher, making eye contact, abiding by rules, paying attention, being polite, observing hierarchy and respecting elders) (Riphagen, 2005, p. 46). These teachers expected Anangu children to demonstrate politeness, to apologise for unacceptable behaviour, to say please and thank you, and acknowledge people when they enter a social space by saying 'hello'. But these explicit and implicit values were not accepted unproblematically or passively by Anangu. Rather, Riphagen bolstered Folds' view in stating that the young Anangu people in her study 'resisted' many of the values promoted by their white teachers.

The values implicitly brought to school by the Anangu children in Riphagen's study included: sharing, helping, caring, the value of autonomy, communicative conventions, social awareness and the cultural theme of shame. Riphagen discerned that it was through processes of "articulation of and resistance to values that Anangu children actively construct their own educational experiences" (2005, p. 101). Further, because Anangu children and white school staff articulate their own cultural values, value conflicts emerge. Value conflicts inside the classrooms that Riphagen observed included, for example, an incident during which school assembly was about to take place. Seats had been set out for adults and older children; a convention that had been established for some time:

> For Friday morning assembly a limited number of chairs are positioned at the back of the upper primary classroom to accommodate teachers and older children. A little boy walks into the classroom and sits down on one of these chairs, awaiting the start of assembly. Ellen [a 'white' teacher] sends him away, arguing that older people only should use these chairs. She urges him to sit down on the floor. He remains seated on the chair without saying a word. After several warnings he finally gets up, walks over to another chair and sits down again. Ellen repeatedly asks him to leave the chair and sit down on the floor. I notice him getting up but, after about five minutes, see him sitting down on a chair yet again. (Riphagen, 2005, pp. 80-81).

Another example indicative of cultural relations inside the Anangu classroom is captured in the following:

> In the junior primary class the [white] teacher tries to engage the children in a writing assignment. Thomas is still busy drawing a picture on a piece of paper, something that he has

> been doing for the last ten minutes. The teacher urges him to put the picture away and to start writing before the lunch break starts. He ignores her request and continues to draw. When she repeatedly tries to motivate him to start writing, he picks up his piece of paper and leaves the classroom. I do not see him back in the room before the lunch break. (P. 81)

For Riphagen, these incidents illustrate the way in which value conflicts between Anangu children and white teachers are more emotionally experienced by white teachers. Her white interviewees' spoke of being upset, tired, disillusioned, physically unwell, culture shocked and disappointed by Anangu people's behaviour, particularly students' failure to comply with the teacher's authority. Tired of the effort and baffled as to what to do, these teachers would typically modify curriculum to include passive learning activities (drawing, colouring, playing computer games or watching animated movies), or, would terminate lessons early. In the two decades since Folds' research, and despite the shift to operational control, Riphagen's work thus indicated a pattern: the tendency of white teachers to resort to a watered down curriculum and low expectations of Anangu.

The Anangu children's responses to value conflicts were, in her view, less emotionally charged and included disengaging in activities or leaving the classroom altogether. This, too, was redolent of Folds' observations wherein students were often absent or would respond to their white teachers with 'ridicule', 'disruption', or even, the 'wall of silence'; ignoring the teacher altogether (Folds, 1987, p. 41). This would suggest that these dynamics were indeed institutionalised by the time of Riphagen's study, and in dire need of address. Other resonances discernible in the work of these theorists included the fact that many of the white teachers in each of the studies who were attracted to work in the region identified as Christian (Folds, 1987, p. 30; Riphagen, 2005, p. 28), and also that the white teachers demonstrated a penchant for cleanliness (Folds, 1987, p. 65; Riphagen, 2005, p. 46). The significance of these details is that they highlight a common discursive pattern: the emergence of a well-intentioned white teacher in the APY whose goodness is grounded in their Christian credentials, while their practices and frames of reference remain deeply inflected by 'race'.

Riphagen concluded that the modification of curriculum and early termination of classes by white teachers, as well as disengagement and absenteeism on the part of Anangu students, ultimately affect the results achieved by Anangu students in standardised tests of literacy and numeracy. She contended that because non-indigenous school staff experience classroom conflicts more emotionally, this seriously impacts their ability to teach. In these situations, white teachers may not only 'water down' curriculum or terminate lessons early, they may ultimately choose to terminate their employment in the community thus allowing a great deal of expertise to leave the school and further prevent the development of strong relationships across cultures. Riphagen added that despite all of this, and despite the fact that non-Anangu people may view education for Anangu children as highly unsuccessful, Anangu may regard the schooling of their children as considerably successful given that their measures for success do not always include the results achieved on standardised tests. These findings feed directly into Iversen's view that standardised measures alone are inappropriate in the Anangu context. Therefore, this too highlights a colonial continuity inside Anangu schools: the

repeated disregard of Anangu people's opinions concerning what constitutes a successful, quality education in the context of their own community.

Riphagen's work is limited in the sense she does not situate her study of value conflicts within a context of dual educational governance, and nor does she acknowledge or utilise Folds' work to highlight the ongoing nature of certain assimilatory practices despite granting of operational control. Her work is also limited in that whiteness intermittently goes unnamed in her research, thus enabling the 'white' subjects in her study to retain a position of relative innocence. Moreover, her work is narrow in that she fails to mention the presence or significance of AEWs, and the way that white values impact tremendously on the place of AEWs inside the Western school. To disrupt whiteness in Riphagen's study would require 'racialising' cultural values (i.e., linking them to broader systems of social power). This would enable a historicised understanding of how white cultural values are naturalised inside Western schools, and thus how white teachers' unproblematic imposition of white value systems constitutes a covert act of racialised domination; an act of white governmentality.

And while it is valuable to point out that the emotions experienced by contemporary white teachers in Anangu classrooms impact negatively upon their ability to teach, it also bears considering that when white teachers choose to leave Anangu communities (owing to culture shock or feelings of disappointment and disillusionment from having their values challenged), there is an immediate assertion of white power through the teacher's seemingly innocent decision to leave; a choice rarely, if ever, available to Anangu. By leaving, these well-intentioned but unreflexive white teachers contribute to the instability and unrest so often associated with remote Indigenous communities. Thus, the implications of white teachers' reactions to value conflicts in the APY may be more significant than Riphagen suggests, despite them being traumatic for the teachers involved.

Riphagen needs to go further in illustrating how, when faced with value conflicts inside the classroom, white subjects may resort to a deficit view in which their benevolent desire to help is viewed as having failed owing to the impenetrability of a culture implicitly conceptualised as archaic and incapable of change. This view of Anangu reproduces stereotypical notions of a backward 'race' in respect to a dynamic (if unnamed) mainstream culture whose values, knowledges and ways of being are considered innocent and superior. This standpoint contributes to the reproduction of the missionary impulse identified earlier whereby negative constructions of Anangu by white teachers (who are non-reflexive and ill-prepared to work in Anangu schools) create the conditions for a paternalistic view of Anangu as requiring expert 'white' interventions.

But despite these criticisms, Riphagen's research is valuable for highlighting some of the micro practices of social agents in schools that tend to be overlooked by broad structural efforts to ensure Anangu empowerment (i.e., such as biculturalism, domain separation or operational control). Riphagen's work is of value given the everyday classroom complexities she captures, and the agency she ascribes to Anangu students by way of a resistance perspective that counters deficit constructions of Aboriginal youth. Her work is valuable for developing an understanding of the ways in

which social interactions inside the contact zone represent a dynamic interplay of cultures. Moreover, her work is beneficial for challenging deficit assumptions of Anangu that are reproduced by conservative studies that posit schools as 'race' neutral zones where success can be quantified using standardised measures. I turn to a key report of this nature now.

Mutual Obligation

Unlike Folds, Iversen or Riphagen, the work of Gary Johns arises from a conservative (or essentialist) standpoint. Johns' 2006 report *Aboriginal Education: Remote Schools and the Real Economy* looks at the poor educational achievement of Aboriginal students in remote and very remote regions. Among other regions, Johns targets the APY and his study thus provides a counterpoint to the work of Riphagen, Iversen and Folds. Johns' work highlights the impact of the shift to a conservative government in Australian politics in the 1990s, and the attendant way in which discourses of mutual obligation returned the focus to Aboriginal people; to their 'deficiencies' and alleged shortcomings. This manoeuvre at the political level was signalled in chapter two, and its impact on education in the APY is highlighted here.

Johns opens by acknowledging that that the reasons for lack of success of Indigenous students inside Western education are well known and "mainly lie outside the schools and their programs" (2006, p. 4). Ostensibly, Johns supports the view that Indigenous scholastic failure, far from linked to inherent cultural deficit, stems back to the fact of colonisation (Craven, 1999; Folds, 1987; Groome, 1994; Parbury, 1999). Johns implicates mainstream education authorities for making poor decisions in relation Indigenous Education, but rather than demonstrate detailed awareness of particular pedagogical or structural approaches, and rather than recognise the manifold and complex impact that colonisation continues to have upon all Australians, Johns ultimately implicates progressive whites in enabling 'inherent' Indigenous dysfunction to flourish inside Western schools. This provides him with a standpoint for aligning 'Aboriginal failure' with 'liberal-minded whites', and for reasserting the need to return to forceful assimilatory measures inside education in order to get remote Aboriginal students 'back on track'.

Johns' main argument is that education is above all an instrument in economic integration, thus there is no place for 'progressive' policies, such as critical literacy, biculturalism, 'Aboriginal learning styles' or operational control. He argues that where schools are located in remote communities that are not economically viable, they should not be kept afloat. Johns presents statistical evidence showing that the results achieved by Indigenous students in remote and very remote regions on standardised tests are consistently the poorest in the nation. He uses this data to substantiate remote school failure and, by association, deficit assumptions of Aboriginality. Johns argues that Western education cannot and should not attempt to preserve Aboriginal culture, and that 'politically correct' Indigenous Education

policies should be expunged given their linkages to Indigenous failure.[57] Johns also contends that a culture of welfarism amongst Indigenous communities compounds Indigenous failure, and that welfare payments should be replaced by mutual obligation practices (at least in the interim) to ensure the accountability of Indigenous individuals for the welfare they receive. Finally, Johns argues that Indigenous parental behaviour needs to be changed "and where incentives to send children to school fail, compulsion must be used" (2006, p. 4). In short, Johns advocates for removing Indigenous children from the poor influence of Indigenous parents, and stemming welfare payments.

Johns' argument is built on a dominant worldview put forward as universal. He implies that socially critical standpoints effectively muddy verifiable 'truths' that otherwise establish the 'right' direction to take in all Australian schools. Johns supports the view that socially critical pedagogical initiatives get in the way of the real work of schools, which is to prepare students for the world of work. Johns champions a patently conservative perspective that values established power relations, and he opposes endeavours that run the risk of altering the mainstream status quo.[58] In lieu of this, Johns emphasises the need to focus on 'individual' freedom, choice and responsibility. For instance, he states that by focusing on Indigenous group 'empowerment' and cultural maintenance, sympathetic governments and school authorities have long avoided focusing upon, and measuring, the individual 'personal responsibility' of Aboriginal people to repay the welfare they receive by engaging successfully in school and work (2006, p. 6), and hence the concept of 'mutual' obligation.

For Johns, the Howard government's shift toward standardised curricula and high-stakes testing procedures in the late 1990s and early 2000s ought to have been welcomed, and he eschews criticisms that standardised strategies are impartially weighted in favour of the dominant culture. He explains; "the ideology of blaming Western education survives" despite the fact that standardised curricula is intended to help Indigenous students "achieve English literacy and numeracy […] at levels comparable to those achieved by other young Australians" (pp. 23, 22). This echoes other conservative condemnations[59] over the inclusion of critical literacies in Australian schools. In these commentaries, critical literacy is framed as postmodern nonsense (Donnelly, 2005a, p. 13) in contrast to 'back to basics' approaches put forward as representing the benign voice of common sense. In this vein, Johns condemns critical theorists, such as those in support of Aboriginal rights or critical literacies, for wielding 'ideological attacks' and for derailing the proper course of Australian education. Johns presents his rationale as politically and ideologically neutral, while implying that 'literacy' is a decontextualised skill rather than an instrument of social power.

By supporting a myth of political detachment, and presenting schools as race-neutral zones necessary for the transmission of measurable skills, Johns overlooks the manifestly Eurocentric

[57] By politically correct education strategies, Johns refers to those that value Indigenous culture and rights to educational control. He claims that elements of Indigenous culture do not comply with the discipline of Western schooling, and therefore, have no place inside schools.
[58] In a strategic move, Johns suggests that the 'status quo' requires transformation (p. 15), but here he refers to the continuation of costly desert schools. His reference to the status quo does not acknowledge the maintenance of white race privilege.
[59] Such as Donnelly (2005a, 2005b) and Slattery (2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d).

character of mainstream institutions. Johns shifts attention to the supposed root causes of Indigenous student 'failure', which he implies as being Indigenous parents, culture and communities along with sympathetic left-wing teachers and policy makers. Johns argues; 'the remote community' is an unruly setting lacking in discipline, a place where 'no-one exercises authority' and where Indigenous children are left to 'run wild' (p. 6). Consequently, he argues that the Western school is forced to exercise considerable intervention in order to achieve a 'natural' state of order and regulation. He affirms:

> A vacuum in authority arises because until very recently governments have not wanted to admit that they are dealing with a civil obligation problem. (Johns, 2006, p. 6)

Johns thus revitalises the notion of the "white man's burden," and this is embedded in the contention that high levels of intervention are required to achieve compliance of unruly Indigenous children and that it is the moral obligation of White Australia to do so. However, he argues that this is impeded by "community leaders, parents and school authorities [who] use the 'cultural curtain', that is, cultural difference, to prevent some forms of intervention" (p. 5). Johns says that Aboriginal people use 'culture' as an excuse to avoid participating in school and the economy and, to back his point, cites examples of Indigenous youths 'going fishing' or hunting when they ought to be carrying out Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) activities. He thus contends that 'progressive' whites have created a lazy group of people permitted to be on 'permanent holiday' (p. 6).

Johns highlights the major problems he sees as arising from welfarism, and he argues that the passively derived income of Indigenous parents and students[60] exacerbates a culture of apathy among Indigenous people. While it is true that lack of job opportunities typifies remote communities, there is also much that Johns overlooks. For instance, he neglects the historical antecedents of 'white' mainstream privilege, and reduces the complexity of current conditions in remote communities to a problem of 'Aboriginal culture'. The only white people implicated by Johns as self-interestedly invested in sustaining Indigenous disadvantage are those who choose to work in remote regions in a spirit of 'sentimentalism'.[61] Johns describes this group homogenously as those whose careers are based on 'extracting rent' from the current regime (p. 26). Thus in a manoeuvre that differentiates between whites, Johns obfuscates the ways in which all whites are privileged by virtue of race.

In this regard, Johns enables white people (all but left-wing sentimentalists) to maintain a position of virtue. Blame is returned to Indigenous people; to their deficiencies, problems and lack of self-control. Johns paints a picture in which Indigenous people refuse to enter the world of work, but in saying so, does not attend to the manifold means by which white race privilege makes it difficult-to-impossible for remote Indigenous people (in particular) to gain entry to mainstream employment opportunities. He contends that Aboriginal people in remote regions disrespect the gifts that have been bestowed upon

[60] Abstudy provides financial assistance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students who meet relevant criteria. In a move which implies Indigenous irresponsibility, Johns opens by noting that the current Government had announced tying payment of certain Abstudy allowances to school attendance. This theme is continued throughout the report.

[61] Etherington (2006) argues, and Johns agrees, Indigenous progress is being held back by whites concerned with 'sentimentalism', a new secular religion which looks upon Indigenous Australians as 'spiritual pets'.

them by white society, such as Western housing. He suggests that a rational option is thus to relocate remote groups into more affordable housing in the mainstream. He laments, however, that "such an option is not favoured by those who place a greater value on land rights than on almost all other rights and needs" (p. 11). To support 'Indigenous rights' is therefore irresponsible in Johns' view, and he concludes in his report that Aboriginal parents and the inadequate home lives that they provide seriously obstruct the Indigenous child from achieving. He says:

> It is no doubt important to have the parents involved, but much of the time schooling is concerned with overcoming those things absent in the home like: peace and quiet, food, civility, reading skills, discussion, the use of the English language and the work ethic. (P. 21)

In response, Johns provides a range of solutions put forward as the 'right' policy direction for education in remote regions. He states; "the clear role of educators is to prepare students for the future, not the past. The future is an economic one and not necessarily in a remote community" (p. 26). Johns contends that a clear focus on the 'future real economy' is therefore required to improve "returns on the investment in Aboriginal education" (p. 4). He advocates for the removal of remote Indigenous students to boarding schools where they can be taught a rigorous standardised curriculum, free of disruption. He also argues in favour of disciplining Indigenous parents by 'removing perverse incentives', by which he refers to welfare payments. Johns states:

> Policies which continue to treat Aboriginal culture differently, or play the cultural relativism game, will consign another generation of Aboriginal children to failure […]. The new policy direction must not apply different standards to Aboriginal children. It must fundamentally treat Aboriginal children as children. (P. 26)

Johns' policy direction is thus presented as a blanket response to the governance of remote Indigenous schools across Australia and the Torres Strait. This obviously rules out the possibility of having operational control in regions such as the APY. By suggesting that all children be treated the same, Johns expresses a form of 'white blindness' which refutes that children's educational starting points are different. In this sense Johns' work remains patently complicit with hegemonic whiteness. Johns implicitly supports measures which preserve white race privilege, though talk of 'white culture' is mostly avoided throughout his report. And while he contends that 'schools are no place for Indigenous culture', Johns takes for granted that Western schools *do* teach, and reinforce, 'white' culture.

The 'Johns Report' provides a range of examples of the workings of whiteness through the construction of otherness, the naturalisation of white race privilege and the denial of ongoing practices of racialised domination. Johns presents standardised approaches to education unproblematically, in contrast to Riphagen, Folds and Iversen, who provide more nuanced and reflexive attempts to conceptualise social relations inside Anangu Education in the APY. Johns' work is an illustration of a conservative standpoint that vehemently reinforces whiteness. In its more benign moments it remains complicit with whiteness through recourse to an essential sameness (i.e. through suggesting that

'Aboriginal children must be treated as children'). In his more forceful moments Johns openly derides Aboriginality. In contrast, the work of Folds, Iversen and Riphagen illustrates how progressive approaches such as biculturalism, domain separation and operational control have served to reinforce whiteness inadvertently. Unlike Johns, their work leaves space for addressing ongoing problems within Anangu Education from a race cognisant perspective and in this way offer potentially more useful views of whiteness.

In terms of being culturally constituted texts that offer different renderings of whiteness, the literature included in this review thus comprises two main categories: the academic work of Folds, Iversen, and Riphagen is critical insofar as allowing insight into the socio-historical dimensions and ongoing effects of colonisation that have shaped, and continue to shape, Anangu Education. Texts such as these that allow for a critical re-reading of the past from a race cognisant standpoint better enable us to 'see', and thus challenge, whiteness. On the other hand, Johns' conservative report, which was written with clear political allegiances in mind, demonstrates a dangerous naturalisation of whiteness processes by carefully circumscribing what can and cannot be spoken. In Johns' writing, 'white' interests are mobilised through being naturalised, while Aboriginality is pathologised and white ways of thinking, being and educating are alone made possible and desirable; a clear example of this is his view that all children's homes should be characterised by 'peace and quiet, civility, reading, discussion, use of the English language, and inculcation of [a white Western] work ethic' (Johns, 2006, p. 21). In this way, whiteness – though largely invisible – is articulated together with morality and purity within Johns' essentialist discourse, which in turn 'speaks into existence' an abnormal, unethical, unruly Aboriginal subject; the 'object' of hegemonic, white discourse (Foucault, 1976).

Discourses of Anangu Education

Drawing on the literature overviewed in this chapter it is nonetheless evident that subordinate discourses have dominated Anangu Education and have historically found expression through progressive pedagogical and administrative approaches, such as biculturalism, domain separation and operational control. Inside subordinate discourses, negotiations with Anangu concerning classroom curricula and broader education frameworks have tended to be either absent or superficial. Anangu people's acceptance that only some students will want to gain scholastic qualifications has tended to be overlooked. Fundamental mismatches between traditional schooling amongst Anangu and imposed Western models have also been overlooked. Education has reflected a tolerant approach of cultural inclusion on the terms of the dominant culture, and the importance of AEWs has been recognised neither in terms of salary nor status.

AEWs have predominantly been used as 'crowd control' by non-reflexive white teachers, and these white teachers have often exhibited a penchant for order and cleanliness that harkens back to colonial constructions of a raced 'Other'. White teachers operating within a subordinate discourse have also resorted to watered-down curriculum, individualised teaching activities (that weaken Anangu

resistance and solidarity), and pedagogical tactics such as bribery or the use of 'busywork' to win student engagement. Moreover, as a last resort and final response to Anangu resistance, these teachers have also tended to terminate their employment in the region early. The work of these white teachers has thus contributed to a culture of low expectations of Anangu that is divorced from a reflexive view of their own pedagogical limitations. And finally, from a subordinate standpoint, the notion of Anangu self-determination has been conceptualised on the terms of the Self in lieu of what Anangu need to do to *become* self-determining.

Not dissimilarly, essentialist discourses of Anangu Education reflect the stance introduced by Johns. They depict a mode of education which is imposed, and a white teacher who embraces a paternalistic attitude of being there to 'show Anangu the way'. White teachers who operate within an essentialist paradigm thus take part in surveillance over Anangu. Within this discourse, curricula and testing procedures are standardised, and self-determination is conceptualised in terms of what Anangu have to do to replicate white norms, values and standards. In contrast, Folds, Iversen and Riphagen signalled a more reflexive discourse of Anangu Education, elements of which are likely to involve curricula and administrative frameworks that are genuinely negotiated. Emphasis would be on the development of strong school-community bonds, and this would incorporate white teachers who are open to learning new cultural protocols *in situ*. White teachers who are influenced by a reflexive discourse would enter the APY cognisant of the history and significance of race relations in the region. These same teachers would view cultural values as socially constructed rather than assume that white values are universal, and they would acknowledge the relevance and complexity of the role of AEWs. Inside a reflexive discourse of Anangu Education the whiteness of structures such as 'values' and standardised testing procedures or administrative frameworks would be exposed and destabilised. Likewise, self-determination would be conceptualised in terms of what whites need to do to relinquish power and make space for Anangu control.

At the time of undertaking interviews for this study, Iversen's co-constructed indicator system of educational effectiveness had yet to be implemented. And despite Johns' insistence, no APY schools or communities had been closed. Operational control remained in place whereby Anangu community members from across the APY are elected to PYEC for periods of service, and AES continued to support PYEC in terms of administration, line management and the making of policy and operational decisions. Each Anangu school was co-governed by a white principal and Anangu coordinator. Each school also took direction from Anangu community members comprising a local 'governing council'. 'White' teachers were coupled, where possible, with AEWs who themselves took part in AnTEP training with a view to gaining their teaching qualifications. Some schools also employed qualified Anangu teachers, though this number remained comparatively small.[62] To varying degrees, schools in the APY remained dedicated to supporting Anangu self-determination. For example, several of the schools' online context statements outlined; 'Anangu schools are committed to the philosophy of self-determination for Anangu. This belief drives many programs at the school'. However, as the discourses outlined here clearly demonstrate, the way in which white teachers and leaders

[62] At the time of interview there were fewer than five Anangu teachers across the region.

conceptualise notions such as 'Anangu self-determination' or participation significantly impacts on how education in the region plays out; chapter nine will consider how today's white teachers contribute to Anangu Education through recourse to the subordinate, essentialist or reflexive discourses that have been outlined here.

SUMMARY

This chapter has provided a context for understanding developments in Anangu Education that underpin the contemporary framework of dual educational governance outlined above. Studies by Folds (1987), Iversen (1999) and Riphagen (2005) have usefully chartered shifts since 1971, from biculturalism through domain separation and operational control. They have exposed problematic aspects of these approaches that, while ostensibly progressive, have occupied subordinate stances that remain complicit with hegemonic whiteness. Suggestions put forward by these writers highlight aspects of what might constitute a reflexive discourse of Anangu Education, whereas in contrast Johns' (2006) patently conservative report provided clear articulation of an essentialist stance. The reflexive, subordinate and essentialist discourses of Anangu Education delineated here provide a base for deconstructing today's white teachers' standpoints. As such, these discourses are revised in the final analysis chapter, which explores the white teachers' experiences in the APY. Themes that will be covered in these chapters include: preparation, school-community relations, working with AEWs, pedagogy, self-determination and responding to Johns. Lastly, this chapter has underscored the way in which subordinate discourses of Anangu Education have remained caught in a damaging cycle whereby 'progressive' educational approaches are resisted by Anangu, who in turn contribute to their own educational 'failure'. This then fuels an impulse on the part of benevolent whites to 'help' communities who are perceived to be in a desperate state of decline. The following chapters will problematise this benign but non-reflexive impulse, which in the previous chapter was described in terms of a missionary impulse.

Chapter Five

LIFE HISTORY AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The first four chapters of this thesis have established the conceptual grounds for this study, and outlined the specific field in which it plays out; a field that shapes and delimits the positions of contemporary white teachers in remote Aboriginal contexts. Key points from the overview include the observation that there has been a marked lack of reflexive awareness by white people in the APY concerning the part we play in constructing white privilege on a basis of black disadvantage. This non-reflexive viewpoint has fed into a missionary discourse wherein 'good' whites are influenced by an impulse to assist a needy or hopeless Other. When white teachers take up a sorryness position, this is reflective of a missionary stance. There has also been lack of recognition of AEWs by white teachers, the use of competitive/ individualistic pedagogies inside Anangu classrooms, a penchant for cleanliness on the part of white teachers, and the use of Western epistemological frameworks and standards to evaluate Anangu people's control of education – all of which reflect aspects of the workings of whiteness. This chapter provides a basis for the analyses that follow by overviewing the research design. I begin by outlining the life history interview as the primary research vehicle, and I differentiate the epistemological stance taken in this project to studies which recentre a liberal-human subject. I then address the main research challenges and pragmatics, and affirm key points made in the introduction by explicating my researcher standpoint. I conclude by introducing the interview participants, by overviewing the limitations of a critical whiteness standpoint, and by outlining the second half of the thesis. The approach to research that is outlined in this chapter thus speaks directly to the aims and significance of the study, which is to highlight the invisible and unintentional ways that 'race' is reproduced via white people's everyday thoughts and actions. The life history interview seeks to capture the origins of these 'everyday' phenomena.

Situating Life History

The life history interview was chosen as this study's primary research vehicle for pragmatic reasons. Not only would it enable exploration of the dispositions of white teachers in the APY in a rich and complex way, it would reduce the time required to undertake fieldwork. These were serious considerations when designing the research for I neither had time nor funds to carry out lengthy ethnographic observations. And yet survey or questionnaires, comparatively expedient, would not capture the complexities of social relations required for a robust sociological analysis.

The beginning of life history as a recognised approach is usually credited to the Chicago School sociologists of the 1920s and 30s, who amassed narratives and other personal documents for

research purposes.[63] Plummer (1983), Chase (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 653) and Goodson (2001, p. 130) suggest that Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918 & 1927) *The Polish Peasant* is one of the first significant sociological uses of life history. Following these writers a number of life history investigations were carried out by sociologists who argued that social class transformations could be captured and understood by analysing sets of autobiographies.[64] But life history fell out of favour during the 1940s and 50s in support of 'abstract theory along with survey and statistical research methods' (Chase in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 653). Life history also waned during this period because ethnographic sociologists came to place greater emphasis on situation than on biography as the pre-eminent grounds for understanding human behaviour (Goodson, 2001, p. 132). In the 1970s, life history experienced a minor renaissance (Faraday & Plummer, 1979; Goodson, 2001; Plummer, 1983) with sociologists of deviancy, occupational sociologists, and oral historians, exploring its resources. But the use of different paradigms further complicates the rise and fall, and rise, of life history methodology.

Chase argues, the early sociological and anthropological life history researchers were overly structuralist in their accounts. He argues that they positioned their subjects as distant Others or deviant objects, and were "writing in positivist times, during which the social sciences were struggling to gain recognition as sciences" (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 655). In contrast, the revived life history of the 1970s was grounded in a humanist epistemological paradigm with writers such as Plummer (1983, 2001) and Faraday and Plummer (1979) underscoring the importance of humanist approaches for rescuing the human element so often glossed over in 'questionnaires, experiments and attitude scales'. In this sense, the humanist study of a life may be a useful technique for unearthing the "confusions, ambiguities, and contradictions that are displayed in everyday experience" (Faraday & Plummer, 1979, p. 777); as Plummer says, the telling of a life is messy business (2001, p. 80). And while Plummer's standpoint ostensibly challenges the objectivity of 'good science', in this study I take the stance that humanist life histories appeal to a mode of subjectivity that is complicit with domination in the same way that quantitative research, in the guise of objectivity, can smuggle in "colonial, Western, masculine, white and other biases" (Lather, 2004, p. 16).

A Deconstructive Approach

Building on the epistemological standpoint outlined in chapters one and two, this study adopts a deconstructive orientation. Rose (1996) describes this as an approach concerned with the "intersection of practices for the government of others and practices for the government of the self" (p. 144). Rather than situate an essential or fully integrated subject, the deconstructive approach displaces the liberal human in order to focus upon "the diversity of strategies and tactics of

[63] Goodson (2001, p. 129) traces the start of life history to the collection of autobiographies of Native American Indian chiefs by anthropologists as early as 1906. He contends that the work of Chicago School sociologists followed these early anthropological endeavours.
[64] For example, Anderson (1923), Thrasher (1926) and Zorbaugh (1929).

subjectification that have taken place and been deployed in diverse practices at different moments and in relation to different classifications and differentiations of persons" (p. 142). The deconstructive approach is an orientation concerned with "how, rather than why, things happen;" with the 'minutiae of the management of everyday life' (Middleton, 2003, p. 43). Foucault (1980) argues; such an approach enables the study of 'a complex configuration of realities' that in turn enables access to 'subjugated knowledges' (in Middleton, 2003, p. 43). From this standpoint, marginalised views of social life may e exposed and the socially constructed nature of dominant viewpoints strategically revealed.

A dominant and enduring view across the psy-dominated West is the belief in the primacy of the liberal individual. Rose states:

> It is in terms of our autonomous selves that we understand our passions and desires, shape our life-styles, choose our partners, marriage, even parenthood. It is in the name of the kinds of persons that we really are that we consume commodities, act out our tastes, fashion our bodies, display our distinctiveness. Our politics loudly proclaims its commitment to respect for the rights and powers of the citizen as an individual. (Rose, 1998, p. 1)

But disrupting the category of the individual is vital with respect to whiteness processes, for as Chambers contends; the category of the individual is the key to white hegemony. The indivisibility of whiteness, thus

> […] can be maintained only through the function of an invisibility that depends on atomizing whiteness […] distributing it among individual historical agents whose common whiteness thus is unperceived and escapes examination. (In Osuri, 2008b, p. 180)

In short, I take the stance that when our focus remains fixed on individuality at the expense of relational views of social life, we diminish our ability to see whiteness as a shared structural location that habitually privileges whites. By displacing the liberal human subject, a deconstructive approach to the life history interview supports a critical examination of whiteness through a method of critical discourse analysis. However, while I use the term 'critical discourse analysis' this is not necessarily to signal the close textual, line-by-line, grammatical and semantic analyses advanced by theorists such as Fairclough (1995, 2003). Rather, the Foucauldian approach used and developed here is 'critical' in the sense it combines the deconstruction of words – teachers' narratives – with a socio-political and thus critical view of the historical contexts in which the bearers of these words are located.[65] It is critical in the reflexive sense of being 'self critical'; in other words, of endeavouring to avoid the substitution of one 'truth' for another and thus recognising that "there can be no universal truths or absolute ethical positions [and hence] belief in social scientific investigation as a detached, historical, utopian, truth-seeking process [becomes] difficult to sustain" (Wetherall in Graham, 2005, p. 3).

[65] As Gee states, "there are many, especially in education, who combine aspects of socio-political and critical theory with rather general (usually thematic) analyses of language not rooted in any particular linguistic background or theory. Such work is a form of critical discourse analysis, although it may not always be referred to as such" (2008, p. 20).

Drawing on ideas developed in the second chapter, to construe discourse from a Foucauldian standpoint is to understand that discourses, as webs of meaning, construct reality and thus govern the racialised rules of inclusion/exclusion that shape our social worlds. It is to appreciate that all meaning is contingent, that power courses through our taken-for-granted or *normative* social representations, and thus that some interests, over others, are always mobilised in the discursive structures to which our everyday utterances contribute, and out of which they arise. And while this description is somewhat general, as Graham states; there is "difficulty in locating concise descriptions as to how to go about doing 'Foucauldian' discourse analysis," and this is precisely because "there is no such thing" (2005, p. 2). Moreover, "discourse analysis is a flexible term [… and] what one is doing is greatly dependent on the epistemological framework being drawn upon" (p. 2), which in this case points to a critical whiteness standpoint in which power and knowledge, intimately linked, work through language to reproduce *and* resist racialised social hierarchy.

In this thesis, critical discourse analysis is thus conceived as an approach concerned with analysing written texts and spoken words to illuminate "discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts" (Van Dijk in McGregor, 2003, p. 7). In effect, to apply a white governmentality lens *is* a form of critical discourse analysis for it constitutes the careful consideration of the consequences – or truth effects – of subjects' beliefs and practices. Critical discourse analysis in this sense is an approach that interrogates narrative accounts by working both with and beyond the text to interpret its significance in sociocultural terms. Critical discourse analysis from this perspective views an individual's life story as socially constructed – rather than inherently natural or meaningful – and thus involves reading and re-reading interviews to identify regular lines of argument in the way that people talk about themselves as subjects in society. It is also an approach concerned with researcher standpoint – a point to which I return.

To focus upon discursive sources of power and their reproduction is an orientation that resonates with Miller Marsh's articulation of the use of 'discourse' in educational research. For Miller Marsh, discourse analysts shift the focus on teacher thinking away from the individual in order to explore "teacher thought as socially negotiated" (Miller Marsh, 2002, p. 454). The critical focus here is upon the discursive environments in which subjects are immersed, which shape and contain our interactions. Subjects are viewed neither as entirely 'free' nor utterly determined by discourse and this, for Brown (1994, p. 1), represents a key challenge for life history researchers: "to theorise the subject both as a discursive construct and as a potential agent of history and discourse."

One way of doing this is to reveal the ways 'we craft ourselves, and simultaneously are crafted' (Middleton, 2003, p. 44). This viewpoint resonates with the standpoint outlined in chapters one and two, and illuminates what Foucault (1985, p. 6) has called 'a history of desiring man' – the subject who shapes and is shaped by discourse in the name of particular desires or rationales. Middleton performs an analysis of this nature by exploring the relational manner by which doctoral students are engaged in a process of *becoming.* She states:

> As the subjects (or authors) of our thoughts or behaviour (Foucault, 1985), we act upon the world – choose our topics and methodologies and freely engage in research projects. Conversely, […] doctoral students are 'subject to' supervision, to degree regulations, to the conventions of thesis writing within a field, and to examinations. [… Thus] even ground-breaking original works of scholarship acknowledge and engage with the conventions, while at the same time challenging or subverting them. In 'citing the law' of the discipline or field – by speaking its language and engaging with its stylistic conventions, a researcher/writer not only *produces*, but is also *produced* – as an educational psychologist, sociologist, genealogist, ethnographer, […]. (2003, pp. 41, 39)

The subjects in Middleton's study are governed by conventions associated with the doctoral process while simultaneously shaping the process by drawing on the discourses and strategies available to them. Teachers undergo a similar process of *becoming,* a process that begins early in life. Individuals' ideas about teaching are shaped by their position within social relations, by parental beliefs about education, by the individual's own experiences of schooling and by taken-for-granted beliefs about teachers and teaching. Should the individual desire to enter the profession, their beliefs about teaching are further shaped by the rigours of tertiary education and by their initial forays into the field. My approach to the interviews in this study captures these relations by mapping the research participants' growing up years, their childhood 'worlds', their experiences of schooling and their post-school lives. These details are considered against the backdrop of key developments in Indigenous Education and wider social relations, which thus allows for an analysis that asks: how the teacher's beliefs about education and the world have come to be; how their beliefs are constructed; what knowledge is privileged in this process; what/who is made problematic, and what/who is not; and what/who is normalised in their worldview, and what/who is pathologised.

Such an approach to discourse analysis clearly shows the ways in which individuals' dispositions are shaped by the subject's position within gender, class and race relations. Highlighting the oft-unobserved nature of these relations, Austin and Hickey illustrate that representations of the heavily white teaching profession in the contemporary Australian context are typically marked by an absence of race. One might therefore conclude "that either race is of such little consequence as to fail to [warrant mention] or that it is so obvious and unremarkable (literally) that to highlight it would be superfluous" (2007, pp. 83-84). Thus they state that teaching, in the Australian context, is a 'white' profession, despite that this detail (and its implications) so often slips from view.

I use a deconstructive approach to the life history interview to illuminate the impact of being white on the 'white' teacher interview participants and how this shapes their dispositions to their role. And as the analysis chapters will demonstrate, while the participants' thoughts and actions are circumscribed by their shared subjectivity as 'white' people within contemporary Australian society, they also take up different stances in relation to racialised domination. As *subjects* they both shape the field and are shaped by it: the idea of 'subjection' fragmenting traditional divisions between structure and agent.

For Green and Reid, to understand 'the teacher' from this standpoint means understanding the formation of the teacher

> […] as moving into and taking up a distinctive subject-position, or rather, an array of subject-positionings, a professional identity-in-motion. […] Becoming and being a teacher in such a view is to be understood as an institutionalised but still always precarious and temporary 'fixing' of the interplay between professional identity and social subjectivity. (Green & Reid, 2008, p. 20)

As signalled in chapter two, Rose suggests that a deconstructive investigation of this sort may proceed along a number of interrelated lines. For example, by focusing upon *problematisations, strategies, technologies* and *authorities* (1996, p. 131). Direct and indirect reference to these axes emerges throughout the analyses as I contemplate: how the white teachers in this study make sense of themselves and others; how they view themselves as teachers and as 'white' teachers specifically; how their subjection to the field of teacher education shapes their professional beliefs and habits; how the teachers make sense of encounters with difference; what resources, or 'evidence', are drawn upon to substantiate knowledge claims about themselves and others; what interests are served by the latter; how the teachers rationalise their decisions, such as the desire to travel to a remote region as a white teacher; what this means for their characterisation as 'good' white subjects; and, as stated earlier, how their beliefs have come to be, what views of the world are permitted or obscured by their beliefs, and what alternative beliefs or meanings are negated by the teachers' standpoints?

Research Pragmatics & Standpoint

The decision to undertake life history interviews as a white researcher with white teachers was a reflexive manoeuvre to turn the analytic gaze back upon whites and whiteness. Given the apprehension with which members of remote Indigenous communities may view academic research,[66] the decision to carry out interviews in the APY with white teachers alone originally proved valuable in opening more doors than it closed. The life history interview – often sidestepped given its time-consuming nature and the considerable primary material it generates – proved an apt choice for this project. Connell (1989, p. 292) points out, "research on schooling is usually confined to schooling, and thus has difficulty seeing where the school is located in a larger process." In contrast, the life history interview provides a contextualised, 'penetrative multi-dimensional analysis' (Nayak, 1997, p. 59) that situates the teacher within social relations and allows for the assemblage of rich primary research material by covering multiple aspects of interviewees' lives. And, as mentioned, given the expense and impracticality of arranging timely ethnographic observations, life history methodology

[66] See for example Pyett and Walter (2004), Walter et al (2006, p. 342), Yu (2011) and Yalmambirra (2005).

also enabled the circumvention of time constraints in the field and reduced the primary fieldwork to two weeks.[67]

For pragmatic reasons I interviewed the teachers *in situ.* I rationalised that it was a more efficient use of time to locate interview participants while they were engaged in work in the region. A delimitation of the study was to carry out interviews only in the APY rather than include field travel to the Maralinga Tjarutja and Yalata Lands, and amass historical mappings of these regions. Interviewing *in situ* had implications for the tenor of the study I was carrying out. My interviews necessarily reflected the stories of 'white' teachers still "caught up in the urgency" (Heron, 2007, p. 19) of life in the APY. I was pleased with this for I strove to capture these relations, yet gathering adequate interview participants inside two weeks proved challenging.

In order to comply with research ethics, I gained clearance from several official bodies to conduct interviews with 'white' teachers across the region. These included individual school leadership teams, the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC), Anangu Education Services (AES), the Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS),[68] and two ethics committees located on the University campus. I was prohibited from contacting potential research participants directly. Instead, school and Department representatives were to advise teachers of the research and thus act as intermediaries. Individual teachers could then contact me and arrange for an interview time and location if they chose to do so.

Despite repeated attempts to arrange interviews before travelling to the region (but after having gained ethics clearance, the timeframe here being tight), the planned fieldwork appeared close to failing. I had sent hard and electronic copies of the 'Invitation to Participate'[69] to each school leadership team well in advance of the intended trip. I had also attempted on several occasions to make contact with school leaders to request that news of the research feature during school staff meetings on more than one occasion. Having worked in the region I was aware how much information was typically covered in these meetings and how easily news of a research project could slip off the radar. But only a small number of teachers contacted me prior to departure, leaving the majority of interviews to be arranged in transit.

Once inside the region, I no longer had mobile phone access and access to email was intermittent. The agenda for travelling between schools was contingent on road conditions and, to a lesser degree, unforeseen events that could keep me in one community for shorter or longer periods than anticipated. News of the research nevertheless travelled 'by word of mouth' and teachers managed to contact me, sometimes only hours before an interview could take place. For this reason, I was able to

[67] Donaldson (1997) utilises the concept of 'life history' as a temporary solution to issues of access and distance in his research of ruling class men. In his situation, access to such men was problematic and thus Donaldson developed a 'found' life history model in which autobiographies, biographies and memoirs of ruling class men provided the primary source materials. I used similar materials in relation to Nancy Sheppard and Ronald Trudinger in chapter three.
[68] Now the Department for Education and Child Development (DECD).
[69] See Appendix 1.

arrange interviews progressively, a system that in fact worked well in that it required me as a researcher to also become somewhat swallowed up in the urgency of life in the APY. As Iversen and Thomas (1999, p. 7) have observed,

> [D]aily life in contemporary Anangu communities is not organised around careful planning and the achievement of goals. Instead it would be more appropriately described as one revolving around the ad-hoc daily interaction of individuals and relationship groups and with varying degrees of emotional and social adjustment.

This was a timely reminder of how life in the region can serve as a constant challenge to 'white' subjects whose lives have been 'mapped by whiteness' (MacGill, 2008, p. 97). The impromptu nature of the research transported me back to my time as a teacher in the region and I remembered how jarring it felt to have my plans unsettled by unanticipated events – for example, constructing a lesson for ten students to find, on the day, that five or twenty-five might attend. As a researcher, this was useful in enabling me to develop rapport with research participants by sharing some of my experiences and insights.

My orientation to the interview was therefore significantly influenced by Frankenberg's dialogical approach. Speaking from the standpoint of a 'white' researcher investigating whiteness, Frankenberg explains:

> Rather than maintaining the traditionally distant, apparently objective, and so-called blank-faced research persona, I positioned myself as explicitly involved in the questions, at times sharing with interviewees either information about my own life or elements of my own analysis of racism as it developed through the research process.
>
> This approach served two different functions, for in addition to seeking to facilitate discussion about race and racism in a social context where privilege and particular discourses on race construct zones of silence, repression, and taboo, it served to democratise the research process, reducing the extent to which I was positioned as an invisible presence. (Frankenberg, 1993, pp. 30-1)

When reading back upon the interviews, I interpreted my interactions with participants as part and parcel of the process of 'dissolving' the individual by acknowledging a dialogical process of 'co-construction', and by considering the net-like webs of ideas and experiences that were at work shaping and governing our communications.

And yet, often throughout the interviews, the research participants and I would slip into a more traditional mode whereby I asked questions and they answered – this, too, resonating with Frankenberg's experiences (p. 30). It took a period of time at the start of each interview for participants to relax and 'follow threads' or 'leap across themes' (Middleton, 2003, p. 45). I also became gradually more practiced at knowing when to be silent or to offer pieces of my own story in

order to elicit further conversation. By the end of the two weeks I had visited each school across the region, met with each leadership team and most members of each school staff, secured accommodation with willing teachers or leaders, spent time in school staff rooms chatting inconsequentially to gain a feel for each school-community, and I also came away with thirteen life history interview recordings, two short of my hoped for fifteen – fifteen interviews being considered sufficient within this project for a robust analysis.[70]

Upon returning to the mainstream, two more teachers who had recently left the APY volunteered to take part. These teachers were no longer *in situ* and had therefore time to reflect on their experiences. This warranted consideration and could have had repercussions for the way I arranged the analysis chapters. But on reviewing the interview transcripts I came to see that being interviewed a short period of time after having left the region did not appear to impact on the positions 'within whiteness' that the interviewees took up. Rather than having 'time to reflect', it was a teacher's engagement with difference and with critical discourses of race and whiteness, as well as the period of time spent in the region, that often appeared to have greater impact on their dispositions. For this reason I drew on the interviews as a group.

The Interviews

Similar to Reid (1994, 2004), interviews were semi-structured with the first portion of each interview allowing for an open articulation of the subject's life: childhood, schooling, family, early adulthood, further studies, career, relationships, friendships and travel. Throughout this portion of the interview I referred sparingly, when necessary, to an interview schedule.[71] This included open-ended questions concerning participants' exposure to difference, their professional desires, interests, aspirations and political and religious beliefs. The latter part of each interview was more structured in pinpointing their experiences as teachers in the APY. As Dowsett says of a semi-structured method, "it lets me take risks, follow my nose, and get closer to the social relations I want to investigate, and produce a much richer and therefore more useful account of life" (in Reid, 1994, p. 16).

The interviews ranged in duration from one to four hours and were conducted either on school grounds or in the teacher's home. Given the circumstances framing the recruitment of participants, the sample arrived at was 'opportunistic' insofar as I was largely at the mercy of teachers with busy schedules who were willing to volunteer their time for a long and relatively personal interview. At the same time, the Invitation to Participate made the sample 'purposive' in calling for 'mainstream, non-Anangu teachers'. Deciding upon the correct wording for the Invitation required consideration.

[70] There is no stipulation on how many interviews a life history researcher ought to undertake. I was not bounded by the epistemological assumption that a certain number was required to achieve 'generalisability'. I rationalised that fifteen interviews would enable me to gather information from 'white' teachers from across the region, providing a scope of materials from which to draw. Furthermore, by drawing conclusions from a range of interviews, I was better able to dispense with *the individual*, by dividing, dispersing and mixing individual stories across the analysis chapters.

[71] Refer Appendix 2.

Omitting the word 'white' in the call for teachers potentially closed down candid discussions about 'race' from the outset. But including the term – as I did in conversation with people I met whilst travelling and often throughout the actual interviews – appeared to invite resistance from some 'white' people. For example, some interpreted my call for 'white' teachers as an affront to Anangu, which perhaps said something about their own position within whiteness and a concomitant desire to avoid speaking 'race'. Either way, I found it necessary to tread carefully when explaining the research and why I intended *only* to include 'white' interviewees.

Calling 'Mainstream' Teachers

The advertisement that was subsequently circulated called for 'mainstream, non-Anangu' participants rather than 'white' teachers so as not to deter participants who identified as marginally 'white'. In the advertisement I acknowledged that *non-Anangu teachers are sought in recognition of the fact that the high majority of qualified teachers in the APY Lands are drawn from the Anglo-dominated mainstream.* I also made clear that the study *limits its focus to the relationship between non-Anangu teachers within Anangu Education to wider Australian social relations.* In this sense, the invitation 'interpellated' or 'hailed' the participants as mainstream ('white') teachers, locating and identifying them as belonging to the same professional and broadly similar cultural or 'racial' community – in Foucauldian terms, 'interpellation' thus refers in this instance to the means by which participants, upon answering the call, become subjects *relative to* discourses of white, mainstream teaching.[72] On a theoretical level, I recognised that while I was chiefly interested in deconstructing the narrative productions of 'whites', the reflections of 'marginal' whites were also of potential use in illuminating some of the boundaries and contours of hegemonic whiteness.

Nayak (1997, p. 58) explains, marginal and 'non-white' subjects are "continually having to manoeuvre across a 'white' norm, so have to develop multiple strategies for negotiating its exigencies." The techniques utilised by participants in his study incorporated "individual acts of subversion and accommodation, as well as processes of avoidance, resistance and negotiation" (p. 58). Though I had good reason to wager that in calling for 'mainstream, non-Anangu' teachers I would ultimately attract 'white' teachers (i.e., those of predominantly middle-class, Anglo lineage given that teachers in the region have historically drawn from this category), I did attract 'Alice' who, while identifying as mainstream Australian, also had some understanding of being a 'border' white identity given her Italian-Australian parents' diasporic histories. The remaining fourteen interviewees were of Anglo heritage. They ranged in age from twenty-four to sixty at the time of interview and there was a spread in terms of participants' duration in the region (from five months to seven or more years). There was a fairly even split between males and females and though they differed in terms of political and religious persuasion, all participants identified as middle-class.

[72] Middleton (2003) speaks of being 'hailed and interpellated' in this manner when being invited to contribute *as a qualitative scholar* to an edited collection featuring Foucault's genealogical approach. I borrow from Middleton's articulation of a Foucauldian orientation to life history.

All of these variables enabled me to contemplate *what it means to be a good white teacher* in relation to a dynamic interplay of factors, but also from the standpoint of 'white' being a shared location.

Displacing the Subject

Importantly, I sought to displace or 'dissolve' the subject of this study by presenting my analysis of the life history interviews in terms of a splintering of accounts across the analysis chapters. Middleton (2003) utilises a similar approach in her study, while Hayes (2003) *dissolves the subject* of her research by focussing upon *maps* as a metaphor for discourse. She explains; "Like a transport map, discourse opens up some terrain and remains silent about others" (p. 95). Thus while I focussed upon that which the teachers chose to discuss, I also considered gaps in their narratives, or 'white blind spots' that revealed instances during which whiteness was being taken-for-granted.

By focusing upon discourse and dispersing the teachers' stories, the *discourses* and *strategies* involved in constructing a life became more important throughout the analyses than the individual stories. I was able to read and re-read the men's and women's narratives and search for common threads or 'interpretive repertoires': "the key analytic concept used in discourse analysis" (Blood, 2005, p. 99). For Blood, interpretive repertoires are

> […] the stories and narratives of 'identity' available in circulation in our culture. Interpretive repertoires are recognisable by particular statements, or tropes, which are usually internally consistent and bounded. These interpretive repertoires provide ways of understanding and giving meaning to experience by setting up subject positions. That is, people assume a particular sense of identity or subjectivity from different interpretive repertoires. (P. 99)

An example is the white teacher who claims to have chosen teaching as a profession because 'they were born to teach'. In this instance, the interpretive repertoire availed by the teacher to make sense of their teacherly identity derives from naturalistic assumptions about teaching; discourses whose origins remain rooted in an epistemological essentialism. As such, the teacher who draws on essentialist discourses assumes a subject position that is complicit with the epistemological foundations of 'race'.

The teachers' stories were important for providing a vehicle for exploring whiteness processes. However, as highlighted in the introduction to the thesis, the concluding analysis focuses primarily on racialised power relations in relation to which individuals are seen, in less significant terms, as relay points. Like Middleton (2003), I 'read across' multiple texts, hence pages of interview transcripts were read alongside theoretical and historical materials. I made sense of the narratives within a broad, multi-layered, historically constituted field. Also, like Middleton, to avoid psychologising my research participants,

> My framing of the interviews and analysis of the data rested on the assumption that a thesis project is neither the production of an originary thinking mind, nor is it a conditioned subservience to the kinds of questions and recipes in academic books or in disembodied ideas. In qualitative research, the personal is not the same as the private – 'the personal is often merely the highly particular' […]. (Middleton, 2003, p. 46)

While my deconstruction of the interviews is critical, like Heron (2007, p. 19) and Haggis, Schech and Fitzgerald (1999, p. 170), I also aimed to avoid assuming the moral high ground or positioning the narratives as 'essentially' racist. In terms of researcher standpoint, I recognised that I cannot circumvent imposing my frames of reference since as a human instrument I construct what I see. Many aspects of my own background and experiences are reflected in the teachers' stories, yet I am aware that my subject position also "limits and is reflected in what I understand" (Heron, 2007, p. 19). The end result is a self-reflexive construction, as much shaped by 'me' and my shifting worldview as by the research participants. While I prompted and evoked the interviews, the interviewees shaped and tapered what they chose to tell, or not tell, by their interpretations of my questions and triggers. Middleton says, what interviewees tell an interviewer depends on many factors:

> […] their readings of the scholarly fields and institutional or professional 'normativities' that shape the project; their sense of trust (or otherwise) in the interviewer; their willingness or ability to delve into what can at times be emotionally fraught (or blocked) memories; how they are feeling at the time of the interview – stressed, pressed for time, preoccupied, relaxed, etc. (Middleton, 2003, pp. 45-6)

Martin suggests, in attempting to construct an enclosed and meaningful story and coherent image of 'self', manifold aspects of the interviewee's life will necessarily be excluded and, moreover, "it is likely that the person studied will be inclined to present a success story of his or her life and the role of the researcher is to discover the middle ground in the recalling of both good and bad experiences" (2002, p. 117). My interest was not in garnering the well balanced 'truth' of an individual's past. Rather, I aimed to explore the discursive resources the teachers utilised in order to *reconstruct* their pasts (see for example Pamphilon, 1999). Furthermore, I strove to discern and illuminate the power relations involved in that choosing.

I had also hoped to give participants time to review and modify their interviews. To that end, interviews were transcribed verbatim and returned to participants for amendment. But with busy teaching schedules, only three of the fifteen teachers engaged in this process, and amendments rarely if ever demonstrated a paradigmatic shift. My hopes to incorporate a modicum of post-interview dialogue with participants were therefore dashed and my analysis rested on the teachers' original contributions. I rationalised that this was usefully in keeping with the notion of the interviews reflecting life amidst the *urgency* of *being* in the field.

White Researchers Researching Whiteness

Finally, in terms of standpoint, I return to the question that seemed controversial for some observers of the research: *why white teachers?* This study is about whiteness and 'white' teachers in White Australia, and the connections between them within the context of the field of Anangu Education. Theoretically, I knew it was possible to gain a picture of whiteness processes by speaking with 'white' participants and that doing so would avoid pitting the voices of 'white' teachers against Anangu. Having worked in the region, I was also mindful that the time necessary to develop sufficient rapport with potential Anangu participants, and to arrange to work with an appropriate malpa (friend) with whom to conduct such interviews, was likely to be unavailable to me. But while carrying out the two week field trip, I was strongly encouraged to give voice to Anangu by a number of 'white' education workers with vested interests in the region.

Including interviews with Anangu participants would have changed the study from a focus upon the dispositions of 'white' subjects. I was somewhat open to this change on account of the fact that I did not want to 'silence'[73] Anangu or contribute to their representation and importance within academic research as being 'invisible'. Pending ethics stipulations, I was also open to a change of tack, admittedly as a way of gaining support from key white authority figures with whom I was periodically confronted during the field trip.[74] But arranging interviews with a small group of Anangu informants eventually proved unachievable and despite several attempts, my tentative plans repeatedly failed to bear fruit. This circumvented the need to theorise the politics of a 'white' researcher researching across an epistemological gap (see for example Agyeman, 2008). Nonetheless, I remained troubled by the relations in which I was caught and ever mindful of the politics of a 'white' researcher researching dominance. To grapple with this position I returned to the question of researcher 'standpoint' that is touched on in the Introduction.

In standpoint epistemology it is assumed that dominant methods of social research are always raced, classed and gendered. And further, that a person's position and experiences within society are relevant to the ways they see and know. Building on these assumptions, standpoint theorists, such as Hartsock (1983), valorised women's difference from men and argued that, given our lived experiences of oppression, women are in a privileged position of knowledge. Frankenberg concurs when suggesting that,

> [T]here is a link between where one stands in society and what one perceives […] the oppressed can see with the greatest clarity not only their own position but also that of the oppressor/privileged, and indeed the shape of social systems as a whole. (1993, p. 8)

[73] By representing them, as Spivak would say, in a discourse in which they have no speaking role (Spivak, 1988).
[74] I recognised that calls to include Anangu in the interviews represented genuine attempts by 'white' people in positions of vested interest to act on their behalf. This was admirable given the "power that 'white' people hold to define what will count as valid social research" (Riggs, 2004b, p. 1). But I also suspected that what was being implied was that by only interviewing 'whites', I would fail to capture the 'truth' of the situation. I sought neither to capture Truth nor succumb to the belief that only Indigenous people can know and speak about Indigenous issues (McConaghy, 2000, p. 2). As Durie says, work of this nature cannot always be left until we know how to proceed (2003, p. 143).

However, writers such as Huggins (1998) and Moreton-Robinson (2000b) have illustrated that women are not evenly oppressed and have highlighted the problematic assertion that sexed identity is easily separable from race and class. Reid points out, "standpoint theory in its early formulations could only hold if the oppression of 'white' women was foundational" (2005, p. 142). Postmodernist feminists consequently particularised standpoint theory and "disaggregate[d] situatedness down to the particular context and history of specific individuals that undermines any universalising claims" (p. 142). These debates gave rise to a politics of *differences*; to recognition of differences between women, and between men and women but with the former remaining submerged beneath the latter.

In terms of 'difference', Connell (1987) and Pease (2004) favour a differentiated view of 'masculinities' to account for differences within domination while being careful to acknowledge structured patterns of gendered power, privilege and inequality. Frankenberg (2001), Hughey (2010) and Pease (2010) pay similar attention to the ways that 'whiteness' represents a site of privilege that is cross-cut by axes of relative advantage and subordination. Hughey goes further in differentiating 'hegemonic whiteness' from more reflexive positions within whiteness. By articulating the 'white' teacher research participants in this study as both bounded together by their shared position within whiteness but differentiated in terms of the positions they take up within discourses of whiteness, I also aimed to acknowledge the differences that exist within 'sameness' and refute sameness as *either* monolithic *or* particular.

Alongside these formulations, some feminist theorists (see for example Sawicki, 1994) have utilised Foucault's redefinition of power (as *productive* rather than merely oppressive, and *exercised* rather than possessed) in order to develop a more nuanced analysis of the intersections between power and gender. They have attempted to avoid the assumption that men *possess* power or that women are positioned together in simplistic relation to gendered domination. Others have criticised Foucault's thesis, arguing that knowledge as a production of power, 'a construction rather than discovery', undermines feminist claims for women's access to a 'truer' truth. In this thesis, I understand that taking up a white governmentality standpoint does not equate to renouncing truth – after all, as Wadham (2002, p. 163) attests, Indigenous oppression is very real. Rather, from the standpoint taken here it is *impartial* claims to Truth that are problematised, and knowledge is seen as being mediated by one's social location, subject position and cultural and historical context (p. 163).

In terms of adopting a 'critical whiteness standpoint', the traditions I draw from therefore incorporate post-structuralist feminist, race critical and Foucauldian perspectives, and may best be defined as a standpoint comprising considered *engagement* with one's position within the context of historical, material and cultural influences. For Frankenberg (1993, pp. 1, 265), a non-reflexive standpoint would arise out of a subject's received and *unanalysed* engagement with his/her material context as perceived from the position of the dominant group. From this standpoint, whiteness processes are supported and reproduced in the sense that the mechanisms of privilege remain unexamined by those who benefit from them. To be reflexive as a 'white' person researching whiteness is to start from a position in which 'race' is understood as a social construction, rather than an inherently meaningful category. Instead of viewing 'racism' as something external to ourselves and endured by

'Others', it is understood as "intimately and organically linked to our own white lives" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 6). Racism is thus conceived as a system of sanctioned thoughts and practices that unavoidably shapes our conceptualisations of ourselves and others (Warren, 2003).

For Heron (2007), to be reflexive as a 'white' subject means growing conscious of the ways that 'whites' participate in domination and she highlights the need to view 'race' in a relational manner – collusive with other systems of oppression and normalised in everyday discourses of whiteness that 'silently inform our discursive repertoires' (p. 153). In other words, we need to grow conscious of the ways that 'race', class, ethnicity, sexuality and gender inform our discursive 'maps'. Moreover, to adopt a reflexive standpoint is to understand how 'race' underpins the production of moral 'white' subjects, and de facto, can shape our desires to do 'good' for Others who are perceived as requiring and amenable to our interventions.

My readings of the white teachers' narratives in this thesis are therefore shaped by a conscious attempt to deconstruct how 'white' people are, often unconsciously, invested in preserving a pretence of innocence that relies on a needy or hopeless Other. It is also shaped by recognition that 'my' story is refracted through the teachers' narratives, and that the self-work involved in achieving reflexivity constitutes a lifelong process and ongoing vigilance. As Durie points out, "there can be no end point" (2003, p. 142).

The Research Participants

The 'white' teachers who took part in this study were diverse in age, and religious and political persuasion. They grew up in different areas and spent different lengths of time in the APY.[75] The interview sample comprised of eight males and seven females. Six of these were first-time teachers while the remaining nine had been teaching (on and off) for anywhere between three years and three decades. All of the teachers identified as 'mainstream Australian', and this was despite that two of the teachers were born overseas. 'Chad', one of the youngest participants at age twenty-four, was born in New Zealand but moved to a large city outside Melbourne, Victoria, with his parents and two younger siblings at age four. Will, aged fifty-three at the time of interview, was born in a city in the south-east of Brazil where his parents, of Anglo-Scottish heritage, were Catholic missionaries. At two months of age, Will, his parents and older brother returned to the United Kingdom where he remained until his late teens. At nineteen, Will migrated to Australia with his girlfriend and was quickly absorbed into mainstream cultural life.

Alice (aged twenty-five) also identified as mainstream Australian. However, unlike the other teachers Alice had worked through a process of questioning the 'whiteness' of her cultural identity, and thus the extent to which she belonged. Throughout her narrative, Alice swung between identifying as 'Italian-Australian', 'Australian-Italian' or 'just Australian'. It was not until after a family holiday to visit relatives

[75] For a full list of research participants, their ages and duration in the APY, see Appendix 3.

in Italy that she finally determined she was far more 'Australian' than Italian, and indeed a member of the 'Aussie mainstream' (while remaining proud of her Italian heritage).

Ten of the participants grew up in what they described as 'normal' metropolitan settings. For instance, Belinda, aged thirty-two, and Matt, aged thirty-seven, grew up in three-bedroom houses on suburban streets that they both described as 'normal'. Belinda's father was a telephone technician and her mother a nurse; Belinda had one younger brother. Similarly, Matt had one younger brother, and both his parents were teachers. Steve (aged thirty-five) moved from suburban Adelaide to Darwin at age eight, only then looking back to describe his *normal* life in Adelaide as comparatively 'very white'. Steve and eight of the other suburban-born teachers, described their upbringing as 'middle-class'. In contrast, fifty-five year old Cliff identified his suburban childhood neighbourhood as 'working-class' and highly culturally diverse. Cliff's was the only Anglo- or 'mainstream' Australian family in the area, with all of his neighbours being 'new' Australians deriving from Greece, Italy, Croatia, Serbia, Germany, Austria or Poland. This was during a period in Australian history of increased migration of people from the 'darker' shades of Europe given the gradual decline of the White Australia Policy. Most of the other suburban-born teachers described their childhood neighbourhoods as culturally homogenous or, when prompted, as 'white'.

Four of the participants grew up in rural settings. Lucy – aged twenty-four at interview – lived in the coastal port of Morris Bay. Lucy described 'Morris' as predominated by middle-class families, like her own, and geographically separated from a small number of outlying communities that accommodated Indigenous people and working-class whites. Lucy's father owned a local petrol station and her mother was a stay-at-home mum who helped in the school canteen until taking up administrative work in the local library. Verity – age twenty-nine – grew up in the large, farming township of Yonge on South Australia's west coast, not far from Morris Bay. Verity's parents – both third generation Anglo-Saxon Australians, her mother of Scottish and her father of German heritage – were cereal farmers. Indigenous children who lived in the smaller, nearby community of Snapper Point travelled to Yonge to attend school and receive social services. Likewise, thirty-three year old Penny's large rural hometown of Walkley Flat was racially demarcated. Walkley Flat serviced a surrounding farming area with industries including dairy and cereal. Penny's father was a builder and her mother a stay-at-home mum. At that time, Walkley Flat was predominated by 'white' families like Penny's, though a small pocket of the town remained occupied by Indigenous families, and a larger Indigenous population resided on the outskirts of Walkley Flat in a community named Rainbow Creek.

Mike – aged fifty-one – was born in Adelaide but grew up in the small rural community of Bremar in the late 1950s and early 1960s with his mother, father and sister. Unlike Mike's Anglican parents who were born in Australia of Anglo-Saxon heritage, Bremar was populated by German Lutheran immigrants. Mike's parents were the town doctors, and both Mike and his sister were sent away to boarding schools in the city at age thirteen. For Mike, Suzy, Faith, Alice, Will and Matt, at least one, and sometimes both, parents were professionals. For the remaining nine teachers, their fathers

tended to occupy grey- or blue-collar positions and most of their mothers were stay-at-home mums who undertook menial employment when required, or when relieved of parenting duties.

Most of the teachers attended public schools while growing up. Mike, Will, Belinda, Matt and thirty-one year old Luke were exceptions here, and each spent all or part of their secondary education in the independent sector. Mike attended an elite boys' boarding college in Adelaide where, he explained, most of the students drew from extremely wealthy, white families. Luke won a full scholarship to a highly regarded Adelaide private school because of his exceptional musical and academic talents. Matt was accepted to the same school at a discounted rate on account his father briefly taught there. Unlike Mike, neither Luke nor Matt felt comfortable in the elite sector and both would eventually leave; Luke for a local public secondary school with a well-regarded Music program, and Matt for a modest Christian College the likes of which Belinda attended in the southern suburbs of Adelaide during her primary and secondary years. Will also attended private school – an austere Catholic boarding school in Britain, and later, a private boys college where he 'rubbed shoulders' with extremely privileged young men.

The rest of the teachers attended public primary and secondary schools, the calibre of which (in contrast to the highly prized environments experienced by Mike and Will) related to the social class context in which the school itself was located. For instance, though Suzy – age thirty-two – attended public primary and secondary schools, both were located in Adelaide's wealthy eastern suburbs. In contrast, though Cliff attended public schools, they were in far more modest geographic locales populated by working- and lower middle-class 'whites' and 'new' Australian migrants.

In addition to 'school', 'travel and religion' were also important topics of conversation throughout the interviews with more than half of the teachers being raised in religious contexts. The analysis chapters explore how religion and/or travel shaped the participants' identities as teachers and their desires to work in a remote Aboriginal context. The aim of the interviews was to prompt the teachers to discuss different aspects of their lives and so identify the discourses (or 'maps') and strategies commonly utilised to enunciate identity claims. I then considered the ways those claims served to position the teachers within broader social relations (for example, in aspect to issues concerning Australian identity, equity, social justice, the purpose of education and debates surrounding various 'crises' in education, such as how best to 'deal with' Indigenous students or issues of student or parental 'behaviour'). I was also interested in the way that certain discourses intersected; for example, when enunciating their desires to *become teachers,* many of the interviewees drew on discourses that were not only gendered but also raced and classed, and this provided a standpoint for viewing how discursive binaries repeatedly intersected through discourses of whiteness.

Overall, the interviews covered a broad range of topics, which in turn provided ample material for identifying patterns relating to the invisible and unintentional ways that 'race' was sometimes reproduced via their everyday thoughts and practices.

Limitations

While this study attempts to make a critical contribution to the research on Anangu Education, there are a number of limitations of a critical whiteness approach. Firstly, the study focuses exclusively on the dispositions of 'white' teachers and how their orientations to their work may be implicated in reproducing racialised domination. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that it is beyond the reach of teachers to change aspects of the broader terrain of whiteness and, furthermore, it can take years of dedicated work to achieve a reflexive, decolonising consciousness. To support white teachers in the APY to adopt race cognisant standpoints of this nature would require ongoing training to capture the lived realities of white teachers in dynamic, ever-changing communities – professional development of this nature would be a luxury and would undoubtedly be impeded by the high turnover of white staff that is characteristic of the region. Other limitations are that whiteness studies, while cognisant of 'race', often overlook the significance of other relations, such as gender and class. As pointed out in the introductory chapter, this is a conscious limitation in that gender and class are not the central focus of this study. Furthermore, as Chapman points out, critical whiteness writing "can serve the chilling function of simply saying, 'but enough about you, let me tell you about me' [thus] privileging the white, middle class, woman's or man's need for self-display" (2004, p. 99). In this sense it can silence Anangu at the expense of re-centring the white subject. Also problematic in critical studies of race and whiteness is the need to avoid reifying 'whiteness' and 'blackness' by recognising lines of differentiation inherent in both, and the contingency of cultural identity – in other words, to avoid inadvertently positing an autonomous 'self' of psychoanalytic theory, but to demonstrate and explore the constitution of cultural identity through discourse. The final chapter of this thesis will carefully consider the extent to which the current study achieves these ends, and can therefore be viewed as a valuable contribution to the field.

Overview of the Analysis Chapters

Each of the analysis chapters is designed to explore the central research question in different ways. Together they constitute a robust analysis of *what it means to be a good white teacher in today's APY*. The first analysis chapter explores what it means to 'grow up white' in White Australia and thus draws on those sections of the narratives devoted to discussions of the teachers' childhood and young adult years. The second analysis chapter explores the research participants' reasons for *becoming teachers* and their experiences of tertiary education. In this section I am particularly interested in the teachers' exposure to different discourses of teaching and education, and their subsequent adoption or rejection of various educational strategies, technologies and authorities. Along with the first analysis chapter, this chapter provides a snapshot of the interviewees' dispositions toward teaching that they tended to carry with them into The Lands. The following chapter, *Desire for the Desert,* then critically considers the teachers' motivations for choosing to live and work in a remote Indigenous context and what this says about their positions within contemporary Australian race

relations. The final analysis chapter – *Living and Working on The Lands* – considers the teachers' experiences in the region and explores their sense-making of their place and role in the APY. This chapter utilises information drawn together in chapters two and four as a framework for assessing the white teachers' conceptualisations of their experiences, and the different ways the 'good white teacher' in today's APY is constructed.

SUMMARY

The process of designing and implementing social research raises epistemological and pragmatic challenges. This chapter has reaffirmed the overarching aim of the study, which is to illuminate everyday reproductions of 'race' in Australia through investigating the disposition of 'white' teachers to their place in the APY. This chapter has also outlined some of the fundamental challenges I faced while endeavouring to bring the research to life. Key points included the delineation of a deconstructive orientation to the life history interview and my subsequent strategy to 'displace' the individual by focussing analytic attention upon 'discourse' and by splintering the teachers' stories across the analysis chapters. Also critical was my standpoint as a 'white' researcher, which is characterised by a conscious engagement with one's place in society and by recognition that knowledge is always mediated by one's social location in cultural relations. The following analysis chapters methodically unpack *what it means to be a good white teacher,* starting with what it means to *grow up 'white'.*

Chapter Six

GROWING UP WHITE

> In individual white people's life stories lies a rich source of information about white culture, even though that culture is often invisible to the storytellers themselves.
>
> (McKinney, 2005, p. 5)

This chapter assesses the 'white' teachers' childhood and young adult years in order to decipher how 'growing up white' in White Australia has shaped them. I consider how the teachers make sense of their young selves, how they construct their narratives, and how these constructions consequently position them within race relations. I look for uniform lines of reasoning in the way the teachers talk about 'growing up'. These interpretive repertoires are the stories of identity available in circulation in white culture that enable the teachers to move into and out of particular subjectivities. Throughout the chapter it is not merely that which the teachers' *problematise* that is of interest from a white governmentality standpoint. Rather, it is what the teachers' fail to problematise – what is taken-for-granted – that is also useful for interpreting their dispositions with reference to whiteness. The chapter considers the authorities to which the teachers consciously or unconsciously defer. It considers the discursive strategies the teachers avail to make sense of particular experiences and how, by de facto, their sense-making resists or fosters the epistemological foundations of whiteness. The teachers are conceptualised simultaneously in terms of a racial collective (structure) and as differentially positioned within discourses of whiteness (agency). This chapter thus starts to build a picture of the teachers as a white community whose individual experiences as white Australians ultimately shape their dispositions toward working alongside Anangu.

White as a Shared Location

For the past two or more decades, researchers of race and whiteness have underscored the significance of naming whiteness for exposing how the power and effects of whiteness are so often invisible to 'white' people (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; 1997; Howard-Wagner, 2006; 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Levine-Rasky, 2000a; 2000b). When beginning the analysis for this project, I started by noting common features of growing up white in the early part of the teachers' stories for doing so serves several purposes. Firstly, by examining 'white' as a structural location in which white people are collectively (though differentially) positioned, we challenge the notion that 'white' people are first and foremost individuals. Conceiving subjectivity in terms of a 'shared' location but also in terms of the more particularised locations that individuals take up dissolves false dichotomies between structure and agent. Emphasising common features allows for the linkage of white subjects to histories of racism, colonialism and assimilation (see for example Frankenberg, 1993, p. 7; Howard-

Wagner, 2009, p. 2), which can reveal whiteness as an overarching regime of beliefs and dispositions "that embodies the interests and assumptions of white people [while operating] to privilege racist assumptions and silence minoritised voices" (Gillborn, 2009, p. 535). Naming whiteness also shows that white people do 'act as a group' and are therefore far from cultureless (McKinney, 2005, p. 9). And lastly, naming whiteness displaces it from its unnamed status and position of taken-for-granted authority (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 6; Schech & Haggis, 2004, p. 180).

The significance of naming whiteness is thus that it helps reveal to 'white' people the ways we are implicated in domination, both through our everyday beliefs and practices but also through our self-constructions in relation to a marked 'Other'. McKinney observes, "white people are 'invested' in whiteness both as a source of material rewards and as a resource for [our] identity construction" (2005, p. 15). Reproductions of domination may therefore occur despite our best anti-racist intentions, and naming whiteness can help to negate 'white' claims to innocence by revealing how racism's root cause, rather than vested purely in acts of overt domination, actually rests on average white people's acceptance of the raced, classed and gendered status quo. Learning to see whiteness is part of the process of developing a reflexive subjectivity and pedagogy.

Among the fifteen white teachers in this study, several common features of growing up white emerged in the narratives, which typically remained taken-for-granted. For example, while all of the participants readily identified as 'middle-class', it was often only when encouraged or provoked by the presence of difference that the teachers would name whiteness, thus highlighting white as a 'prompted identity' (McKinney, 2005, p. 17). Failure to name whiteness appeared in the interviews as an unconscious product of its taken-for-granted invisibility. But not naming whiteness also appeared as part of a conscious effort by some of the teachers to be politely anti-racist. For example, Matt declared; "Sorry, do I sound racial when I say *white*? I don't mean to …" (interview 31 May, 2007, p. 17). This suggested that one of the conventions of (at least some) subject positions within whiteness is the belief that naming race or whiteness constitutes a social taboo.

While 'white' as an identity marker frequently went unnamed in the interviews, 'middle-classness' was openly expressed. Class gave whiteness content and being middle-class equated in the narratives with being part of the taken-for-granted mainstream – in Penny's words, being a middle-class white meant being 'just average' (interview 17 June, 2007, p. 49). Conceptualised as a normative positionality, middle-classness served the added function of enabling the teachers' whiteness to be defined (implicitly) as normative and as requiring little or no interrogation. It was usually only when the teachers experienced changes in socioeconomic environment, or when they travelled into non-white spaces, that 'whiteness' came under scrutiny.

For instance, Luke was accepted into an elite school on a full scholarship at age thirteen. It was not until this point in his interview that whiteness was put on trial and, even then, it was only upper-class whites who were scrutinised by Luke for being 'elitist and exclusionary' (interview 25 May, 2007, p. 6). Not dissimilarly, it was only when Steve moved to a culturally diverse neighbourhood at age eight that he suddenly looked back upon the suburb in which he'd grown up to recognise its overwhelming

whiteness. He explained; his old neighbourhood was 'so white' in comparison to the new neighbourhood which was "completely different in terms of ethnic diversity, yeah, it was incredible" (interview 28 May, 2007, p. 7). For the most part, however, middle-class whiteness remained unexamined and whiteness as a socially constructed boundary that includes and excludes tended to be a naturalised feature of the teachers' growing up years.

Identifying as normal, middle-class Australians, many of the teachers also took it upon themselves to define what is 'normal' in a more universal sense. When asked to describe their childhood homes and neighbourhoods, a majority of the interviewees explained, *it was just a normal street; a normal, brick, three-bedroom home.* Faith described "a red brick, suburban house. Yeah, pretty ordinary" (interview 31 May, 2007, p. 2). According to Alice her home was "just a normal three bedroom house" (interview 30 May, 2007, p. 4). This was similar to Steve's "brick, you know, just double brick, three bedroom, normal" (interview 28 May, 2007, p. 2). Rodriguez explains,

> Part of the 'work' of whiteness involves generating norms – that is, making things seem or appear natural and timeless so that people accept situations, as well as particular ideologies, without ever questioning their socially and politically constructed nature. (1998, p. 32)

Key aspects of being 'white' – such as being members of the cultural majority, being fluent in the dominant language and having teachers, national leaders, screen icons and other role models in positions of power or high visibility who are also 'white' – often appears to white people as normality and therefore goes unquestioned. For Lucy and Belinda, who grew up in what they described as 'normal' three-bedroom houses in normal families on normal neighbourhood streets, whiteness appeared as absence, as if there was in fact 'no story to tell' (Byrne, 2003, p. 29). As an interviewer I therefore had to work hard to elicit the mundane details of several of the participants' lives. This is reflected in the literature on whiteness, for example when Haggis, Schech and Fitzgerald engage in interviews with 'white' people and consequently ask,

> How do you elicit a life story of the 'there that is never there'? It is difficult to discuss whiteness because people often do not have anything to say, and some do not know what you are talking about. (1999, p. 169)

Part of the 'there that is never there' underpinning Belinda's childhood narrative stemmed from the fact she was exposed to very little in the way of cultural difference. As in most of the narratives, when whiteness did come into clearer view it was constructed in relational terms, by reference to a fearful or fascinating *Other* (Haggis et al, 1999, p. 170; McLeod & Yates, 2003, p. 132).[76] In terms of the racial mapping of Belinda's young life she recalled that on her normal suburban street only one family stood out:

[76] The stereotype of the 'drunken Aborigine' is an example here and one that emerged in several of the teachers' stories, including Matt, Penny, Joseph, Lucy, Will and Steve; Steve was the only teacher to question the socially constructed nature of this well-worn stereotype. On the 'drunken Aborigine' as a colonial construction that is implicated in reproducing the image of a pure white Australian, see for example Langton (1993a, pp. 196, 201) and Briscoe (2005, p. 24).

> I don't know what culture they were, I'm thinking somewhere in Indonesia? […] It was a very middle, like 'white' middle-class suburb. Is that what you want to hear? (Interview 23 May, 2007, p. 3)

Here again 'white' emerges as a prompted identity that is highlighted by Belinda firstly, in contrast to the hyper visible Indonesian family, and secondly on the suspicion that I am searching for signs of 'white' awareness or an underlying racism. Whiteness frequently requires prompting in normalised white environments given that such environments provide a milieu in which white identities are able to blend in. The analogy of a fish in water is fitting: ask the fish to describe water and it probably couldn't, but "take that fish out of water and it will learn quickly about the structure that has supported it and given it life" (Hickling-Hudson, 2005, p. 355). A key feature of 'growing up white' that was shared by most of the interviewees was thus the taken-for-granted experience of growing up in all-white environments and being privileged by that position.

Joseph, Belinda, Matt, Chad, Faith, Will and Suzy all grew up in predominantly white, mainstream environments for the majority (if not all) of their young lives. Yet it was only Suzy who acknowledged the race privilege deriving from that position. Contemplating when, as a young adult, she was able to start making more significant life choices, Suzy explained: "I knew that all the choices I'd made came from that privilege […]" (interview 26 October, 2007, p. 5). And later, in relation to gaining one of her first jobs, Suzy further reflected; "Through my privileged white middle-class upbringing I […] knew someone that owned a [particular] chain of stores, and he offered me a job" (p. 30). For the rest of the teachers mentioned here, the whiteness of their childhood and young adult worlds was neither problematised nor acknowledged. Consequently, their experiences within school, the life decisions they made and the jobs they did or did not get were not conceptualised in terms of the everyday material impact of whiteness on their lives as 'white' people. Recognition of white privilege was not part of their discursive maps and thus 'not' interrogating the raced and classed dimensions of their privilege constituted an unconscious racialised strategy that kept whiteness intact across the majority of interviews.

For instance, this was the case with Lucy, Penny, Verity and Mike, who all grew up in regional areas. For the women in this group, Indigenous communities existed in close proximity to their homogenously white hometowns on the periphery of regional centres. This meant that the Aboriginal children in outlying communities had to travel in to white centres to receive social services. Yet, the racial structuring of their regions, and consequent racial mapping of all three of the women's friendships, mostly went unnoticed.[77] Similarly, for Mike, the relative whiteness of his rural hometown also remained unremarkable in his narrative.[78] In this sense, the far majority of teachers exhibited cultural lenses with a shared set of lacunae: white blind spots relating to their race privilege, its reproduction, and the everyday social mapping of whiteness.

[77] On the racial mapping of geographies and friendships, see Frankenberg (1993, pp. 36-9, 44-7).
[78] Though Mike was surrounded by German migrants – who are 'less white' than Mike and his relatively wealthy Anglo parents inside white territory – Mike claimed an essential sameness with the German townsfolk of Bremar, thus overlooking racial hierarchy as a source of unearned privilege.

In contrast, for a small number of the teachers, being immersed in culturally very different environments or experiencing encounters with difference had the effect of rendering their 'whiteness' visible. Increased 'sociality' (Moreton-Robinson, 2000a, p. 5) and 'geographical displacement' (McKinney, 2005, p. 41) can help some white people to examine the racial mapping of their lives and move toward greater reflexive awareness. This was the case for Suzy, Steve, Cliff, Faith and, later in his interview, Luke. By virtue of herself being a 'border' white, Alice also at times demonstrated greater racial awareness in comparison to the teachers mentioned earlier. Thus when instances of 'increased sociality' or 'encounters with difference' emerged in the narratives, this provided a basis for identifying the different subject positions the teachers took up and the discursive moves they did *or did not* make during this early stage of the interviews.

Differentiating Whiteness

Moreton-Robinson describes 'sociality' in terms of our exposure to difference and highlights its power to shape our understandings of Self and Other:

> Sociality plays an important part in affirming or disrupting subject positions in cultural contexts. As such cross-cultural intersubjectivity provides an opportunity for encountering differences and similarities that may lead to disrupting assumptions about Other. (2000a, p. 5)

For some of the teachers, encounters with difference moved them (like 'fish out of water') to rethink previously unquestioned perspectives or even to break their complicity with whiteness by relinquishing innocence and acknowledging white race privilege. For others, however, such encounters were less effective in provoking change and sometimes even had the effect of confirming entrenched racist beliefs. The latter group tended to remain in essentialist, complicit or subordinate positions within discourses of whiteness, as illustrated in the following vignettes.

Joseph, for instance, was the only interview participant to move predominantly between essentialist and complicit positions within discourses of whiteness when recounting his growing up years. And while the variability of the teachers' accounts sometimes made it difficult to pinpoint their overarching position, as Blood explains, a central feature of people's accounts *is* their variability:

> A person might draw on different interpretive repertoires and move in and out of a number of different subject positions as s/he constructs his/her account. This means that people's accounts are often inconsistent and contradictory. It is this variability that is of interest to discourse analysts. By identifying interpretive repertoires, it is possible to see the patterns of sense-making possibilities which people can draw on at any given social/historical time. (2005, p. 99)

At age sixty, Joseph was the eldest participant in the study and the only teacher to express overtly racist and often sexist sentiments quite regularly throughout his interview – an example was his

description of Anangu women as 'unattractive' (interview 26 May, 2007, pp. 29-30) or his view of Maori people as 'atrocious looking' and 'unenlightened' (p. 45).[79] McKinney (2005, p. 9) explains; 'white' as a social position is anchored in other statuses, such as class, gender and local setting. But it is also influenced by age and generational affiliation. Joseph was born in 1947 and grew up in the 1950s and 60s in Glayde – a metropolitan suburb close to the heart of Adelaide. Joseph was exposed to different historical events and discourses of race than the younger interviewees. He was also raised well before official end of the White Australia Policy; a time when overt racism was yet to fall out of favour with mainstream Australia. Unlike Cliff and Faith, who at fifty-two and fifty-four respectively were close in age to Joseph and grew up in relative proximity, Joseph had had fewer encounters with difference and had not engaged actively with the kinds of marginalised educational discourses (discussed in the following chapter) that clearly shaped their more reflexive standpoints. Though Joseph had been influenced by multiculturalist discourses when teaching during the 1980s and hence by the language of tolerance, he had not shifted far from a conservative standpoint.

Joseph explained; he was a fourth generation Australian whose British ancestors had established market gardens in the Glayde area. Several local street names bore his family name and this was something that Joseph discussed with obvious pride. Joseph had a large extended Anglo-Australian family comprising over one hundred cousins with whom he was very close. Essentially, Joseph grew up in a large 'white' family that rarely associated with non-whites.

Despite Glayde being Anglo-dominated, it was also beginning to attract Italian migrants during Joseph's growing up years. Joseph recalled living next door to three of "the Italians" (p. 1) and despite the fact that his parents were tolerant of their ethnic neighbours, they had no genuine Italian friends and neither openly accepted nor adopted any Italian cultural practices. Joseph appreciated particular aspects of Italian culture – such as certain 'delicious' foods[80] – but he also spoke at length about his neighbours' proclivity to drink 'backyard wine', and to lean over the fence and encourage him to join in. This was framed in the narrative as particularly problematic given Joseph's committed religious beliefs, which forbade the consumption of "filthy liquor" (p. 18). Joseph remembered worrying that the Italians were ultimately "too different" for his liking, and he echoed dominant beliefs from the era when resurrecting the concern, "little Italy's going to take over Australia" (p. 6).

These sentiments intersect with the historical antecedents of Alice's story, to which it is worth diverting temporarily. Alice was born in 1982 and grew up in the South Australian suburb of Pimpala Beach – not far from Joseph's home suburb of Glayde. Alice's parents (close in age to Joseph) had both experienced considerable difficulty growing up as Italian migrants in mainstream South Australia.

[79] On whiteness and the social construction of beauty see for example Osuri (2008a).
[80] Fish (1997) and Wagner (2007) utilise the term 'boutique multiculturalism' to explain how food symbolism, in particular, "acts as a metonym for the consumable exotic" (Wagner, 2007, p. 31). From the standpoint of boutique multiculturalism, non-white people and their atypical ways of living are seen to be acceptable or at least tolerable by open-minded whites who embrace aspects of other cultures. Boutique multiculturalists "admire or appreciate or enjoy or sympathise with or (at the very least) 'recognise the legitimacy of' the traditions of cultures other than their own" but without critically examining the dimensions of their unearned privilege (Fish, 1997, p. 1).

Consequently, when Alice was young her mother was careful not to send her and her brother to school with (in Alice's words) 'woggy' foods and so be ridiculed in the way that she had:

> [S]he'd bring capsicum sandwiches. She'd tell us this story to school. People would be like *oh, what are you eating?* Like you know, *what's that crap?* So she'd be embarrassed […]. Her dad would drop her off in the back of a ute when he was going to take tomatoes to market and stuff, with all the kids that they had. (Interview 30 May, 2007, pp. 4-5)

Alice's parents deliberately stopped speaking Italian at home in an effort to expose their children to mainstream conditions. They did not discard their Italian heritage but nor was it practiced openly. Alice explained; "We'd still go to Nonna's and we'd still be doing stuff like making sauce [… But mum and dad also] just wanted us to have a kind of life like everybody else" (p. 5). Alice's parents thus engaged in 'active whitening'; a discursive strategy connoting "the corporeal and behavioural practices and processes of maintaining or strengthening [the] alignment" between oneself and the paramount group in a race structured society (Reid, 2005, p. 8). When as individuals or groups we engage in active whitening, we tend to remain uncritically complicit with hegemonic whiteness through desiring the aspirations associated with it. Alice's experiences illustrate that far from *taking over Australia,* many Italian migrants during Joseph's growing up years had to work hard to "play a part in extending 'white' to include themselves" (Schech & Haggis, 2001, p. 147). Realistically then, Joseph's Italian neighbours had more to fear from White Australia than Joseph had to fear from them.

For Frankenberg (1993, p. 54), Outlaw (2004, p. 165) and McKinney (2005, p. 8), fear of the Other is an inversion of reality given that it habitually arises in relation to settings in which 'whites' remain a significant majority. Indeed Joseph was accustomed to being a member of the cultural majority and his childhood recollections revealed a world thoroughly mapped by whiteness: his church was populated exclusively by white people; the local school was predominated by 'whites'; the school valorised British imperialism by raising the British, then Australian, flag while Joseph and the other students were trained to recite *God Save the Queen.* According to Joseph, he 'never ever saw one' Aboriginal person throughout the entirety of his growing up years; however, none of these details were problematised by Joseph as an adult reconstructing his past. Rather, they were naturalised in the narrative and some were even celebrated as 'the good ol days' (pp. 8-9). Thus in this part of his narrative, Joseph deferred to an imperialist authority, or to discourses that naturalise white claims to the nation while obscuring Indigenous sovereignty.

Also naturalised in Joseph's recollections was the importance of his ancestors' naming and claiming of the local space. Explained earlier, many of the street names in Glayde bore Joseph's family name. From a race cognisant standpoint, the significance of claiming space is that place names signify 'power and ownership' (Szili & Rofe, 2009, p. 8). The naming of space connotes a powerful enactment of white governmentality through staking a clear and overt claim to white belonging that

echoes the original act of colonisation.[81] The assumption embedded in white street names is the recognition of 'our' right to belong at an ontological level (Riggs, 2005, p. 102). This in turn necessitates the ongoing denial of Indigenous sovereignty (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2004) – a denial or white blind spot that was patent throughout Joseph's narrative.

In subtle contrast, the majority of remaining teachers occupied complicit or subordinate stances when recounting their pasts and, unlike Joseph, were especially careful not to express overtly racist or sexist remarks. This group of teachers tended to include Will, Lucy, Verity, Belinda, Chad, Matt, Mike, Luke, Penny and, owing to her aspirational subjectivity, Alice.[82] Verity, for example, grew up on South Australia's west coast in the grain growing region of Yonge with her mother, father and younger siblings. Verity was the eldest of five children and helped raise her brothers and sisters. At school, Verity described herself as a hard-working student who was polite and friendly, and particularly accommodating of the Aboriginal children who travelled in from outside. She explained; "A lot would come in from Snapper Point. So I was exposed to Aboriginal people at school and I had different Aboriginal friends, which was great. They were really lovely. They were all so good at sport […] they'd be winning all the running competitions and stuff" (interview 23 May, 2007, pp. 2-3).

Verity's school provided a point of contact for Indigenous and white children. As outlined earlier, the 'white' community represented a centre to which Indigenous people had to travel to receive social services. This illustrated the history of the racial structuring of Yonge, which framed Verity's observation that school was a site of racial tension:

> [T]he Aboriginal students would just walk out of class and do various things, and they kind of got away with it. Whereas the white students – we'd get detention, we'd get – if we were doing stuff like that, swearing at the teachers or throwing gear or whatever. […] Everybody noticed it […] the Aboriginal kids, the Indigenous kids, would get away with all this stuff and the white kids wouldn't. So that caused a lot of angst. I got on really well with the Aboriginal students; I knew that the stuff with the teachers wasn't fair but I just genuinely liked them. (P. 6)

Verity later noted with mounting anxiety:

> Some of [the white students at the school] were really racist and really degrading. And so, you know, the way that the teachers worked with it [by giving the Indigenous children preferential

[81] Australian writers observe the ways this reflects a country bound up in European definitions of land (Due, 2008; Goodall, 1999; Schlunke, 2005) and how the naming and claiming of space represents but one of many persuasive strategies characteristic of imperial culture (Kaplan, 2002; Kaplan & Pease, 1993; Said, 1993; Spurr, 1993). Gill suggests that place names "are linked to the symbolic world of community [and] help to locate people spiritually by linking geographical location and space with the legitimating structures of that community and its regime" (in Szili & Rolfe, 2009, p. 8). The significance of street names, in particular, is that we come into contact with them frequently, which functions as a powerful mode of naturalisation.

[82] For instance, Alice proudly identified as a mainstream Australian and described Australia as 'the lucky country'. In doing so she tended to overlook the deeply assimilationist agendas to which her diasporic parents had been exposed. As a second generation Italian, Alice benefited from the hard-won repositioning of the Italian within the field of Australian whiteness. Consequently, she overlooked how Australia was *not lucky* for everyone.

> treatment] just compounded that. Because it wasn't *fair,* you know? If you're looking at fairness it wasn't *fair* [to treat the Indigenous students differently]. (P. 8)

Throughout her narrative Verity positioned herself as a sympathetic white person with a genuine interest in social justice: someone who was benevolent and broad-minded because, unlike the 'racist' white children, she chose to befriend the Aboriginal students from Snapper Point. Verity acknowledged that differences existed between the 'white' and Indigenous students (i.e., by citing the latter group's errant behaviour, their poor reputation and natural athleticism) and in this sense she adopted a subordinate stance. However, Verity's strategy for acknowledging *difference* also involved a mode of essentialism. While suggesting that the Indigenous students were all nice and *naturally* (i.e., biologically) *athletic,* she also implied that 'their' difference was grounded in biological roots.[83] Verity then enacted a reversal by adopting a complicit stance in order to argue that, despite their differences, *all students* should have been treated *the same* inside the classroom.

Verity thus began by constructing Aboriginality in 'sympathetic' albeit essentialist terms before relying on a liberal humanist conception of 'fairness' to imply that, as individuals, we should all receive equal treatment. And while Verity presented an image of herself as 'nice' and 'anti-racist', the humanist authorities on which she drew remained complicit with whiteness by taking as given "the equal, free and universal individual" (Klein, 1996, p. 377). Similar lines of reasoning emerged in Penny, Chad, Belinda, Matt, Mike and Lucy's narratives. They also emerged in Luke's discussion of his transition from the elite sector back into public schooling.

As mentioned, Luke had won full scholarship to the highly regarded 'Hampton' College but chose to leave on the grounds that Hampton was exclusionary and inequitable:

> I won a full scholarship to Hampton College and I hated it […] because it was elitist and exclusive and I was there on a full scholarship to help boost the music program with my viola and, and they made me play the first violin so that they could have a good string quartet for all their parents' and friends' dinners and the old scholars' shebangs, you know, in the suite. Here I am, playing an instrument and it's not even an instrument I play just to appease their social community. (Interview 25 May, 2007, p. 6)

In this excerpt Luke constructs the white upper-class in terms of a 'community', thus acknowledging an instance during which particular whites do 'act as a group'. He acknowledges relations of 'difference' and 'disadvantage' and demonstrates how non-elites are sometimes permitted to enter privileged environments on the basis their involvement will benefit the elite community (i.e., *boost the music program … appease their social community*). Luke essentially describes how he was constituted within the discourse of 'aristocratic whiteness' (Hage, 2000b) as an object capable of being positioned by members of the cultural elite so that he could be valued, included and tolerated.

[83] The idea that 'black' people are naturally athletic is a reproduction of a common stereotype that is grounded in biological essentialism; the epistemological keystone of hegemonic whiteness (Kilvington, 2012, p. 201; Sheldon, Jayaratne & Petty, 2007, p. 32).

'Inclusion' thus functioned as a rhetorical device inside Hampton College that concealed other political intentions, such as securing the pre-eminence of the white upper-class. Inclusion masked these dynamics, and Luke's articulation of these relations constituted an unusually refined analysis among the participants. He explained:

> [...] I found it was sort of hypocritical [… that] what was valued in the Hampton community was almost like your family association and your heritage and your breeding, your credentials, as opposed to who you were as a person. And that *stank* basically as far as I was concerned. (P. 7)

While seemingly benevolent, 'inclusionary practices' can serve merely to naturalise the elite community's hold on power. Luke's reflections demonstrated this, but at no stage throughout this stretch of narrative did Luke break his complicity with whiteness by rendering it visible 'as a source of personal privileges' (see for example Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2004, p. 45). While Luke's recollections of Hampton usefully highlighted the 'subordinate' stance he adopted in opposition to the authority of classed-based hegemony, 'blind spots' constellating around race continued to underpin his narrative and these emerged more lucidly when Luke reflected on his transfer back into the state schooling sector.

Speaking with much greater enthusiasm about his local state secondary, Luke recalled;

> There were a lot of 'wogs' who played soccer! You know? They played soccer and we played footy […]. And all of their grandmas sold tomatoes on [the main road], but what's that? (P. 6)

Luke painted a picture of the state school as an inclusive space in stark contrast to the exclusionary environment of Hampton College. This provided Luke with a socially just veneer given that he openly supported public schooling. In painting an inclusive picture, Luke explained; "There were a lot of Greeks and Italians, although there wasn't any recognition of them or of anyone being any different or any cultural differences in those days" (p. 5). Thus while Luke constructed difference by marking the Italian boys as 'wogs', like Verity he also relied on a rhetoric of similarity or sameness which worked to 'erase the power of difference' (Warren, 2003, p. 56) when suggesting that *there wasn't any recognition of difference*.

Luke's elision of cultural differences between the Anglo, Italian and Greek boys was intended to express a pluralist sentiment advanced as a strategy for implying that discrimination was not a problem at his public secondary. Luke positioned the Italian and Greek students as equal to himself, but "without examining the ways in which racial power begins with unequal conditions" (Warren, 2003, p. 88). One of the functions of the rhetoric of sameness is thus that it creates an illusion of pre-established cultural equality, as in the contention: *but what's that? There wasn't any recognition of difference.* By invoking an 'essential sameness', Luke asserted a phenomenological self: "the self as asocial, an individually coherent subject existing outside of social norms and social sanctions" (p. 89). From the standpoint of phenomenological selfhood, differences are only meaningful according to the

Self's determination. So, skin colour, class, ethnicity and gender are meaningful dimensions only insofar as individuals (such as middle-class, white, male Luke) deem them to be so. This logic thus obscures and denies the painful history of 'ethnic' peoples' exclusion from the category 'white' Australian. Therefore, Luke effectively denied the existence of social norms, stereotypes and practices, which act as barriers to full inclusion into the Anglo-dominated mainstream, and he denied his white race privilege.

Mike performed a similar discursive manoeuvre when rationalising his scholastic success at the exclusive 'Wheaton College'. Like Verity, Mike was a 'country kid' who grew up in the small Lutheran township of Bremar in South Australia's mid north. Mike's parents were both doctors and they sent Mike away at age thirteen to attend Wheaton College – an exclusive boarding school in the heart of Adelaide. Mike described Wheaton as extremely structured and well supported, but also governed by the 'fagging system' whereby younger boys are made to be the servants of their elders. Mike explained; the boarding house was "very much hierarchical […] that's how those sort of systems sustain themselves because you get to be up in the hierarchy" (interview 25 May, 2007, p. 8). In addition, he revealed that the boarding house was often overtly racialised; "if you were a bit dark, you were called a boong. If you had a dark tan or something, you were called a *boong*. Aboriginal people were talked about a lot […] racially taunted" (p. 15).

Mike was well liked among the boys – many of whom took part in the racial banter – but 'in his heart of hearts' he was not racist. Mike therefore did his best not to join in on the racial slurs. Mike described the overt racism in the boarding house as accepted behaviour, in much the same way that the History curriculum at Wheaton was naturally racialised: "Just the traditional old school, Captain Cook landing here and Bennelong and all that sort of stuff; certainly none of the issues of Aboriginal Australia; nothing about the Stolen Generation [sic]" (p. 24). By openly discussing racism in the boarding house, and by highlighting the conservative character of Wheaton's History curriculum, Mike expressed a degree of critical awareness of the elite environment and how it reproduced classed and raced privilege. Mike presented an image of himself as an articulate interviewee, much unlike Joseph or some of the other teachers who more frequently naturalised the fundamentally inequitable status quo. However, Mike did not go so far as to engage in self-critique surrounding the ways in which, despite being self-admittedly 'non racist', he was also personally invested in reproducing domination. In this way, like Luke, Mike took part in unconscious strategies which saw him slip into complicity with hegemonic whiteness.

The most patent example of this was Mike's articulation of himself as a student. Up to age thirteen, Mike had schooled at the local Christian day school in Bremar alongside German migrants who spoke 'a broken sort of English' (p. 2). In this environment Mike described himself as 'average' academically in contrast to Wheaton where his grades escalated immediately. At Wheaton, there was a very strong drive for the boys to excel academically, in sports and indeed in all of their activities. The boys were expected to view themselves as elites for, as Mike explained, "we were seen as elite. The whole school value system and spirit was that we were the best and we went out and proved that we were

the best. […] Very competitive, highly competitive. Great rivalry with other schools like 'Kingshead College'. Great rivalry" (p. 11). In governmentality terms, the boys were thus hailed and interpellated as elites upon donning the Wheaton blazer.

Year levels at Wheaton were streamed, homework was rigidly structured and each boy's performance closely monitored by the boarding house master – these too are examples of governmentality whereby young boys are disciplined and transformed into well-regulated Wheaton elites. Poynting and Donaldson (2005) describe such processes (which include the naturalisation of hierarchy and bullying through technologies such as the 'fagging' system) as important means of making ruling-class men.[84] When asked to comment on his transformation from 'average' academically in Bremar to 'academic' and rapidly improving alongside the cream of high society at Wheaton, Mike drew on tropes of 'personal growth' and 'self-esteem'. He explained:

> Mike — When I first went [to Wheaton] I was in the second-to-bottom stream. Now unlike primary school, secondary school *suited me*. I sort of rose through the ranks, so to speak. So by the time I got to matriculation I was in the second- or third-to-top sort of streamed area.
>
> SS — […] Why do you think it was that secondary school *suited* you, as opposed to primary school?
>
> Mike — I think – I just think it was a *maturation* thing. What actually happened was I got into the second-to-bottom stream and was like the top of that class. Every term, top of the class. So you get promoted and it suddenly gave me a lot of sense of *self-worth and self-esteem.*
>
> (P. 10 my emphasis)

Khan (2011, p. 15) suggests, privileged students in elite environments learn to emphasise hard work and talent when rationalising their good fortune or high educational scores. In this way they learn to naturalise privilege and so take part in 'rhetorical silence'.[85] Mike naturalised privilege by overlooking the intensive academic training to which he was exposed inside the elite environment, and the 'expectations' that were drilled into the boys (the telos of *excellence, pre-eminence*). Within the cultural context of Wheaton College the boys were immersed in discourses which not only encouraged them to view themselves as superior individuals in every way, they also learned to take discourses of race and whiteness for granted. For instance, racial taunts inside the boarding house

[84] They note, 'fagging' connects "bullying with formal school life and rules, forming part of a set of institutional practices that [regulate] school life outside the classroom and beyond the view of teachers. The fagging system [establishes] and [reinforces] hierarchy" (p. 10).
[85] See page 16.

were passed off as *'boys just being boys'.* Similarly, the whiteness of the curriculum and of the majority student body was also naturalised.

By suggesting that secondary school simply suited him and that during his time at Wheaton he matured to develop self-esteem, Mike adopted an individualistic outlook which obscures social structural factors. By adopting this stance, Mike implied that academic success is a matter of individual 'fit' – a natural process of 'growing into' an academic identity. This viewpoint implies that, were every student to develop 'self-esteem', they too would rise to the top of the raced, classed and gendered social hierarchy as 'naturally' as Mike did. Mike therefore adopted a narrow perspective that reproduces hierarchy by naturalising privilege. Like Luke, Mike's perspective remained complicit with whiteness by overlooking the significance of race, and this was despite his self-representations as well liked, cognisant of the boarding house hierarchy and essentially anti-racist.

Mike and Luke both occupied positions of dominance, normativity and privilege that were markedly different from the subject positions occupied by the ethnic students at Luke's school or the German migrants in Mike's hometown of Bremar. Like many of the interviewees, these men intermittently drew on subordinate discourses to acknowledge and even sympathise with social *difference*. At other times, however, they drew on *complicit,* colour- and power-evasive discourses in an effort to be inclusive, as if to say, *race and class don't matter, we're all just individuals.* And while the details of the teachers' stories differed, complicit and subordinate discourses of whiteness were discernible in the majority of their growing up narratives. But for some of the teachers, experiences of geographical displacement or expanded sociality shifted them toward a more reflexive subjectivity.

Moving Towards Reflexivity

As mentioned, Steve moved from Adelaide to Darwin at age eight. According to Steve, his parents loved the diversity characteristic of Darwin life, which included having a broad cross-section of multicultural and multi-faith neighbours: "on our street […] there was an Aboriginal family […] a Portuguese family, there were quite a few Anglo-Saxon families, there was a Greek family in one of the houses, and who else was there? There was an English family […]" (p. 7). Within this environment, Steve was encouraged to socialise with all of his neighbours and he vividly recalled visiting various homes after school in terms of "stepping into different worlds" (p. 8). The extent to which Steve and his parents routinely socialised with different people groups in Darwin began to generate a picture in the narrative in which they had moved beyond superficial encounters with difference. Cross-cultural interactions were in a sense 'transformative' (see for example McKinney, 2005, p. 34) in that they enabled Steve and his parents, not only to disrupt stereotypical assumptions about Others, but to reflect on the whiteness of their previous life in Adelaide.

This point was made clear when Steve recounted an early birthday party, an event during which his mother had stipulated he was allowed to invite five friends. This story was crucial in the narrative for it

represented a turning point. It also signalled a departure from some of the normatively white aspects of the other interviewees' young lives:

> [Mum] said 'You invited your friends?' and I said 'Yep', and it was on. I don't know whether it was a Friday afternoon or whenever I was having the party, so I invited these friends and she's like, she was amazed that my friends … not one of them was a white person. I don't know; Italian, a Greek, whatever, Portuguese and that, and a couple of Aboriginal kids, you know, and she said – it never occurred to them that not one of them would be, you know, like a white person. I probably never explained it at the time when I invited my friends and she … I didn't think about it until years and years later, she just said 'Amazing. We just thought about it, that none of those kids you invited to your party were white. That would never have happened down in [Adelaide]' […]. I remember 'Billy Whiskey' was one of the kids I invited, one of the Aboriginal kids, and I can't remember, 'Douglas' someone was the other one. They arrived with an ice-cream container with half a dozen tadpoles or something as the present. [Mum] said it was the cutest little thing; they'd gone down the creek and caught some tadpoles as a present. (Pp. 9-10)

McKinney (2005, p. 24) suggests; "whites generally receive few verbal messages from parents about what it means to be white" even though parental behaviour plays a key role in grounding ideas about race from an early age. McKinney argues that *turning points* are important junctures in white peoples' lives that signify moments of consciousness of whiteness when white subjects gain insights into the racialised nature of their lives. Turning points usually result from interactions with others who McKinney calls *agents of epiphany*; people who prompt a radically new way of thinking about aspects of our lives in a reflexive or self-analytic manner. While a *turning point* is a moment during which whites experience consciousness of whiteness, an *epiphany* is the result of several racial *turning points* that culminate in a significant change of thinking about 'race' (p. 24). Steve and his mother's revelations may not have been epiphanic. However, they did reveal a pattern of influence between 'white' parent and child which resulted in increased sociality and more open dialogue about race and whiteness within Steve's primary habitus.

Steve's parents did not place restrictions – *white boundaries* – on Steve's friendships. Indeed his mother was happily surprised by Steve's friendship choices and particularly affected by the kindness extended to him by his Indigenous friends, Billy and Douglas. Through an expanded sociality, dialogue about 'race' was opened between white parent and child, and Steve and his mother genuinely considered the boundaries around friendships that their white suburban world in Adelaide had 'naturally' inscribed. Rather than see an all-white existence in terms of security, normalcy and contentment (in the way that many of the other interviewees either intentionally or unintentionally did), Steve and his parents were led to acknowledge the exclusionary and limiting aspects of a mono-racial existence: the foods, friendships, experiences and perspectives they otherwise would have missed out on.

Cliff was also encouraged to socialise widely as a child and he enjoyed a variety of cross-cultural friendships. Cliff was born in 1955 to Anglo-Australian parents of English, Welsh and Irish heritage. The family were far from wealthy but managed to buy a small hold of land in the Adelaide suburb of 'Stafford'; a metropolitan region heavily populated by 'new' Australians during the 1950s through 1970s. Cliff's was the only family of Anglo origin on his street. His neighbours drew from Croatia, Serbia, Germany, Austria, Poland, Greece and Italy – people groups that Joseph had discursively positioned as threats to his otherwise 'safe, all white' community. The suburb of Glayde in which Joseph grew up was in fact situated in close proximity to Stafford. Joseph was Cliff's elder by only eight years and so the juxtaposition of their narratives provided a valuable window onto a particular epoch and region from markedly different standpoints.

Cliff's father undertook a range of menial jobs and built the family home from scratch collecting materials and exchanging fruits and vegetables with his ethnic neighbours in return for help with the building process. Anglo-Australians were a minority in Stafford. Cliff therefore grew up in a highly diverse neighbourhood in which, though he remained part of the cultural majority at school and in other public spaces, being a member of the dominant culture was not naturalised for him on the streets of Stafford. Cliff's parents made genuine friendships with a diversity of non-Anglo groups. Cliff also made strong connections with a range of children in the neighbourhood and articulated a keen *desire* to be like his ethnic friends.

To some extent, this desire reflected a positioning of the 'ethnic' as exotic, a view which can arouse in some whites who are "lacking a sense of their own culture, [the tendency] to appropriate the Others' culture" (McKinney, 2005, p. 91). Desire in this sense is productive in that it functions as a means of constituting one's identity – for instance, Cliff explained that he would endlessly sunbake in an effort to be like his friend 'Anatole the Golden Greek' (interview 22 May, 2007, pp. 11, 13, 17). He also adored visiting his neighbours' homes to experience the wonderful smells and food, unusual in comparison to the 'meat and 3 veg' with which he was growing up (p. 14). By borrowing the experiences of the Other, whites can have "a sense of culture without questioning their whiteness" (McKinney, 2005, p. 92). Moreover, desire for otherness can reflect a familiar trope aforementioned whereby White Australia is considered to be 'cultureless'. But while Frankenberg (1993, p. 192) suggests that seeing whiteness as 'no culture' reflects a power evasive perspective in which cultures are conceived in essentialist terms, Cliff's increased sociality enabled him, like Steve, to move beyond a 'touristic' view of cultural minorities. Instead, Cliff tended to occupy a more insightful standpoint in which the everyday challenges faced by his 'new' Australian friends were keenly observed.

Virtually all of Cliff's friends were non-Anglo migrants and he grew intimately aware of the struggles that many non-white (or *not quite white*) immigrants faced in order to fit in to the Australian mainstream. This was during a time when relaxed immigration policy had worried white Australians whose beliefs remained grounded in a form of 'white colonial paranoia' – "a fear of loss of European-ness or whiteness and the lifestyle and privileges that are seen to emanate directly from them" (Hage, 2002, p. 419). Cliff plainly remembered that "when [white Australians] did see ethnic people coming in

to [their] community, they felt threatened. The old life that they knew, they could see was going to change and change quite radically" (p. 20). Cliff's own cousins from the eastern states would openly remark, "Oh those wogs, you know, they've moved in to the neighbourhood," and the familiar refrain; "They're taking over the neighbourhood. They're all wogs […]. They're not used to our Australian ways. They come in with this foreign food, you know, like pizza!" (pp. 20-1). In contrast, Cliff's parents were building a life "all around ethnic people" (p. 20) and their perspectives were manifestly different. Cliff thus embraced rather than feared other cultures and in many regards this positioned him outside of the normative mainstream, as something of a border identity like Alice.[86]

During this period, White Australia's collective anxieties gave way to the government's decision to instantiate an assimilation policy designed to soothe the aforementioned 'white paranoia'. The message to the dominant population was intended to be clear: "migrants will not perturb or change Australia's Anglo Celtic culture. It is the migrants who have to change themselves to fit into it" (Hage, 2002, p. 424). Discourses of assimilation were therefore highly circulated during this period and consequently played a key role in Cliff's efforts to 'do good' by his non-Anglo friends – a point to which I soon return. Such discourses were accessible to Cliff and ostensibly compassionate in contrast to the more overtly racist beliefs held by many of the white people with whom Cliff schooled and would later work. For example, reflecting on some of the 'tradies'[87] alongside whom he worked as a young adult, Cliff explained:

> I didn't like their language. I didn't like their attitude. I didn't like the way they spoke: […] *wog, dago, boong.* […] I was disgusted. Disgusted. The way they talked about women. Disgusted. (P.37)

Racism aimed at Indigenous and ethnic Australians was rife in the areas surrounding Stafford. 'Gangs' had formed across the racially demarcated neighbourhoods and much rivalry and racial taunts would pass between them. The neighbouring suburb to Stafford was comprised entirely of 'white' Australians while Cliff's suburb was culturally mixed. Cliff aligned himself vehemently with his 'new' Australian 'mates' and, within this racially charged milieu, Cliff also recalled that, though there were few of them around, Indigenous Australians were thought to be dangerous: "They were all [thought to be] villains. The perception was that they had all been in reform school and been in a lot of trouble with the law and fights, a lot of fights" (p. 19).[88] It was therefore clear that Cliff's young world was heavily mapped by discourses of race, class and gender, and in the face of these influences, Cliff adopted a subordinate stance by befriending and closely associating with minority groups.

Similar to Luke, Cliff would sometimes express support for his ethnic friends by drawing on a colour blind discourse as if to say, *we were essentially 'just boys'; we were all the same.* 'Colour blindness'

[86] The difference between Cliff and Alice was that Cliff benefited from his male 'positional identity' (Drummond, 2010, p. 376) and 'white' lineage, which continued to operate as a source of unearned privileges. Nonetheless, while Alice unproblematically aspired to whiteness Cliff was far more critical in his view of social relations and therefore tended to adopt a more reflexive standpoint.
[87] Tradesmen or 'blue collar' workers of Anglo lineage.
[88] This bespeaks Frankenberg's articulation of stereotypes in which blackness equates with danger (1993, p. 61).

tends to render white subjects complicit with hegemonic whiteness. However, it is important to note that colour blindness is also a contested discursive position and some aspects of a colour blind perspective may lead to a more race cognisant white subjectivity. For example, "for whites to believe that [non-white people] are 'the same' in terms of having equal potential for certain abilities, personal characteristics, talents or proclivities seems to be an important step toward destroying stereotypes" (McKinney, 2005, p. 54). Cliff spoke from this standpoint even if his efforts to help his new Australian friends were sometimes unintentionally assimilatory.

At school Cliff would act as a 'cultural broker' (see for example Haggis, Schech & Rainbird, 2007) helping his 'new' Australian friends to 'fit in' to the Australian mainstream. He would do this by encouraging his ethnic friends to adopt assimilatory practices and dominant masculine ways of being (in other words, to engage in active whitening). Cliff explained:

> Well, for instance, take this one guy who was Italian, 'Con', we became really good mates. I told him all you've got to do [to fit in] is just join in. When we play cricket. Play cricket. When we play football. Play football. Just try and be better than them at cricket and other Australian sports. (P. 18)

Inside the classroom, students were streamed according to an entrance test that ultimately fixed them along a hierarchy for the life of their secondary school career. Given their lack of familiarity with the language and dominant culture, the lower streams at Cliff's school were unsurprisingly comprised of 'new' Australians who hence became subjectivated as the 'least intelligent' students.[89] This ties in with Gillborn's observations in the British context where black children are "over-represented in low-ranked teaching groups and under-represented in privileged academic programs that trade on notions of academic excellence and 'giftedness'" (2009, p. 537). Notions of 'intelligence' and 'ability' also arose in Cliff's narrative, but rather than see them in naturalised terms, Cliff reflexively linked them to the majority 'white' population's power to define what is viewed as intelligence, competence, 'common knowledge' or appropriate curriculum and classroom practices for *all* children.

Part of the reason for Cliff's reflexive disposition toward streaming was that he had been ill on the day of the entrance exam; he did poorly and was subsequently placed in the lowest stream. Being in the lowest stream meant that Cliff was uniquely positioned to observe how the schooling system did not cater adequately for minority groups. Cliff observed how the system failed ethnic minorities rather than the dominant view in which minority groups fail an ostensibly egalitarian system. Cliff clearly articulated that the inappropriate pedagogy and curriculum to which his friends were exposed had compounded their challenges and how, in response, this heterogeneous collective would deploy avoidance tactics in order to circumvent doing work that was too difficult for them. Cliff explained; this was how the ethnic students became locked into a cycle of educational underachievement and were made into the 'problem' category who were most likely to 'drop out':

[89] Streaming can hence be viewed as an apparatus for the control of racially diverse populations.

> [T]alking to the other kids in my class, they said *well, what's the point? You know? We're just going to end up in a factory somewhere. They don't care about us.* Honestly, that's exactly the conversations that would go on between us in our class all the time: *They don't give a shit about us. They think we're just wogs or whatever they think we are. They couldn't give a damn about our future.*
>
> *We can work out on a building site.* Because the building site people were all Italians and you got that network, you know? *You know those people; we see them on the way to school. Can I get a job with you guys if I leave school? Yeah sure. You want to come and work on a building site. We'll pay you top dollar. Not like you're going to get that at school where they've got no respect.* Even they knew. The parents knew. *They've got no respect for you kids, you know. They don't like you.* (P. 36)

Like his ethnic friends, Cliff also dropped out of school at age fifteen and spent four and a half years working in a range of blue collar roles. Unlike the 'tradies' alongside him, Cliff's positionality as a white Australian who grew up among ethnic minorities enabled him to gain critical insight into the discursive status quo. Often, he would draw on race cognisant discourses to elaborate the racial inequality of the Australian mainstream. For example, he pointed out that the Australian Studies to which he and his friends had been exposed at school was completely inappropriate and reflected a 'romantic' vision of Indigenous Australia: "The kind of 'noble savage' idea. Yeah, we bought it. We thought, *oh that's a lovely world they come from, making spears and boomerangs* […] that's all that we learned" (p. 19). At other times, however, Cliff would slip into complicity with whiteness by teaching his 'new' Australian friends that to 'fit in' required *them* to change (i.e. to adopt assimilatory practices and valorise mainstream ways of thinking). For the most part, however, Cliff exhibited movement toward race cognisance – in other words, the awareness of 'race' as a social construction – quite unlike the teachers mentioned in the previous section. Faith and Suzy also demonstrated heightened degrees of racial awareness; however, for these women it was not geographical displacement or experiences of sociality that had prompted their movement toward reflexivity. Rather, their shifts in thinking took place primarily as a result of the critical discourses to which they were exposed at university. The following chapter charts these moves.

SUMMARY

This chapter has performed two tasks. Firstly, it positioned the teachers as a racial collective by mapping shared features of growing up white. Secondly, it demonstrated the different positions the teachers took up within discourses of whiteness by highlighting selected stories from the narratives to illustrate the teachers' discursive manoeuvres. While the details of the teachers' stories were unique, the strategies they availed and the authorities on which they drew served to consolidate their divergent standpoints. Only one teacher leaned toward a patently essentialist position, while four demonstrated movement toward race cognisance. The majority took up subordinate or complicit

positions characterised, in the first instance, by favourable constructions of Self. Verity stated she was *friends with the Aboriginal children from Snapper Point.* Mike made clear that he avoided racial banter in the boarding house. And Luke pointed out that he was friends with the 'wogs' at his public secondary. These innocent self-constructions served as a *strategy* for shifting blame onto less pure white subjects. For example, Mike intimated that it was the boarding house boys who engaged in racism, while in Luke's story it was the upper-class whites who were framed as elitist and exclusionary.

Strategies of avoidance enabled the complicit and subordinate teachers to evade interrogating the ways in which they remained invested in racial domination. Other strategies utilised by this group included: acknowledging difference while overlooking the essentialist roots of their beliefs; drawing on a rhetoric of sameness that erases the power of difference; and denying the existence of social norms and practices that act as barriers to full inclusion in white territory. Hence the overarching authority to which these teachers deferred was a liberal humanist discourse that fails to enable white people to think in social or collective terms about the life chances or choices of individuals. In contrast, the more reflexive interviewees *problematised* aspects of their whiteness; Suzy did so patently when stating that her *privileged, white middle-class upbringing* had afforded her a range of unearned benefits.

Within the scope of this thesis, these findings are significant for the relations they portend. Chapter four revealed a racialised pattern, first established by the Ernabella missionaries, whereby Anangu are misrepresented by well-meaning but non reflexive whites. This in turn created the conditions for a contemporary missionary impulse, the roots of which are arguably discernible here in the disposition of nice, anti-racist white teachers who fail to acknowledge their ongoing investments in domination. The following chapter explores the interviewees' transformations toward 'becoming teachers'. It discerns developments in the teachers' dispositions as they talk more specifically about the field of education and it refines the teachers' standpoints as a racial collective.

Chapter Seven

BECOMING TEACHERS

The previous analysis chapter developed a picture of the teachers' shared subjectivity as 'white' Australians and the positions they took up when recounting their pasts. This chapter tapers the analysis toward questions of education by considering the participants' reasons for pursuing teaching as a career path and their experiences of tertiary education. The purpose of these explorations is to illuminate the epistemological foundations of the teachers' beliefs about teaching. This information is important when considering the dispositions they bring to the APY, and the racialised nature of those outlooks.

On the Process of Becoming

For Green and Reid (2008, pp. 20-1), teacher education can be understood, as with schooling, "as quintessentially 'a practice producing subjects'. It is crucially concerned with the initial and continuing formation of 'teaching subjects', [… and is hence] a process through which (new) teacher-subjects are supported to begin to perform themselves differently." From this perspective, teachers are not born but made – or *continuously* made – through bringing together and temporarily 'fixing' particular ensembles of 'knowledges, concepts and understandings; skills and capacities; attitudes, values and dispositions'. When knitted together, these components "enable a convincing performance of teaching" (p. 20).

But the performance of teaching begins prior to teacher education given that 'becoming and being a teacher' incorporates the interplay between professional identity and aspects of our social subjectivities that are established much earlier. As Schick observes;

> Assumptions about who can be a teacher and how s/he will act are regulated by unspeakable norms that go unnoticed, for the most part, especially by people who most easily fit the norms. (2000, p. 302)

In each of the interviews I asked the participants *why they had chosen to become teachers.* The rationale behind doing so was to observe how the participants made sense of their teacherly identities and what this ultimately said about their position within discourses of race. While reviewing the interviews, I reflected on my own entry into the profession. People had often said I was suited to teaching, but I resisted the role that appeared to have been marked out for me. It was not until acquiescing and undertaking a Bachelor of Education degree that I was eventually introduced to deconstructive tools inside the tertiary sector, which shifted my perspective. The deconstructive approach enabled clearer view of the common alignment between the subject position of 'educated

woman of working-class origin' and the professional designation of teacher; a compromise in upward mobility that is predicated on tropes about caring.

For me, it was empowering to gain such insights and learn how knowledge-power inscribes us. Doing so shed light on patterned social norms that, I now realised, might be played out differently. And yet it was still some time during my own educational journey before an even more palpable 'unspeakable norm' would slide into view. Schick captures these dynamics when reflecting critically on her own biography as a *becoming* teacher. She explains:

> Never once did I question whether my racialised identity, my whiteness, was a factor in my applying to become a teacher. This whiteness that made me suitable for the job was so necessary a precondition that there was no need to notice it. It would have been like checking to see if I had a pulse. (2000, p. 303)

At the time of interview, the teachers in this study had the hindsight of having completed their degrees, and this meant that they may or may not have been introduced to tools for critically deconstructing their biography as emergent teachers. Asking *why* they had chosen to become teachers was a way of observing the extent to which they were willing and/or able to deconstruct their teacherly identity in terms of raced, classed and gendered significance, and hence exhibit a degree of reflexive racial awareness. Asking 'why teaching' was also a way of observing whether the teachers' rationalisations would reveal white blind spots and so render them complicit with racialised domination.

While making these observations I bore in mind the image of the teacher as 'missionary', 'secular missionary', 'tourist' or 'social justice advocate', for each of these discursive constructs relates a position in aspect to whiteness. For instance, as outlined in chapter two, the secular/missionary is likely to present an innocent perception of Self and is thus unlikely to engage a reflexive stance that acknowledges unearned privilege. Not dissimilarly, the tourist is more likely to see him/herself in positive terms – as progressive, worldly or tolerant – than to grasp the contingency of these qualities on the production of an exotic or exploitable 'Other'. The teacher identities were thus useful during this part of the analysis even if references to them were, at this stage, sometimes indirect.

Secular/Missionaries: A Natural Allegiance

As highlighted in chapter two, the missionary and secular missionary discourses of teaching are built on naturalised assumptions about identity. For example, these discourses are likely to view teaching as 'a calling' (Whitbeck, 2000; Wojecki, 2004) or as a natural extension of 'innate personality' (Moore, 2004). The secular missionary discourse, as it is referred to in this thesis, differs from the missionary in that the former is not necessarily aligned to a religious identification. However, both discourses rely on essentialist suppositions that tend to subvert reflexive critique.

Of the fifteen interviewees, twelve invoked naturalistic assumptions to make sense of their decision to pursue teaching as a profession, and only one of those did so from a critical standpoint. This group included Lucy, Belinda, Verity, Penny, Alice, Chad, Mike, Matt, Steve, Joseph and Luke – teachers who had adopted complicit or subordinate standpoints when recounting their growing up years. In contrast, the teacher who adopted a critical stance was Suzy. The notion that among us exist natural teachers who are simply 'cut out' for the profession is rooted in essentialist thinking and tends to obscure critical and relational understandings of social life. Discourses of the secular/missionary are apparent when individuals draw upon simplistic teaching experiences to 'identify' themselves as natural teachers who have the right stuff (Moore, 2004; Whitbeck, 2000). These episodes (such as helping younger siblings with homework or playing 'school' from an early age) are unlikely to expose individuals to diversity, they tend not to be informed by educational theory – including gender, class and race critical theories – and they lack the sophistication of classroom teaching, which requires a complex mix of skills and knowledges (Sugrue, 1997, p. 216).

Secular/missionary discourses are evident when individuals rationalise their decision to pursue teaching in terms of a vocation for which they were born – an assumption which is often based upon their fondness for, or easy rapport with young people. For Chad, who was staunchly religious, he 'just knew': "Yeah, just teaching […] I just really liked kids, young crew" (interview 1 June, 2007, p. 5). Lucy, who was brought up in a regional area in a traditional male breadwinner domestic environment, started veering toward stereotypically feminine subjects by her latter secondary school years: Art, English, Home Economics and Child Studies. Lucy went to university with the aspiration to write children's books but by the second year of a Bachelor of Arts Degree, Lucy also 'just knew' that she wanted to switch into teaching. When asked what sparked her interest in becoming a teacher, a junior primary teacher in particular, Lucy remarked:

> I hate that question because I don't know what happened?
>
> Somehow, I don't know how, all of a sudden I decided I wanted to be a teacher […] I don't know where it came from? (Interview 24 May, 2007, pp. 5, 7)

Like the other interviewees who relied on naturalistic assumptions about teaching, Lucy resisted critical self-appraisal, displaying a lack of interrogation of her biography and the normative forces shaping and circumscribing her life choices.

Verity and Penny were also raised in male breadwinner domestic environments in regional areas, and both women were devout Christians. Outlined in the previous chapter, Verity was the eldest of five children and helped raise her younger siblings. She was encouraged by her parents to pursue properly feminine extra-curricular pursuits, such as sewing and cooking and on reaching high school, Verity also described a natural inclination toward stereotypically feminine subjects, such as Home Economics. Like Lucy, the belief that her desires were entirely instinctive appeared to pave the way for Verity to view teaching as a 'natural fit'. On completing secondary school, Verity's father compelled her to take up studies of teaching or nursing – choices that he determined were the most

appropriate for her. Verity opted for teaching and described the decision as a composite of personal choice and natural progression. She explained: "I've always loved kids and obviously I helped bring up some of my siblings and I babysat for heaps of people in the area. So I've always loved kids. So I did teaching" (interview 23 May, 2007, p. 9).

Penny, who was one of three sisters, also declared that she had a strong propensity for teaching. Her father built Penny and her sisters a blackboard, which was placed in the sunroom, a make-believe classroom. Penny reminisced;

> We'd play schools. Just about every night. […] Of course, I was always the teacher, even when I didn't know how to add up; I mean that's how early we started playing schools. […] I *always* had to be the teacher. It was my way or the highway. [Laughter]. (Interview 17 June, 2007, p. 2)

Albeit brief, this excerpt indicated the relations of power and the gendered nature of the play activities in which Penny and her sisters engaged. It also indicated the formative role of play in the evolution of Penny's enculturation into the teaching profession. In contrast to all of the male interviewees, Penny 'naturally' engaged in playing schools from an early age. This fed into a broader conservative stereotype whereby, "while teachers may figure in the play and popular culture of both boys and girls, they occupy a particularised, gendered space in the play and popular culture of girls" (Weber & Mitchell, 1995, p. 10).

When considering gender stereotypes and the many 'play-school' artefacts that are marketed to girls (which convey popularised images of the kinds of roles and identities considered appropriate for females), through 'playing school' women like Penny learn early of their 'natural' place within (what is stereotypically thought to be) the feminine domain of junior primary teaching. As Thomas (1990, p. 175) notes, within discourses of gender the inducement to conformity is powerful. On entering university, Penny recovered stories from her past such as babysitting, tutoring the neighbourhood children and helping to run Sunday School to naturalise her entry into junior primary teaching, with a specialisation in Music. Moreover, given their strong religious backgrounds, for both Penny and Verity it appeared that elements of the missionary discourse of teaching were comforting and affirming: both women believed in a higher calling and both adhered to a Christian moral code. These lines of reasoning shaped their understanding of themselves as becoming teachers.

Alice and Belinda also opted for junior primary teaching and they also drew on discourses that naturalised this choice (though religion played a much less significant role). Through working in an Out of School Hours Care (OSHC) program and spending time in her mother's classroom observing how much the children loved her, Alice claimed to have discovered that, like her mother and many of her mother's female friends, she too was naturally suited to teaching and harboured a passion for it: "I realised that I wanted to be a teacher because I really loved it; I liked being around the kids" (interview 30 May, 2007, p. 19). Reflecting on her mother's experiences, Alice explained:

> She's got a lot of children. Yeah, they love her. She's like always got millions of – getting presents, millions of presents and cards that say 'I love you' and stuff like that. She's taught so many kids. You see people in the shops that are grown up. They've got kids. They're like, 'you were my favourite teacher'. (P. 19)

For Belinda, who spent considerable time mothering her younger brother, the realisation came earlier: "About year nine, I reckon. I always – maybe earlier, I always knew I wanted to work with children because I had a good rapport with them. So that was my goal. […] I remember there being prac and childcare at school [and] thinking, 'I could head in this direction'" (interview 23 May, 2007, p. 18). Thus despite the patent ways that all of these women were influenced by discourses of hegemonic femininity, none of them drew on critical discourses that enabled them to name and subvert the power relations that shaped them. Rather, they each deferred to discourses which fed into the construct of the secular/missionary, which individualise choice while implying that the foundation of 'good' teaching is having a 'natural rapport' with young children.

The notion that Steve was naturally suited to teaching was introduced by a family member. A dearth of opportunities in Steve's chosen field of tourism precipitated his move into manual labour where he worked for his uncle – a landscape gardener whose own children were qualified teachers. Drawing on natural assumptions about teaching and also on a middle-class material expectation that Steve was worthy of aspiring to 'more than manual labour' (interview 28 May, 2007, p. 29), Steve's uncle slowly persuaded him to pursue teaching and to view himself as inherently suited to the profession. Steve recalled:

> While I was working with my uncle […] he was at me all the time, saying what are you going to do? […] You should become a teacher […] I think you'd be good at it […] I don't know why, I just reckon you'd be really good at it […] you're really good with kids […] I think you would naturally be a good teacher. […] And over a year he sort of talked me into it. (P. 29)

Joseph, Mike and Matt each questioned their natural suitability to teaching but endorsed a missionary discourse, as in Joseph's remark, "I didn't [have] this calling to be a teacher, as people do, I didn't. But like anything you grow to love it" (interview 26 May, 2007, p. 23). Mike's progression toward teaching was largely decided for him. By the early 1970s he was approaching the senior secondary grades at high school, the age by which he could start to choose his own topics. In light of his eventual decision to study teaching I asked if he knew, by then, what he wanted to do. Mike explained that the boarding house master had made the decision for him based upon his individual qualities of character:

> The boarding house master had an interview with me, as he did with all the boys in year ten, and got out your reports and had a look at it and said 'Smith, I think you should probably do the humanities stream'. That was decided just then and there on the spot.

> […Y]ou just accepted it. I mean if that's what you were told to do, you did it. (Interview 25 May, 2007, p. 11)

Mike was exposed to a very explicit mode of subjectification that tapered him toward the profession of teaching. Mike was not perturbed by this event and nor did he challenge the boarding house master's appraisal of his character; he explained, "I came from a strong sort of teaching background" (p. 14). His parents, aunts and uncles were all either doctors or teachers and thus, while the path on which Mike was set was the less prestigious or ultimately lucrative option, there was an underlying sense in which he believed (and was led to believe) that he was naturally suited to teaching. Mike thus exhibited a relatively unexamined engagement with his life; teaching was naturalised on account he came from 'a long line of teachers' and was hence likened to a role that is 'in the blood'. On the surface this line of thinking is innocuous but it is also problematic when proficiency as an educator is viewed as a function of innate personality, rather than in terms of skills and dispositions that are strategically developed. Such as the development of racial awareness.

Luke, on the other hand, was obvious and overt in his view of himself as a natural teacher commensurate with the missionary identity. Luke utilised an essentialist modality of knowledge to make sense of his teacherly identity, the same used earlier in his interview to describe the extent to which his father – a leader in the Christian church in which the family was heavily involved – had been 'cut out' to undertake charitable work with neglected and abused children. Luke's father became "a sort of backyard trained counsellor of children going through sexual abuse [… Experts in the field] would recognise him as a very knowledgeable, competent practitioner. But he wouldn't have any papers to say so" (interview 25 May, 2007, p. 4).

On completing year twelve Luke entered a Bachelor of Teaching degree to formalise the skills and talents he'd cultivated at Sunday School:

> Luke […] I did a Bachelor of Teaching first.
>
> SS Ok and you said that you learnt to teach through running Sunday School?
>
> Luke Yeah.
>
> SS Was that why you went into Teaching?
>
> Luke Yeah […]
>
> (P. 10)

Luke had already pointed out; he had started running his father's Sunday School night service at age fifteen:

> [T]hat's where I learnt to teach, actually. It was just on the night times, doing a night service. So, probably forty or fifty kids in the group. Um, you've got to entertain them for an hour and a half on a Sunday night. So, and I loved it, *loved* it; that's where you learn to teach. I didn't learn to teach at uni or whatever. (P. 4)

Luke's recollections indicated strong reliance on a naturalistic discourse, which rejects the notion that people can learn to teach through formal education. Rather, their natural charisma (i.e., the ability to entertain fifty or so kids) or innate ability to connect with children is born out through the course of life, hence revealing their suitability for the profession. Tertiary education is largely redundant from this perspective – a point to which Luke alludes when citing his father's 'backyard credentials' and also when he proclaims; *you do not learn to teach at uni*.

Implications of the Secular/Missionary

One of the implications of naturalised discourses of teaching, such as those informing the identity of the missionary and secular missionary, are that they enable subjects to overlook the relations of gender, race and class, having consequently a 'fundamentally conservative function' (Moore, 2004, p. 6). In this sense, teachers who adhere to naturalised discourses of teaching tend to occupy a complicit position in relation to hegemonic whiteness, a stance that overlooks the salience of 'race' and its intersections with class and gender.

From the viewpoint of naturalised conceptions of the teacher, the fact that teaching in Australia, and throughout the discursive West, is a predominantly 'white' profession[90] can therefore be understood in terms of a natural order, rather than a product of social structural factors which repeatedly return the material benefits of imperial processes to 'white' European subjectivities. This system of effects is illustrative of what Hesse (1997) and McLaren, Leonardo and Allen (2000) refer to as 'white governmentality'; a system by which the material effects produced at the nexus of racial oppression and white territoriality habitually privilege 'whites' and grant us relatively easy access to the professions. The fact that 'white' subjects monopolise professions such as teaching is thus one example of this material privileging, though these relations tend to be taken-for-granted. In terms of overlooking gender (and, simultaneously, 'race') relations, the far majority of research participants recalled that their primary school teachers were virtually all (white)[91] women and that leadership positions within education sites were invariably taken up by (white) men. These details were

[90] On the demography of teaching in Australia, Britain and the United States see for example Causey, Thomas and Armento (2000), Hagan and McGlynn (2004), Johnson (2002), Pearce (2003), Santoro (2004; 2005), Santoro and Allard (2005), Santoro, Kamler and Reid (2001).

[91] The term 'white' is bracketed to indicate that which was typically overlooked by most of the respondents, unless prompted.

unremarkable in the narratives; they existed on the periphery, went unchallenged and served, almost by default, to prove the natural place of caring white women in the younger grades in contrast to white masculine leaders and secondary specialists.

For Lucy, Penny and Verity in particular, activities such as 'sewing for girls' and 'woodwork for boys' were described in their narratives as normative aspects of their young lives that were by and large accepted *unproblematically*. Teaching for all of these women (including Belinda and Alice), was mostly described in terms of 'loving', 'caring', 'mothering' and sharing an 'affinity with young children'.[92] Rather than view teaching in highly gendered, classed, raced and politicised terms, they relied upon gender stereotypes which serve to corroborate the place of white women teachers within less powerful positions inside the profession. Hence to take up primary school teaching themselves tended to be conceptualised in terms which subsumed structural influence, despite the often overtly patriarchal nature of the environments in which they were raised.

The gender relations inscribing Verity's childhood world were especially pronounced. As outlined, she was the eldest daughter, positioned as a mother figure by her parents for her younger siblings and coerced by her father to choose between teaching or nursing. But even when the patriarchal nature of these relations was pointed out to Verity – for instance, I mentioned that her father appeared influential in shaping her decisions – Verity located choice, family and career roles within a liberal humanist discourse which valorises individual autonomy and resists structural analysis. This was the same discourse (outlined in the previous chapter) that was frequently utilised by the complicit and subordinate teachers to make sense of their growing up years. In fact, all of the teachers whose rationalisations aligned most closely to secular/missionary discourses of teaching resisted structural analysis of their own biographies. This was patent in Lucy's animated declaration that she *hated* being asked why she chose teaching (a question she had been asked to contemplate on several occasions at university); she *just knew.*

Within the logic that shapes secular/missionary discourses of teaching, the fact that men have historically taken up leadership positions within the field of Western Education against women who teach the younger grades[93] is therefore seen in terms which are blind to the forces of gender and power. Feeding in to this, while Luke viewed himself in no uncertain terms as a 'natural' teacher who loved the performance aspect of teaching, he also saw himself as a leader, both within the church and inside the school gates, and it was not long before he would assume leadership positions within schools. Mike and Joseph also saw themselves as leaders, and both would eventually secure positions of seniority in APY schools. In contrast, Chad secured a 'properly' masculine identity within the profession of teaching by opting to specialise in Physical and Outdoor Education. He explained,

[92] On teaching as an extension of mothering or nurturing, see Weber and Mitchell (1996, p. 305) and Schick (2000, pp. 303-6).
[93] For an analysis of why 'men lead while women teach' see Whitehead (2001) and Strober and Tyack (1980).

> I thought that doing Outdoor Ed, taking [students] out bush, is a great way to – I was kind of partial [toward] nature about the environment, but I was more passionate about the person. Like how you can *change and challenge them* […]. (P. 5 my emphasis)

Chad's comments about changing and challenging individuals underscored most of the secular/missionary teachers' narratives. Animating such comments is recourse to the liberal human subject; the target of approaches to teaching that focus primarily on 'the individual' at the expense of social contexts. Chad had earlier explained that as a young person he had required guidance to 'change and be challenged' in order to develop adequate self-esteem. Being part of a Christian Youth Group had provided the primary vehicle for this personal transformation, and his commitment to Christianity formed the backbone of his stance on teaching. He explained:

> I was shy [before joining Youth Group]. […But since then] just in my confidence and my yeah, like when I realised […] that there was a God that, yeah, made me and cared for me and […]
>
> I just accepted who I was a lot more and stopped trying to impress everyone and just sort of *I'm me and I was made this way* so, you know self-confidence and that. I was made and accepted that way, I believe, and yeah […] less selfish and stuff, you know? (Pp. 6, 13-14)

Throughout Chad's narrative was the suggestion that he had experienced a form of conversion or transformation and that his decisions and actions were somehow shaped by a 'higher calling'. Heron (2007) and Flax (1992) refer to this calling – (which emerged more frequently in the narratives of the seven interviewees who identified as Christian)[94] – as 'innocent knowledge'; a form of knowledge which reflects

> […] the discovery of some sort of truth that can tell us how to act in the world in ways that benefit or are for the (at least ultimate) good of all. Those whose actions are grounded in or informed by such truth will have *their* innocence guaranteed. They can only do good, not harm, to others. They act as the servant of something higher and outside (or more than) themselves, their own desires, and the effects of their particular histories or social locations. (Heron, 2007, p. 126)

For Chad, his faith in God had led to personal transformation and thus his view of teaching was inspired by the notion that, through faith, he too could lead others to transform through self-development. This resonates with the missionary whose work is often characterised by a form of conversion experience (see for example Stirrat, 2008; Wojecki, 2004). Likewise, Chad's allusions to God (or innocent knowledge) had the effect of rendering his actions unassailably 'good' and thus subverted the need for critical self-analysis. A desire for innocent knowledge was equally evident in

[94] Chad, Luke, Verity, Joseph, Penny, Matt and Alice.

Joseph, Luke, Verity and Penny's narratives. All of these interviewees were devoutly religious and all expressed the conviction that their work as teachers fed into a higher calling.

This view of teaching as a noble or ethical calling resonates with Moore's conceptualisation of the natural teacher as someone who acts in accord with a sense of purpose and who often demonstrates "a deeply 'caring' orientation aimed very specifically at 'making a difference' to pupils' lives" (Moore, 2004, pp. 4-5). Deferral to innocent knowledge can be seen in terms of genuine, ethical attempts to 'do good' and make a difference. But it also provides white subjects such as Chad who resist critical self-analysis with a *strategy* for securing a moral self-image. Chad explained that through his Christian faith he had become selfless. However, in suggesting that individual development is at the core of good teaching, he also tended to overlook social structural inequalities, which cannot be redressed simply through attending to a lack of 'self-esteem' on the part of individual students.

All of the secular/missionary teachers focused their pedagogy upon 'the individual' over and above social contexts or relations. Indeed for these teachers, education was about transforming individuals and 'good' teaching was achievable through developing sufficient 'self-esteem' in individual students. Taken to the extreme, a liberal humanist perspective such as Chad's has the effect of shifting responsibility for social risks such as poverty or unemployment "into the domain for which the individual is responsible and transforming it into a problem of 'self-care'" (Lemke, 2002, p. 62). This enables the belief that a wide variety of social problems have their source in the individual, and often in a lack of self-esteem (or discipline or intelligence or normative brain functioning) on the part of individuals.[95] This viewpoint naturalises 'social' mechanisms of exploitation and domination, such as the over-representation of middle-class 'whites' in white collar professions or indeed the over-representation of Indigenous Australians in custody (see for example Anscombe, 2010; Spivakovsky, 2006). And given that this standpoint naturalises social relations, it therefore reflects a complicit position in relation to hegemonic whiteness.

A further implication of naturalised discourses of teaching relates, in Britzman's terms (1991), to the 'damaging cultural myth' that the innate charisma required to be a 'good' teacher cannot be taught. The concomitant belief that the teacher is 'self-made', the teacher is 'expert' and that 'children are empty vessels to be filled with knowledge' feed into the notion that the key to good teaching has very little to do with tertiary studies, political clarity or self-reflexivity (Darling-Hammond, 2006a; 2006b; Moore, 2004; Scott & Dinham, 2008; Sugrue, 1997). Almost without exception, those who held to complicit and subordinate stances in the previous chapter, and to discourses which fed into the constructs of the secular/missionary in this chapter, were also those who claimed to have gained very little from studying Education at university.

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[95] On self-esteem and the notion of 'self-care', see Cruikshank (2001), Foucault (1987, 1988), and Lemke (2002, pp. 61-2).

In this section I talk about the tertiary experiences of the teachers who did not appeal to naturalistic assumptions about the profession and their reasons for choosing teaching. I then return to the secular/missionaries' views of university – this constituting the far majority of respondents. But unlike the participants mentioned thus far, Faith, Cliff and Will did not rely on logics that feed into secular/missionary discourses to explain their entry into teaching. For Will, teaching was a means to an end and a passport out of menial employment; he stated, *I was in it for the money* (interview 29 May, 2007, p. 27). In this sense, Will's narrative resonated most closely with the image of the teacher as mercenary.

Faith, on the other hand, had 'no idea' what she wanted to do. Her parents would not finance university study and she had gained insufficient points in year twelve for a full scholarship. The 'bond scheme'[96] made teaching viable for Faith and her rationalisations thus permitted a structural account. Cliff entered teaching for social justice reasons. He wanted to redress what he saw as an inequitable system that *stank to the core* and disenfranchised marginalised subjects who are not fluent in the dominant language (interview 22 May, 2007, p. 36). Cliff sought to remedy this situation by becoming an 'Education as a Second Language' (ESL) specialist for, in his view, instruction in ESL would assist students who struggled the most inside the Western school – I return to Cliff's narrative shortly. Finally, Suzy *did* invoke naturalistic assumptions about teaching, but unlike the previous set of participants she did so from a critical standpoint. Suzy's rationalisations thus articulated with the notion of the teacher as a social justice advocate. For example, when describing her decision to take up teaching, Suzy named a range of social structural factors that had influenced her when stating:

> [I]t was never *I'm a natural teacher*; it was never *I just need to get a job and this seems to be a good thing.* […] We were in a position where we moved away from having to pay rent or having to make payments on the car and so we had relatively – we were relatively free to make a choice. That also came from being privileged, middle-class, knowing we could come back from overseas, probably stay with a parent. (Interview 26 October, 2007, p. 4)

Suzy's disposition toward tertiary education was a contrast to the secular/missionary teachers, who resisted critical self-appraisal. Rather, in the above comment Suzy acknowledges her privileges and implies that her personal choices and living out of goals were not choices available to everyone.[97] Suzy had in fact given a great deal of thought as to what she wanted to do for a career while travelling overseas; the decision to pursue teaching emerged at this time. She explained, "it certainly came from personal reward, I can't deny that, but it also came from, well, I feel like I need to be contributing back to something, how am I going to do that?" (p. 4). Suzy's decision reflected the entwinement of mercenary motivations (*personal reward/self-development*), with those of the social justice advocate (*giving back*). In terms of starting the Bachelor of Education (her second) degree, Suzy explained,

[96] Whereby the government subsidises tertiary study in return for a commitment to teach (typically at hard to staff schools) on completion of the student's education.
[97] On choice and privilege see Heron (2007, p. 125).

> The thing that I distinctly remember about university this time was being very much engaged with it, very much committed to it. […] The things for me that probably made the most impact were starting to deconstruct my own schooling and starting to understand and realise a lot of class-based issues which I'd never even considered before. Starting to consider socially critical perspectives on everything, not just Education. […] One of the things that really hit home for me was […] talking about literacy not just as a reading and writing subject, but as something that affects your everyday life and your ability to succeed in a perceived successful way. (P. 45)

Though 'race' is subsumed beneath class in this excerpt, Suzy demonstrates attempts to understand and deconstruct her complicity and investments in domination by better understanding the impact that 'class' had had on her journey through education – this signalled a contrast to the secular/missionary teachers who resisted deconstructing their biography. Suzy's ideas about the role of the teacher and the purpose of education were affected by these new understandings, thus marking the shift she was potentially making towards a politics of greater accountability:

> I know that when I first thought teaching would be a great idea I know that the ideas that I walked away from [university] with were completely different. I don't think I'd been able to articulate what I thought teaching was even about and I was really pleased that I had been asked to think about and deconstruct and articulate what teaching even was and what the purpose of education was because I remember being surrounded by people who thought that that kind of assignment was a total waste of time. [But] I remember thinking how important it was. (P. 46)

In this excerpt, Suzy demonstrates that having been exposed to critical discourses and having been asked to question her complicity in domination, her standpoint alters and she better understands education's embedment in inequality:

> So for me my understanding of what the purpose of education was very much shifted from a very conservative probably right-wing perspective where I was thinking *well, it's to allow children to learn as much as they needed to get good jobs and to be successful in that sense,* which I suppose is what I felt like my own education had done, not of course realising that it wasn't just my schooling that allowed me to do those things; it was my position of class and race and all that kind of stuff. You know? *I'm not just this thing with no social constructions.* But when I first got [to university], even though I'd made some journey somewhere I still hadn't got that far. (P. 46)

Suzy explained that by the time she left university her understanding of education had shifted dramatically. She now contemplated schooling and the role of the teacher in highly politicised terms; "as a much bigger, very complex picture" (pp. 46-7). She thought seriously about the dispositions, experiences and beliefs she brought with her to the chalkface; "And the fact that whatever I brought with me to teaching, if I hadn't deconstructed it to some degree and thought about it, would just get

passed on to these children. Because I started to position myself as a white middle-class female person, I really started to think about the way that that was there" (pp. 46-7).

Suzy also recognised that while she had shifted somewhat, there was considerable 'self-work' yet to be done. This reflects Frankenberg's (2001, p. 77) notion of reflexivity when the white subject realises "my awakening is never complete. […] White antiracism is, perhaps, a stance requiring lifelong vigilance." Suzy demonstrated awareness of the significance of social contexts and recognised that education is a relational undertaking in which she is contingently positioned: *not just this thing with no social constructions*. And yet, Suzy was not straightforwardly located inside a reflexive position characteristic of a social justice advocate. Rather, she oscillated between stances and a number of these movements are traced throughout upcoming chapters.

Being Off-Centre

Similar to Suzy, Faith reflected on her tertiary education studies (in the early 1970s) with a level of political clarity that was absent in virtually of all the secular/missionary teachers' recollections. Given that Faith had chosen Art for her major, she was sent to 'Bordercity' Teachers College, a campus reserved for Art, Technical Studies and Music training, as well as teacher preparation in those areas. In Faith's words, "it was sort of a funny mix of um *different* people and the Art group, we were the weirdos! You know […] the off-centre people" (interview 31 May, 2007, p. 11). From being (in her words) a 'middle of the road' student in the normalised environment of her metropolitan secondary, Faith was suddenly positioned outside of the mainstream (at least somewhat) by virtue of the fact she had chosen Art as her major. This consequently positioned her as one of the 'off-centre' people, physically displaced from the 'normal' education students.

The course itself challenged mainstream norms insofar as Faith and the other Art students were exposed to progressive education discourses and practices, including the notion of non-graded education – a stark contrast to anything that Faith had previously experienced: "That was the big eye-opener for me. […] Summerhill and Montessori stuff was just coming out and the alternative education stuff and that was actually what they were teaching us" (pp. 12-13). Instead of the panoptic focus being on timetables, discipline and the production of 'well regulated' students (the kind of education to which Faith had been exposed throughout the 1960s), Faith was now introduced to a new perspective in which emphasis was on student-direction, democracy and individual autonomy.

As chapters two and three demonstrated – chapter three through recourse to the work of Ronald Trudinger – discourses of progressivism can recentre a liberal human subject, thus obscuring relational views of social life and serving fundamentally conservative ends. However, the new ideas to which Faith was being exposed enabled her to internalise a degree of critical perspective on the discursive status quo, and this would gradually shift Faith closer toward the teacher identity of the social justice advocate; the teacher who, among other key attributes, understands the contingency of

whiteness, strives to recognise his/her own complicity and investments in domination, and develops critical awareness of the political history of Indigenous Education. I return to Faith's story shortly.

Indigenous Education Studies

Throughout this section of the interviews, wherein participants talked about their experiences of tertiary education, the teachers were asked to reflect on what they'd gained from studying at university, particularly in lieu of their eventual decision to work in the APY. I was aware that at least six of the teachers had attended universities where studies of Indigenous Education were compulsory. Within these courses, pre-service teachers are introduced to the political history of Indigenous Education:

> […] a history that is often rendered invisible to pre-service teachers, so that what seems to lie on the surface, that is, an education for tolerance and 'cultural' inclusion, is exposed as something that is not neutral and given but is in fact a highly politicised process between the competing interest groups of state, dominant non-Indigenous interests and subordinate(d) Indigenous interests. (Rigney, Rigney & Tur, 2003, p. 137)

To reiterate points made in chapter two, it is thus hoped in these mandatory courses that pre-service teachers' consciousness will be raised through exposure to critical discourses and by inviting them to engage reflexively as active agents in the struggle for social justice in education and society. In light of this I anticipated that at least some of the teachers would cite Indigenous Education studies as influential aspects of their pre-service teacher education. But other than Faith, and also Suzy, who provided articulate declarations that are explored in the following chapter, Alice was the only interview participant to mention Indigenous Education studies, let alone claim that they had impacted significantly on her outlook as a teacher in the APY. She explained:

> At first it was like I don't really want to do it, kind of thing. Like why do I have to do it? But [then] I can remember really loving it and coming home and telling people stuff. I'm like oh, did you know this? […] I think [it] opened my eyes a bit. Yeah. I kind of thought I didn't know very much about Aboriginal people. […] I walked away thinking how little we know about Aboriginal culture and how little I was taught at school. I thought I knew, but I didn't really know what it was really like to be an Aboriginal person. In the city or in the country or whatever. It's just – it's different. Like you have your culture, but then you have this whole other world that you have to fit into. I guess it was learning about that and just that, *they are just normal people and do normal things.* But it was really interesting. How interesting their culture is. How much they know. I think that's what it taught me. […] I can remember doing Australian studies at high school and not doing anything about Aboriginal people. I can remember learning about Captain Cook and things like that and the First Fleet at primary school, but never anything about Aboriginal people. (P. 21)

This vignette indicates that Alice's thinking about Aboriginality was challenged and expanded by the compulsory course in Indigenous Education as she realised how little she had been taught about Indigenous Australia, and how Anglo-centric her pre-tertiary education had been. Alice also recognised that Aboriginality is a heterogeneous subjectivity insofar as acknowledging that the experiences of urban and 'remote' Aboriginal people are likely to be qualitatively different. However, Alice's focus tended to remain fixed on Aboriginality; for instance, she positioned Indigenous people as 'interesting' and worthy of compassion, but not necessarily as powerful in their own right.

Alice also suggested that she 'now knew' what it is like to be Aboriginal, which was clearly problematic. This indicated that Alice had somewhat missed the point of the course to produce 'self-critical' white teachers (i.e., teachers who relinquish a panoptic altruistic gaze in order to interrogate their own whiteness). These observations resonate with Durie's (2003, pp. 141-142) research surrounding the dynamics of resistance and engagement with the content of critical curriculum with white Australian students. She notes; those of us who are white are well versed in not seeing our investments in whiteness; we are practised in the various strategies of denial, which in this case may be conceptualised in terms of a subordinate stance via which non-white 'Others' are viewed with *interest* and sympathy, while white race privilege remains largely unchallenged.

The extent to which Alice had not developed a more reflexive awareness of her own position in White Australia was also evident in the comment, *they are just normal people and do normal things.* In saying this, Alice adopted the seemingly benevolent stance of including Aboriginality into the category 'normal'. However, she did not go so far as to question the social construction of normalcy, its raced, classed and gendered dimensions. Alice's standpoint was thus shaped by a mode of cultural assimilation commensurate with multiculturalism of the 'nice' variety (see for example Hage, 2000a; Henry-Waring, 2008; Ommundsen, 2000; Stratton, 1999). Yet despite this, Alice was also genuinely affected by the course, and this potentially signalled a minor movement toward greater reflexivity. Moreover, Alice seemed to welcome the new perspectives that the course presented, and she responded positively to the challenge of rethinking Australian history.

During Faith's time as a pre-service teacher in the early 1970s, it was not mandatory to undertake courses such as the one that Alice had completed. Faith chose to undertake Indigenous Studies as a second major, and this would prove instrumental in shaping her identity as an emergent teacher. The course that Faith enrolled in was 'critical' in that it introduced her to an invasion perspective on Australian history. Indeed, the ideas surrounding Aboriginality and Australianness to which Faith was being opened during this period were a stark contrast to the "Kings and Queens of England" curricula on offer at her high school (p. 14).

Part of the Indigenous Studies course that Faith undertook included a Pitjantjatjara Language Laboratory run by visiting Anangu women, and this experience stood out in Faith's recollections. The Anangu women were in control of the class and the primary language of instruction was Pitjantjatjara. Faith recalled that the Anangu women would regularly laugh at the *piranpa* ('whitefella') students when they struggled to enunciate Pitjantjatjara words. With the Anangu women in control and the

dominant language being foreign to Faith, the locus of power shifted and 'whiteness' was displaced from its position of taken-for-granted authority. Though Faith lacked the theoretical lexis to explain the significance of what was taking place, her narrative indicated a crack in the façade of whiteness, which helped Faith to denaturalise that which she had previously been conditioned to overlook. Albeit a safe and only marginally confronting situation, like a fish out of water, Faith was learning to see whiteness as an all-encompassing milieu, backdrop and protective screen.

Articulating white governmentality as a field of naturalised beliefs and practices, McLaren, Leonardo and Allen (2000, p. 110) state,

> The key to producing whiteness […] is not to refer explicitly to it, but to make it an all-encompassing field of communication, to have it so visible that it is not noticed. For critical multiculturalists, the methodological apprenticeship needed for dismantling whiteness is to learn to see what is visible and to denaturalise it.

The Pitjantjatjara Language Laboratory provided Faith with a powerful lesson in learning to see whiteness by experiencing displacement from an environment in which it was natural for her to be 'in power'. Faith explained; "it was really difficult to try and cope with another language, it was mentally and emotionally taxing" (p. 15). Up until then, it had been natural for Faith to take-for-granted that 'Others' needed to learn English in order to survive within white territory. It had also been natural for Faith to take-for-granted a triumphalist view of Australian History replete with intrepid white explorers and gentle natives. This, too, had been disrupted by the Indigenous Studies course thus forcing Faith to reassess the complex, racial politics underpinning Australian history and her place within these relations. These experiences would prove influential as Faith's teaching career unfolded and as she learned to see with increasing clarity, the raced, classed and gendered nature of the normative status quo.

Teaching for Social Justice

Other than Will, whose story is picked up in following chapters, the last of the interviewees to stand in opposition to secular/missionary discourses of teaching was Cliff. As the previous chapter pointed out, Cliff had grown up in a culturally diverse neighbourhood and had been schooled alongside his 'new' Australian friends in the lowest stream at their local secondary. Cliff entered Teachers College during the 1970s. Like Faith, Cliff had experienced a degree of displacement from the discursive mainstream, and this had affected his disposition toward education from a relatively early age. After dropping out of school and working unhappily in a string of blue-collar jobs, Cliff re-entered education with a view to studying Music. Cliff enrolled at a community college as a transfer point to university, and it was there that Cliff was introduced to a range of critical discourses – an experience which would prove significant in fuelling his desire to teach for social justice.

On entering Teachers College in the late 1970s, Cliff had already begun to read widely. He read a great deal about politics and social structure, and became inspired that he might play a part in agitating for equitable social change. As a pre-service teacher, Cliff was then asked to reflect on his own high school experiences with a view to understanding the relationships between education, power and society. Cliff reflected:

> […] the teachers in those days had no idea of what to do about all this ethnic diversity. Kids rolling up on the doorstep who can't speak English. […] They couldn't keep a lid on it. These kids, they would – they'd play up all the time. When you've got 30, 40 kids in the class, you know, what can you do? […] It was just crazy. Then the whole class would get caned, you know? (Pp. 27, 30)

From the standpoint of a pre-service teacher, Cliff could see that as a technology of classroom governance, streaming had exacerbated the situation for his 'non-white' high school friends, who were consequently locked into cycles of disadvantage. He could also see that the white Australian teachers who weren't prepared for such diversity would defer to sovereign modes of power (such as caning) whenever their frustrations spilled over. Cliff recalled; "They'd always go for the cane. [To their thinking] that was the only way of straightening it out" (p. 32). This illustrates the means by which, even within systems of disciplinary power, punitive forms of power may be availed for students who are seen to be particularly recalcitrant. And although streaming is less overt than caning, it can be perceived as symbolically violent insofar as practices such as streaming are 'forms of domination' that have the ultimate effect of rendering more powerless "those individuals who already lack power and status" (Holligan, 2000, p. 139).

Cliff explained that of all his high school teachers only one had attempted to deploy ESL instruction as a strategy for catering for the marginalised students. Mr 'Papadopoulos', a Greek teacher and the only non-Anglo teacher at the school; "he knew the problem from the beginning, he knew. You've got to teach these kids English as a Second Language. They don't know what's going on" (p. 32). Cliff lamented, however, that among the predominantly white teaching staff at his high school, Mr Papadopoulos struggled to be taken seriously.

Cliff reflected on these experiences as a budding teacher and discussed their significance with his new university friends. Cliff's increased sociality as young person appeared to result in him being open to circulate amongst a diverse array of social groups while at university. Cliff described the education cohort as predominated by Anglo-Australians; however, there were also a percentage of Greek, Italian and German students, and a smaller group of international students from places such as Samoa, New Guinea and New Caledonia. Cliff befriended the latter group who in turn encouraged him to consider teaching overseas on completing his tertiary studies. This further fuelled Cliff's interest to take up ESL studies as a major alongside Music, and when asked to clarify his stance on ESL, Cliff reiterated:

> [I took up ESL] I guess partly because of what I saw in high school. There's no doubt about that. Absolutely no doubt about that. I could tell you some stories of what happened there, where language became a real big issue for some of my mates. […Also, just after university] I'd travelled and been overseas and I'd had to learn their language. Once you do start to get on top of the language, even if you know – well not really get on top of it. You've got enough survival language to get through. *It's empowering.* It changes your whole outlook on your experience in that country. I realised how empowering it was. (Pp. 50-51)

Not unlike Faith's experience in the Pitjantjatjara Language Laboratory, overseas travel had enabled Cliff to experience being a cultural minority for whom the local vernacular did not come easily. For Cliff, being positioned as 'Other' in culturally very different societies[98] meant feeling disempowered, cut off and lonely. These experiences in turn fuelled his commitment to specialise in ESL, and later would shape his experiences as a teacher in the APY. Thus despite the fact that Cliff would intermittently slip into an overly simplistic view of social relations – i.e. of the *powerful versus the powerless* or of an education system perceived as being *rotten to the core* – [99] his overarching disposition as an emergent teacher was one of critical engagement with educational theory and with a relational view that highlighted the *social* function of education. Thus, like Suzy, Cliff demonstrated movement toward reflexivity and an allegiance with the teacher as a 'social justice advocate'. But, also like Suzy, Cliff would periodically slip back into complicity with whiteness, for instance through adopting a subordinate stance in his efforts to deploy ESL instruction without acknowledging how ESL – a compensatory approach – does nothing necessarily to subvert the hegemonic grounds of whiteness.

'Good teaching cannot be taught': Secular/Missionaries at University

But in stark contrast, the secular/missionary teachers all tended toward an individualistic view of education coupled with a rejection of complex, socially critical and relational standpoints, and some denied the worth of tertiary studies altogether. And while there was differentiation amongst the secular/missionaries in terms of their experiences of university, none demonstrated genuine paradigmatic shifts as a result of exposure to tertiary education.

Most fervent in his adherence to naturalistic assumptions about teaching was Luke. As mentioned earlier, Luke appealed to the belief that good teaching cannot be taught, that individuals are born into 'natural' roles and that tertiary education studies are generally superfluous:

[98] On the value of geographical displacement for enabling 'white' subjects to question their whiteness, see for example Hickling-Hudson (2005).
[99] A view which under-conceptualises the access to power that all subjects have and the impact of the activities and interactions of social agents in constructing compliance to the dominant order (McLaren et al, 2000, p. 111). And while Cliff's efforts to redress social injustice were genuine, they rarely helped him to recognise how compensatory approaches such as ESL tend to leave the inequitable status quo intact.

SS […] how did you find [the Education] course?

Luke Ah, pretty useless.

SS Yeah?

Luke Yeah; it doesn't teach you anything. It seemed to me to be an institution to tr and teach you how to think – no, 'what' to think, not *how* to think. The key issues about gender equity, which I'm absolutely not against except that for four years it didn't matter whether it was a Maths lesson or School and Australian Society or Art or whatever, everything was, you know …

SS Underpinned by gender politics?

Luke Yeah, even to the point where you'd have to sit through – many times – you know, listening to the lecturers go on about the 'evil' society that, you know, buys pink for girls and blue for the boys and all that. Which, you understand, yeah, there's a discussion to be had, but not every single lesson for four yea without a breath! […] That was the hot button issue [… But anyway,] that ten to be the nature of universities and so it just depends on when you hit as to what the one thing is that everything gets viewed through that lens. So, yeah that was annoying.

(P. 12)

In this excerpt Luke positions tertiary institutions as establishments bent on indoctrinating students, that get stuck on whichever 'hot button issue' is in vogue – a view that is embellished by the image of narrow-minded lecturers *going on about evil society*. Despite affirming that he is *absolutely not against gender equity,* Luke obscures the entrenched beliefs about gender with which he enters university, and he dismisses his own investments in male privilege. Luke asserts his position as the bearer of 'Truths' about the world that upon entering university are deep-rooted and beyond contestation. He discounts critical, sociological views as mere fashion, separate from the 'real work' of teaching. The essentialist aspects of the worldview with which Luke enters the degree subsequently remain intact, as does his perception of himself as a natural teacher and leader whose skills had been honed in the real world of Sunday School.

The coded language of avoidance that Luke employs is discursively sanctioned by secular/missionary discourses of teaching, and is akin to what McIntyre (1997) refers to as white talk; "talk that serves to

insulate white people from examining their/our individual and collective role(s) in the perpetuation of racism" (p. 45). In Denevi's terms (2004), the language of avoidance is one that reveals itself in the uncritical acceptance of biased comments (i.e., *I'm not sexist but …*), as well as through avoidance, interruption, dismissing counter-arguments, silences, and/or collusion with others to create a "culture of niceness" that makes it very difficult to discuss the complex dimensions of privilege and domination.

Though Luke only referred explicitly to 'gender' in this part of his interview, the relations of race and gender are coactive in the construction of his privilege as a white, male, middle-class professional. By avoiding and downplaying the significance of gender, Luke insulated himself from examining the dimensions of his privilege and thus avoided the difficult task of moving toward a more reflexive and accountable position. In Rowe's (2000, p. 65) terms, Luke's strategic manoeuvring provided evidence of 'rhetorical silence': the deflection of a critical gaze that Luke achieved through 'defensiveness' (as in the argument, *there's a discussion to be had, but not every single lesson for four years without a breath*), through 'minimising' (i.e., Luke's attenuation of 'male privilege' by reducing gender inequality to the dressing of 'girls in pink and boys in blue'), and through 'mockery' (for instance, the way that Luke deflected attention away from himself by exaggerating the dogmatic nature of *all universities*).

Mike deployed similar avoidance strategies when reflecting on his transition from the elite boys boarding college (where he was told by the boarding house master to pursue teaching) to Teachers College during the early 1970s, the latter period of second-wave feminism:

SS So how would you describe the demographics, social class of that tertiary campus?

Mike Radical feminists.

SS Ok …

Mike Yeah, we tended to stick out like sore thumbs to a degree being males there. Yeah it was very strong female […] it was all female and I wasn't used to that situation. You know? I came from [an all-boys environment]; hated it. Yeah, I didn't like it. I hated [Teachers College]. I was lucky to ge through. I was having a good time at [the boys' boarding house] I didn't need to go out there and slog out my days!

SS With all these women?

Mike With all these women. […] And then you know – because I did Philosoph and that's where I *really* came across the radical feminists. […] You'd sit i a tutorial room twice the size of this, I'd be the only male and there'd be probably eight females and a lecturer. They're all smoking and the room i filling up with smoke!

SS Okay. How did you find Philosophy? […] Did it expand your worldview or …? […] I mean that whole period of time?

Mike […] It was very much a Marxist oriented philosophy which was interesting [but] I don't think it did me any good […]

SS Okay so the women in your course are, I suppose, embracing feminist discourses.

Mike Yeah *oh yeah.* […] And being in those days, there was not a lot of – in terms of assessment which was sort of anathema to actually what Education Philosophy was about. There was a lot of 'self-assessment', self-reflection on yourself. Just writing about yourself.

SS So that was a stark contrast to your high school curricula?

Mike Yes. *Stark* contrast.

SS And somewhat uncomfortable?

Mike Yeah. I was glad to get out of the place!

(Pp. 17-18)

Like Faith and her experience inside the Pitjantjatjara Language Laboratory, Mike's displacement from an environment in which his privilege was comfortably taken-for-granted into one in which he was encouraged to reflect on his position through a critical lens could have provided the impetus and tools to shift toward a more reflexive standpoint. Instead, Mike made light of the situation and painted an outlandish picture when describing the tiny tutorial room, packed with feminists, filling up with smoke. Mike used the term 'radical feminist' in a derogatory manner and it is little wonder that he

eventually claimed to have gained little from the experience. Like Luke, Mike diminished his own investments in domination by using 'avoidance' tactics and by stating that he *couldn't wait to get out.* Indeed it is understandable that Mike would resist 'slogging out his days' and interrogating his privilege, when part of the latter included the ability to turn a blind eye.

Penny, who relied on the essentialist underpinnings of the missionary discourse to confirm her identity as a 'born teacher' (who started teaching in her childhood sunroom), also demonstrated avoidance tactics. Penny entered tertiary education studies around the same time as Luke (early 1990s) and quickly befriended people who were very much 'like her':

> Two friends in particular that I've still got and they're both Christians. So, that sums it up really because a lot of the other uni students at the time were into things that I'm just quite simply not interested in. [… T]hese girls come from similar backgrounds […] we've been brought up with very similar morals, very similar ideals and we're on the same wavelength, you know? […] I did not go searching for Christian people it actually literally just happened that I found some people that I was like minded with. […] We were quite conservative. We didn't really wear, like […] We didn't have our *boobies* hanging out! You know? All three of us are very conservative, I would say, well not *very* but … (Pp. 19-20)

Like Luke and Mike, Penny made light of people whose beliefs and ways of being clearly differed from her own. By suggesting that the less conservative female students dressed provocatively there was a sense in which Penny's constructions of difference served the added function of claiming the moral high ground – like Penny, Lucy also did this by positioning critical educational theories and the lecturers who taught them as 'airy fairy' (p. 10). When Penny was faced with lecturers who 'didn't look like teachers' (with *orange hair and all,* p. 20) and who espoused constructivist and socially critical theories, Penny continued to claim a moral image by labelling the lecturers as 'weird' and by undermining their perspectives:

> [T]he lecturers were just weird. And it wasn't just us that thought that. I think there was a general consensus that they were 'out there', you know? They didn't know what they were talking about. Oh they had some great theories but we knew they wouldn't work! [… For instance,] Phonics was out; you didn't do that. Huh! Interesting. The 'whole language' thing and critical literacy was in. Immersion. *Immerse them in language; don't ever teach explicitly, oh no, no way. Don't ever tell them that, you know, get the card out and say 's' 'h' makes 'sh'*. […] I don't think I learnt a heck of a lot at uni. (Pp. 20-1)

When asked if she had developed a philosophy of teaching by the end of her course, Penny explained:

> Penny No, nah. What I reckon – and this is *true* because I had worked with kids

lot before I started that course …

SS Through the church, Sunday School?

Penny Yep – and just through my sunroom, you know, teaching my neighbours and yeah, doing Sunday School and having kids around all the time – I reckon, well you know and *everyone* says this, you get the experience from working with kids and on pracs and from private life, but I don't think learnt a lot from the theory aspect of uni at all.

SS So theory wasn't as important as practice for you? Ok.

I should ask, what did you actually teach at Sunday school? How long did you teach there?

Penny At least a year, I'd say. Maybe a few.

SS And what would that entail?

Penny Oh you'd have to get a story ready.

SS Ok, so you read a story and then talked about the morals implicit in it?

Penny Oh gosh, I don't know what I'd talk about except the story and the felt board; pretty boring really!

(P. 21)

Like Luke and Mike, Penny avoided engaging in critical theorising by denigrating her university lecturers (*they didn't know what they were talking about*), and by positioning her own deep-seated conservative beliefs about teaching as benignly 'neutral' (i.e. by implying that she relied on 'common sense'). She also suggested that her viewpoint was representative of widely shared truths: *it wasn't just 'us' that thought the lecturers were weird; there was a widely shared consensus. 'Everyone' says you get the experience from working with kids and on pracs, not from theory.*

Underpinning Penny's standpoint is a view of literacy as a "fixed, static body of decontextualised skills, rather than a dynamic, social semiotic practice varying across cultures, time and space" (Mills, 2005, p. 2). Commensurate with Penny's outlook is a simplistic distinction between those who are

considered 'literate' – who have acquired a neutral set of skills that remain constant irrespective of situational or social context – and those considered 'illiterate'. Thus reminiscent of conservative critics who decried the inclusion of critical literacies in Australian schools,[100] Penny positioned critical approaches as 'mere fads' in contrast to the more traditional 'functional literacy' approaches, such as Phonics. The latter appeared in Penny's excerpt as being pushed aside by absurd theories that are 'destined to fail'. When subsequently asked to explain the nature of her own literacy teaching at Sunday School – where Penny really learned to teach – Penny described a simplistic orientation which neither unpacked the implicit meanings of texts nor considered the position of individuals or the political contexts framing the teaching act. But despite the innocent (or in Penny's words, *boring*) veneer of her 'backyard pedagogy', as Freesmith (2006, p. 26) points out, restriction of literacy pedagogy to minimal or passive versions of functional literacy in fact serves the highly political function of perpetuating the status quo.

Nevertheless, Penny held firm to the belief that while 'personally' she was quite conservative, her teaching was politically neutral. Like Luke, Penny's reliance on naturalistic assumptions about teaching with their roots in essentialist thinking thus facilitated her use of a language of avoidance and neutrality. From both of their standpoints, just as "charisma cannot be 'acquired'" (Moore, 2004, p. 5) nor can the ability to teach. 'Good teaching' is configured in terms of the 'intrinsic qualities of character or personality of the teacher' – in other words, it has nothing to do with politics or racialised power relations. Thus, the dominant discourses of race and gender which framed both Luke's and Penny's informal knowledge about teaching were able to remain invisible.

Favouring the Practical & Valorising Individualism

Almost without fail, the secular/missionary teachers demonstrated a marked lack of engagement with educational theory, and tended to view teaching in dualistic terms as either theoretical *or* practical; Penny's comment that she *didn't learn a lot from the theory aspect of uni at all* provides a key illustration. This dualistic viewpoint underpins the naïve belief that purely practical approaches to teaching are theory-free and politically neutral. This view fails to problematise the 'truth-effects' of dominant theoretical constructs and leaves intact a range of damaging practices and beliefs for particular groups of students (i.e., non-white, not-quite-white, female and working-class students).

The secular/missionary teachers in this study sought simplistic 'know how' over complexity, and shared in a disdain (or perhaps misunderstanding) of tertiary topics which included a reflexive component. For instance, Belinda recalled:

> I remember doing a lot of subjects that really … like, we did a Maths unit. I had to get a tutor. I remember most people were struggling with this assignment. […] It was really

[100] Such as Donnelly (2005a, 2005b) and Slattery (2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d).

> academic. […] Instead of Maths – like giving us ideas of how to teach kids – it was more about *us*, which was really hard? (P. 23)

Belinda's desire for technicist know-how and her wish to evade critically deconstructing her own biography (for instance, an examination of the ways in which 'mathematics' is historically gendered) fed into essentialist discourses about teaching in that Belinda undermined the worth of educational theory. Similarly, Lucy explained, she didn't really understand topics that stemmed from a post-structural or post-colonial perspective, which hence called for contested understandings of social relations and in which she was asked to 'position' herself:

> Lucy […] I didn't really see the point.
>
> SS You wanted more of the practical stuff?
>
> Lucy Yeah. I don't know? It's just […] you can never really feel like you've gaine anything from those sorts of topics because you just touch on everything, and like everyone has different opinions about different things. So if there's no *right answer*, then you don't come away with anything.
>
> (P. 10)

Of the secular/missionary teachers who, unlike Penny or Luke, *did* claim to have gained something useful and 'academic' from attending university, their allegiance was invariably reflected in progressive or psychological approaches, which are ostensibly inclusive and come with a toolbox for classroom practice. For instance, Verity declared; "I did a lot on play 'cause I did early childhood. And that was excellent because we looked so much at the development of children […] we looked at the psychology of child development. And then we looked at how important play is […] so you set up play activities" (p. 11). Not dissimilarly, Lucy explained:

> […] in the theory stuff what I liked was Gardiner's Multiple Intelligences and that sort of influenced my idea of what education was in the way that, like, I believe that you need to do – anything that you're doing you need to do in lots of different ways, and like *inclusive* practices and stuff. Like, making sure that all kids can access the curriculum and just by, yes, presenting it in lots of different ways [… so that] kids who learn in a *different* way can pick up that same thing that you've already been talking about, but pick it up more easily. (P. 11)

Verity and Lucy were both drawn to cognitive or psychological approaches in which subjectivity is conceived in unitary terms: subjects are, first and foremost, individuals with unique, biological qualities and only secondarily, if at all, as constituted through social power relations. 'Multiple

Intelligences' (MI),[101] for instance, is based on cognitive theory in which "the brain is seen […] to be divided into distinct left and right hemispheres, and three layers […] all of which perform different functions and in which are located different abilities" (Poynting & Noble, 1998, p. 35). The epistemological roots of Lucy's chosen standpoint are grounded in liberal humanism, thus in practical terms, such approaches are about catering for individual minds.

MI is 'progressive' insofar as it appears to cater for individuals who are disenfranchised or overlooked by conventional teaching practices or who learn *differently.* In this sense, MI is also considered to be student-centred. Poynting and Noble (1998, p. 34) note, MI appeals to the 'humanism' of the progressivist tradition and indeed it was its inclusive nature that had attracted Lucy: *anything that you're doing you need to do in lots of different ways, and like inclusive practices and stuff*. Moreover, choosing an 'inclusive' approach served the supplementary role of endowing Lucy with an inclusive veneer. And while such approaches might be very useful, they tend not to acknowledge social-structural accounts or grapple with the intersections between education and whiteness. As such, they can compound the situation for non-white students who are often labelled as being 'tactile' or 'hands-on' learners – labels that have essentialist roots and lack capital in the racially stratified world of work.

In short, pedagogical approaches such as MI obscure social relations and thus do not enable white teachers to think in collective or necessarily reflexive terms. However, criticisms against them are easily overlooked given their 'inclusive' veneer, which serves the function of imbuing their adherents with a moral pretence that is beyond critique. By engaging in inclusive practices such as MI, teachers such as Lucy can feel satisfied that a progressive and open-minded identity has been secured, thus there is little need for further self-scrutiny. In this regard, discourses of 'inclusion' offer another means of avoiding reflexivity. Indeed, Lucy admitted that she did not see the point of education topics which required reflexive awareness of social relations; such topics, to reiterate her earlier comments, were viewed by Lucy as 'airy fairy'.

Variations on this epistemological standpoint remained foundational to all of the secular/missionary teachers' dispositions by the end of their tertiary studies. This was the case whether they laid claim to a particular philosophy of teaching or, like Penny, claimed to teach in accordance with no theory at all. In contrast, Faith, Suzy and Cliff came away from tertiary studies having engaged deeply with the academic literature and having thought seriously about the social and political dimensions of their roles as 'becoming' teachers. Steve was the only teacher who shifted from a somewhat critical standpoint when recounting his growing up years to a far more complicit stance when making sense of his identity as an emergent 'natural' teacher.

SUMMARY

[101] Gardner (1983) championed the notion that everyone has at least seven intelligences: linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal.

This chapter has charted the process of *becoming teachers* by deconstructing the interview participants' reasons for choosing teaching and their experiences of tertiary education. To do so I bore in mind the image of the teacher as missionary, secular missionary, tourist, mercenary and social justice advocate; I also considered a reflexive orientation to teaching wherein pre-service teachers learn about the history of Indigenous Education and the implications of their own 'whiteness'. The chapter made four main findings. Firstly, most of the interview participants relied on discourses which feed into the essentialist foundations of the teacher as 'missionary/secular missionary' to make sense of their movement into the profession. Teaching was naturalised as a 'good fit' or higher calling, and this mode of reasoning exhibited a relatively unexamined engagement with life for the majority of participants – (at least insofar as their self-reflections were uncritical). From this standpoint, personal choice was seen in terms which are blind to the forces of gender, power and race. Consequently, this group of teachers was seen as drawing on discourses that valorise individual autonomy while resisting structural analysis.

Secondly, and as a corollary to this, this group of 'secular/missionary' teachers tended to rebuff tertiary studies which asked them to grapple with the complexities of socially critical perspectives on education. They were prone to focus on the 'individual' at the expense of permitting relational views of social life, and they shared in a range of strategies – which I have likened to 'white talk', 'strategic rhetoric' and the language of avoidance – which enabled the deflection of a critical gaze. For the most part, the secular/missionaries claimed to have gained little from studying at university and they favoured practical, 'politically neutral' pedagogical approaches that endowed them with an inclusive veneer.

Thirdly, for the teachers who demonstrated movement toward reflexivity – and thus toward the image of the teacher as social justice advocate – they were far more reflexive and open to acknowledging 'social' mechanisms of privilege and domination, as well as their own embedment in these relations. But even so, none of the teachers aligned seamlessly with the image of the missionary, secular missionary, tourist or social justice advocate. For instance, not all of the teachers referred to in this chapter as 'secular/missionaries' laid claim to a higher calling, and those defined as 'social justice advocates' were not consistently reflexive. Indeed, this underscores the chapter's final key finding that none of the teachers – whether they exhibited reflexivity or not – cited their racial identity, their whiteness, as a factor in them becoming teachers. These patterns and blind spots became clearer as the teachers branched out as professionals and eventually chose to teach in the APY. The following two chapters chart these moves.

Chapter Eight

DESIRE FOR THE DESERT

The previous chapter explored the teachers' emergence as teachers and their experiences of tertiary education. During this portion of the interviews, the image of the teacher as 'missionary', 'secular missionary' or aspiring 'social justice advocate' emerged most strongly as the participants attempted to make sense of their lives inside discourses of education. Within the scope of this thesis the significance of these identities is that the 'secular/missionary' rationalises the world (and their place within it) by way of discourses with essentialist roots, which naturalise the mechanisms of 'race'. In contrast, the 'social justice advocate' acknowledges race and thus potentially allows for a more equitable mode of education that subverts racial domination. This chapter picks up the narrative thread by exploring the teachers' forays into the field as professionals and their eventual reasons for choosing to work in a remote Aboriginal context. It was during this part of the interviews that the teacher as 'tourist' and 'mercenary' started to emerge with greater intensity. This chapter therefore enables a more robust examination of all four identities – the missionary, tourist, mercenary and social justice advocate – and their significance for social relations in the APY.

Making Sense of the Narratives

The time span between graduating as teachers and choosing to work in the APY varied greatly across the narratives. Some of the teachers accepted work in the region immediately while some had a modicum of previous teaching experience. Others had taught for long periods of time and others still were experienced teachers who had left the profession and were returning to take a post in a remote context. Complicating matters, six of the participants had undertaken pre-service teaching placements in the region before returning to assume paid work (this included four of the six new graduates and their stories are included in this chapter for they convey the teachers' desires to work in a remote context). Also complex, the teachers' desires for the APY were multi-layered and, often, contradictory. For example, while Joseph and Matt both held to altruistic beliefs that resonated strongly with the construct of the missionary, these men equally displayed mercenary motivations. But despite these complexities, the stories did reveal common sets of motivations and, furthermore, the stories demonstrated consistency – those defined as secular/missionaries in the previous chapter continued to demonstrate complicity with whiteness here, and those previously characterised as aspiring social justice advocates continued to exhibit degrees of racial cognisance.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into two halves. I start with 'life as a teacher' prior to working in the APY. This includes selected stories from Faith, Will, Mike, Cliff and Joseph – teachers who had all graduated many years prior – as well as Belinda, Luke, Matt and Penny – teachers who had at least some teaching experience before taking up posts in the region. In the second half of the chapter

I contemplate the teachers' desires as a group. This incorporates the more experienced teachers along with the new graduates, the latter including Suzy, Chad, Steve, Lucy, Alice and Verity, where all but Steve and Alice had undertaken a placement in the region as a pre-service teacher. In this section the new graduates are loosely grouped as 'tourists' while the longer-term teachers tended to coalesce around the image of the teacher as 'mercenary'. Those exhibiting greater allegiance to the teacher as 'missionary' are drawn from across the spectrum, as are the small amount of teachers who aligned more closely with the 'social justice advocate'.

INTO THE FIELD

In this section I touch on excerpts from all but the new graduates. My aim is to highlight trends across the nine narratives that are important for the teachers' eventual work in the APY. I start with teachers who were predominantly defined as secular/missionaries in the previous chapter or whose rationalisations indirectly supported the essentialist underpinnings of these discourses – Luke, Penny, Joseph, Matt, Mike, Will and Belinda. On starting in the profession, these teachers tended to revert to *what they knew* about teaching prior to entering tertiary studies. This was common across their narratives and unsurprising given the extent to which most of the secular/missionaries claimed to have gained very little from studying at university. For example, to reiterate one of Luke's comments*; you don't learn to teach at uni.* Or in reference to Mike's tertiary experiences; *he couldn't wait to get out.*

After graduating from Teachers College in the 1970s and escaping (in his words) the radical feminists, Mike gained work in a small Anglican day school comprising 'upper middle-class whites' with 'professional parents' (interview 25 May, 2007, p. 18). The school favoured a 'traditional teacher-centred' approach, which Mike slipped into easily. This environment thus enabled Mike to abandon the educational philosophy he'd studied at university, which had asked him to question the dimensions of his privilege. Mike explained;

Mike [...] because I come from a traditional sort of teaching background I taught in a very fairly traditional way and that's what the school wanted. You know? Parents were fairly demanding. They wanted their kids to have academic success.

SS And in a sense that would have been comfortable for you because it was what you were used to throughout your own schooling at Wheaton?

Mike Yeah, that's right.

(P. 19)

For Will, who was close in age to Mike and also claimed to have gained very little from studying at university, his initial approach was "teacher-centred; I tended to follow what we learnt [at school]" (interview 29 May, 2007, p. 33). Belinda, Penny, Luke and Matt were roughly two decades younger than Mike and Will, and had therefore been exposed to less traditional instruction during their own schooling. However, all of these teachers aligned with discourses that naturalise teaching while simultaneously naturalising social relations. Such discourses subvert the need to question the raced, classed or gendered status quo, and this was evident in Belinda's initial teaching experiences.

After graduating and saving money,[102] Belinda flew to the United Kingdom where she was exposed to a highly structured, standardised approach that was mandated nation-wide. Belinda gained contract work in a culturally diverse part of London, which meant that migrant children from places such as India and Bangladesh were in her care. When asked how those children coped inside the highly standardised English schooling system Belinda explained; "they just got used to it; they had to" (interview 23 May, 2007, p. 41). Thus the migrant students' *difference* posed no major issues for Belinda, who was exempt from having to question the adequacy of her classroom pedagogy. She explained:

> Well in England it was very […] highly structured because I guess they wanted their kids to succeed. So I guess they wanted to expose their students over there to a well-rounded education [because] they do have high expectations. (P. 48)

Like Mike, Belinda discursively linked 'success' and 'high expectations' to a standardised approach, which was based on the dominant culture and language. This represents an invisible deployment of racialised power for it obscures the ways that standardised curricula overlook disparate social contexts and are thus irrelevant for large proportions of the student population. But Belinda viewed herself as a natural teacher for whom the idea of teaching was innate. This standpoint also negated the need to question the racialised status quo, or indeed to grapple with critical educational theory or reflexive practice – what Belinda referred to as 'the other side' of teaching:

> I never really found teaching difficult; it always came quite easily […] Like in all my pracs it just came naturally. It was the other side of it that I had to really struggle through. […] The idea of how to teach just came, I don't even know how? (Pp. 30-1)

These comments are indicative of the way that reproductions of the status quo represent comfortable options for those in structurally privileged positions inside the field of white governmentality. They also reflect the means by which processes of white governmentality are collectively driven, for as Mike and Belinda both explained, a traditional (i.e., Eurocentric) pedagogical approach was what the parents

[102] As explained in the second half of this chapter, Belinda's initial six-month teaching contract was in an APY school following a brief placement in the region. The placement was undertaken with a view to securing a short contract; her motivation was to save money for overseas travel.

and school staff wanted and also what they purportedly associated with success. Mike and Belinda both consented to the dominant order and were hence viewed as 'successful' beginning teachers.

And yet for some of the secular/missionaries, reverting to *what they knew* (i.e., what came naturally) and adhering to the dominant order did not always stand in them in good stead. For instance, Matt held to naturalistic assumptions about teaching but struggled as a beginning teacher. Rather than question the inadequacy of his tertiary preparation – a one year add-on to a Music degree that included a brief overview of educational psychology and behaviour management – Matt rationalised that in contrast to teachers like Belinda, teaching simply did not come 'naturally enough' for him:

> I was wondering if I was cut out to be a teacher. You know? I … I mean I wasn't having *big* behaviour management problems in my class but to a degree I was thinking, 'I'm the teacher, you're the student' … not *you need to sit down and listen*, but 'I do have something to show you and the best way that you can take that on is by being cooperative'. So I was getting frustrated […] and I was struggling, I struggled with the workload. (Interview 31 May, 2007, p. 26)

For Penny and Luke, reverting to what they knew as beginning teachers included pedagogical strategies and technologies developed at Sunday School which did not necessarily enable them to work with difference. Penny, for instance, started out as a teacher by undertaking contract work, which often meant working in marginalised schools in metropolitan Adelaide that were hard to staff. Penny adopted a teacher-centred approach and endeavoured to 'keep the reigns tight' (interview 17 June, 2007, p. 25). She explained, "I was strict; had to be" (p. 30). Like Matt in the above excerpt, Penny lamented the lack of respect she received from students that she perceived to be unmanageable. In relation to one such group, Penny explained:

> [T]hese kids were so … there were lots of Indigenous kids in the class and these kids were so naughty and so disrespectful I called in the Deputy or the Principal or whoever and said, 'I'm sorry but I am not staying'. I was mortified at the disgusting behaviour and I refused to stay on principle. I left. (P. 30)

Penny also left, on principle, when a teaching contract in a Northern Territory mining town (a brief sojourn she'd taken up for adventure) proved to be unbearable. She recalled:

> I've never seen such violence amongst kids. You know, you'd be on yard duty and you'd see kids running, just rage in their eyes to get that other kid. I've never seen that in my life. Never seen so much violence, never seen so much alcoholism in any place in my life. That town was like, unbelievable. […] I hated it; I will not go back and live in that town again. […] Unless you like alcohol and like going to the pub and are willing to go with the flow, and that is not me […] then you will not cope […] It's either leave or be an outcast: choose what you'd like to be, you know? (P. 33)

Penny's encounters with difference prior to entering the APY tended to result in her 'pathologising' difference, which would in turn secure her positional authority as a moral white subject. When faced with students who demonstrated (in Penny's view) lack of appropriate respect, Penny positioned herself as an innocent victim; a standpoint which inhibits white subjects' movement toward race cognisance given the latter would in fact require 'compromising moral narratives of self' (see for example Heron, 2007, p. 143). While the students in Penny's care may well have exhibited disrespect, a recurring theme in her narrative was lack of interrogation of her own pedagogy and repeated exploitation of her ability to pack up and leave – this too being a product of her privilege. Rather than apply a critical lens to question her pedagogical strategies or outlook, Penny stigmatised the Aboriginal students who, at one stage, she went so far as to label 'terribly disrespectful little brats' (p. 30).

Joseph, who exhibited complicity with naturalistic assumptions about teaching in the previous chapter, also reverted to *what he knew* about teaching when starting out. Like Will and Mike (close in age to Joseph), this meant establishing boundaries and retaining control – what Green and Reid refer to as 'disciplinary work' that is aimed toward shaping individual bodies of students into the 'good subjects' of disciplinary control (2008, p. 28). But, like Penny, this did not equip Joseph to cope with difference. Joseph's first posting was in the isolated community of 'Stockdale' approximately 500 kilometres northwest of Adelaide:

Joseph I applied for Adelaide, Adelaide Hills and somewhere else and they sent me to Stockdale and I had Aborigines [sic] in the class. I can't remember a lot about them; I remember [some school staff] used to have to go and ride shotgun on the bus out to [the nearby community] to pick up the Aborigine kids and they'd bring frill-neck lizards for show-and-tell and they'd go walkabout in their minds and also walkabout but there was no sort of specific program [for them].

SS Ok, so this is interesting in terms of you eventually coming here. Before you met your Indigenous students at Stockdale [in the early 1970s], can you remind me what your understanding was of Aboriginal people or cultures?

Joseph None, no contact, no idea.

SS How was that experience then, as a teacher? How did you manage it?

Joseph I just treated them the same way as I treated the white kids, no different.

You know, I had the boundaries […]

(Interview 26 May, 2007, pp. 24-5)

Joseph was active in constructing difference when implying, for example, that the Aboriginal students went walkabout in their minds. This is redolent of a discourse of Aboriginalism which sees social identity in terms of essential, biological difference as though the students were inherently inferior to their white counterparts – Penny's conceptualisation of the Aboriginal students in the mining town as inherently violent was not radically dissimilar. But despite constructing difference, Joseph also relied on an essential sameness when confirming that he treated 'all of his students the same'. This constituted a classroom technology deployed by Joseph to manage the 'problem of difference', and indeed in other classroom experiences, with 'white' mainstream students, this approach had worked well for Joseph. In relation to his second posting in a local metropolitan school, Joseph explained:

> Well my method was I had the boundaries really tight at the start. I'd always pick on the kids and then you've got to expand them at the end. The Principal would come in and my kids would be up at the windows painting and I would be doing a dance of some sort! […] But as soon as I said 'Ok, stop' – not like these [Anangu] kids, you know – they'd stop and they'd put away their paints and sit up and we'd have more structured lessons, Maths and that. […] These [Anangu] kids are so totally different. […] The boundaries [in my class] were that you respected your teacher, the basic sort of things that we still talk about. You'd never ever hit them, even though you could have in those days. (P. 26)

Like Penny, Joseph relied on a racialised perception of the world as evidenced by his deferral to Anangu students as a yardstick for determining deviant studenthood: *my [white] students were so well behaved … not like these Anangu kids.* When faced with 'difference' inside the classroom – like many of the secular/missionaries during their initial teaching forays – Joseph either resorted to pathologising the students to explain away his lack of control or would defer to a discourse of essential sameness as a pedagogical strategy. Joseph did not question the adequacy of his pedagogy and nor did he relinquish moral narratives of self. In contrast, Cliff and Faith – (both similar ages to Joseph and both having graduated around the same time) – took a very different approach.

On graduating, Cliff specialised in ESL and Music instruction, which included several trips overseas to work in places such as Thailand. As explained in the previous chapter, travel overseas had enabled Cliff to experience being a cultural minority for whom the dominant language did not come easily. Through travel, Cliff realised the extent to which language can serve to both include and exclude, and he also experienced what it was like to be treated as 'Other'. Geographical displacement thus enabled Cliff to gain perspective on his whiteness and these insights underpinned his approach as a teacher.

Faith's experiences were diverse and drawn-out over three decades. Having majored in Art and Indigenous Studies at Bordercity Teachers College, Faith began her journey by opting to undertake all

three of her teaching placements in schools with high Indigenous student populations. Faith reflected, at that time her imperative as a teacher was to "save the Aboriginal race from their downfall!" (interview 31 May, 2007, p. 15). This is a common starting point for whites wishing to make a difference as good teachers of Indigenous students, and reflects recourse to the teacher as 'missionary'. After graduating, Faith asked to be placed in an Indigenous school but instead was placed at 'North High' public secondary: "not an Aboriginal in sight" (p.15). Regardless of this she endeavoured to put into practice the progressive pedagogies that she had learned at college. Faith started by dispensing with the usual timetable and normative rules of the classroom – her aim was to shift the power differential between teacher and student and engage the students more fully in the learning process:

> I said to the kids, you know, you're going to tell me what to do and we'll do what you want to do … I'm not going to tell you, I'm not going to dictate to you and … And one class, they actually begged me to, you know […] to instruct! After the first few weeks of mayhem they actually begged for something to do and that was interesting. And another class, they were a bit wild and the only way to actually stop them bouncing off the walls was to go for walks.
>
> I strongly believed it, I strongly took on all that alternative education stuff and we did get to some … I developed really good relationships with all the kids and one class, we ended up doing a movie that was […] even then I realised it was a really creative and good thing and they did it so, you know, I could see that it actually was a good way to work but it probably did need a little bit more structure! (Pp. 16-17)

For a while Faith got away with her subversive behaviour on account she was the Art teacher and viewed by the other teachers as "of little consequence, you know? Someone to put up with, I imagine. And, you know, oh well it doesn't really matter that she's not 'really' teaching the kids because it's 'only' Art" (p. 16). Eventually, the head of the Art department pulled Faith aside and said; "'Look, Faith, I think maybe you could have a bit of a plan […] A little bit of structure! You know, I appreciate what you're trying to do but' …" (p.17). After Faith's continued failure to comply, she was finally presented with an ultimatum:

> [T]he principal sat me down and said, 'well I'm prepared to have you keep on at this school but you're going to have to change your ways'. And so I realised … I didn't want to change my ways. (P.18)

The processes that had worked to affirm Mike and Penny's success as starting teachers worked to censure Faith's efforts to teach against the grain – as McLaren et al (2000, p. 111) outline; within the field of whiteness, white people learn to scrutinise their own and others' behaviour to keep 'white' territorial order in place. Membership within white territory can be revoked and dissenters from the dominant order will be expected to conform lest suffer certain consequences. This system of effects in turn makes the subversive move especially difficult (see for example Bhabha, 1998; Haggis, 2004).

Soon after talking with the principal, Faith was politely assisted to leave her first teaching placement at North High and it was not until years later, having had her own children, that she would eventually return to the profession. Faith explained; “the focus comes back to education when your own kids are about to embark on it” (p. 21). After sending her son and daughter to a small alternative school and becoming heavily involved as a voluntary teacher-parent, Faith moved the children to the local primary, which was closer to home. The local primary had a strong Indigenous focus and this included an exchange program with an APY community. Faith volunteered at the school as an Art teacher and community liaison. She also undertook tutoring with local Indigenous students and would eventually undertake paid temporary relief teaching (TRT) during which she focussed on “a lot of Aboriginal stuff with [local] community and […] a support program and Aboriginal studies” (p. 22). These experiences reignited Faith’s desire to work in the field of Indigenous Education and, at this stage in the interview, she explained how her approach had significantly changed.

Faith endeavoured to involve the local Indigenous community in school activities, to move school activities into the community and also to enable local Indigenous people to teach about Indigenous knowledges, despite the fact that this was not always possible:

Faith The [local Indigenous] families, the parents were angry. They’d obviously been marginalised in their areas growing up, in their experiences. And so I tried to work with that. And also the [… APY] exchange thing, one of the other things that I did was help broaden that, so it became, you know, a group would go to Flinders Ranges and hitch up with Adyamathanha people and two groups went to the Coorong to Camp Coorong so, you know, we broadened it out. And so the kids, the actual school environment, there was Aboriginal studies happening and, um, I used to do the [local Indigenous] Trail, trying to train up somebody who was [a local Indigenous person] but that was often too hard. So there was a lot of Aboriginal studies and inclusion but the, you know, the generation up had a lot of anger.

SS Were you in a position to develop relationships with any of those parents?

Faith Yeah and one woman in particular … and a family in [a nearby township], that was sort of fairly, well, that was down the track a bit when I did [Indigenous] tutoring.

SS Ok, can you talk about that?

Faith Um, yeah it was […] it didn't help the kids much because it was after school and they'd rather be outside playing and it was a bit of an imposition rather than a help. We were always trying to have it happen in school time but it wasn't allowed to be.

(P. 23)

Despite Faith's focus here on the inclusion of Aboriginal people – which can leave the Eurocentric culture of the school invisibly intact – Faith also endeavoured to make education less of a 'white' space by meeting at the margins and including Indigenous people in the planning and delivery of programs. Unlike Penny, who conceptualised the Indigenous children in her care as terribly disrespectful and inherently violent, Faith engaged a more reflexive standpoint by acknowledging the community members' reluctance to take part in school programs in light of the trans-generational impact of racism in the region. Whereas Penny and Joseph both denied Indigenous subjectivity by constructing difference, Faith acknowledged the agency of the local people. Faith sought ways of rethinking their anger which did not return the blame to the Indigenous community and she also acknowledged the dynamic nature of Aboriginality by recognising the various kin groups with whom the school was interacting.

Faith worked hard to establish relations with the local Aboriginal community and to teach the white community about Aboriginal perspectives. Faith would also end up managing the APY exchange program at the school for six years (before teaching in a number of remote Aboriginal communities) and it was during this period that Faith's emphasis dramatically shifted:

SS How had your outlook changed? When I asked you earlier about your standpoint as a beginning teacher you said something about – in jest – *I was going to save them*. How had your outlook changed by then in terms of your disposition?

Faith I guess, yeah, it shifted to, you know, A<u>n</u>angu were ok it was the white ones that needed saving! Or, educating or enlightening or … yeah, the focus shifted to wanting to get the message across to white people. […] It was always about educating my own kids as well; that was sort of what everything becomes about, you know, for your own kids. [… But also] most of the learning, I felt, happened with the white adults that went – like the parents who thought they were going to support their kids and weren't really, you know part of it – they were the ones that usually had the most culture shock and were confronted the most and had to be helped through

the most and had the most learning happen.

(Pp. 23-5)

Unlike the secular/missionaries, whose initial forays into the field reflected ongoing complicity with whiteness, Faith's long-term involvement with Aboriginal people and her critical disposition resulted in a paradigmatic shift: from wanting to 'save the Aboriginal race' to realising the need to educate whites. This reflected a shift toward reflexivity.

Thus as a group of more experienced teachers – Faith, Cliff, Mike, Joseph and Will having graduated in the 1970s, and Matt, Penny, Luke and Belinda having graduated in the 1990s – their forays into the field before heading to the APY revealed two main patterns that would potentially impact their work with Anangu. Those I have aligned with the secular/missionary, (i.e., all but Faith and Cliff) tended to adhere to a pedagogical approach that was comfortable and meshed with naturalistic assumptions about teaching (i.e., an approach that harmonises with or valorises the dominant language and culture and may often result in the white teacher pathologising difference). Those who worked to emulate the construct of the social justice advocate challenged normative Eurocentric models of education in order to assist the academic achievement of students from non-white backgrounds in ways that do not stigmatise. The teachers' reasons for choosing to work in a remote community in the APY added further insight into their dispositions as a collective.

DESIRE FOR THE DESERT

After exploring the respondents' initial teaching endeavours, the interviews were focused on establishing their motivations to work in the APY. Conversations around this topic came up at different times as the interviews played out variably. Like the young Faith who originally wanted to 'save the Aboriginal race', some of the teachers conceptualised teaching in the APY in terms of a rescue mission and I refer to this group as *missionaries*. Others exhibited a *mercenary* impulse by stating that they were 'in it for the money'. Others still were serious about teaching for social justice, and I term this group *social justice advocates*. A fourth main group exhibited, above all, a thirst for adventure and this group are referred to as *tourists.*

As explained earlier, the teachers exhibited multiple and sometimes contradictory reasons for wishing to teach in the APY and their groupings are based on prevailing desires. However, to illustrate variability, excerpts from some of the teachers' stories appear in more than one section. In the context of this research, desire is conceptualised as a discursive construct that subjects embrace and invest in. And while the desires to help or pursue adventure are ostensibly innocent, our desires are also grounded in deeper discursive relations that position us in respect to whiteness.

Mercenaries

A notable correlation in the narratives was the tendency of the longer-term teachers to lay claim to a mercenary motive for pursuing work in the APY. This was rarely their only reason; however, being 'in it for the money' was a line of reasoning that was virtually exclusive to participants who had graduated the least recently. Some of these teachers, such as Mike, Will and Joseph, had left teaching several years prior and were returning following the cessation, or failure, of alternative work. Will, for instance, had left teaching during the mid-1990s to pursue a range of opportunities in agribusiness. When these attempts to make a living failed, Will resorted to menial employment in a local supermarket before ultimately returning to teaching. Contract and TRT work was sporadic and unpredictable, so when the opportunity arose to apply for permanent relief teaching (PRT) in the APY, Will declared: "The money. The travel. The continuing ability to do my job" (interview 29 May, 2007, p. 45). These were his primary reasons for moving to the region.

Not dissimilarly, Mike (who had schooled at the private boys college, 'hated' Teachers College, and then gained work in the small Lutheran day school) had left teaching several years prior to pursue a more lucrative career in information technology. He reflected; "I swore … I vowed and declared I'd never go back teaching. I mean when you're working for […] a big corporation, it's lots of money. Big, big money. Expensive hotels, great sort of lifestyle" (p. 30). However, Mike's wife had travelled to the APY for a school excursion with one of their children and on her return, 'Sarah', who had also been a teacher, determined that it was time they renewed their teaching qualifications. As Mike explained; "I guess she saw it as a good income and then [… she] talked me into it" (p. 30).

Joseph had also left teaching several years prior in an effort to pursue a range of more profitable enterprises. But when these businesses failed, and his marriage collapsed, Joseph returned to teaching out of necessity – his story is picked up shortly with reference to 'the missionary'. Faith and Cliff each acknowledged their mercenary motivations – Cliff, owing to the inconsistency of ESL work in Adelaide, and Faith, given the need to support her son. However, their desires for the APY also overlapped with discourses concerning justice and equality, thus their narratives are picked up with reference to 'the social justice advocate'. And finally, while Belinda – (much younger than the other 'mercenaries') – also laid claim to conflicting desires, her initial reason for pursuing work in the APY was patently mercenary. Belinda's friend had secured work in the region by chance and suggested that Belinda undertake a brief placement in the same community. Belinda had plans to travel to the United Kingdom the following year, and so she took the placement with a view to securing a short contract. Belinda was honest in stating; "I wanted to work […]. I wanted to go overseas. I wanted to save money" (p. 29).

In all of these extracts, the 'white' teacher's position within race relations is clear: the social and historical conditions which constitute the APY as a 'hard to staff' area owing to its 'remoteness' mean that it is a lucrative option for white teachers wishing to make money. This resonates with Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist's research wherein "the incentives provided by way of extra remuneration and rewards may attract volunteers for the wrong reasons" (2004, p. 4). In this sense, the white teacher as

'mercenary' is blatantly exploiting the socioeconomic binary that underwrites Indigenous oppression and white advantage. Moreover, when the mercenary views his/her appointment in temporary terms – for instance, as the young Belinda declared; "I only wanted the six months because I knew I'd booked my ticket" (p. 54) – their transience can be understood as an expression of racialised power. Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist contend:

> Such transient teachers are less likely to develop a strong commitment to addressing the social, emotional and academic needs of the students. This is one aspect of the multi-layered oppressiveness of racialised structural problems in a neo-colonial situation. (2004, p. 3)

The normalcy of being able to work in a place where applicants are rarely rejected and where accommodation, permits, salaries, travel expenses and other special allowances are pre-arranged, can nonetheless have the effect of erasing the classed and raced nature of the entitlement (see for example Heron, 2007, p. 46). Indeed in none of the stories mentioned above do the mercenary teachers acknowledge their privilege to work in the region – a privilege that is rarely, if ever, reciprocated to Anangu who may wish to work in the mainstream. Yet when compared to some white teachers' more altruistic or innocent motivations, the mercenary's relationship to whiteness is, at the very least, relatively patent.

Tourists

In contrast, the teachers who exhibited a tourist imperative to teach in the APY appeared, at first glance, to differ markedly from the mercenaries. Like the tourist teacher outlined in chapter two, these teachers were invariably younger, new or relatively new to teaching, less interested in money, and their motivations tended to express a pure or innocent outlook. However, insofar as the tourists took the opportunity to work in the APY for granted – an opportunity that is grounded on a racialised social and economic binary – the tourists, like the mercenaries, also remained complicit with hegemonic whiteness.

Penny's original interest in working in a remote Aboriginal context emerged in the narrative when she talked about teaching in the Northern Territory mining town (mentioned in the previous sections). Penny thought that the prospect of teaching in the 'Top End' would be 'unusual and very exciting' (p. 30). And although Chad's desire to work in the APY most strongly aligned with the missionary identity, he also noted; "I was always interested, like I always read books about other countries and stuff" (interview 1 June, 2007, p. 5). And later, "I want to see things that are different and not be bored […]" (p. 21). Likewise, Lucy reflected,

> Lucy […] one of my friends is quite similar in my thinking, really interested in like other cultures and stuff. We always used to go to Latino festivals

and learn different types of dancing and go to World music festivals and stuff like that.

SS Why do you think you had that interest?

Lucy I don't know. Probably because I grew up in 'Morris Bay' where everything was exactly the same. Yeah, I just like things that are different, like I don't like everything to be the same. I think maybe it came from being in Morris?

(Interview 24 May, 2007, p. 9)

These excerpts exhibit a desire for difference that is vested in the belief that 'difference' has something to offer. This belief – or colonial construct – involves the commodification and consumption of otherness, and the identity constituting effects inherent in these processes; as Nguyen (2005, p. 1) notes, we consume to construct our identities. But the consumption of otherness is not just about the desire for what the Other signifies but what the consumption of otherness conveys about the consumer. For example, the desire for encounters with Aboriginality can be used as proof of anti-racism and indeed at points throughout their narratives, Lucy, Penny, Verity, Steve, Alice and Chad all positioned themselves as 'good' anti-racists in contrast to white people who exercised overt modes of racism. Similarly,

> The ability to eat so-called exotic food, attend cultural festivals and tolerate the 'strange' smells and 'weird' customs, communicates a worldliness, a maturity, an adventurousness and a wealth of experience and knowledge that differentiates and elevates oneself above the 'ignorant masses' which view Otherness with fear. (Nguyen, 2005, p. 52)

All of these respondents laid claim to a worldly interest in other cultures, foods and cultural music along with a desire to teach in the desert, for doing so promised to deliver 'something different'. But rather than communicate legitimate anti-racism or worldliness, the desire for otherness has racialised roots. Such desire has historically expressed a form of 'imperialist nostalgia' in that consumption of commodified otherness is an assertion of racialised power useful for subduing and controlling a fear of the Other. In this sense, the desire for 'otherness' and to be seen as 'good' can be understood in terms of a striving for synthesis and an end to alienation – what Sheshadri-Crooks (2000), Reid (2005) and Heron (2007) all describe in terms of a yearning for whiteness, which holds the promise of wholeness. Consuming, conceptualising, dominating, categorising, naming and generating knowledges of the Other reflect the continuing colonial processes involved in determining the Other in order to determine the Self (see for example Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2000; Said, 1979, p. 1; Wadham, 2002, p. 54. Also see chapter one on 'Orientalism'). These processes underwrote the tourists' desires to teach in the APY for adventure.

Also linking the tourists' narratives was a common set of strategies and perspectives that secured their complicity with whiteness. These included, like the mercenaries, a taken-for-granted sense of entitlement to enter and leave spaces of otherness at will; a perception of the APY (or other exotic places) as potentially shocking; and a tendency to position Others 'over there' as a novelty and touristic attraction. For instance, upon graduating from university Alice applied for teaching work but by the end of the summer holidays was yet to receive any offers. A recruitment officer for the APY finally phoned with a potential position and while Alice wasn't entirely sure what to do, teaching in the region sounded exciting. Alice rationalised,

> It'd be a bit of an adventure. […] if I hate it, I can come back and [it would] just be something different, get away from the city. Yeah. Just to do something different. (Interview 30 May, 2007, p. 9)

Verity was also unable to find permanent teaching work in the mainstream and her 'Plan B' was to become a flight attendant – a job which would enable adventure. But when the flight attending course failed to bear employment Verity acquiesced to an offer put forward by the principal of the APY school where she had undertaken a brief placement – (Verity, Belinda, Suzy, Chad, Luke and Lucy had all carried out brief placements in the region, which eventually resulted in employment). When offered work in the region Verity rationalised, she had always been 'highly inclusive' of other cultures and interested in working 'off the beaten track', which is why she undertook a placement in the APY in the first place (interview 23 May, 2007, p. 10). Working in the APY would therefore fulfil her thirst for adventure and secure an inclusive pretence while promising permanency and a steady income.

Lucy, Belinda and Penny enunciated similar desires. As noted, Lucy's interest in other cultures was – at least in part – founded on a longing to escape the boredom of Morris Bay. At university the opportunity to carry out placement in the APY was advertised on several occasions and Lucy's interest was constantly piqued. She recalled,

> Every time they talked about it with us I kept thinking, 'yeah that would be a good thing to do', like I'd be interested in doing that, in seeing what's there and seeing the kids. And every time they talked about it I was interested in it but never did it. They offered it again and I thought, 'Oh well it's only for two weeks; I might as well do it', so I did. [… I remember] I was excited. [The APY] was different and exciting. (Pp. 12, 14)

Belinda and Penny were also self-admittedly adventurous. Penny explained that despite her experiences in the mining town – and despite 'vowing and declaring never to go back' to an Aboriginal community – she had inherited a thirst for adventure from her parents and this underpinned her decision to pursue work in the APY; "mum and dad just wanted to travel around […] the point was they, you know, were adventuresome people" (p. 15). Similarly, Belinda noted:

> I just wanted to travel and always wanted to. My mum and dad did a lot of travelling so I guess they influenced me […] you know, you'd see their photos. [I] just really wanted to see the world. (Interview 23 May, 2007, p. 32)

Underlying these women's narratives is a sense of entitlement to come and go as they please – as Alice states, if she hates it she can always leave. This resonates with the 'tourist' described in chapter two who never commits to 'one path, one destination, or one dream of a perfect place' (Harper, 2004, p. 217). Lucy, Belinda, Verity, Alice and Penny thus remain complicit with whiteness by overlooking the ease with which they secure teaching positions in the region, and also by overlooking that their choices (to come and go at will) are a product of their whiteness. They overlook that Anangu do not have the same ease of access in and out of mainstream Australia and they neglect that white children are rarely, if ever, positioned in the same way as a novelty worth going to look at. The marginalised situation of Anangu is therefore positioned as a point of attraction by these tourist teachers, and this is despite that they secure for themselves a daring or inclusive identity by opting to go somewhere so very 'off the beaten track'.

What's more, these women's rationalisations denote racialised/spatialised tropes that are contingent on discourses of Aboriginalism and which imply the notion of the carnivalesque: the idea that the APY is a place that they may 'hate' and is hence shocking for their white middle-class sensibilities. The carnivalesque, in this sense, refers to a world in which normative white boundaries separating 'white' selves from 'grotesque' qualities ascribed to 'Other' bodies are removed. This is not unlike the Ernabella missionary Nancy Sheppard's initial sentiments – outlined in chapter three – when she wrote, "Central Australia was in our national psyche only as the remote and forbidding dead centre that had lured explorers to their death" (2004, p. 3). In her first morning in the region, Sheppard wondered, "could this forbidding landscape nourish me?" (p. 4). Writing in far more straightforward terms, when recalling her first trip to the region to carry out a brief placement, Belinda noted,

> I nearly died because it was just, I don't know, looked terrible. […] it was like, God what am I doing? I was overwhelmed. (P. 29)

According to Harper (2004), Reid (2005) and Schick (2000), sojourns into the spaces of the Other are particularly important for 'white' women given our historical constitution as less 'white' than white men. Thematic across the tourists' narratives was indeed the fact that they were virtually all women. Travel into such spaces can hence be conceptualised as a release and gender transgression. This was indicated in the narratives when the women would talk about themselves 'over there' in ways which surpassed the boundaries of their lives at home.

For instance, Suzy started travelling well before studying teaching, and part of her reason for choosing the APY (first, as a placement option, and second, to teach for eighteen months) was to recapture the sense of liberation that travel had delivered. Suzy said of her first journey overseas to the United States, "I really had that sense of, you know; I could be anyone over here" (interview 26 October, 2007, p. 4). Travel provided Suzy with a release from the constraints of home and thus a

means of accessing power. She had already explained; at home there was a strong (if implicit) expectation on the part of friends and family that, now married, she and 'Jim' would start a family, acquire a better house, and more material possessions. In contrast, travel was described in her narrative in terms of freedom and self-development, and her desire for the desert would (at least in part) be inflected by her love of adventure. In relation to her trip to the United States, Suzy lamented;

> We weren't probably brave enough to go to India or some of the other places that probably would have offered even more opportunities for self-development, but [going to the United States] just seemed like a relatively safe step. (P. 3)

Suzy's assertion about dangerous spaces such as India points to a conviction about self-development that is grounded in the need for an 'Other' – a need that Anangu in the APY promise to fulfil for Suzy given that the United States had failed in this regard. Many of the women tourists exhibited a desire for contact with *Others* – a desire that was framed as being open-minded and brave because their experiences were challenging and sometimes shocking. These women sought to enter spaces which resonated with the notion of the carnival as "a space of liberation from established hierarchies" (Heron, 2007, p. 121). Doing so thus enabled the attainment of a fuller sense of white identity through surmounting the challenges that they faced, that are only available 'over there'. For example, Belinda noted:

> I like going to third world [destinations because] they're cheap and also I just like the challenge. I just like experiencing different cultures and food and people and I just really like it. (P.42)

As noted, after a brief six month contract in an APY school to save money for travel, Belinda headed overseas. Teaching in the United Kingdom was particularly desirable for it enabled Belinda to take trips to exciting 'third world' destinations during each school break (destinations which were also 'cheap'). During this time Belinda became something of a 'serious tourist' for whom teaching was of far less consequence while cultural pursuits became a primary form of identity creation (Prentice & Andersen, 2003, p. 8). Of her trip to India Belinda explained:

> [India] was just overwhelming. It was just awful. […] I got to India and Delhi and it was just – the amount of people and cars and poverty right in your face. It was – and the smell. It was just overwhelming. I hated it [… it] was probably the biggest cultural shock I've ever had. Just the – I think the poverty and just seeing people lying in streets and going to the toilet anywhere because they've just got nowhere. You know, that kind of – it's just […] Do you know what I mean? It's just unreal. […] India was just – yeah. I remember the amount of people. Just huge. Being followed the whole time and harassed because they… they [try to] get your business or sell you something. It was really crazy. […] India was my favourite place. I look back now and India's like oh India! (Pp. 44-3)

Traveling through India, Belinda was able to enter the spaces of otherness and in these stretches of her narrative, desire and dread would co-exist marking at once the boundaries of white identity and the processes of self-discovery that she could achieve through encounters with an Other (see for example Hall & Metcalf, 1994; MacCannell, 1989). While travelling, Belinda was thus able to engage in processes of othering that are productive of affirmative self-images – processes which secure "innocence and the story of the moral subject" (Heron, 2007, p. 121). Belinda positioned herself as a moral and adventurous subject given her very bravery and willingness to engage with Others 'even if' such engagements were potentially threatening.

Prentice and Anderson (2003, p. 7) say of carnivalesque environments; not only do they excite the appetite of cultural tourists they mark a boundary between the 'normal and known' against that which is soothingly reconfigured as Other. Manifestations of the carnivalesque thus reinscribe 'white' superiority while allowing white subjects to eagerly realise their desires beneath the sign of the Other (Del Cooke, 2006, p. 14). However, entering such spaces can also be overwhelming for 'white' subjects thus inducing a sense of shock – as Belinda noted; travelling to India was the biggest cultural shock she'd ever experienced. At the same time, however, Belinda loved it. Similarly, while she initially 'hated' the APY, she would eventually choose to return as a teacher, in part for money but also because, like Suzy, she was "still in that travel mode" (p. 54). Still seeking adventure. Belinda's experiences thus expressed the means by which travel to 'Other' spaces can provide white subjects with something in return: a sense of transcendence, a worldly identity and access to greater power. These dimensions reflect invisible deployments of racialised power that rely upon an exotic Other. Moreover, these processes underpinned all of the tourists' desires to teach in the desert. However, none of the tourists in this study were cognisant of these relations, and thus remained complicit with whiteness.

Missionaries

Travel to 'exotic or dangerous' places can not only afford white subjects a sense of transcendence, it can also imbue them with a noble pretence. This was evident when reviewing the missionaries' reasons for wishing to teach in the APY. The narratives of Joseph, Chad, Luke and Matt shared in the entwinement of mercenary and altruistic motivations. Like Mike and Will, Joseph's initial reasons for pursuing work in the APY were patently mercenary – he needed the money. After teaching for a relatively brief period during the 1970s, Joseph left teaching to explore other roles. Out of necessity, he eventually returned to find that "it was a challenge; after twenty years, twenty years out of it, things had changed. Kids were in your face" (p. 33). Joseph pursued a number of brief teaching contracts in Queensland but when work dried up he was desperate for a financial solution. Joseph's brother was already working in a remote Aboriginal context in far north Queensland; Joseph explained:

> […] the reason I even thought about it, Aboriginal things, is I was saying to 'Robert' and his wife, I've gotta get money […] And they both said, both at separate times, two days apart,

> they called me and said "why don't you try an Aboriginal community?" I called Queensland and the Northern Territory [Departments of Education] and the extra income wasn't really there; they'd just give you two flights back home each year, which I didn't need. And I called Adelaide, spoke to [the recruitment officer] and he said oh you went to 'Northern' Teachers College and oh you went to Stockdale Area School! (P. 33)

Joseph and the recruitment officer 'hit it off' on account they were at the same Teachers College and area school only years apart. Joseph secured a position in the APY given 'who he knew' and almost certainly because APY schools are some of the hardest to staff. For Joseph, working in the APY seemed like an 'opportunity to be grasped' and yet the means by which he secured a position through 'insider networks' (Lipsitz, 1998, p. vii) appeared at the same time unremarkable in his narrative. Heron points out, in these recollections during which white people take-for-granted the opportunity to work in remote or 'exotic' locations for financial or personal benefit – with accommodation provided, entry permits arranged and higher than average salaries paid directly into our accounts –

> […] that some of us are better off because others are and historically have been poor, and that this is structured by the intersections of race, class, and gender, is almost unrecognised. (Heron, 2007, pp. 41-42)

Joseph sought to benefit financially from working in a remote community given that the opportunities for a white teacher to make money 'over there' are heightened. This reflects the material inequality aforementioned whereby colonial relations create, and sustain, a socio-economic binary in Australia between 'white' mainstream and 'Aboriginal' periphery. But while explaining his reasons for choosing the APY, Joseph also managed to rescue a moral image that largely obscured these relations. Joseph rationalised:

> [W]hen I spoke to [the white Principal of the APY school] I said 'I must tell you my reasons for wanting to come out [to the APY], they're not all altruistic'. I said, 'I need the extra money to pay for the mortgage and to take care of [my wife and kids], and survive myself'. And he said, 'it's ok'. […] This was before he'd appointed me, and this is interesting, I said to him at the end, I said – because it was just over the phone – and I said to him, 'is this a permanent position?' And he said, 'I don't know, I'll check … [For] a permanent position we'll have to call some referees; [the Department] said I could appoint you like that'. I said 'well, that's a bit more of an incentive if it's permanent'. He said 'yeah of course'. So he called up a Principal, oh a Deputy Principal and two teachers that I know spoke to them and so that was it. And I mean you take a chance when you haven't met someone and you don't know [what kind of teacher they are]. [… But] I think my life experience has probably helped these [Anangu] boys. Probably someone out of college they'd chew them up and spit them out. (P. 23)

Joseph rescues a moral image in this excerpt by being honest about his motivations and by stating that he has something to offer. Joseph implies that his maturity and life experiences render him more capable of managing the wayward Anangu boys than a younger teacher whom the boys would

presumably chew up. Within Joseph's logic, it is the firm hand and rationality of the mature white man that ultimately makes for a good white teacher in the region. By being honest and by asserting that he 'had something to offer', Joseph was therefore able to overlook that 'what he had to offer' was based on his whiteness and not necessarily transferable to Anangu. Joseph overlooked his possessive investment in the racialised binary that secures white cultural and political power in Australia, and he positioned teenage Anangu boys in particular as 'delinquent'; a discursive manoeuvre which feeds into discourses of Aboriginalism that confirm black bodies as deviant. Joseph's construction of himself as the right man for the job hence supported a racialised trope wherein the white Man is recentred as saviour, which is in keeping with the construct of the missionary.

Chad, Luke and Matt also relied on discourses that framed them as benevolent white men. For Matt, who was seeking an escape from mainstream teaching when he stumbled across an advertisement for the APY, his desire for the desert had a lot to do with his Christian faith:

> Because I'm a Christian, because I wanted in some way for this to be a foot on the ground, grassroots sort of experience for me to maybe – to not be a missionary here – but to be able to support the people or to be involved in some way. (Interview 31 May, 2007, p. 31)

For Luke, his reasons for returning to the APY as a teacher after undertaking a short placement several years prior were also very much about his belief in a Christian calling:

> Oh, I just knew that I couldn't, I just knew that this [the APY] was where – not just my passion was but probably my bent, my shape, and you can't really walk away from that. (Interview 25 May, 2007, p. 13)

For Chad, his reasons for travelling to the region as a teacher were also about his identity as an ethical Christian:

> [Knowing] that there are people out there that are, I don't know, that are different and God made them that way and that's cool. It's a bit of an adventure in it as well, you know, like I want to see things that are different and not be bored […]. I want to go out there and get stuck into things and hang out with people that, I don't know, if I look at the Bible and look at what Jesus did […] he hung out with the prostitutes and tax collectors and the dodgy people of the world, you know? And he saw something good in them and stuff, so hopefully that's what I'm going to do. (Interview 1 June, 2007, p. 21)

Clearly evident in Chad's narrative is the entwinement of a self-interested 'touristic' imperative alongside altruism: there was a bit adventure in it, he didn't want to be bored, he was emulating Jesus. Prior to entering the APY as a first-time teacher, Chad had taken part in two programs comprising trips to remote Indigenous communities. One was run by his university and involved a one month stay in a Pitjantjatjara community during which pre-service teachers took part in creative writing exercises with local children. The other program was run by the Christian College that Chad had

attended throughout his primary and secondary years, and to which he returned as a student teacher. This trip comprised one week of sightseeing – doing the 'touro' things like 'Ayers Rock' (p. 10) – and one week for engaging in development work in an Anangu community.

Chad described both trips in terms of 'getting stuck in', 'forming relations really quickly', 'looking beyond the rubbish that everyone sees first' and 'seeing the good' in the Aboriginal people despite the fact that the communities were 'going downhill'; 'just focussing on the positives' (pp. 10-11). Because of these experiences Chad chose to return to the region as a teacher. Chad's desire to teach in the APY thus constituted a kind 'rescue effort' that was largely devoid of a critical outlook: an altruistic desire to see the good in the dodgy people and so exhibit a liberal-minded veneer. One of Chad's strategies for achieving the latter was to 'look beyond' what everyone sees first (i.e., rubbish, poor health). But despite his good intentions, Chad was also active in constructing Indigenous representation through alluding constantly to the 'risky' state of Indigenous health – hence his desire to 'get stuck in' and turn things around. Chad's narrative thus necessitated a needy Other.

As such, Aboriginality was constructed as being 'at risk' by Chad because, he pointed out, in the space of a year the community he visited had gone downhill. In these constructions, health can precariously plunge into disease; rubbish can at some point become excessive (see for example Venn, 2006). In juxtaposition there exists an ethical white subject whose health and presence on Indigenous lands raise no question whatsoever in the narrative. The white subject in Chad's narrative is unassailably ethical given his generous capacity to look for 'the good' in Others despite an initially overwhelming degeneracy that is signalled through stereotypical reference to rubbish. Like the mercenary and tourist, the normalcy of the APY option is therefore taken-for-granted by Chad and he is likely to see his Christian endeavours in terms of a selfless sacrifice that resonates with the image of the missionary. By seeing himself in this light, Chad also engages in the language of avoidance and discounts the need for self-scrutiny.

Heron (2007) and Stoler (1995) point out, when 'we' position Others as needing our interventions we "paint ourselves as larger than life" (Heron, 2007, p. 43). Chad painted himself as larger than life when comparing himself to Jesus. Luke also painted himself as larger than life when suggesting that he was called to the APY. However, Luke's story was somewhat more complex and whereas several of the teachers were driven by a combination of altruistic and self-interested desires to 'help the needy' whilst 'tasting the exotic' (and so attain a kind of self-development and fulfilment), Luke's altruistic imperative was offset by a lived awareness of life in the APY.

Luke was a fluent speaker of Pitjantjatjara and married to an Anangu woman. He explained:

> ['Sophie'] grew up [in the APY] with that sense of hopelessness and, and not being able to see people getting out of cycles. She sort of determined within herself, 'I'm never going back; I'm not putting myself back in that environment'. Perhaps felt a bit unsafe, almost, or vulnerable in some way. But it was probably, yeah, 2000 that she changed her mind and said, right we're going back. (P. 20)

Luke knew numerous Anangu people and had spent long periods in the region since age twelve as part of an ongoing Christian exchange established at his father's church. Because of this, he seemed less inclined to be swayed by a touristic impulse born from discourses of Aboriginalism that secure the relational basis of 'whiteness' through projecting fantasies of an exotic or hopeless Other. Nonetheless, Luke's desire remained underwritten by a missionary discourse which secured racial hierarchy by painting himself as a saviour; as stated earlier, Luke upheld the notion that he had been 'called' to the region. Luke had worked in a variety of independent and state schools while living in the mainstream but, he explained, 'anyone could have done that work' (p. 13). Luke felt obligated to go where he was really needed and where 'not just anyone' was cut out for the position. In this regard, Luke positioned himself as the only (white) man for the job.

Like Chad, Luke expressed the belief that his ethical intentions were God's will, a belief that is 'beyond contestation' (Heron, 2007, p. 45). And because his intentions were irrefutably ethical there was a sense in which domination had disappeared, "taking with it unequal power relations operating at both the macro and micro levels" (p. 45). 'Race', gender and class had no place in Luke's purview and it was therefore unsurprising that he had so vigorously eschewed 'gender equity' issues while at university. Despite Luke's ability to express a critical standpoint when required, his 'altruistic' desire to travel to the APY remained drawn through an essentialist lens which did not enable him to see his ongoing complicity with hegemonic whiteness. Luke may have returned to the region in part because of his wife's connections; however, his desire was also related to the need to secure an ethical 'white' self who, like his father, was a natural born leader.

And while Matt's self-perceptions were less grandiose, similar themes emerged in his narrative and were entwined with a mercenary impulse. As outlined, teaching in the mainstream had proven to be an enormous administrative and theoretical challenge for Matt thus leading him to question the extent to which he was 'cut out' for the profession. In contrast, the APY seemed like a viable escape which would circumvent the need to leave teaching altogether:

> It was a catch-22 because of course we have a mortgage and three kids that I've got to support […]. So, getting out of teaching, I don't know, it just didn't seem like a viable option. […] Maybe it was all too much stuff in the basket by then to cope with it. I had to bail, I did, I ran, I ran from that job. In the first week of the June/July holidays last year, um, and I'd been looking in the papers not really rigorously but I'd been looking in the papers on the weekends and just looking at other options and then I saw the positions for the APY Lands, and I thought 'ok well maybe if I'm going to give this education thing a go and mainstream is not cutting it for me maybe I need to go to some entirely different context?' So, here we are. (P. 27)

Like Joseph, Matt laid bare his mercenary motivations and in doing so managed to secure a moral self – a good male breadwinner with a mortgage and 'three kids'. But Matt was unable to see that his rationalisations were also grounded in a binary logic which positioned APY schools as a

comparatively ‘easy ride’. Whilst endeavouring to be ‘good’, Matt relied on a deficit view of Anangu that justified his Christian aspirations: *not to be a missionary but,*

> I wanted a really grassroots Christian experience. I wanted to test my own faith in a sense. I wanted to find out where I was really at in my own faith and I thought that coming to a, um, a remote community, um, where it might be a bit more hands on the ground, you know, having people around and giving them meals and just that real, that to me that’s the grassroots of Christianity, you know? Helping someone, giving them … Like lending them 20 bucks if they need or – I’m not saying that’s Christianity, but – um, having people around for a meal, you know, being hospitable. (P. 32)

By seeking a ‘grassroots’, ‘hands on the ground’ experience Matt employed a common trope whereby Indigenous people in ‘remote’ contexts are viewed through the discourse of Aboriginalism, ‘authentic only if unchanging’. This view denies Anangu subjectivity and pits Anangu against a dynamic (if invisible) mainstream. Though largely invisible to all of these men, as ‘saviours’ their Christian faith oversimplified and obscured the hegemonic roots of their altruistic motivations. Their thinking remained tied to the assumption that their presence was necessary and that ‘our’ ways of being are superior.

For all of these men, working in the APY enabled them to express a helping imperative that reproduced the position of white superiority by invoking the moral rationalisation of the civilising mission: an entitlement and obligation to intervene (Spurr, 1993, p. 113). By positioning Anangu as requiring and amenable to their interventions, the subtext of their narratives bespoke a corollary: ‘to the effect that when they acted it would make a difference in what they thought of as dire circumstances’ (Heron, 2007, p. 43). Albeit unintentional, these missionary teachers reproduced a spatialised binary relation between capable white centre and helpless Aboriginal periphery. And yet, their entanglements in domination were habitually rendered invisible in their narratives owing to the normalcy of benevolent white attempts to rescue Indigenous people. As Cowlishaw (2003, p. 108) explains; there persists in contemporary Australia an implicit, narcissistic desire on behalf of ‘white’ society to improve the Indigenous population. In contrast, Cliff, Steve, Suzy and Faith all aligned their desire to work in the region with genuine hopes to resist and redress social injustice by developing an anti-oppressive approach.

Social Justice Advocates

As outlined previously, on entering tertiary education studies, Suzy demonstrated attempts to understand and deconstruct her complicity and investments in domination. Unlike the secular/missionary, mercenary or tourist teachers, and notwithstanding Suzy’s own touristic motivations (which resurface in the following excerpt), she also endeavoured to deconstruct how the

relations of 'race', class and gender had affected (and were continuing to affect) her journey through education. By the latter part of her tertiary degree, Suzy rationalised:

> I'd already decided that I didn't want to work in a mainstream environment. So my very first teaching prac […] I went to the teaching prac coordinator and I said 'Do you have something interesting?', and so she placed me at a newly arrived program school. […] The kids were from a range of origins. There were quite a few kids from Sudan, there were children from Malaysia, there were children from Columbia, there was a little boy who had just recently arrived from France, so there were a range of different experiences and life histories in that classroom, but the majority of the children were from Africa. (Pp. 47-8)

Suzy asked specifically to be placed in an 'interesting', 'different' environment, hence signalling her ongoing desire for contact with otherness. This had already been reflected in her tendency to exoticise 'places like India' and to exploit travel as a means for 'self' development. But Suzy also demonstrated a degree of critical awareness, for example by explaining that there were a range of 'life histories' and 'experiences' in the classroom, thus acknowledging social contexts rather than seeing the children in purely individualistic terms. Suzy had learned enough to know that she remained implicated in racial domination and she endeavoured to use this 'first contact' experience to better understand her role with reference to whiteness:

> I exoticised the kids. On reflection I did a lot of the things that I was trying so desperately not to do […]. For me the kids, say the Sudanese kids, who were so very physically distinctive to me and I had always seen as beautiful for whatever reason, they say all those horrible kind of colonial, I don't know what's going on there, but that kind of sense of the exotic, being so different was sort of in some ways almost more […] Like they were more worthy of the title than the children who had lived in France, for example, who may have had more privilege than these kids. […] It was very confronting for me because I knew I was doing it, but I couldn't get my head around it. You know, […] I was having this sort of internal battle with myself … (Pp. 48-9)

Suzy struggled to enunciate exactly how she was exoticising the students and was yet to make the conceptual leap between her categorisation of the children along racial lines (between those who were beautiful, exotic, worthy of attention and those who, in her mind, were relatively 'normal') and how those processes served to shore up the hierarchical terrain of whiteness. Nonetheless, Suzy did manage to explain that her thoughts and actions had something to do with her own racialised preconceptions and the differential value she consequently placed on the students. Suzy's desire for the desert grew out of these struggles and upon entering the APY she had already determined that a fundamental part of her disposition toward teaching linked back to a need to deconstruct her whiteness.

For Cliff and Steve, mercenary and touristic imperatives to travel to the APY also sat alongside a genuine interest in social justice. Cliff was enjoying his work as an ESL specialist in Adelaide but the

work was irregular. His friend 'Libby', whom he had met at university, told Cliff about working in the region – an option that would not only provide steady income (in a mercenary sense) but would mesh with Cliff's desire to teach ESL for social justice reasons. Libby, a 'white' Australian, was passionate about Indigenous rights and Cliff had always been impressed by her standpoint. Libby had started teaching on South Australia's west coast at a school with a high Indigenous population where race relations between the white and Indigenous community members were particularly volatile:

> Libby had this social justice fight that she wanted to fight. But she got into a lot of trouble fighting this, because there was a lot of prejudice out where she was. […] This was [on the west coast]. She just happened to have a lot of Aboriginal kids [and] socialised with their families. In the end, the white community more or less accused her of being a 'nigger lover'. I know Libby, she'll fight that and she did and won out in the end and re-educated the white people of that place. But it took years and years. She told me after that it almost caused her a nervous breakdown. (P. 53)

As indicated in this excerpt, Cliff's descriptions sometimes assumed a naïve romanticism in which the world was made up of 'good' anti-racist and 'bad' racist whites with the former taking (seemingly sole) responsibility for saving Indigenous people. But Cliff also showed some recognition that the real work to be done in confronting racism was in the re-education of the dominant culture. And while Cliff appeared to have some awareness of the latter, his reflections often lacked a nuanced understanding of race relations, including recognition of all white people's complicity and investments in perpetuating processes of domination. For instance, rather than acknowledge how Libby's stories of bravery and adventure constituted an enactment of domination in that they relied upon her positional superiority as a 'good' white, Cliff was captivated by Libby's stories which inspired in him a comparable 'desire for the desert'. He explained:

> One day she came back to our house. My dad thought she was really funny. She told us all these stories about The Lands. I thought that's fascinating. He really liked the way that she was so seemingly free. I found that kind of impressive too. So I thought, yeah, I'd like to get out there like Libby did. (P. 52)

Lampert (2003, p. 23) suggests; there are many ways that whites can benefit from working with Indigenous communities. As already indicated, contact with otherness is often utilised as proof of anti-racism, thus the consumption of signifiers of otherness can be used to communicate a worldliness and maturity that papers over the modes of imperialist longing embedded in 'white' desires to connect with Others. Cliff's framing of Libby's experiences as akin to an 'adventure story' with 'goodies and villains', 'winners and losers' was redolent of a touristic discourse and colonial narratives, the type he had enjoyed reading as a child. Earlier in the interview, Cliff had recalled reading 'adventure novels' with 'crooks and villains and venturers' (p. 10) and the same language entered his recollections of the stories of adventure with which Libby had regaled him, which whetted his appetite for adventure.

Notwithstanding Libby's purported years of dedication to actively addressing racial inequality, in Cliff's eyes her stories endowed her with cultural kudos and a worldly, 'free-spirited' moral image. At least in part, Cliff's desire for the desert was grounded in a touristic desire to be seen as one of the 'good', brave, adventurous whites like Libby, even if his desires to arrest social injustice were just as potent. Similarly, though Steve exhibited a touristic impulse to work in the APY for adventure, he also expressed deep interest in teaching for social justice given the genuine friendships he had developed with Indigenous people while growing up in Darwin.

Finally, Faith's story stood in contrast to most of the other narratives and not least because of the timeframe over which it spanned. Having gradually shifted from a desire to 'save the Aboriginal race' to recognition of the need to re-educate 'whites', moreover, having managed the APY exchange program at her children's school for six years, Faith's journey toward becoming an APY teacher was set in train when she applied for teaching work in remote communities in South Australia and the Northern Territory. The Northern Territory Department of Education employed Faith immediately. First, she was sent to 'Mulga Park'; an Indigenous community north of Alice Springs. Second, she worked at 'Mt Burdock'; a larger community with a great deal of social unrest and in both spaces Faith spoke about the importance of 'good pedagogy' and 'high expectations'. Rather than deploy a panoptic altruistic gaze which targets the 'dysfunctionality' or 'intellectual lack' of Indigenous students and their communities, Faith constantly brought the critical focus back to the quality of her pedagogy and back upon the education system itself.

After considerable time in the Northern Territory, Faith then moved to a regional community on South Australia's west coast. The area to which she moved had a high Indigenous population and a long history of fractious race relations. The school was a site of racial tensions, for as Faith explained, "'Lime-tree Bay' was another ball game again. Very angry Aboriginal people and very racist white people. […] I had parents in the – the white ones – parents in the classroom, 'why was I picking on their kids?'" (p.30). Faith responded to the overt racism at Lime-tree Bay by teaching about race relations, despite that it would have been easier to appease the white parents by not disrupting the status quo. In response, Faith experienced what McLaren et al (2000, p. 111) might describe in terms of white territoriality – a virulent expression of white governmentality. As these writers explain, in order for racialised power to be structured across time and space, it must be

> […] surveilled through the disciplined rationales of white agents (Foucault, 1978) […] whose consciousnesses are informed and infected by the rubric of white governmentality, a social and psychological condition that scripts the behaviour of whites. […] Among whites, these are codes that determine whether another white person is in line with white governmentality and keeping territorial order. Like some sort of secret handshake, these codes form racial bonds that are difficult for some dissenting whites to see until they themselves experience being surveilled. (P. 111)

This was the second time that Faith's transgressive approach to teaching had served to threaten her membership within the white community – the first being at 'North High' when she was politely

assisted to leave. However, this experience was punctuated by far more hostility given the overtly racialised nature of negotiations between the 'black' and 'white' community members in the contact zone of Lime-tree Bay. Like Cliff's friend Libby, the experience pushed Faith to breaking point: "breakdown […] Yeah, hard time, very hard year" (p. 30).

Finally, Faith applied for permanent relieving work in the APY, for the position would allow her to earn sufficient money while retaining a place in the field of Indigenous Education. By her third year as a permanent reliever, Faith undertook permanency within one school. She did so to build deeper relations with the students and to establish ties with the local community. Thus despite that part of Faith's desire for the desert was driven by mercenary motivations it was also based on genuine, long-term efforts to develop an anti-oppressive pedagogy. Faith's preparation for the APY thus provided insight into the depths of the challenge of becoming a 'white ally' (see for example Aveling, 2004) and the years of work potentially required of white teachers who wish to work in contact zones such as those in remote Australia. Moreover, the range of experiences underpinning Faith's entry into the region highlighted the sheer lack of preparation of some of the teachers in this study, as illustrated in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to build a picture of the teachers' work in the field prior to entering the APY and their desires to work in the desert. Despite the complexities of contradictory impulses and differences as to when the teachers pursued employment in the region, certain patterns emerged in the narratives. Firstly, of the teachers with career experiences prior to entering the APY, it became clear that those who had earlier relied on naturalistic assumptions about teaching (or had supported these discourses by de facto) continued to exhibit complicity with whiteness when starting out as teachers. Above all they did so by resorting to a comfortable pedagogical approach that tended to harmonise with or valorise the dominant language and culture – for example, that which *came naturally* or reflected what they 'knew' about teaching prior to studying at university. As a corollary to this, these teachers were ill-equipped to cope with difference inside the classroom and would either pathologise students marked as Other, or would recourse to strategies built on a discourse of essential sameness (i.e., by treating everyone *the same*). But in saying so, the school environments in which these teachers worked also tended to normalise a traditional or mono-cultural approach, thus enabling the teacher to avoid questioning the adequacy of their pedagogy. Indeed in the case of Mike and Belinda, they were commended as being 'successful' starting teachers for adopting a standardised, traditional approach. In contrast, those who endeavoured to teach for social justice tended to challenge normative Eurocentric models of education. However, this did not always benefit the white teacher and in Faith's experience, 'teaching against the grain' initially resulted in expulsion.

The second set of patterns to emerge related to the teachers' desires. Teachers who were likened to secular/missionaries in the previous chapter either continued to exhibit a missionary impulse in this

chapter (i.e., Luke, Chad, Joseph and Matt), or started to align more compellingly with a touristic imperative (Lucy, Belinda, Verity, Alice and Penny). In keeping with Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist's (2004) research (outlined in chapter two), these tourist teachers tended to be new graduates seeking the different, novel or exotic. In contrast, the missionaries were invariably driven by a higher calling and impulse to help those they positioned as needy – this was also in keeping with research reviewed in chapter two.[103] But the teachers did not align easily with any singular identity category; rather, their desires were multiple and contradictory.

In addition to exhibiting multiple reasons for wishing to work in a remote region, those leaning toward a missionary impulse tended to be male, while the tourists were by and large female. A possible explanation for this was that travel had enabled the white women teachers to gain access to power by circumventing the gendered constraints of home. In contrast, the white men were able to secure an authoritative pretence through aligning themselves with the missionary identity of 'saviour'. Furthermore, those positioned as mercenaries tended to be longer-term teachers, as opposed to the newer graduates. But despite their differences, the missionary, tourist and mercenary had in common that they all remained complicit with whiteness. The mercenary teachers (primarily Mike and Will, but also, to lesser degrees, Belinda, Faith, Cliff, Matt and Joseph), did so by exploiting the socio-economic binary that positions APY schools as 'remote', 'hard to staff' and thus a lucrative option for mercenary whites. The missionaries maintained complicity with whiteness by feeding a moral self-image that relies on a needy Other. And the tourists did so by positioning an exotic Other worth going to 'look at'. Moreover, all of these teachers were implicated in racialised domination by taking-for-granted their opportunity to work in the APY, an option that is rarely a two-way street. In contrast, those who were positioned as social justice advocates in the previous chapter continued to exhibit degrees of race cognisance here; however, Faith, Cliff, Suzy – and to an extent, Steve – also exhibited allegiance to touristic and mercenary imperatives, which in turn highlighted their niggling complicity with hegemonic whiteness. The following chapter explores these relations as they finally played out in the APY.

[103] See for example, Harper (2004), Stirrat (2008), Wojecki (2004).

Chapter Nine

LIVING AND WORKING ON THE LANDS

The previous analysis chapters explored the impact of growing up white in shaping the worldviews of the white teachers in this study. They traced the teachers' reasons for becoming teachers, their experiences of tertiary education, initial forays into the field, and desires to work on remote Aboriginal lands. This chapter draws together the teachers' final narrative threads by considering their experiences of living and working in an APY community. To do so it utilises the frameworks developed in previous chapters, which highlighted prevailing orientations to Anangu Education and white teachers' common dispositions to their work in isolated, non-white spaces. I draw again on the work of chapter two – which delineated attributes commonly associated with the white missionary, mercenary, tourist and social justice advocate – along with chapter four's overview of subordinate, essentialist and reflexive discourses of Anangu Education. This body of work provides a backdrop against which to evaluate the teachers' practices and beliefs. I start by providing a context for each of the participants; for example, their duration in the region and the year levels for which they were responsible. I then recap key aspects of the different 'discourses of Anangu Education' against which the final portions of the narratives are considered.

Tracking the White Teachers[104]

At the time of interview, all but Suzy and Penny were still working in the region and both of these teachers had only recently left. Suzy – who was likened to a 'social justice advocate/tourist' in previous chapters – had resigned after eighteen months as an early childhood teacher in an APY school (early childhood comprising reception to year three in that setting). At her request, Suzy had been reassigned to a metropolitan school while she considered her next move (which, in keeping with the 'tourist' identity, was likely to involve a career change). Penny – who was conceptualised as a 'missionary/tourist' in previous chapters and who staunchly adhered to conservative and naturalistic assumptions about teaching – had also resigned after eighteen months. Penny had been the senior girls' teacher in an APY school, but left to pursue permanency as a Home Economics teacher at a metropolitan state secondary.

Of the remaining 'tourist' teachers, Lucy was in her second term (roughly five months) as a junior primary teacher, and was preparing to leave by year's end. Belinda was in her fifth year and, at interview, was directing the Child Parent Centre (CPC) for pre-school aged children. Since having a child and being pregnant with her second switching from primary teaching into the CPC had enabled Belinda to juggle career and parenthood while working in the region. Along with her husband (who

[104] See Appendix 3 for an overview of the teachers' tenures and job titles at the time of interview, and also the discursive 'identities' and 'discourses' with which they most commonly aligned.

had gained work as a community nurse), Belinda was also planning on leaving at the end of the year. Verity was in her seventh year on The Lands and worked on a part-time rotation as a school counsellor. Verity had previously been a full-time junior primary teacher in the community, but after studying counselling by distance education, was now working as a school counsellor in a 'fly-in-fly-out' basis for blocks of several weeks at a time. Finally, Alice was in her third year as an upper-primary teacher with plans to stay for another year.

Of the social justice advocates, Cliff was in his sixth year as an AnTEP teacher with the intent to stay for another year or two – AnTEP being the tertiary education program delivered on The Lands for Anangu adults. Cliff therefore worked with Anangu adults, many of whom were part-time Anangu Education Workers (AEWs) alongside 'white' classroom teachers. Faith was also a full-time AnTEP teacher. Faith was in her third year in the APY; however, had previously worked in remote Aboriginal schools in the Northern Territory and South Australia for four years in total. Prior to that, Faith had managed the APY exchange program at her children's regional school in southern Adelaide for six years. At the time of interview Faith had no plans to leave. Steve – who was somewhat precariously positioned as a 'tourist/social justice advocate' in previous chapters – was in his second year as an early childhood classroom teacher in an APY community. He and his wife were likely to stay for another year.

Of the missionary teachers, Luke was in his seventh year in the region and, at interview, was in his second year as school principal (after having been a classroom teacher and then deputy principal in the same school). Luke, his wife Sophie and their three children were planning to stay for one more year. Chad was in his second term (five months) in an APY community as the secondary boys' teacher and it was likely that Chad would stay for two years in total. Joseph was also into his second term in the region, and was also a senior boys' teacher. Joseph was planning to stay indefinitely owing to financial pressures brought about by his recent divorce. Matt was in his fourth term (seven months) as a secondary girls' teacher with plans to leave at the end of the year. Although Matt's wife Cindy and their two daughters had originally come along, Cindy had left with the girls after the first term, which was precipitating Matt's decision to leave. But this decision was also based on other factors, which are explored below.

Of the mercenary teachers, Mike was in his fourth year on The Lands and had advanced from secondary teacher to deputy principal. Mike's wife Sarah, who had originally suggested they move to the region for the career opportunities that the APY promised, had also advanced from secondary teacher to district coordinator. Sarah was responsible for coordinating year twelve programs across the region. Both Mike and Sarah were preparing to leave at the end of the year in order for Mike to pursue a more lucrative leadership position in the juvenile justice system working with Indigenous youths. Finally, Will was in his fifth year in the region as a permanent relief teacher (PRT). Will had no plans to leave.

Thus despite the historical association of 'missionary teacher' with lengthy tenure and 'tourist teacher' with transience, the teachers in this study did not necessarily follow these trends. Those with the

longest tenures (of five to seven years) were Luke (missionary/social justice advocate), Belinda (tourist/mercenary), Verity (tourist/missionary), Cliff (social justice advocate/tourist) and Will (mercenary), and these teachers drew from across the four identities. The following analyses consequently demonstrate that while 'commitment' or 'transience' would sometimes mirror characteristics typically associated with the teachers' prevailing dispositions, this was not always the case. And while lengthy tenures enabled some of the teachers to shift toward greater reflexivity, this too was variable. Nevertheless, patterns did emerge in the way the teachers were disposed to their roles, and these trends are mapped below.

Identities & Discourses of Anangu Education

Chapters two and four developed important frameworks against which to assess the white teachers' depictions of their time in the APY. Key indicators of a missionary standpoint included desires that are stereotypically drawn around Western Christian ideals, such as service, mission, morality and purity. The mercenary, in contrast, is primarily motivated by self-interest and less likely to adopt a 'sorryness' standpoint for a 'needy' Other. The tourist – apart from being interested in adventure and escaping 'mundane' aspects of the seemingly cultureless mainstream – is likely to hold a deficit view of the remote Aboriginal community owing to lack of reflexive awareness. This teacher will see their posting as temporary, and will assuage short-term feelings of culture shock or anxiety by socialising with other whites and looking for comfort in mementos from home.

In contrast, the social justice advocate will be aware of the history of Australian race relations, and is likely to have some knowledge of critiques of white incursion on Indigenous lands. They will have awareness of the politics of Indigenous Education and will modify their teaching to assist the academic achievement of Anangu students.[105] Unlike the benevolent missionary or adventurous tourist, this teacher will abandon the need to be viewed as innocent or pure and will strive to recognise his/her complicity and investments in reproducing domination. The social justice advocate is therefore most likely to mesh with the reflexive orientation to Anangu Education that was outlined in chapter four.

Chapter four explored the main orientations to Anangu Education that have played out since 1971.[106] The chapter highlighted that since being taken over by the state, Anangu Education in the APY Lands has moved through several stages. These stages have evolved against mounting contests over Anangu rights to their land and control over the schooling of their children – in this regard, debates concerning Anangu 'self-determination' have been significant. The main approaches to Anangu Education can be described as 'progressive' in that biculturalism, domain separation and operational control, distinct from traditional Western models of education, have actively invited Anangu involvement. But given that these approaches have ultimately failed to subvert the grounds of white

[105] While grappling with the reality of Anangu desires for only some students to necessarily achieve academically.
[106] See Appendix 5 for an overview of 'Discourses of Anangu Education'.

hegemony, they have also reflected subordinate stances in respect to hegemonic whiteness – approaches that acknowledge difference and disadvantage while leaving the racialised mechanisms of white domination intact.

Research by Folds (1987), Iversen (1999) and Riphagen (2005) highlighted that inside the progressive approaches of biculturalism, domain separation and operational control, particular issues have habitually arisen (that usefully draw attention to the hidden processes and 'mentalities' of whiteness that have manifested in the APY). These have included lack of negotiation with Anangu, conceptualisations of Anangu 'self-determination' in terms of what Anangu need to do to meet mainstream standards, misrecognition of AEWs, low expectations of Anangu students, lack of reflexive awareness on the part of white teachers, and white teachers' deployment of watered-down curricula, individualistic teaching strategies or, as a last resort, early termination of employment. These characteristics mesh with an *essentialist* discourse of Anangu Education, which can be typified as including: education frameworks that are imposed; curricula and testing procedures that are standardised; and the naturalisation of white standards, values and norms.

In contrast, *reflexive* discourses would include: preparatory work that enables whites to adopt a critical standpoint; openness on the part of white teachers to learn cultural protocols *in situ*; genuine cross-cultural negotiation; the development of strong school-community bonds; acknowledgement of the relevance and complexity of the role of AEWs; and the conceptualisation of Anangu self-determination in terms of what whites need to do to relinquish control. A *subordinate* discourse of Anangu Education would include lack of critical preparation on the part of white teachers, tokenistic negotiations with Anangu, misrecognition of AEWs, the primary use of AEWs as 'crowd control', and the reproduction of a culture of low expectations of Anangu learners that is divorced from a reflexive analysis of the white teacher's pedagogy.

To analyse the white teachers' sense-making of their experiences in Anangu communities and classrooms, the remainder of this chapter is organised around the following themes that resonate with chapters two and four. These include: preparation; encounters with community; working relationships with AEWs; and governing difference – in other words, questions concerning Anangu self-determination and the conservative 'Johns Report' (2006). The teachers' responses to the latter refine their stances in relation to discourses of essentialism. Finally, the teachers were asked to comment on their approach to teaching.

Preparation & First Impressions

As outlined in the research design chapter, the interviews were only loosely structured to allow the teachers' standpoints to emerge. While I set some topics for discussion, teachers also raised or overlooked particular details according to what they considered to be important. This periodically involved navigating blind spots in the narratives, which in turn facilitated critical evaluation. On the

topic of preparation for, and first impressions of The Lands, some of the teachers chose to begin by discussing their initial placement as a practicing teacher. As stated, six of the teachers had undertaken two-to-eight week placements in an APY community as a precursor to employment, and four of these took up work immediately in the region as new graduates. This meant that the time between placement and employment was minimal, and thus there was some overlap here with the previous chapter in which participants' pre-service experiences were discussed. Nonetheless, including some pre-service encounters in this chapter enables further insight into the impact of an APY placement on the new graduates' emergence as teachers – teachers who I have largely defined throughout as 'tourists'.

In lieu of the identities and discourses of Anangu Education highlighted above, for white teachers to contribute to a reflexive orientation to Anangu Education, *preparation* for their role would likely include the development of knowledge of Australian race relations and the politics of Indigenous Education. The teacher would be aware of the history of the region, and would have some understanding of the significance of their position as a 'white' Australian teacher on remote Indigenous lands. While previous chapters shed some light on the teachers' preparatory work – for instance, their engagement or lack thereof with mandatory studies of Indigenous Education while at university – the issue of preparation grew in significance as the teachers started to talk about entering the region for the first time. At this point in the interviews, a stark divide emerged between those who were actively prepared and those who were not. Conversations with those who were previously defined as tourists, missionaries or mercenaries tended to fall into the latter category, as illustrated here.

Matt, for instance, was compelled to travel to the region for a mixture of missionary and mercenary motivations for he not only desired a grass-roots Christian experience, he also had a family to support but questioned his natural suitability to mainstream teaching. In this sense, Matt's mercenary motivations were subsumed beneath normative identifications with the 'good male breadwinner'. As outlined, Matt's tertiary course had comprised a 'one year add-on' to a Music degree. In this respect Matt was somewhat unprepared for teaching for the course incorporated nothing about Indigenous Education and very little in the way of a critical outlook. But Matt was also under-prepared for he knew nothing about the APY region. According to Matt, his main preparation took place on the drive to the APY when he and his young family became lost, accidentally driving through an Indigenous community on the outskirts of a regional town:

> I got lost and you know if there's a God he took me there as a preparation. Because I mean I'd seen Indigenous, I'd driven through a town or something, you know, or seen things ... *I had the impressions* [...] like *the media stuff*, things I would have seen on the TV and you know *A Current Affair*[107] and bla bla bla. The houses that sort of looked a bit, well, worse for wear that you had the impression there was perhaps 20 or 25 people living in; the cars with smashed windows and everything on the outside, um ... Yeah, all those sort of images. The *rubbish* everywhere [... So] we're all driving and, um, being really grateful for the protective space

[107] A popular Australian tabloid news program.

> that's delivered in a vehicle. [...] You drive through and there's Aboriginal people mingling about or whatever, hanging about and coming out of houses and watching us as we drive past. And us looking, sort of, not intentionally but quite the opposite, not wanting to be imposing in our presence.
>
> [...] then when we got to [the outskirts of the APY], we had lunch and there were a couple of Anangu people driving around. You sort of start to get a sense of these dilapidated cars and what it's going to be like and … Yeah I guess at that point I felt a bit *intimidated* by Aboriginal people [pause]. Because I guess, yeah, I had a preconception that Aboriginal people were typically prone to alcoholism and, and the violence that sort of comes with that. (Interview 31 May, 2007, pp. 27-8)

Here Matt positions Aboriginal people in remote communities as a spectacle; "an exhibit, source of entertainment, or […] fantasy" (Pickering, 2001, p. 49). In these representations that reflect a touristic impulse, "the Other can be drawn into fantasies of desire, longing, envy and seduction in the interests of compensating for some perceived deficiency of cultural identity" (p. 49). Not dissimilarly, Lucy was prepared for teaching in the APY only insofar as being armed with a camera, excitement and a stubbornly positive initial attitude that resonated strongly with the teachers as 'tourist'. She explained:

> I was really excited. I remember we stopped at the sign to take photos. I took a photo of the cracked dirt […] it was all cracked and I just thought, the red dirt and stuff was really, I don't know, different and exciting! [… And then] I saw a camel and I thought that was amazing that there was a camel walking around! My first trip up here [for a two week placement] was all just *surreal*, like everything was good, I didn't think of anything as a bad thing. I don't know why [but] I had all these ideals. (Interview 24 May, 2007, p. 14)

Like Matt, Lucy's first impressions were heavily bounded by touristic discourses that constitute the 'remote' APY as exciting and intense – this constitutes a deployment of racialised power. Lucy pointed out; she didn't think of *anything as bad.* Rather, in her estimation during this first contact experience *it was all good,* thus imbuing the adventurous Lucy with an open-minded veneer. For Matt, as for Lucy, travelling to the APY was thus about more than merely securing employment; they both desired something more. Matt desired a level of fulfilment and transformation; he wished to be a man testing his faith while experiencing the adventure of his life. In this regard, Matt's missionary motivations – the desire to be affirmed as a good Christian – served to justify his touristic impulses. And yet, despite expressing altruism, Matt's missionary desires did nothing necessarily to temper his tendency to take part in 'othering'.

Matt explained, though he had had very little previous interaction with Indigenous people, he confirmed from the outset, *I had the impressions* and hence anticipated being shocked and intimidated owing to prior exposure to stereotypical media representations. This reflected Matt's uncritical reliance on discourses of Aboriginalism. Thus rather than question mainstream media – as a reflexive white teacher might do – Matt took it for granted, as was the case with Chad, Joseph, Penny

and Alice whose first impressions of the region all focused narrowly upon dilapidation, uncleanliness, disorder and particularly, upon rubbish. Alice recalled,

> I was just sitting there looking out the window and seeing all the rubbish and everything and the ramshackle houses. I just sort of thought I was living in the ghetto. America or something or Africa, in some kind of like ghetto. I remember ringing Mum and I was crying. What am I doing here? (Interview 30 May, 2007, p. 29)

Chad's first impressions were of "the rubbish and all that sort of stuff, like everyone sees first time" (interview 1 June, 2007, p. 10). This standpoint naturalises white people's fixation on rubbish and its conflation with Aboriginality. Penny also noted; "it looked ugly didn't it because of all the rubbish, you know?" (p. 39). Similarly, Joseph focused upon, "the rubbish, the cars, the dilapidated houses. […] The conditions that they live in and, um, the stuff that goes on in the community, the dope and the alcohol and the abuse and the sniffing" (26 May, 2007, p. 36). Joseph remarked; "I've never heard anyone beating each other up […] but you just know it goes on" (p. 36). Joseph's standpoint on entering the region thus resonated with essentialist and subordinate discourses of Anangu Education wherein white people's dispositions are based on a deficit view of Anangu.

First impressions such as these can feed into a view of Anangu as unruly, hopeless and as requiring benevolent 'white' interventions. Indeed in Joseph's missionary purview 'proof' of domestic violence is not even required before drawing the highly pejorative conclusion that 'you just know it goes on'. Such images can support the racialised assumption that *disorder* and *uncleanliness* are intrinsic to Aboriginality, a logic that is grounded in a long history of white people associating dirt, disorder and pollution with non-white people. The discursive articulation of impurity with blackness implies an alleged lack of bodily cleanliness of non-white people. It also indicates that this assumed uncleanliness reflects a less tangible characteristic of black people "found in their moral, spiritual, and mental impurity" (Sullivan, 2006, p. 73). These discursive constructions reflect the common unconscious habits of 'white' people who remain complicit with whiteness by failing to interrogate the racialised constitution of their own observations. There is thus the stubborn tendency in these observations to connect

> […] whiteness with cleanliness and blackness with impurity [while] policing the boundaries between the two so as to maintain a strict separation. Blackness functions as the abject, which means not only that it is allegedly filthy but also that it threatens the boundaries between the clean and the dirty. It must be kept at bay through acts of cleansing if the contamination of whiteness is to be prevented. (Sullivan, 2006, p. 73)

This highlights the deeply racialised nature of these teachers' first impressions, which in turn have an enduring lineage. The images that they invoked stretch back to the period of segregated schooling when, as explained in chapter two, overtly racialised beliefs prohibited the inclusion of Aboriginal children in mainstream classrooms. To be reflexive as white people is not necessarily to deny our first impressions but to question their racialised constitution. Teachers like Luke – who had a long

association with the region and strong bonds with community – and Steve, who if not having engaged with critical studies of Indigenous Education had experienced increased levels of sociality prior to entering the APY, thought to question stereotypical media representations of Aboriginality, rather than taking them for granted.

For example, while Steve admitted to having heard 'horror stories' about the APY prior to entering, he reflexively stated; "*we* are a part of the issues that [Anangu] are dealing with" (interview 28 May, 2007, p. 37). Moreover, he framed mainstream media representations that associate Aboriginality with impurity or violence as 'innuendo'. Steve explained; "we'd seen all the negative stuff on the news and health minister's things, education minister's stuff about horrific literacy and numeracy stuff, health issues and that sort of stuff, so we'd seen all that, but we knew to work it out for ourselves" (p. 37). Steve's comments reflected a shift toward a more reflexive discourse wherein white people acknowledge our complicity and investments in racialised domination (for instance, through circumscribing Aboriginal representation).

And despite the fact that Matt was far less critical in his reflections, he nonetheless started to reconsider his initial fears and interpretations as the family drew closer to their destination. In Langton's (1993b, p. 35) terms, Matt tested imagined models of the Other to find some satisfactory frame of comprehension. After stopping for lunch with the family on the outskirts of the APY, Matt explained:

> […] as we drove north and turned left, you know, with the dirt road disappearing into the distance I just thought wow here we are! ['Cindy'] wanted to stay at home with the 30 acres and the nice Queenslander and the horses and it was hard for her and the kids to come away from that. But for me it was like *adventure*, you know [...]; *a bloke in his four-wheel drive he feels like he's arrived and he's on the adventure of his life* because there's 300kms of dirt road ahead of him, all that sort of stuff. And then, you know, the occasional vehicle coming the other way full of *black faces and bodies and skin and waving* and that sort of, that sense of, oh maybe these people are actually quite friendly? You know, with all the *arms* coming out of the car as you drive past and *big smiles* […]. I was probably too lost in my own world to even, to even know what [my wife and children] were thinking. (P. 28 my emphasis)

In terms of the maintenance of race relations in the Australian context, Langton (1993b, p. 33) explains that the densest relationship is not between Indigenous and 'white' people but between white Australians and their predecessors' racialised representations. Matt's recollections of his exit off the highway onto the far-reaching dirt road that draws deeper into the APY bespeak a touristic desire for adventure that harkens back to colonial constructions of an intrepid white male exploring unknown lands – this also resonating with Harper's (2004) work on 'tourists' and 'missionaries' that was overviewed in chapter two. Matt's wife and children slide out of view as Matt envisions himself a Man alone, finally able within the context of the Other to experience a fullness of subjectivity (now juxtaposed by a much more tangible otherness) not attainable back home amid the 30 acres and the nice Queenslander. Matt positions himself as an adventurous white man while his descriptions of

Anangu reflect a form of 'reductionism' (Moore, 2004, p. 5): *black faces, bodies, arms, smiles and skin.* Although Matt's constructions of Anangu have lost their initial sting, Anangu remain reduced to the materiality of race, a conceptualisation that is validated within discourses of Aboriginalism.

In contrast, preparatory work undertaken by teachers such as Faith, Suzy and Cliff was comparatively reflexive in that it enabled these teachers to develop a critical standpoint. Suzy had undertaken a Bachelor of Education degree (opposed to a one-year add-on), she had engaged intently with a range of critical education discourses, and her reasons for travelling to the APY – notwithstanding her touristic motivations – included the desire to teach for social justice. Aspects of Suzy's preparation included an extended teaching placement in an APY community, concerted engagement with Indigenous studies as part of her undergraduate degree, teaching placements in non-mainstream settings with children of non-English speaking background, discussions with academics with specific knowledge of the APY about how she ought to prepare, and engagement with a scope of literature concerning Indigenous Education (the history of the APY Lands particularly).

Suzy had thought considerably about the kind of teacher potentially required in the region and about the possibility she would return after placement as a full-time employee. In this sense, and unlike Matt, Lucy, Joseph, Penny, Chad and Alice, Suzy's initial journey was not just about cultural tourism. Suzy reflected; "it was very much a privilege for me to be able to go there" (interview 26 October, 2007, p. 50). By the time Suzy arrived she remembered being "slightly less overwhelmed than I thought I would be because [...] I'd been doing lots of reading because I didn't want to get there and just be totally unprepared" (p. 52). In this sense, Suzy's initial ideas about what constitutes a good teacher in the APY indicated someone who is thoroughly and critically prepared.

To that end, Suzy had undertaken an eight week placement in an APY community before accepting full-time employment. The placement provided a range of experiences that helped Suzy to examine her place as a white teacher in the community. She described being 'unsure about her role' but 'willing to listen and allow Anangu to be in control' (p. 55). She also described being 'struck by the strength of the Anangu women', 'bombarded with internal questions' and often surprised at the stubborn cultural baggage she carried with her despite ongoing efforts to 'deconstruct her whiteness' (pp. 55-6). For example, during one incident, Suzy glimpsed the ingrained nature of the racialised scripts with which she had grown up. She revealed:

> Suzy [We'd travelled down to] Woodville High in the Wiltja program itself [for a one week excursion] with the Anangu girls and I'd said to one of the teachers 'How come that guy's an AEW?' And he said to me, 'Because he's Aboriginal'. And I'm looking at myself thinking, yeah, he's white but he's not. Because this particular SSO, or this AEW, was whiter than white to me. He had bright blue eyes, his skin was paler than mine, he had long black, dark hair pulled back into a ponytail. He was really

dressed, you know young 20 something guy, really handsome and I thought there's a guy who's like me.

SS So, some of these latent ideas –

Suzy Yep still there.

SS About Aboriginality?

Suzy Yeah, still there. I could feel the colour draining from my face and I thought you idiot. I thought to myself you've done all this study and you've done all this work and you still haven't figured it out. I can just remember being so embarrassed and the teacher was so gracious. He didn't look at me and just go 'you dickhead'.

I went home and I said to [my husband] 'Oh, I'm so glad it happened' because that has been a constant reminder and a marker in my head, constantly, just to go *you know what, don't believe what you can see with your eyes and don't use your old bullshit, don't use that old stuff that's in the back of your head,* you know? And then the next year at university we studied, I think it was a journal article titled something like *Too Black To Be White and Too White To Be Black*, and I was able to – even though I'd only been to The Lands for that one period of time and I thought I was going to understand it – I started to just see briefly the diversity and complexity of being an Aboriginal person in Australia and realising that I knew nothing about it.

(Pp. 56-7)

After reflecting upon her placement in an APY community, Suzy explained that she had started to understand that when white teachers do not question their racialised scripts, they are destined to reproduce disadvantage (p. 52).[108] But in contrast to Suzy, most of the other white teachers described their preparation as minimal. Alice declared; "I didn't do induction; we had like about half an hour or something" (p. 28). Alice's knowledge of the people at that point included: "petrol sniffing and things like that and bad things" (p. 27). Her knowledge of the region and of land rights history in particular

[108] Suzy had also travelled to the Anangu community to which she'd been posted before the teaching year began. Doing so, Suzy gained insight into the dynamics framing the school and the way in which a range of social issues were impacting significantly on any work she might carry out inside the classroom. By preparing herself in this way, Suzy demonstrated a degree of commitment and critical awareness quite distinct from the majority of participants.

was also comparatively vague. She asked; “was it like Mabo or whatever?” (p. 28). This was despite the fact that Alice had openly acknowledged undertaking mandatory Indigenous studies while at university. Mike was equally ill-prepared and described being shocked that The Lands weren’t the kind of ‘desert’ that he had latently anticipated. He explained;

> I didn’t have a concept of it being like mountain ranges and things. [… Also] I hadn’t taught since 1988 and I’m suddenly with all these kids […] all these little black faces and it's 45 degrees and there’s flies. It was confrontational. (Interview 25 May, 2007, p. 32)

Penny had prepared for her employment in the region only insofar as packing comforting mementos from home to decorate her rental accommodation (interview 17 June, 2007, p. 40). When asked what her understanding of the region was before entering, Penny revealled; “Hardly anything. Didn’t even know where it was really. I didn’t” (p. 35). These admissions thus resonate strongly with the image of the ‘tourist’ who is essentially ‘up for adventure’.

The teachers’ discussions of their preparation and first impressions of the APY therefore began to form a picture of their dispositions *in situ.* For Suzy, Cliff and Faith, knowledge of race relations and the understanding that they were entering as ‘guests’ on Aboriginal lands indicated the belief that to do a ‘good job’ as a white teacher in the APY meant being cognisant of ‘whiteness’. These more reflexive white teachers were preparing to live in an Anangu community on Anangu terms. This contrasted markedly with the preparatory work of teachers like Joseph, Alice, Penny and Matt, who conceived their role quite differently. Their collective lack of understanding of race relations indicated lack of awareness of the significance of whiteness. Teachers like Penny, in particular, whose preparations went so far as gathering mementos from home, signalled a far more limited view in which the white teacher rarely places his/her racial identity on trial. These teachers appeared to have little concept of preparing to live on *Anangu terms,* and these relations became clearer as the teachers discussed their encounters (or lack thereof) with community.

Encounters with Community

Chapter four illustrated the salience of community relations to the functioning of Anangu schools. Iversen noted; “the importance attached by Anangu to the awareness of protocols, conduct and quality of interaction with them by non-Anangu, cannot be underestimated” (Iversen, 1999, p. 255). Teachers are not solely responsible for developing cross-cultural bonds and indeed, as reiterated shortly, this crucial role usually falls to AEWs. However, the ability and willingness of ‘white’ teachers to establish quality relationships with Anangu impacts upon relations both within and outside the classroom. Despite this, some white teachers see their role on terms that eschew the relevance “of having to deal with binding relationships to be effective professionals” (p. 256). This constituted a white blind spot in many of the narratives concerning the importance of cross-cultural relations.

The latter resonates with a touristic or mercenary standpoint on the part of the white teacher – the view that school is 'whitefella business' or that Anangu require only 'token' acknowledgement. In contrast, social justice advocates are likely to aim to develop strong school-community bonds in a spirit of power sharing. At points throughout the interviews a number of teachers enunciated the importance of developing community relationships to their view of their role as a teacher in an Anangu setting. For others, however, their role was viewed in more traditional terms, as ending at the school gates. For the latter, Anangu community were often absent in their discussions, or were included as a sideline and 'disruption' to the real work of education. Lucy's story is illustrative of this.

After completing a brief two-week placement and noting that everything was 'surreal, good and exciting' (p. 14), Lucy returned to the APY as an enthusiastic new graduate. Lucy had expectations for her role which were inclusive of community, though in a white-centric manner that circumscribes Anangu subjectivity. Lucy's benign vision included befriending community and sharing stories of her experiences with less informed white people at home. This is redolent of Harper's (2004, p. 220) tourist who uses her experiences to collect souvenirs and mementos, thus reducing the remote region and its people to resources to be exploited. But while Lucy had started out feeling positive about community interactions, at the time of interview she was despairing that Anangu had failed to live up to her vision of an innocent people who were grateful for her benevolent interventions. Lucy explained:

> In the beginning I was really making sure that I said all positive things and stuck up for them, you know, *they're not lazy, they're not this, they're not that.* But now I sort of think, yeah, some of the bad things that people say about [Indigenous] culture is true. And like, sometimes they can be lazy, they do sit around all day and not work, but I can see that that's because there's not that many jobs up here. Because you know, whitefellas give them money to do nothing, so why would they do something? [… But] I wanted to be the person to make people understand that they're not bad and I had this ideal view in my mind, but it's not – the right way's not to sort of, like, make them out to be like, you know, to go *reverse racism* and say that *they're the best and we don't know.* Oh I don't know … (Interview 24 May, 2007, p. 18)

Lucy had determined how her interactions with community ought to play out, and in doing so, her standpoint was constitutive of power relations that frame representations of Anangu culture (Howard-Wagner, 2006). In white governmentality terms, Lucy sought to structure the field of possible actions (Foucault, 2003, p. 140). But as her enthusiasm waned it was gradually replaced by a sense of hopelessness concerning the power of her rescue efforts to affect 'change' in what she saw as a deplorable circumstance. Heron notes; in narratives such as Lucy's in which the expectations of well-intentioned whites go unmet, "the apparent imperviousness of the Other's culture suggests that which is static and fixed, while implicit comparison to an unmarked dynamic, progressive norm insinuates that 'their' culture, or culture over 'there', is traditional in a pejorative, backward sense" (2007, p. 45).

Lucy's original motives for traveling to the desert were strongly touristic in nature and her understanding of her role was an extension of this. Lucy wanted to evade the 'boredom' of her all-

white hometown while using encounters with Aboriginality to affirm her good, anti-racist credentials. She declared, *I wanted to be the person to make people understand that they're not bad and I had this ideal view*. But when encounters with community did not play out as Lucy had hoped, she resorted to an essentialist discourse insofar as confirming: *some of the bad things that people say about Aboriginal culture is true*. She also deployed a form of 'whitespeak' – the coded language of race – when resorting to an overly simplified view of Aboriginal people in remote regions being 'lazy' for not engaging in work. Finally, when Lucy's good impressions had significantly changed, she declared that her ability to perform her role had consequently been impaired:

Lucy Unfortunately [I've] gotten negative because I have ideas about what I need to do and what I need to get done as a teacher and –

SS For example?

Lucy Like just doing Accelerated Literacy every day for an hour is mandated and they tell me I have to do it, and then the parents come and they take their kids out of my literacy class to go for a drive to ['.....' sacred homelands] or something like that, and I don't know, just gets a bit frustrating. I'm starting to get a bit negative on, just my expectations weren't really met, I guess. But I'm not *only* negative now; I've still got some of those happy things.

SS We can be realistic. It's okay to be honest. So when you say that your expectations weren't met, the expectations you had before you came to The Lands about your role here?

Lucy Yeah, I guess so. I don't know. I have all these, just to do about teaching, all these good ideas of things that I want to do, and there's always some reason why it can't happen, like, I don't know, a big fight breaks out and the kids won't work and, yeah, they've all decided to go off to the football like they have today or stuff like that. Just not the same *commitment* that I have. I'm here, like, to teach them, but they're not here to learn from me …

(P. 26)

It is clear that while Lucy was willing to engage with community, these engagements were on her terms and quite separate from the world of the classroom. Lucy's vision of her role included 'not'

being interrupted during class-time, especially not during mandated literacy lessons, and not having to work alongside Anangu colleagues and parents whom she viewed through a white lens as lacking commitment. On the one hand, Lucy's story signals some of the challenges faced by white teachers who are conditioned to accept that consistent school attendance should take precedence over all other aspects of cultural life. On the other hand, it also illuminates a latent paternalism shaping Lucy's conceptualisation of her role, a colonial continuity which positions Anangu as needing 'white' interventions in order to be 'shown the way'. Lucy stated, it was her role to "set examples and to pass on knowledge […] to try and help them to take what they need from me to be able to function in Adelaide or any other place where they need to affiliate with white people" (p. 21). She stated; school is a place to do things "whitefella way" (p. 21) and thus her standpoint on community interactions constituted an essentialist discourse: the imposition of white frameworks, standards and norms.

Furthermore, Lucy's disappointment that things weren't panning out the way she had wanted highlighted the way that certain aspects of cultural maintenance by Anangu – i.e., attending homeland engagements or taking part in community events – can be positioned by white teachers as highly problematic in respect to a Western school culture, which itself remains unquestioned. The priority that Anangu paid to cultural commitments was conceptualised by Lucy as evidence of 'lack of commitment'. Lucy clearly wanted to claim for herself a 'good' moral pretence; she wanted to be the benevolent white person who makes friends with Anangu and educates less enlightened whites. But in her efforts to control the situation Lucy deferred to a trope of 'reverse racism' which positions 'do-good' whites as the victims of ungrateful Aboriginal people. Lucy thus surmised that her only real option was to leave, and at the time of interview she was planning her return to a mainstream teaching environment – a racialised strategy that is reflective of her privilege to come and go with ease.

Penny also exhibited a touristic desire to teach in The Lands for she claimed to have inherited a 'thirst for adventure' from her parents. Like Lucy, Penny had expectations for her role that included encounters with community. But unlike Lucy, this is where Penny's touristic motivations became entwined with her missionary impulse. Penny explained; the commonality she shared with Anangu "was the fact that I was a Christian and there were Anangu who were, too. So, I could go to things like a church service and sit amongst the people and have chats with them" (interview 17 June, 2007, p. 38). Throughout the interview, Penny used her Christian identity as a strategy to secure a benevolent self-image. In particular, she did this when suggesting that many of the less compassionate white teachers alongside whom she worked simply did not bother to forge relationships in the way that she had. Penny thus assumed the moral high ground when stating:

> Penny [In the school I was at] it seemed like the whitefellas didn't care, they really didn't care to get to know the people. They didn't care at all. They just were there for money or … *totally*, I mean, why didn't they want to get to know the Anangu? I don't know? Why didn't they go and sit in the

church service and sit on the ground with them and talk with the people? Get out there and have that chance to do that? Don't they realise that very few Australians get to do this?

SS And why do you think you wanted to?

Penny Well, why not? Who wouldn't? I mean really you're in a *foreign* land, you know, and you get a chance to, I think I have an interest in, you know, [...] getting to know the people of *different* cultures. It's exciting and it's like an adventure, you know; they're so different.

(P. 38)

Here it is evident that Penny's benevolent constructions of herself as a 'good Christian' were in fact grounded in discourses of Aboriginalism, which position Anangu as commodities to be tried. Penny explained,

> It's not that the [other] whitefellas were hostile to Anangu [… but] when I was there I would visit Anangu people in [the community] and yeah, I think they might have thought I was pesty or whatever. They might not have even liked me? You certainly don't know unless they tell somebody else who tells you! But I, you know, well I felt when I was there that I was not some superior white person come to help or whatever. I felt, I'm here you're my neighbour, you know, even though there was trouble next door. […] Bottom line they were my neighbour. Anangu or white, my neighbour. (P. 48)

Although in this excerpt Penny questions whether her persistent efforts to be friendly were what Anangu actually wanted, at the same time she claims an unquestionable morality by suggesting that she was *not some superior white person.* Penny saw herself as an altruistic white teacher whose attempts to impose interactions were essentially beyond criticism. She drew on a discourse of essential sameness when suggesting that relations between 'neighbours' – *Anangu or white* – transcend cultural bounds. In short, Penny's interactions with community played out on her terms. Her interactions served the purpose of securing a good Christian identity in that she was determined to 'love thy neighbour'. Penny did not take Anangu wishes or protocols into consideration; moreover, like Lucy, Penny's interactions with community were limited to 'outside the school gates'. Like the white teachers in Iversen's study, Penny thus missed valuable opportunities to develop more effective relationships with Anangu.

Not dissimilarly, Matt's motivations for being in the region comprised a mixture of touristic and mercenary rationales and his expectations for interacting with community – detached from the world of the classroom – were conceived through a paternalistic lens. Despite fears about living in a remote

Aboriginal community, on reaching his destination Matt finally described being filled, at least initially, "with thoughts of optimism, you know; I thought we might *contribute* in this place" (interview 31 May, 2007, p. 29). In this sense, Matt's sentiments resonated with those exhibited by Trudinger in chapter three in that they were based on helping an essentially needy Other. At this point in Matt's narrative Indigenous people consequently underwent a reconceptualisation from 'dangerous and volatile', to somewhat disarming and worthy of Matt's missionary contributions. In viewing his role in this way Matt explained,

> I thought that I might get involved in the church here but – and not in any, well I might have come originally thinking something in terms of leadership or mentoring or helping, you know a role attached to that maybe … but pretty quickly I felt like that wasn't going to happen. I mean we were here for probably eight or nine weeks before we even went to church. I think we were still reeling with the shock. (P. 33)

Matt's plans to 'contribute' fell through for several reasons. Not only were Anangu resistant to the kind of spiritual guidance and hospitality that Matt had to offer, but rather than 'break bread' (as Matt had originally hoped), Anangu were more likely to want to borrow Matt's possessions. In these situations, Matt would regretfully respond, "no I'm sorry, that's not cool" (p. 31). And instead of playing a pivotal role in the church, Matt soon realised,

> It's mostly in Pitjantjatjara so you can't, sort of, engage, you can't join in. […] If they preach it's in Pitjantjatjara so I don't know what they're saying. You get the occasional *amen, hallelujah, Jesus Christ*, whatever, but aside from that you just can't enter in […] so look I, I think it's wonderful what they do but I, *I can't assimilate* into that and largely because, oh man where do you go? […] I've been a bit disappointed … (Pp. 32-3)

In many ways, Matt's aspirations were honourable and clearly shaped by his efforts to live a moral life. But by drawing on a combination of subordinate and essentialist discourses that encompass significant blind spots, Matt entered the APY with the implicit assumption that his knowledge and contributions were superior. This constituted a racialised move, particularly given that Matt should expect the community church service to be in English. When it transpired that his contributions were not needed, Matt conceptualised the situation in terms of loss and disappointment, a pessimistic outlook underpinned by the deficit view that Anangu culture is fixed and impenetrable – *incapable of being assimilated into*. Like Lucy, Matt consequently saw his rescue efforts as futile and was at a loss as to what to do.

Joseph, who also exhibited a paternalistic missionary impulse, suggested that although he would gladly 'get involved' with Anangu, it was Anangu who thwarted cross-cultural interactions. Joseph stated; "I wouldn't treat my houses, my cars, my kids or my possessions the way they do. That's not to criticise them [… and] I really don't think I look down my nose at them, I don't, I talk to them as I go past, *oh hi.* I talk to any of them that'll talk to you; a lot of them don't. Especially the women, it's a cultural thing" (interview 26 May, 2007, p.39). Joseph viewed Anangu culture as closed and

unchanging. He viewed his role in terms of 'preparing Anangu for whitefella world, teaching them whitefella stuff, teaching them English, lifting them up' (p. 48). He remarked;

> You can't save them. It was Christian missionaries that thought they could, and they had to a certain extent, but other than teaching them basic skills, I don't know what other role I could have? I can't assimilate myself into [Anangu culture] because they won't accept me. (P. 43)

Rather than adjust his conceptualisation of his role and relinquish desires for control, Joseph (like Matt) thus adhered to the essentialist view that Anangu are in need of saving. And while these excerpts (from the narratives of Joseph, Matt, Lucy and Penny) are illustrative of some of the missionary/tourists' orientations toward community, for others, interactions with community beared no mention whatsoever. In contrast, for some of the teachers their interactions with Anangu had in fact helped them to reconceptualise their role toward greater reflexivity – Alice and Belinda were examples of this.

Alice had started off exhibiting touristic imperatives and her understanding of Anangu had initially been drawn through a myopic focus on *petrol sniffing and bad things* (interview 30 May, 2007, p. 27). But after three years in the same community working closely with Anangu, Alice observed;

> A really strong culture that I didn't even know existed. People that really love their place […with] strong connections to the land and stories and dancing and the way that they teach their children through all of that; things that I didn't even realise before. (P. 29).

Through her interactions with community, Alice had started to undergo a paradigm shift that affected her orientation to teaching. Alice explained; after a while she realised it was ok not to be in power inside the classroom but to allow for different forms of learning and interaction to occur (p. 33). Alice had developed a particularly strong working relationship with her AEW co-worker 'Eva' from whom Alice claimed to have learned a lot. Through their interactions, Alice had grasped a modicum of Pitjantjatjara language, and relationships had then formed with Anangu that extended beyond the school gates:

> We'll have afternoon tea and 'Eva' and 'Rosalind' and the others will come. Yeah. So they'll come to some of our things like dinners and that. We'll go to Inma [church service] and we'll join in. They'll paint us and do Inma and stuff […] everyone gets on pretty well here. Like, even though we're really different, we do still get on with Anangu […] we can be friends; I've learned a lot. (P. 36)

Similarly, after five years in an APY community, Belinda's disposition had also been shaped through her close interactions with Anangu. By developing a working relationship with 'Layla', her AEW co-worker, Belinda had learned to centralise the relationship-building process and to see this as pivotal to her role. However, unlike Penny, who endeavoured to force social interactions under a pretence of neighbourly goodwill, Belinda had adjusted her approach to be in keeping with cultural protocols:

> [I've realised that we] ask a lot more questions and they don't. We've got to allow – I've learned when I'm with Anangu it's okay to have silence. You know? [We're] just trying to fill in the gaps the whole time. It's not until you go – like my mum came up on a trip when I had the upper primary class. *The amount of questions!* You forget. Nanna came up, *so many questions.* It's like – you just realise that that's what we do, as a group, the majority of us [white people] ask questions all the time. (Interview 23 May, 2007, p. 61)

Rather than impose a Western framework, Belinda had come to the realisation that "Anangu have been here for longer than us and their knowledge and insights are invaluable" (pp. 59-60). In keeping with a reflexive standpoint, Belinda had learned to develop racial cognisance by adjusting her gaze to highlight aspects of white culture that are problematic in this context. This is akin to a kind of 'turning point' whereby, as outlined in chapter six, white subjects gain insights into the racialised nature of their lives (see for example McKinney, 2005, p. 24).

Faith, too, demonstrated racial cognisance when stating that as a 'white' person who has been conditioned to think individualistically, she appreciates personal space and polices her boundaries far more than Anangu. Faith suggested that she is not as good as Anangu at 'sharing' and, consequently, Faith had learned to analyse her 'naturalised' cultural traits in order to adjust to Anangu ways of interacting. She reflected; "Piranpa [whites] just are in a different, a whole different world of understanding" and often misrecognise, misunderstand or inadvertently exclude Anangu through our naturalised behaviours (interview 31 May, 2007, p. 33). Cliff equally demonstrated a level of reflexivity that was commensurate with the 'social justice advocate'. Cliff saw himself as a 'guest' in the classroom and on Anangu lands (interview 22 May, 2007, p. 57). His approach to relationship-building thus started with the AEWs alongside whom he worked because, he stated, "they have relationship knowledge and knowledge of how things ought to be done" (pp. 79-80).

For some of the teachers, their narratives included blind spots concerning the importance of creating binding relationships with Anangu and seeing this as a significant part of the white teacher's role. For others, relationship building with community was important, but only within highly circumscribed terms. For those exhibiting reflexivity, they had learned to develop new cultural protocols that enabled the generation of positive cross-cultural bonds. For Belinda and Alice, their relationships with Anangu had in turn helped them, over time, to move toward a more reflexive discourse of Anangu Education that shaped interactions both within and outside the school gates. Throughout the interviews, discussions concerning the creation of cross-cultural ties necessarily overlapped with the teachers' working relationships with Anangu. This, too, constituted an important line of discussion.

Working with AEWs

As stated previously, white teachers in the region are teamed where possible with AEWs and some work alongside Anangu teachers. Throughout the analyses for this research I focused on the white

teachers' narrative constructions of their working relationships with AEWs given that few worked alongside Anangu teachers. As outlined, AEWs are men and women who are caught between the Western value frameworks of schools and the expectations and values of their local community. AEWs are often charged with the complex task of retaining links between the school and community while simultaneously having to endure 'misrecognition' – the experience of being constituted within institutional and cultural relations in ways that prevent AEWs from participating as genuine peers with equal power. MacGill (2008) demonstrates that 'white' teachers are implicated in these relations by fixing Aboriginal identity inside the classroom and by relegating Indigenous associates to menial tasks. These patterns exhibit aspects of a subordinate or essentialist discourse of Anangu Education wherein cross-cultural collaborations are either superficial or non-existent.

Examples of these approaches to the AEW–white-teacher relationship emerged in comments by several of the teachers in this study. For instance, Penny (who swung between a touristic/missionary standpoint) described her AEW relationship as one which was difficult to manage given her co-worker's poor Western literacy skills. Penny explained; 'Mona' was excellent at managing relationships but Penny reduced the complex management of cross-cultural relationships that AEWs must negotiate to *telling the senior girls to be quiet* and *sorting out issues* (p. 44). Joseph stated that there was a problem when it came to involving his AEW colleague in any lesson planning or teaching,

> because his English is not terrific. It's good, for Anangu, but he can't really teach the [literacy] lesson unless he's had training in it […]. Can't do it, or Maths. He usually likes to do what the boys are doing or he draws these pictures of very sort of, what I call Catholic pictures of Jesus and the cross and love hearts while they're doing work. Sometimes he's more of a distraction than otherwise because, bless him, but what's of value with him is if they're saying silly things in Pitjantjatjara then he tells them off. (P. 39)

Also adopting a denigrating tone; Will stated that he'd happily work with AEWs 'if they fronted up' (p. 53). Will stated that Anangu are lazy and irresponsible, and argued that "what doesn't change in Anangu schools is that the whitefellas accept their roles and responsibilities and Anangu don't" (p. 51). Will's line of reasoning thus fed into a conservative standpoint whereby blame for social unrest and 'poor' academic achievement in remote Aboriginal communities is shifted onto Aboriginal people.

In contrast, MacGill highlights that in terms of power sharing inside the classroom, AEWs have long been charged with low responsibility and status within schools, yet paradoxically, are burdened with the high expectation that they will perform routine 'crowd control' duties or serve as 'lackeys' for their white co-workers. Rather than exhibit 'laziness' or apathy, AEWs are often alienated from schools by these practices that go unseen by white teachers and are therefore expressions of racialised power. Missionaries Joseph and Matt, mercenaries Mike and Will, and tourists Lucy, Penny and, to an extent, Steve, all referenced 'crowd control' duties when describing the positive or 'useful' aspects of working with AEWs. While these comments were expressed in a spirit of kindness (or indeed from a sorryness stance), by viewing AEWs only insofar as being menial subordinates, these white teachers overlook

the significance of the cross-cultural working relationship and neglect valuable opportunities to collaborate.

Thus, when white teachers reduce the legitimacy of AEWs inside classrooms to crowd control duties, an indirect form of discrimination plays out that reinforces whiteness. White teachers effectively structure the field of possible actions for AEWs by circumscribing their classroom identity and, often, by placing AEWs in dangerous situations. MacGill explains,

> […] legally AEWs do not have Duty of Care. This is a safeguard against litigation. However, AEWs are disproportionately at risk as they are so often involved in, and expected to resolve complex issues that involve behaviour management. […] This issue becomes inflamed when non-indigenous principals and teachers assume that AEWs will 'take care of' Indigenous students, despite the fact that they do not hold Duty of Care. (MacGill, 2008, pp. 39-40)

Steve inadvertently placed 'at risk' the two female AEWs alongside whom he worked. In keeping with a sorryness standpoint, Steve would try to make the women feel 'special' by leaving them in charge of the class in his absence:

> [I]f I need to go somewhere, I say 'Winsome, you're in charge of the classroom while I'm just out now, so you can make sure the kids all behave?' and all that sort of stuff. I don't know, you've just got to be aware that each one is doing little bits and pieces, make sure they feel important, make sure they're doing the right thing, you know? (Interview 28 May, 2007, p. 40)

In this example, Steve creates a role for the Anangu women inside the classroom, however, the space he creates is gendered and menial thus serving to reproduce a colonial relation confirming the female Indigenous employee as a 'domestic servant in a contemporary institutional location' (MacGill, 2008, p. 184). Historically, Indigenous women were positioned in respect to 'white' women employers and typically performed a range of domestic duties for them.[109] That Steve is a white male – making sure the women *do the right thing* – only exacerbates the female AEW's position at the contemporary colonial nexus of gender, class and race.

Furthermore, Steve structures the field of action within the classroom through determining Indigenous representation. The Anangu women's professional identities, their worth, and the levels of responsibility that Steve grants the women are gauged narrowly by Steve according to their grasp of Western literacy. For instance, he states the 'problem' with one woman is her poor literacy, while with the other it is her poor attendance (p. 40). Thus in a non-reflexive manoeuvre Steve problematises Anangu without questioning the yardstick he uses to determine his colleagues' worth, or his view of the classroom as a space that 'he' ultimately governs. Not dissimilarly, Lucy stated that the *only* tasks she could relegate to her AEW were menial on the basis of 'Davina's' poor grasp of Western literacy

[109] This was clearly illustrated in chapter three when Allison Eliot discussed the work of the Anangu 'house girls' (see page 56).

and numeracy. She explained; “it’s hard to motivate Davina. Like, I would assume an adult to take initiative to do things, and like that’s not – that doesn’t come *naturally* to the AEW” (p. 21).

This same situation arose frequently in the interviews, thus illustrating the ways in which ‘white’ teachers’ vision is limited by our location within whiteness and our inability to transcend our locatedness as white subjects. Judging AEWs based on Western literacy and numeracy standards alone is a racialised strategy that overlooks the complexities of AEWs’ role and their responsibilities as members of extended families and communities. MacGill argues, while it would seem unjust in this context to blame ‘white’ teachers for acts of unintentional racism, “ignorance regarding Indigenous protocols and values is [too often] used to excuse non-indigenous teachers’ covert racist practices” (2008, p. 222).

But this was not the purview of all of the white teachers in the study and AEWs were not always positioned as passive agents or menial subordinates inside the white teachers’ narratives. Cliff’s narrative provided a useful counterpoint and an example of a more reflexive orientation to Anangu Education. Cliff had been working as an AnTEP teacher for Anangu adults for six years at the time of interview and had developed close bonds with the Anangu men and women alongside whom he worked. Cliff explained; because he’d been at the school for a considerable period of time, he’d started to see what Anangu have always seen: what Cliff referred to as a ‘white mentality’ or striving for dominance whereby new teachers to the region (in particular) will slip into a defensive mode owing to social conditioning and culture shock. Cliff argued that this ‘white mentality’ had repeatedly resulted in Anangu losing ground with every new turnover of white staff inside the community where he worked. He explained:

> They [white teachers] go into a defensive mode of thinking [whereby] the only way that they seem to be able to adjust [to the new environment] is to try to dominate everything. (P. 56)

This was reflected in Riphagen’s research into value conflicts inside Anangu schools whereby white teachers implicitly expected to be ‘in control’ (Riphagen, 2005, p. 46). It was also reflected in Alice’s narrative when she explained:

> [Y]ou’re under a lot more stress in your first year. You don’t know people as well and you don’t know the kids as well. I think when you’re feeling stressed like that, you go back to what’s safe and what’s easy. That’s being teacher centred […] keeping the class under control. But then you think – when you get a bit more experience and you realise that sometimes it’s a bit chaotic or whatever – that’s part of learning and that’s good for the kids. (P. 33)

As stated earlier, Alice had developed a strong working relationship with her AEW colleague Eva and had gradually felt comfortable relinquishing power rather than responding automatically to the desire to harmonise and silence ‘messy’ situations. This points toward the discursive pressure on ‘white’ actors to conform to white norms and values and restrict classroom chaos lest they risk being viewed

as lacking control by other whites. But in terms of relations between 'white' teachers and AEWs, Cliff went on:

> Cliff You've got to put yourself in their place. Now I've been here for so many years, I see what they see: the same pattern every year. The same pattern, always.
>
> SS Whitefellas come in, dominate? Is that what you mean?
>
> Cliff Yep. And AEWs have to re-establish – well not re-establish but start from the beginning again and try to form a relationship and try to explain to new 'white' teachers this is actually an Anangu school. Well, it's their country isn't it? It's their space. It's their school. They're very much a part, or would like to think they're very much a part, of the decision-making process.
>
> (P. 57)

Cliff later added, and it is valuable to quote him at further length:

> Whitefellas come and go, but Anangu will always be here. Yet the approach to decisions is always in favour of new staff and Anangu staff concerns are put on the back burner. Is it any surprise that the system has failed these people for 30 years? New staff come and change the whole system again every year.
>
> AEWs are appalled by this situation, which is understandable because in real terms, they actually have more experience in the classroom. Secondly, AEWs know the students and each individual's particular circumstances and learning abilities or lack of them. Thirdly, they know the family situation, which is very important in this context. Thus they feel disempowered and under-valued with changes in teaching staff where they are in the precarious situation of continually having to establish new working and personal relationships. (Pp. 81-2)

Cliff's insights are important for they demonstrate the complexity of AEWs' role that is exacerbated by white control methods. Moreover, they show that the complex role of AEWs cannot be reduced to simple 'crowd control' and that when white teachers diminish the role of AEWs, a mode of white governmentality is taking place that marginalises and discriminates.

Governing Difference

Discussions concerning the teachers' working relationships with Anangu tended to overlap with those concerning self-determination, and later, with the conservative Johns Report (2006). This was often the case given that the white teachers used these lines of conversation to comment on their view of Anangu people's ability to 'take control' or 'handle responsibility'. Teachers with a reflexive view of the concept of Anangu self-determination appeared not to 'dominate' classroom relations quite as much as the new 'white' teachers in Cliff's narrative. In contrast, those who aligned with Johns by viewing self-determination in terms of what Anangu have to do to develop capacity and reach normative standards, were more likely to assume command.

Will, for example, stated "Anangu have land rights but no self-determination" (p. 45). He claimed that Anangu themselves see self-determination as meaning *'you whitefellas do it'* (p. 48). Thus, he argued, he had little choice but to take the reins inside the classroom. Will suggested that Anangu no longer know how to be self-determining because, he suggested, it has been 'beaten out of them' (p. 49). Will thus adhered to an essentialist discourse of Anangu Education by focusing almost completely on Anangu and 'their' deficiencies. Will turned the analytic gaze marginally when later adding *too many whitefellas do too much of the work* (p. 50). In this sense, Will aligned with Johns for it was 'do-good' whites that, in his purview, were equally to blame for Anangu 'deficiency'.

In contrast Suzy, Faith, Cliff, Alice, Luke and Belinda conceptualised 'self-determination' in terms of what 'white' people must do to make space for Anangu. This viewpoint signals a more reflexive orientation and a paradigm shift toward awareness of the contingency of whiteness. Suzy went so far as to problematise self-determination as a concept that *we never apply to white people* (p. 56). She questioned self-determination when it is conceptualised by the dominant culture as a panacea for all so-called Indigenous problems and, unlike Will, refused to state what self-determination means to Anangu given, she pointed out, she is not qualified to speak on their behalf. In doing so, Suzy attempted to disrupt the image of the 'white know-all' (Moreton-Robinson, 2003; Nicoll, 2007).

Luke's comments on self-determination provided further insight into the complexities and significance of self-determination from the standpoint of a school leader. For white leaders whose work derives from a subordinate or essentialist position, they are likely to view Anangu self-determination in terms of what Anangu need to do to rise up to white standards. Those working from a more reflexive standpoint will consider what whites need to do to make space for Anangu control. Luke, who at the time of interview was a school principal, believed that working with a view to supporting Anangu self-determination is of utmost importance, though it makes life a lot harder for 'white' people. This was reflected in Iversen's work in chapter four when he stressed the need for governance structures that enable, rather than inhibit, Anangu endeavours to exercise control. Luke explained:

> [I]n a really minute, practical, small picture kind of way, it [self-determination] makes our life here a lot harder. For example, I would refuse to employ a whitefella who's a groundsman or to run the canteen. I just wouldn't go there and the reason is it's a job that Anangu can do and should have the right to do in their own community, which means that sometimes it doesn't work and other people have to pick up the slack. That's the bottom line in the practical sense.

> But – and I would get pressure sometimes to perhaps reconsider that – but I think fundamentally we have to believe that Anangu can do it and it's not just that we have to believe it in terms of blind optimism …
>
> When I first came here in '89, Anangu fed their own families for a week out bush, looked after everyone, took us out, had, you know, enough community vehicles organised by themselves, organised everything for a couple of hundred people to live out bush for a week. No whitefellas did anything and, um, therefore, I try and put that back on Anangu and I talk to them a lot about the transition from 2002 to now. This was a really tough school when I started out here – and it is still tough – but it was extremely tough when I first came here. Like, very violent incidents all the time. You know, I took two people down off a noose my first year. [I] regularly stood in the middle of knife fights, everything, all the time. You know, probably there were times when sixty to eighty percent of my class were petrol sniffing. Very tough. And at that point there was only one AEW that came every day. *Now* I would say, of our thirty-five staff, there's *one* AEW that doesn't come to work every day and that's the transition in my mind and I put it back on Anangu and say that 'you guys are the difference' in this school. And that's part of that high expectation thing, I put it on my staff. And I try and, yeah, help them to, to see what they can contribute and what they should contribute. It doesn't always work and sometimes we all get let down and we can all feel disappointed and want to make it easy […] and get five hundred white people to come and do everything. But I don't … (P. 24)

Despite occupying a complicit/subordinate position throughout other parts of his interview, Luke would sporadically demonstrate a more critical standpoint, especially when discussing his work as a principal. This demonstrates not only how subjects may inhabit multiple, often contradictory stances when constructing their stories, but also how whites can afford to be selective when it comes to exercising reflexivity. Luke's discussion surrounding Anangu self-determination provided an example of the times when he engaged a more critical mindset, consistent with the white subject as social justice advocate.

And although in the above excerpt Luke speaks at length about 'putting responsibility back upon Anangu', he also emphasises what 'white' people need to do to make space for Anangu authority. He positions Anangu as capable and powerful by drawing on the narrative of the bush trips to illustrate this point. He also draws lines of contrast between 'white' leaders in Anangu schools who avoid *making life a lot harder* (by employing whitefellas to do the work that Anangu have a right to be doing) and those who place Anangu at the centre of *their* school and its functioning. Luke illustrates how taking the easy route has resulted in compounding the poor living conditions for Anangu and he discursively positions Anangu as powerful and capable.

Thus while self-determination can function hegemonically on 'white' terms as a way of revisioning the nation, Luke, Faith, Cliff, Suzy, Belinda and Alice all attempted to disrupt 'white' terms by sharing power and questioning 'white' investments in Indigenous disadvantage. These teachers were also

more likely to work collaboratively with AEWs than to contribute to their misrecognition. Similar themes emerged when the teachers were asked to respond to aspects of the 'Johns Report'– the conservative policy directive on Indigenous Education that was reviewed in chapter four.

Features of the report against which participants were asked to comment, included; the suggestion that Indigenous parents' and caregivers' poor behaviour fails to comply with the discipline of Western education; that remote Indigenous students are best taught in mainstream centres away from the negative influence of community; and that remote students ought to be subjected to more rigorously standardised curricula to enable them to rise up to mainstream standards. Teachers who had previously exhibited degrees of reflexivity tended to query Johns from a standpoint that questions the normalcy of 'white' ways of being – this included Luke, Belinda, Cliff, Suzy and Faith. For instance, in response to the claim that Anangu parents and caregivers do not adhere to the discipline of Western education, Faith commented:

> [T]hat to me is, you know, that imperialist way of thinking that Western culture is unquestionably the right culture. I would provocatively say that, well, maybe Western parents should conform to Anangu ways, you know? Maybe that's a better way of raising your kids? (P. 35)

On the question of whether Indigenous children in remote communities should be removed from the influence of family and taught in mainstream centres, both Faith and Cliff recognised the broader political implications of child removal that are glossed over in Johns' argument. Cliff stated that removal would save the government money at the cost of Anangu culture and sovereignty (p. 64). Faith suggested, "I think it would just end up with everybody living in town and they'd lose this land [...] so controversially it's probably a good way to get the mining leases happening" (p. 35).

Suzy (pp. 72-3) recognised the systemic, seemingly intractable problems in many remote Aboriginal communities that in some cases continue to result in the neglect of children and lack of interest in Western schooling by Indigenous parents. However, she added that the concept of child removal is entangled in complex issues that cannot be resolved simply through 'taking the children away'. She acknowledged that Johns attempts to resolve 'the problem' (*of poor educational attainment by remote Indigenous students*) at the level of rhetoric in such a way that simply blames Indigenous people while obscuring the relations that implicate whites. Suzy highlighted the lack of services for Aboriginal people in remote regions, thus taking the stance that White Australia has not gone far enough in terms of reparation. Suzy also pointed out that in terms of child removal; "You couldn't do it to any other group of people without some serious questions [being raised] about human rights abuses" (p. 73).

Luke equally acknowledged the significance of the historical antecedents of the concept of child removal that the Johns Report overlooks. Luke stated;

> [It's] is a model that we know hasn't worked in the past and we've gone back there, which is the institutionalisation of Aboriginal people for a 'greater good'. In my experience […] the kids who succeed [in the institution] have been broken. […] I feel really sad for those kids that look to me like machines that have been worked in; they're the Trojans of the SACE certificate. (P. 25)

Luke's ideas about 'kids who make it in the institution' signal the otherwise hidden aspects of white governmentality whereby the terms and conditions for success are those of the dominant culture. Success rests on an assumption of Indigenous dysfunction, hence the need to remove children from their primary habitus. In Luke's words,

> Education off The Lands can be really valuable but I personally don't think I could ever support a situation whereby the living conditions are to be brought up by white people who don't understand their language, don't understand them, the way they think, and you essentially spend your adolescent years away from your role models, your emotional shaping. […] The kids that come back, they've changed and they're almost alienated. (P. 26)

In contrast, the remaining teachers conceptualised Johns' recommendations from a far less reflexive standpoint. These teachers tended to discern an undeniable logic in the report, which they endorsed through citing examples of Anangu shortcomings that they struggled to 'overlook'. For instance, Chad (p. 12) admitted to the view that Anangu are comparatively undisciplined insofar as 'white' people are *conscious of time,* we *work hard* and we *get things done.* Lucy (p. 22) stated that 'white' people are *clean, tidy and organised.* Mike problematised the considerable autonomy afforded to Anangu children by their parents, which he saw as 'problematic in terms of Western school norms and the proper management of money' (p. 34). Penny suggested that Anangu 'lack' goals and lack being future oriented. She stated:

> Part of their problem, because of the situation they're in, is that they don't have observable, achievable goals. (P. 41)

Thus while Penny recognised that Anangu goals are constrained by their circumstances, she did not implicate whiteness processes at the basis of those conditions and she implied that white goals are superior. Matt also viewed Anangu in pejorative terms that supported Johns' conservative standpoint. Despite struggling to find a 'polite' way to express himself, Matt explained:

> I don't want to say things that might sound kind of racist or discriminating but I guess I, I've been brought up in a culture where, you know, if you want money you work, you need to work for money you can't just, um, get handouts from somewhere all the time. I know that there are white people who do that so I'm not saying that it's an Aboriginal thing or whatever, so I mean, I have a work ethic, I know I'm going to have to work to earn an income. (P. 30)

Like Penny, Matt remained complicit with whiteness and thus supported Johns by obscuring the ways that whiteness functions to benefit whites. He overlooked that historically, and in the present moment, mainstream society is circumscribed by white boundaries which, in Lipsitz's (1998) terms, mean that whiteness has a 'cash value'. Access to paid employment is shaped by discourses of race and, as Nicholls, Crowley and Watt (1996, p. 6) explain; Indigenous people in Australia are typically offered "the most menial, degrading jobs at the bottom end of the economic heap." These writers argue that to overlook these details serves to reduce "the enormous socio-political problems brought about by the ongoing effects of colonisation to mere 'cultural differences'."

Furthermore, to overlook these details is to adhere to a narrow belief that 'white' middle-class 'men', such as Matt, simply have a better 'work ethic' than Anangu – a view that was replicated in Johns' argument when he stated that Anangu use the 'cultural curtain' as an excuse to avoid participating in school and in the economy (2006, p. 5). Will supported this view when suggesting that Anangu 'lack a proper work ethic' (p. 48) – a standpoint that overlooks racialised barriers to employment and the long history shaping Anangu experiences of Western models of work. As Folds pointed out in chapter four, within the APY settlements, Anangu adults were expected to cultivate a 'proper' European work ethic inside job creation schemes, which were of little functional value. Thus "laziness was effectively taught and then served to reinforce white prejudice" (Folds, 1987, p. 8). Comments by Matt, Will, Chad and Penny resurrect the same white prejudice.

On the topic of child removal – (removing the children to be taught in mainstream centres away from the negative influence of community) – Joseph went so far as to state:

> I've got to the stage where I don't care about being *politically correct* because I think [Gary Johns] is right, I really do. Because here they don't think it's real school; these kids don't. [One of my senior boys] was up in Alice Springs for school – sharp kid, he's now in my class. And he came the last week of last term, very … on time, very respectful. But this time around he's all, *he's become more Aboriginal.* He's late, he's disrespectful and in fact he's the most disrespectful of all of them. I really give him trouble. He doesn't think it's real he thinks it's all … and so here they run around at night late […] where in the mainstream there are higher expectations in a school where they are made to conform. And some of them won't, they'll trash the room and come back but I think you'd be able to produce more of them where you could get a better education. And that's not politically correct to say that, I know, but … (P. 42)

In this excerpt, Joseph articulates Aboriginality together with poor behaviour, for to become *more Aboriginal* is to be *late and disrespectful*. Joseph fails to put his own racial identity on trial and when it comes to child removal he simply states; "you know they talk about the Stolen Generation [sic] and I think when I see some of these kids and what's happened to them, I think in a way they're [the ones who were stolen] better off" (p. 43). Thus, like Johns, Joseph patently supports an essentialist discourse of Anangu Education.

Matt, Will and Chad also supported child removal: Will on the basis that Anangu parents lack discipline, though he added that to relocate all Anangu to urban centres would be "too disruptive to the mainstream" (p. 49). Steve relied on a 'dying culture' trope to argue: "I think these communities really are a dying thing and *God help us* when they move these communities into, you know, town camps or whatever they're going to do with them" (p. 40). Verity agreed with child removal on the basis that "that's what Anangu themselves want; they're choosing to send their children away" (pp. 24-5). Verity stressed that solutions must come from Anangu and, while she avoided a paternalistic view in which decisions are made *for* Anangu based on what the dominant culture considers best, she was not reflexive in the sense that her focus remained fixed on Anangu and what *they* need to do to remedy their own dire situation. Verity placed no onus on whites to come to terms with the contingency of our whiteness and thus recognise our complicity and investments in producing the situations that Anangu are now dealing with.

Thus, for a number of the white teachers, their allegiance to Johns reinforced their complicity with whiteness, which unavoidably coloured their view of relations inside the classroom. Discussions surrounding the teachers' dispositions toward teaching thus naturally flowed from these lines of reasoning.

Pedagogy & Standpoint

Chapter two highlighted that a reflexive orientation to Indigenous Education is likely to incorporate cooperative, rather than competitive and individualistic, learning activities, and will recognise students' social contexts by incorporating Indigenous perspectives across the curriculum. Chapter four outlined that a reflexive discourse of Anangu Education would involve negotiated curriculum, respect for Anangu cultural values, and space for Anangu self-determination. To engage a reflexive approach, the white teacher would also need to deconstruct their own whiteness, for example by questioning the implicit and explicit 'values' they bring to the classroom that shape their pedagogical standpoint.

Those whose responses contrasted most significantly with a reflexive standpoint on Anangu Education were Joseph (who adhered predominantly to a conservative, missionary identity) and Will (who aligned more closely to 'the mercenary') – both of these teachers patently supported Johns. At times, Lucy and Penny (both tourists) were also positioned within an essentialist discourse of Anangu Education, although at times they would move toward a subordinate standpoint. What these teachers shared in common was their desire to prepare Anangu for 'whitefella world' (Joseph, 26 May, 2007, p. 49). They highlighted the importance of showing Anangu 'whitefella ways', showing them when it is appropriate to use 'manners', and showing them 'the right way' (Lucy, 24 May, 2007, p. 28). Will emphasised the need to teach Anangu how to 'keep the classroom tidy and clean' and, in a move redolent of Trudinger at Ernabella Mission,[110] his pedagogical approach was focused upon teaching

[110] And which was later reflected in the writing of Folds (1987) and Riphagen (2005).

the children to have 'good personal hygiene standards' (29 May, 2007, p. 56). In Riphagen's view, responses such as these reflect 'white' values that contribute to Anangu resisting and disengaging from mainstream schooling.

Penny drew on a complicit discourse to invoke the more subtle image of the 'colour blind' teacher; "Someone who sees themselves as not white or black or red or white" (17 June, 2007, p. 50). In other words, someone who remains complicit with hegemonic whiteness by adhering to an essential sameness and by obscuring the manifold ways in which race 'matters' inside the classroom. By drawing on a complicit discourse Penny's approach signalled the tendency of some of the teachers to waver between standpoints. For instance, while her image of the good white teacher reflected a tolerant subject who overlooks 'colour', her philosophy of teaching shifted from a conservative belief that Anangu students are *unfairly privileged* and ought to be made to adhere more rigorously to mainstream standards (p. 40), to a subordinate view in which Anangu ought to be given "really like hands-on stuff" to cater for their unique learning styles (p. 47). Lucy and Will also embraced 'hands-on' pedagogical approaches for Anangu students. For example, Will stated; a good teacher in this context incorporates 'the kinaesthetic' because 'traditionally, Anangu did not write' (p. 54). Similarly, Lucy explained,

> […] there are different ways of being smart and stuff like that, and just because these kids might be smart at, like, hunting more than they are smart at, I don't know, adding up 2 plus 3 doesn't mean that they're, like, less smart. (P. 25)

As noted in chapter four, to adhere to Aboriginal Learning Styles Theory is to deploy a pedagogical strategy that remains complicit with whiteness. Learning styles theory is built on an underlying essentialism that does nothing necessarily to destabilise white hegemony. Thus by deferring to the logic of learning styles, Lucy, Penny, Joseph and Will all adhered to an assumption of Aboriginal inferiority in that the students in their care were not led to engage in more intellectual pursuits. Considering that Trudinger, in chapter three, also favoured a 'practical', 'hands-on' approach, this signalled a colonial continuity in the work of 'white' teachers in the APY over a span of nearly seven decades.

Joseph's standpoint on teaching was framed by the straightforwardly stringent view – commensurate with a discourse of mutual obligation – that Anangu students require strict discipline and control. He explained:

> [The] boundaries were quite wide before I got here […] I've just given the normal boundaries. They don't get away with saying, 'music Joseph'. I say 'I beg your pardon; you give me a sentence and write it out on the board'. So now they must speak in those sentences: 'Could I please, could we go to [the Music] Hall please, Joseph so that we can play music?' Otherwise they don't get their music. And they only get it now for a half an hour on Friday afternoons. (P. 38)

Joseph's disciplinary approach echoed the 'white' teacher in Folds' study whose low opinion and expectations of Anangu students is divorced from a reflexive view of their own inadequate pedagogy. Indeed Joseph's standpoint on 'good' teaching was built on the highly pejorative and non-reflexive opinion that Anangu students are unruly, that they require stern regulation and thus his primary aim was to produce docile students by rewarding submissive behaviour. The white teacher in Folds' study, and later in Riphagen's, adopted the same approach by using 'busywork' activities and animated movies as prizes for obedience. Joseph added,

> I take the Mickey out of myself in a class once the boundaries are tightened. And that relaxes them, it just does, but if they go outside the boundaries I give them the serve that's appropriate. (P. 38)

Thus Joseph assumed a dominant position by which his white cultural values were asserted as universal and the only means by which the boys in his class were able to achieve 'success' was by submitting to Joseph's moral code. This resonates strongly with Trudinger's method whereby his 'freedom' approach, while seemingly progressive, was built on assimilatory ideals and white values expressed as 'common sense'.[111]

Indeed in all of these pedagogical models – Joseph's stance on discipline, and Will, Penny and Lucy's subtly essentialist appreciation of 'learning styles' – the whiteness of the curriculum is overlooked in favour of a view that 'the answer' to Anangu 'under-achievement' in school is simply to change pedagogical tact or apply more discipline. This standpoint overlooks the structural and discursive dimensions of Anangu 'failure' and its corollary, white 'success'. When discussing their pedagogy, all of these teachers thus inhabited an essentialist stance.

The next group of teachers – (also a mixture of tourists, mercenaries and missionaries) – tended toward a more 'kind hearted', subordinate discourse when discussing their classroom approach. This mostly included Belinda, Alice, Verity, Steve, Mike, Chad and Matt; however, Will, Penny and Lucy were sometimes included here. As illustrated earlier, both Belinda and Alice periodically moved toward a relational view that incorporated aspects of reflexivity. But these attachments were transitory and for all of these teachers, they mostly failed to problematise whiteness. Instead, they adopted sympathetic stances that would fixate upon Anangu students' unique cultural and cognitive needs.

Chad explained; it's important to do things that are 'engaging and hands-on' (p. 20). As such, he utilised 'footy' as a common interest and metaphor for working together. Chad also adopted a coercive approach to goad the boys into doing what he wanted; he explained, "I just try and con them into learning stuff by just rewarding them and stuff" (p. 15). Again, this resonates with Folds' white teacher and the white teacher in Riphagen's study who, exasperated as to what to do, would resort to busywork and rewards for docile behaviour – pedagogical approaches that weaken rather than bolster Anangu group solidarity. Matt's approach to 'good' teaching in the APY context was, similarly, to "set

[111] Refer page 46 in chapter three.

it up so the kids are having a fairly tactile experience, a fairly hands-on practical sort of experience" (p. 36). Mike more patently explained,

> A good teacher [in this context] is one who has an understanding of Anangu student learning styles, […] who takes account of individual student abilities, and teachers need to have a good grasp of the curriculum anyway as part of their craft. They [also] need to have a certain amount of empathy … (P. 37)

In all of these orientations, the focus shifts between catering for the individual developmental requirements of Anangu against viewing Anangu as a collective whose 'race' underpins their special learning needs. Within this framework the white core curriculum retains its position of privilege, which in turn supports the fundamental social structures which habitually disenfranchise non-whites.

To favour learning styles theory without understanding the discriminatory dimensions of learning styles discourse is to position Anangu as 'problem learners' inside a normative Western framework, which itself recedes out of view. The whiteness of subtle claims to Aboriginal learning styles are that they overlook, to borrow again from Nicholls, Crowley and Watt (1996, p. 6), the structures of privilege and disadvantage in which race relations in Australia are embedded. They overlook that Anangu are a dynamic, changing culture. And they also overlook that the field of education is historically and socially constituted. The supposed 'learning styles' of different cultural groups are therefore not fixed, isolated or removed from the relations of race.

Several of the 'subordinate' teachers also relied upon discourses that stress the cognitive developmental needs of individual learners. For instance, Alice favoured Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development: a view that co-opts the social in order to highlight developmental milestones. Whiteness can remain an unmarked category in this discourse when the reasons for students' differential cognitive abilities are presumed to stem from intrinsic or communal deficiencies. Also overlooked in this discourse is the whiteness of the curriculum in favour of racialised assumptions of *normative* development.

Verity's approach to teaching in the APY was shaped by a sorryness position that is reflective of a subordinate standpoint. She stated; "I suppose I always feel for people who are kind of like the *underdog*, who don't have what other people have, and I want to make things more fair and equitable" (p. 18). But tolerating and feeling sympathy for Anangu does nothing necessarily to eschew paternalistic impulses, and nor does it result in questioning the authority of white Australians to intervene on non-white lands. Verity exhibited a missionary impulse when 'rooting for the underdog'. And although her approach to teaching was sympathetic, it also remained grounded in a form of foundationalism that centres a universal subject. For instance, inside the classroom Verity focused upon "the psychology of child development" and "how important play is" to normative child development (p. 11). Moreover, as the school counsellor, Verity assumed a heightened degree of authority over what constitutes 'normative' psycho-social development.

In contrast to Mike, Verity, Belinda, Chad and Alice – who often occupied a sympathetic or 'subordinate' stance – those inhabiting a more reflexive position tended to question, on at least some level, the whiteness of the curriculum and of themselves as 'white' teachers. For example, Suzy's (p. 81) ideal approach to teaching in the APY was *critically reflective, rigorous* and *caring.* For Cliff (p. 77), good teaching was about being *resilient* (in appreciating that the experience would not be easy)*, reflective* (in appreciating how difficult it is for Anangu to be immersed in a language and culture inside the classroom that is not their own)*, having a clear teaching strategy* (opposed to resorting to 'busywork' activities or television)*, and being open to listening and seeking the advice of Anangu* (rather than taking control and discounting Anangu authority). For Faith (p. 37) she spoke about challenging the primacy of white values in the classroom while opening space for Anangu perspectives across the curriculum. And for Luke (pp. 21, 26), he spoke about the importance of *learning from Anangu.*

In contrast to the 'essentialist' and 'subordinate' teachers, the images put forward by this group consequently started to shift the panoptic gaze from 'the racial object to the racial subject' and thus worked toward altering power relations inside the classroom. For Luke and Cliff, they suggested that such an approach, while difficult, may be attained through adopting a teacherly disposition and pedagogical techniques that consider the worldview of Anangu students. They also spoke about maintaining high expectations of Anangu learners, incorporating ongoing negotiation with Anangu students and adults, and being mindful of the roles and responsibilities that Anangu teachers and AEWs must assume outside of the school. Luke stated:

> I think teaching has to be interesting and engaging; it has to mean something to the kids. Which is probably why I've never jumped boots and all into [the mandated literacy program …]. Even now when I go into the classrooms I try and relate the learning to contextual things by incorporating an Anangu worldview. […] I've learnt a lot by watching Anangu who do it well whether it's behaviour management or teaching or talking to kids with problems or whatever. I try to look at how they do it and learn from them, from their approach. (P. 21)

This approach to teaching in a remote context is in keeping with research by Santoro, Reid, Crawford and Simpson (2011) in which they argue that non-Indigenous teachers can learn critical insights from their Indigenous colleagues. These writers state;

> […] teachers who have grown up and completed their schooling as 'Indigenous' learners have a wealth of experience and knowledge about the pedagogies that are likely to be successful for Indigenous students. They understand Indigenous worldviews and have first-hand experience of the challenges facing Indigenous students in White schooling systems. (P. 66)

Luke appreciated the wealth of knowledge and insights of his Anangu colleagues because, he explained, this is a standpoint that 'white' teachers in the APY can never genuinely occupy (p. 21).

Cliff advocated a 'whole-school', 'high expectations' approach, similar to the work carried out by Sarra (2003) in Cherbourg (referenced in chapter two). And though Cliff questioned the imperialism inherent in his role as a 'white' teacher of Western literacy, he also viewed the acquisition of Western literacy on the part of Anangu as a political manoeuvre, rather than merely a means for Anangu to meet 'mainstream standards'. Cliff explained;

> That worries me, you know. That I have to force this language on them, but I know that if they're ever going to be able to express themselves with the kind of serious political dialogue that they need to do one day with whitefellas, then they need Western literacy. (Pp. 71-72)

Faith also challenged the whiteness of the curriculum and thus, unlike the far majority of teachers, sought ways to incorporate Anangu perspectives across the curriculum. She utilised contemporary commentaries on Anangu Education that had been written by Anangu educators to negotiate the significance of Western education with her students – in their own language and on their terms. She used this dialogue as a basis for group work and also for political discussions inside the classroom. Faith regularly asked the AnTEP students with whom she worked how they wanted relations inside the classroom to play out, and in what kinds of explorations they wanted to engage. Faith also highlighted the importance of questioning the normalcy of 'white' values when suggesting that white teachers in the APY should be:

> Open and non-judgemental in terms of values. [For example] that thing about yelling and fighting and throwing rocks.[112] Ok, so within the school context we teach the kids that that's not the way to deal with problems, but I try not to judge it. You know, perhaps it is the way to deal with problems? Just that, the white values stuff, you really need to leave all that stuff behind or be aware of and question that stuff otherwise you get into an 'us' and 'them' thing and, you know, 'we're better' mentality. (P. 37)

Suzy upheld the need to maintain high expectations of Anangu students while being "reflective [and] aware of your own whiteness, to be … fun, to really care about the kids as much as you would, I guess, care about any kids and just be very aware of the history that you bring with you and […] reflect and deconstruct on the work that you're doing all the time" (p. 81). She added, retrospectively,

> […] working on The Lands was one of the most challenging, personally rewarding, complex and just befuddling experiences I've ever had, and I did feel very privileged to have a chance to work there. […] I hope [the students] got as much out of me as I got out of them because they really made me think and they really made me question a lot of stuff and they really made me aware of my own vulnerabilities and blind spots, and I think that was really important for me both as a teacher and as a white Australian. (P. 82)

[112] In Anangu culture, throwing rocks and dealing with personal tensions in a way that is highly visible to the group may be considered entirely acceptable. Doing so within a Western framework is likely to be considered offensive. Faith alludes to the socially constructed nature of these 'rules' and thus demonstrates reflexivity.

These sentiments are reflexive in that Suzy claims to have considered her 'blind spots' as a white Australian. But it is also noteworthy that midway through her second year, Suzy had left the region. Despite exhibiting reflexivity during the interview, no mention was ever made of her departure, which ultimately constituted a colonial continuity. This clearly illustrates how whites can afford to be selective when it comes to exercising reflexivity for as Moreton-Robinson (2000, p. 5) points out; a race cognisant discourse can be drawn on in isolation, but not in all areas of life. Suzy thus slipped into complicity with whiteness in the above excerpt by failing to acknowledge that her departure essentially contributed to the instability often associated with remote Aboriginal communities. At the very least, a more reflexive manoeuvre would be to acknowledge and articulate the significance of this move instead of erasing any harm she may have done through centring, ultimately, on the importance of her own development.

In short, when discussing their pedagogical orientations the teachers fell into three fairly distinct, though overlapping categories. Joseph, Will, Penny and Lucy drew predominantly upon essentialist and complicit discourses by defining their role in terms of 'showing Anangu the way', fixating upon hygiene, and meeting mainstream standards. In contrast, Suzy, Cliff, Faith and Luke adopted far more reflexive positions by endeavouring to put Anangu 'in control'. Oscillating between these groups, Steve, Belinda, Alice, Verity and Chad adopted subordinate and complicit stances by focusing upon learning styles theory and upon Anangu students' unique developmental requirements – discourses which ultimately obscure the significance of racialised social relations. All of these lines of conversation provided material for ultimately considering the formations of the 'good white teacher' to emerge from this study's life history interviews – a discussion that is considered in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

This chapter has followed a narrative arc traversing the teachers' preparations for the APY, their dispositions toward community, working relationships with AEWs, standpoints on the politics of Anangu Education and, eventually, their approaches inside the classroom. For those who were prepared for their tenure in critical terms, they tended to eschew a paternalistic attitude of being there to 'show Anangu the way'. Thus for these teachers, their collaborations inside the classroom tended to be less white-centric. But this constituted a comparatively small number of the participants and even for those demonstrating relative reflexivity, their narratives often included blind spots concerning the importance of school-community relations or the value of learning new cultural protocols and dispositions from Anangu. For some of these teachers, their closed dispositions and misrecognition of Anangu ultimately resulted in the essentialist belief that their rescue efforts were futile. A common blind spot amongst this group was that early termination of employment in fact constitutes a racialised manoeuvre that ultimately exacerbates the situation for Anangu.

Another key blind spot across the majority of narratives was the importance and complexity of the role of AEWs. In keeping with findings from Folds (1987) and later MacGill (2008), these narratives reflected widespread misrecognition of Anangu. This was the case among teachers inhabiting essentialist or subordinate discourses of Anangu Education as expressed through the belief that AEWs' poor levels of Western literacy renders them incapable of duties more sophisticated than 'crowd control'. However, in contrast, for some of the teachers their genuine collaborations with community ultimately helped shift them toward a more critical stance. These teachers learned to acknowledge Anangu wisdom and ways of being, which ultimately transformed their dispositions and experiences both within and outside the classroom.

Overall, the majority of teachers in this study inhabited a subordinate discourse of Anangu Education – a position in which Anangu difference is observed, but from a deficit standpoint characterised by sorryness for a hopeless, irresponsible or needy 'Other'. In this regard, the majority of teachers' narratives highlighted blind spots concerning their racial identity and its implications. The teachers' approaches to teaching flowed from here with imagery ranging from the teacher who would *prepare Anangu for whitefella world,* to the teacher who is *critically reflective, rigorous, resilient, caring* and willing to learn from Anangu. The following chapter considers the implications of these findings and consequences for future research.

Chapter Ten

LOOKING FORWARD, LOOKING BACK

This study has utilised the concept of 'governmentality' to explore the obvious and hidden ways that we are governed, we govern ourselves and we govern others. Applying a 'whiteness' lens, it highlighted more specifically the ways that these 'hidden' relations of governance are racialised, and thus serve to reproduce 'race' in White Australia. The study has deployed this methodology in order to investigate the discursive dimensions of what it means to be a 'good white teacher' in a remote Aboriginal context. As chapters six through nine have shown, patterns quickly appeared in the white teachers' narratives in the ways that 'growing up white' shaped their understandings of themselves in social relations. These 'outlooks', or worldviews, then shaped their orientations to teaching, both in terms of their dispositions toward tertiary studies and their emergent pedagogical approaches. Racialised themes emerged more powerfully in the narratives when the teachers then articulated their desires to work in a remote Aboriginal context. These themes took shape as the teachers' talked about different aspects of their experiences *in situ,* which in turn gave rise to different formations of the 'good white teacher'. This chapter starts by discussing key findings to emerge from across the full scope of the study before highlighting the implications of these findings for future research and practice.

Situating the White Teacher in Historical Relations

The first half of this thesis developed a backdrop for examining the life history interviews of its white teacher participants. This backdrop revealed a number of important points, which broadly contribute to understanding the discursive formation of the good white teacher today. Firstly, this research argues that Indigenous Education in Australia, which provides a framing context for white teachers, has historically functioned as a mode of Aboriginalism to secure white cultural and political power through efforts to resolve the 'Aboriginal problem'; the problem that Aboriginality ultimately presents to the project of white settler nationalism. The different historical phases of Indigenous Education illustrate how White Australia has attended to that task. And in this vein, the broad field of Indigenous Education can be understood as a contested site which undergoes constant change.

At times, Indigenous Education has played out on overtly white-centric or conservative terms that relate essentialist and complicit standpoints in relation to hegemonic whiteness. From these positions, the Aboriginal may be included within Western education, but on the terms of the white Self. In this formulation white race privilege is naturalised and becomes the standard against which all others are judged. Hegemonic responses therefore draw upon a dominant ideal of mono-culturalism wherein all are welcome, as long as they aspire to emulate the cultural attributes of white Australians. In contrast, Indigenous Education as played out on more progressive terms relates a subordinate stance in which the Aboriginal is viewed as an object of pity or sentiment in relation to a white teacher who commonly

adopts a benevolent, or ‘sorryness’, standpoint. And while this general model is ostensibly inclusive, throughout the history of Indigenous Education in Australia it has tended to remain built on the same assimilatory foundations.

Thus despite superficial differences, in each of these cases Indigenous Australians are rendered the objects of discursive contests and neither essentialist/complicit nor subordinate stances return the panoptic gaze to focus on the ‘problem’ of whiteness and thus reassert Indigenous sovereignty. A fourth position of ‘reflexivity’ presents this possibility. From a reflexive standpoint the contingency of white identity and the primacy of Indigenous authority are acknowledged as the white Self learns to recognise the problems that whiteness creates for everyone. A reflexive orientation thus disintegrates the hegemonic logic of Western identity to permit a state of decolonisation – in this thesis I have presented this position as the only standpoint from which the white teacher can challenge their complicity with racialised domination.

The historical phases of Indigenous Education ultimately show a movement from patent to subtle reproductions of racial hierarchy. In turn, these movements provide standpoints for the white teacher to adopt. The latter phase finds expression through progressive models of education that are ostensibly inclusive. This research shows that while inclusive approaches may establish a virtuous position for the white teacher, they do nothing necessarily to challenge ‘white’ settler subjectivity. The research also shows that the dialectical relation between Self and Other, which was formed during the era of Empire, is habitually reproduced inside the field of Indigenous Education today. This is discernible in the way the white teacher is routinely constructed in respect to an ‘uneducable’, ‘needy’ or ‘disadvantaged’ Aboriginal; constructions that are challenged only when the panoptical gaze is returned to the white subject of colonial heritage and thus, when whiteness is exposed.

These relations play out more vividly in remote regions across Australia, which have historically attracted a white teacher that can be understood through reference to a number of common discursive formations; for example, the white teacher as missionary, mercenary, misfit or, in more recent times, the white teacher as ‘secular missionary’ or postmodern ‘tourist’. And while the participants in this study did not fit seamlessly into any singular construct, they did form transitory attachments. These discursive identities enable different performances of whiteness that feed into the essentialist, complicit and subordinate discourses of Indigenous Education aforementioned. In this sense, the ‘three Ms’ and ‘tourist’ share the same underlying logic of identity and impulse for cultural integration (even if they play out in apparently different ways). In contrast, the white teacher as ‘social justice advocate’ exhibits the capacity to inhabit a space determined by contingency and an awareness of race that works to destabilise whiteness. Understanding these positions is useful for highlighting the implications of the work of white teachers inside the field of Indigenous Education today, including inside the field of Anangu Education.

This research has shown that, despite the Ernabella Mission’s celebrated status, the work of the first white teachers in the region was founded on a deficit view of Anangu. Anangu Education is historically articulated through the relationship between science and religion, or the progressive ideals of the

Enlightenment. These ideals underpinned the white missionaries' seemingly benevolent beliefs and practices, which traded on the view that Anangu *require* white help. The missionaries' ostensible 'goodness' was based upon assumptions of Western progress and Christian purity, thus whiteness was effectively rendered an invisible yardstick at the Mission against which Anangu were constructed, ranked and judged. Through deploying a strategy of abjection[113] – of excluding or denying that which they were not – the white teachers at Ernabella were also able to avoid critical self-reflection on the basis that their practices were considered to be 'beyond critique'. I argue that the missionary impulse sustaining moral images of the Ernabella Mission thus remains complicit with hegemonic whiteness beneath a veneer of benevolence, progress and ostensible 'freedom'. In short, this research shows that uncritical views of the Ernabella Mission do nothing necessarily to help us as 'white' people to challenge whiteness practices today, and they continue to obscure the 'avoidance' tactics that were deployed by the missionaries, which enabled the deflection of a critical gaze.

But this research also shows the importance of understanding the place of today's white teacher through the move to state administration of Anangu Education. With this move the missionary impulse aforementioned was refracted through a range of progressive educational approaches, each designed to assuage Anangu people's mounting resistance to Western education. Strategies such as biculturalism, domain separation and operational control have all been ostensibly inclusive. However, they have also failed to effectively destabilise the hegemonic grounds of whiteness that continue to shape Anangu Education in a plethora of mundane ways. Thus despite that Anangu desires for autonomy and control have been acknowledged by the state and vested in operational control, Anangu involvement in education has mostly been judged by mainstream criteria alone. Likewise, at the classroom level, white values and practices have frequently been naturalised (often unintentionally) by non-reflexive white teachers who have resisted learning new cultural protocols *in situ*. These teachers have also resorted to watered-down curriculum, individualised teaching strategies that weaken Anangu solidarity, tactics such as bribery or the use of busy work to win student compliance, and early termination of employment – practices that collectively impact negatively upon Anangu, although the part white teachers' play in these damaging relations is rarely acknowledged.

What this backdrop demonstrates is that everyday reproductions of racialised domination have continued to play out in this particular site, despite visible efforts to include and 'help' Anangu. It also demonstrates that in 'our' failure (as a dominant culture) to 'see' and challenge the micro-practices of whiteness, we have equally failed to effectively challenge mutual obligation discourses, which have more recently purported the failure of Anangu inside Western education. The authority of these discourses relies on the naturalisation of everyday expressions of racialised domination, which have long hindered Anangu authority. Hence, when white teachers inadvertently align themselves with discourses that are blind to the impact of 'race', they reinforce the same strategic practices.

[113] Hall (1996, p. 18) suggests that identities can function as transitory points of identification only because of their capacity to exclude, to render 'outside', abjected. As chapter three clearly illustrated, Ernabella missionaries such as Ronald Trudinger and the young Nancy Sheppard practiced 'abjection' when citing their enlightened approach in contrast to the paternalism of earlier white missionaries in Australia.

The 'Good White Teacher' Today

The historical backdrop outlined here demonstrates the complexity of the relations into which 'white' teachers enter when choosing to work in the APY. It also highlights that whiteness has *always* played out in the APY and that white teachers/missionaries have enabled its reproduction through engaging in strategies which permit the deflection of a critical gaze. By deconstructing the life history interviews of fifteen white teachers across the region, this study has sought to highlight aspects of today's 'white' teachers' dispositions, which remain invisibly influenced by whiteness. Key findings from the interviews include the way in which growing up 'white' in White Australia can endow white subjects with a shared set of cultural lenses that incorporate specific blind spots. These 'blind spots' stem from the way in which whiteness operates as an overarching social norm in Australia and, in this sense, this study supports the contention that the key to producing whiteness is to have it so visible 'that it is not noticed' (McLaren, Leonardo & Allen, 2000, p. 110). For the most part, the teachers in this study 'did not notice' the way in which whiteness had shaped their social contexts, organised their worlds geographically, circumscribed friendships, influenced school curricula, inflected social norms, shaped communications between white parent and child, and ultimately affected their view of 'Others'. Arguably, this highlights the ongoing need for critical studies of whiteness for 'white' teachers to learn to 'see' and challenge whiteness.

But, perhaps more importantly, this portion of the research also found that, despite their shared subjectivity as 'white' people, the teachers in this study adopted different positions throughout the telling of their lives. Those adopting complicit or essentialist stances relived their growing up years through frequent reference to a 'fear of otherness' or via unconscious efforts to naturalise white control. In juxtaposition, the majority of teachers inhabited subordinate positions characterised by favourable Self-constructions that in turn enabled a strategy of evading critical self-appraisal – a practice highlighted earlier with reference to the Ernabella missionaries and also with reference to the white teachers in the work of Folds, Iversen and Riphagen. In much sharper contrast, teachers exhibiting movement toward reflexivity demonstrated a willingness to question whiteness, and this shift in subjectivity was most often prompted by experiences of geographical displacement or expanded sociality. The significance here is that, despite our shared cultural lenses, these findings highlight the capacity of 'white' subjects to shift toward a politics of greater awareness and responsibility.

Another key finding relates to the participants' desires to become teachers. This section of the interviews demonstrated how our shared cultural lenses as white people can in turn shape our conceptualisations of 'the teacher' in invisibly racialised ways. When rationalising their decisions to pursue teaching as a career path, most of the interview participants in this study relied upon discourses with essentialist foundations. This was exhibited via their allegiance to the image of teacher as 'missionary' or 'secular missionary' – identity constructs that construe teaching in terms of a 'calling' or naturally good fit. By drawing on these discourses, white subjects are prevented from

thinking in collective or contextualised terms about the choices and life chances of individuals. This research shows that teachers who adhere to naturalised beliefs about teaching are more likely to reject tertiary studies that ask them to think in 'collective' or socially critical terms. Furthermore, they are also likely to share in a range of 'whiteness' strategies – such as 'white talk' or 'strategic rhetoric' – that further enable the 'deflection' of a critical gaze. A key example of this evasive strategy includes the coded language of 'avoidance' that several of this study's participants deployed. Such talk is sanctioned by discourses with essentialist roots and ultimately serves to insulate white people from examining our roles in the reproduction of racism.

And while a smaller number of the participants in this study challenged this trend by grappling with questions of privilege, domination and their own embedment in these relations, none of the teachers were so reflexive as to acknowledge their 'whiteness' as a determinant in their choice to enter the predominantly 'white' profession of teaching. This constituted a shared white blind spot that naturalises teaching in Australia as a 'white' profession. These findings are significant for highlighting the means by which 'white blindness' and 'avoidance' – i.e., *defensiveness, minimising, mockery, the dismissal of counter-arguments and the uncritical acceptance of biased comments* – prohibits movement toward reflexivity. They are also important for highlighting the subsequent way that 'white blindness' can shape teachers' orientations to teaching, as well as their desires to work in remote contexts.

A common theme amongst the teachers in this study who had taught in schools prior to working in the APY was the tendency to resort to 'comfortable' pedagogical approaches that were in keeping with dominant, or 'Eurocentric', cultural ideals. By and large these were the teachers who had relied upon naturalistic assumptions about teaching in order to rationalise their entry into the profession. In turn, this tended to render them ill-equipped to cope with 'difference' inside the classroom despite that they may have been considered 'successful' as beginning teachers. This shows that being a 'successful' teacher in the mainstream does not necessarily equate to being anti-oppressive. Further, it shows that 'success' by mainstream standards does not necessarily translate in the remote Aboriginal settings.

The teachers in this study who had drawn upon essentialist discourses to make sense of themselves as 'becoming teachers' continued to do so when rationalising their 'desires for the desert'. Of this group, the 'secular/missionary', 'tourist' and 'mercenary' teachers shared an underlying complicity with whiteness by unconsciously excusing their entitlement to exploit the APY for personal benefit. An important finding here is thus that teachers occupying subordinate and complicit positions may justify their decisions to exploit teaching in remote regions via strategies which simultaneously rescue a moral, adventurous or open-minded veneer. In contrast, those who exhibit characteristics that resonate with the teacher as 'social justice advocate' are less likely to engage in dialectical relations that rely upon a 'needy' or 'exotic' Other. Overall, however, this research found that its participants' desires were complex and contradictory, and often overlapped. In this sense white teachers are dynamically positioned, thus making it all the more difficult to 'pin down' and challenge whiteness.

Drawing these threads together, the previous chapter highlighted some of the ways that these dynamics may manifest when white teachers live and work in a remote Aboriginal community. This portion of the interviews found that critical preparatory work on the part of white teachers can provide an important means of shifting toward a more reflexive position before the teacher enters the remote space. However, the teachers in this study who embraced preparatory work of this nature tended to be those who had already exhibited reflexivity. Therefore, it was unsurprising that their classroom and community collaborations once inside the APY were generally less white-centric. But even so, teachers such as Suzy and Luke clearly demonstrated how white teachers who are reflexive 'some of the time' can exercise reflexivity sporadically. This illustrates the extent to which the development of reflexivity is a complex task requiring ongoing vigilance.

But aside from this group, a common blind spot across the majority of narratives continued to revolve around practices that ultimately would have helped the teachers break their complicity with whiteness – for instance, by acknowledging the importance of the work of AEWs, by building relationships with community in culturally appropriate ways, by incorporating Anangu perspectives across the curriculum, and by acknowledging the routine need to put white cultural values and practices on trial. At least two of the teachers, who had not previously exhibited reflexivity, started to do so after observing and learning from Anangu. This is highly significant in terms of demonstrating the capacity of white teachers to develop racial cognisance *in situ.*

For the teachers in this study who routinely questioned white norms, they tended to be open to learning from Anangu while dropping an innocent or 'do-good' veneer. For those who continued to take whiteness for granted – this being the far majority – their narratives exhibited a range of colonial continuities that expressed allegiance to a subordinate discourse of Anangu Education. Many of these colonial continuities can be traced as far back as the Ernabella Mission days and include, for instance: practices such as 'busy' work and individualised teaching strategies that weaken Anangu group resistance; misrecognition of AEWs; lack of recognition of Anangu wisdom and ways of being; preoccupation with Anangu 'hygiene'; the habitual measurement of Anangu against invisible white norms; and, as a last resort, early termination of employment.

On the whole, these findings are important for challenging the notion that Aboriginal people in spaces such as the APY are apathetic, lazy, or simply lack respect for the discipline of Western education. Instead they highlight the ongoing ways in which whiteness continues to operate across manifold sectors of the field of Indigenous Education, and in part through the work of 'good white teachers' whose dispositions remain inflected by whiteness. These findings show that there is scope for rethinking the 'good white teacher' in remote Australia. They also show that the 'good white teacher' is ultimately a variable construct with shifting attachments to whiteness.

Looking Forward, Looking Back: Research Implications

The first, and perhaps most obvious, implication of this research is thus the opportunity it raises to rethink the 'white' teacher inside the field of Indigenous Education. Secondly, the research provides space for challenging cultural reproductions of 'race' in White Australia, particularly in terms of everyday manifestations of whiteness that habitually go unnoticed. I thus conclude this chapter by considering the good white teacher in terms of a range of options for future practice, and then, by considering educational research on whiteness and the contribution that this study makes.

This research demonstrates a range of ways that the 'good white teacher' may be envisioned. In turn, these discursive constructs portend a range of possibilities for white subjects working in the field of Anangu Education today – or indeed in other sectors of the broad field of Australian/Indigenous Education. For those who conceptualise the 'good white teacher' by way of complicit and essentialist discourses of whiteness, this vision feeds into a conservative impulse, aspects of which include an education system which is imposed, curricula and testing procedures which are standardised, and a dominant perception that Aboriginal people need to aspire to, and perform, the cultural attributes of 'white' Australians. In this vision the white teacher embraces a paternalistic attitude built upon a deficit view of Aboriginality, and is consequently there to 'show Aboriginal people the way'. The implication of this standpoint is the continued valorisation of Australia as a white possession at the expense of Aboriginal sovereignty.

For those who conceptualise the 'good white teacher' by way of subordinate discourses of whiteness, this vision results in the reproduction of covert practices of white domination, akin to the practices that have characterised Anangu Education for the past three or more decades. This vision would include – as it has done inside Anangu Education – superficial or absent negotiations with Aboriginal people, white teachers' continued use of watered-down curriculum, pedagogical tactics designed to win student engagement (i.e., bribery or 'busy' work), continued misrecognition of AEWs, and the reproduction of a culture of low expectations of Aboriginal students that is divorced from a reflexive view of the white teacher's pedagogy. These details would play out under a semblance of Aboriginal involvement in Western education, for example via broad scale policies such as 'operational control'. The implications of this standpoint are much the same as those outlined above with reference to complicit and essentialist stances; however, they are arguably more insidious and harder to read given the 'sympathetic' nature of 'inclusive' subordinate standpoints.

In contrast, for those whose conceptualisations of the 'good white teacher' are built upon reflexive discursive resources, their vision will offer greater possibilities for moving toward a state of decolonisation. In this vision the white teacher relinquishes the need to be viewed as innocent, progressive or adventurous. Rather, emphasis is on developing strong school-community bonds, on having white teachers learn cultural protocols that are contextually appropriate, on being cognisant of the history and significance of race relations in White Australia, on acknowledging the complexity and relevance of the role of AEWs, and emphasis will also be given to what whites need to do to relinquish power and reassert Aboriginal sovereignty. This move offers a greater chance of

disintegrating the colonising logic of white settler subjectivity, thus opening space for whites to adopt a new relationship to whiteness.

This thesis has thus drawn upon white governmentality as a lens for research in order to highlight the relations of racialised power that frequently go unnoticed and have indeed 'gone unnoticed' since inception of Western education in the APY. This approach has been useful, firstly, in highlighting how our collective racial identity – our whiteness as 'white' people – underpins many of our seemingly 'non-racialised' beliefs, such as our normative identifications with 'the teacher' as a race-neutral identity. Secondly, white governmentality has been useful for linking systems of racialised power to the micro-practices of white agents that frequently go unnoticed. In this sense, white governmentality provides a potential tool for helping white educators to move toward reflexivity. And lastly, this approach has provided a way of critically deconstructing the past in order to strategically inform our pedagogical efforts today. As a mode of educational research, white governmentality could therefore be applied to a broad range of contexts in order to illuminate the ways in which socio-historical relations unavoidably influence the world of the classroom.

This research provides a nuanced and original contribution to the literature on Anangu Education, in particular, by dispelling myths about the Ernabella Mission. It demonstrates that social relations inside the Mission were complex and that despite being benevolent, the white missionaries acted as relay points for the transmission of racialised power. This demonstrates how the impulse to 'help' and the desire to be viewed as 'innocent' as white people can in fact strengthen our complicity with racialised domination. But the Ernabella missionary was not posited here as a homogenous identity. Rather, this research has shown that relations inside the Mission were cross-cut by discourses of gender, and that many of the missionaries contested the conventions and authorities that shaped them. This in turn shows how white subjects can take up different stances in relation to hegemonic whiteness, and that they/we shift between positions. Rather than detract from a critical study on whiteness, this diversity helps to avoid theorising an overly deterministic analysis. This study therefore demonstrates that difference exists within sameness, thus highlighting both the possibilities and contingency of 'white' identity.

Finally, this research provides a contribution to the academic literature by challenging the notion that as a white society, we have progressed from our patently racialised roots. It shows how 'race' continues to be produced in subtle ways that are frequently overlooked – to borrow from Hage, 'race' has slipped beneath a guise of 'benevolent whiteness' from which it has yet to emerge. This research also demonstrates that when white people adopt complicit, subordinate or essentialist positions within discourses of whiteness, we tend to deploy strategies that enable the deflection of a critical gaze. We do this because our efforts are construed as being 'beyond critique', because we fixate upon a needy or exotic 'Other', or because we appeal to a façade of innocence, adventurousness or benevolence.

The aim and significance of this research has been to expose these invisible and unintentional means by which 'race' is reproduced via white people's everyday thoughts and actions. By asking what it means to be a good white teacher, the research has highlighted that while white teachers' options for

acting are circumscribed, they/we do have scope to resist reproducing domination. Our choices, however, are often unconscious and frequently clouded by discourses that may appear to be progressive or innocent. This study therefore underscores the need for both educators and educational theorists to acknowledge the decentred capacities of whiteness that continue to invisibly shape classrooms and communities all around Australia. This is perhaps best done through applying a critical filter to our everyday thoughts and actions, and by together developing alternatives that actively challenge naturalised expressions of ‘race’. In so doing, we support the collective project of disrupting the relations that continue to render white domination invisible. By adopting a critical stance, this thesis has endeavoured to contribute to this task.

CALLING

TEACHERS in SA's APY LANDS

LIFE HISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

If you identify as a mainstream, non-Anangu teacher, and are currently working or have recently worked as an educator in the APY Lands you are invited to participate in an important doctoral study.

WHAT (will you be doing?): a one-on-one LIFE HISTORY interview (duration approx. 1-3 hours).

WHERE (will the interview take place?): either on the APY Lands during weeks 4 and 5 of term two in a location convenient to your home/work, or in an alternative location if you are no longer working in the region or would prefer to interview during term break.

WHO (is suitable?): Qualified non-Anangu teachers who are either working or have recently worked in the APY Lands, and who identify as mainstream Australians.

WHY (teachers?): The study aims to develop a nuanced understanding of the disposition of non-Anangu teachers to their work in Anangu communities. By eliciting teachers' life stories, the study seeks to explore the 'world views' of research participants, which in turn shape teachers' orientations to their work in this complex, cross-cultural setting. Non-Anangu teachers are sought in recognition of the fact that the high majority of qualified teachers in the region have long drawn from the Anglo dominated mainstream. This study limits its focus to the relationship between non-Anangu teachers and discrete aspects of the field of Anangu Education in broader Australian relations.

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LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Part One (background, childhood, education):

Can you tell me about your:

- Family (size, people, relationships, ages, nationalities, birth-country/ies, upbringing, values);
- Environment (How was the population of your neighbourhood constituted? Was it mainly 'white' Australian, new Australians, Indigenous Australians? House, suburb, country, socio-economic status);
- Interests (hobbies, extra-curricular activities, who was involved, hours, locations);
- Education (to what extent where you exposed to cultural difference in your schooling? What type of school, subjects, activities, relationships with others, classroom rules, regulations, values, traditions, rituals);
- Extended family (grandparents, cousins, important relationships);
- Friends (where, who, why, difference, sameness);
- Race (how do they understand themselves as racialised? White? Mainstream? How do they understand their childhood spaces as racialised? I.e. school, suburb, wider society, media, institutions, laws, norms, rituals, inclusion/ exclusion? What kind of Australian are you?).

Part Two (adult life, career)

Can you tell me about:

- Post-secondary education (what did you do after completing secondary education? Why? Who did you mix with? What were your ambitions, options);
- Education Degree (why education, why teaching, purpose of education, orientation to curriculum/ social justice, experience of tertiary education studies, key courses/topic areas, reflections, key areas of learning, shifts in beliefs around teaching);
- Anangu Education (why Anangu Education? Why the APY Lands? Desires, beliefs, goals, hopes, etc.).

Part Three (Anangu Education, social issues, politics, community)

a. What was your understanding of Anangu and Anangu Education prior to entering The Lands?
b. What are your views on land rights?
c. What are your views on Indigenous Education?
d. What does the notion of 'self-determination' mean to you?
e. What do you think the notion of 'self-determination' means to Anangu?
f. How do you perceive or understand Anangu/ Anangu culture?
g. In what ways do you perceive yourself as different from Anangu?
h. How do you perceive the governance of Anangu Education?
i. What is your perception of the recent criticisms that have been levelled against Anangu: for example, that Anangu self-governance has failed, and that Indigenous people in remote

communities use the 'cultural curtain' as an excuse to avoid participation in the discipline of Western education and in the economy?

j. What do you think is the 'right' policy direction for remote Indigenous Education?
k. How do you feel about the contention that the right approach is to remove the children and have them taught outside the community, to transform Indigenous parents' behaviour; and to establish a firmly regulated standardised curricula which would treat Indigenous children 'the same' as all other Australian students?
l. What do you think of the recent shift toward 'white' values in education, for example Values Education, flagpoles for funding, prescribed history curriculum?
m. How do you conceptualise Aboriginal Reconciliation, and how do you understand the shift 'away' from Aboriginal Reconciliation in recent years?

Part Four (Living and working in The Lands):

a. What were your first impressions of The Lands? Did your impressions change?
b. How do you understand The Lands as a racialised space? (i.e. organised hierarchically, grounded in white race privilege/ superiority?)
c. What were your first impressions of the classroom?
d. How would you describe the arrangement of your school in terms of Anangu and non-Anangu roles and responsibilities?
e. How would you describe, or how do you understand the presence of PYEC control at your level?
f. How would you describe your pedagogy?
g. How do you negotiate working with Anangu (students/ teachers/ AEWs/ management)?
h. How would you describe community involvement with the school?
i. Can you tell me about living in an Anangu community?
j. Do you structure your curriculum or pedagogy with a view to Anangu self-determination?

Interview Participant	**Year of Birth (age at interview)**	**Interview Date**	**Duration in the Region**	**Position/Title at interview**	**Prevailing Teaching Identity and Discourse of Anangu Education**
'Alice'	1982 (25 years)	30 May, 2007	3rd year	Middle Primary Teacher	Tourist, Subordinate
'Belinda'	1975 (32 years)	23 May, 2007	5th year	Child-Parent Centre Teacher	Tourist/ Mercenary, Subordinate/ Reflexive
'Chad'	1983 (24 years)	1 June, 2007	5th month	Secondary Boys' Teacher	Missionary/ Tourist, Subordinate
'Cliff'	1955 (52 years)	22 May, 2007	6th year	AnTEP Teacher	Social Justice Advocate/ Mercenary, Reflexive
'Faith'	1953 (54 years)	31 May, 2007	3rd year	AnTEP Teacher	Social Justice Advocate/ Mercenary, Reflexive
'Joseph'	1947 (59 years)	26 May, 2007	5th month	Secondary Boys' Teacher	Missionary/ Mercenary, Essentialist
'Lucy'	1983 (24 years)	24 May, 2007	5th month	Upper Primary Teacher	Tourist, Subordinate
'Luke'	1976 (31 years)	25 May, 2007	7th year	Principal/Non-instructional time teacher	Missionary/ Social Justice Advocate, Reflexive/ Subordinate

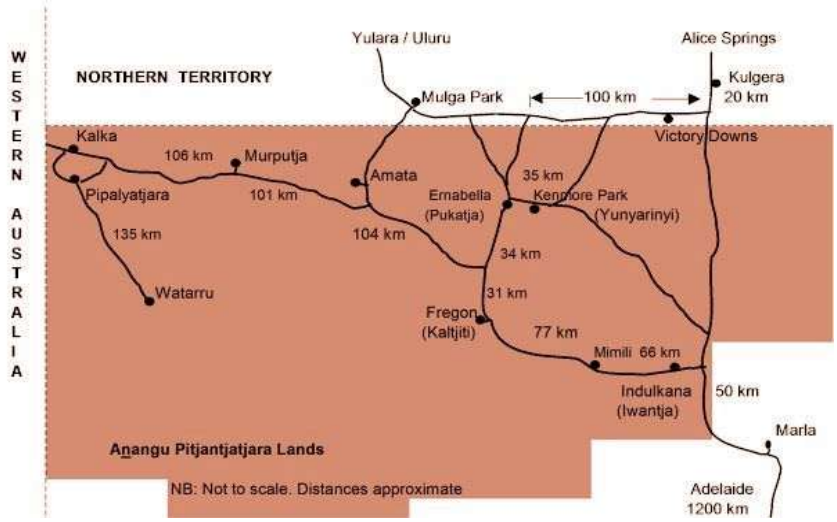
'Matt'	1970 (37 years)	31 May, 2007	7th month	Senior Secondary Teacher	Missionary/ Tourist, Subordinate
'Mike'	1956 (51 years)	31 May, 2007	4th year	Deputy/Non-instructional time teacher	Mercenary, Subordinate
'Penny'	1974 (33 years)	17 June, 2007	Resigned after 1.5 years	(Previously) Senior Girls' Teacher	Missionary/ Tourist, Subordinate
'Steve'	1972 (35 years)	28 May, 2007	2nd year	Junior/Middle Primary Teacher	Tourist/ Social Justice Advocate, Subordinate
'Suzy'	1975 (32 years)	26 October, 2007	Resigned after 1.5 years	Junior/Middle Primary Teacher	Social Justice Advocate/ Tourist, Reflexive
'Verity'	1977 (29 years)	23 May, 2007	7th year	School Counsellor (previously, Junior/Middle Primary Teacher)	Tourist/ Missionary, Subordinate
'Will'	1953 (54 years)	29 May, 2007	5th year	Permanent Relief Teacher (PRT)	Mercenary, Essentialist/ Subordinate

Map 1: Aboriginal Lands District

Map 1 indicates the locations of South Australia's twelve Aboriginal Lands District (Anangu) Schools (AES, 2008).

Map 2: APY Schools

Map 2 indicates and the nine APY Lands schools (from east): Indulkana, Mimili, Kenmore Park, Ernabella, Fregon, Amata, Murputja, Pipalyatjara, and Wataru (AES, 2008).



Map 3: South Australia's APY Lands

Map 3 indicates the location of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands within Australia (Ananguku, 2010).

Subordinate Discourses of Anangu Education

- Negotiations with Anangu either absent or superficial.
- Anangu people's desire for only some students to gain scholastic qualifications overlooked.
- Fundamental mismatch between traditional schooling and imposed Western models overlooked.
- Education reflects a tolerant approach of cultural inclusion on the terms of the dominant culture.
- Importance of AEWs not recognised in terms of salary or status.
- AEWs predominantly used as 'crowd control' by non-reflexive white teachers.
- White teachers exhibit a penchant for order and cleanliness that harkens back to colonial constructions of a raced Other.
- White teachers resort to watered-down curriculum and pedagogical tactics, such as bribery or the use of 'busywork' to win student engagement.
- White teachers use individualised activities to that weaken Anangu resistance and group power.
- Culture of low expectations of Anangu that is divorced from a reflexive view of the teacher's own pedagogical limitations.
- Anangu self-determination conceptualised in terms of what Anangu need to do to *become* self-determining.

Essentialist Discourses

- Education which is imposed
- White teacher embraces a paternalistic attitude built on a deficit view of Anangu, and is consequently there to 'show Anangu the way'.
- White teachers take part in surveillance over Anangu.
- Curricula and testing procedures are standardised.
- Self-determination is conceptualised in terms of what Anangu have to do to replicate white norms, values and standards.

Reflexive/Critical Discourses

- Curricula and administrative frameworks genuinely negotiated.
- Emphasis on the development of strong school-community bonds.
- White teachers open to learning new cultural protocols *in situ*.
- White teachers cognisant of the history and significance of race relations in the region.
- White teachers view cultural values as socially constructed.
- White teachers acknowledge the relevance and complexity of the role of the AEW.
- The whiteness of structures such as 'values' and standardised testing procedures are exposed and destabilised.
- Self-determination conceptualised in terms of what whites need to do to relinquish power and make space for Anangu control.

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