

# **Ngadjuri Perceptions of the Impacts of Cultural Dispossession of Identity, Heritage and Wellbeing**

By

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Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior and his son Vincent Copley junior (Photograph: Claire Smith)

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## Abstract

Guided by Indigenous research methodologies of decolonisation, feminist standpoint theory, and critical race theory, this qualitative research project investigates how a colonial legacy of dispossession and continuing barriers to returning to Country impact the Ngadjuri people's wellbeing. Indigenous mixed research methods are applied throughout the knowledge gathering process. Unstructured focused life-story interviews are conducted to gather Ngadjuri knowledge and perceptions, and community-based participatory research methods are applied to facilitate an action-oriented research process. The results of this study demonstrate how Ngadjuri perceptions of wellbeing are tied to the land. They also highlight the ongoing impacts of South Australia's colonial legacy on the Ngadjuri people and identify facilitators and barriers to the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country. There is currently limited literature investigating Indigenous cultural heritage and wellbeing, particularly literature produced by Indigenous scholars. This research addresses this gap in the literature by documenting the perceptions of the Ngadjuri participants and integrating the gathered information into the heritage and wellbeing discourse.

## Declaration

I certify that this thesis: Ngadjuri Perceptions of the Impacts of Cultural Dispossession of Identity, Heritage and Wellbeing does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. And the research within will not be submitted for any other future degree or diploma without the permission of Flinders University. And to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.



Josephine  
Date:

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### *1.1 Thesis topic*

This thesis research project was developed as a result of participating in the Flinders University community archaeology field school at Burra, located on the Ngadjuri traditional lands that stretch across the Mid North region of South Australia (Warrior et al. 2005). This research project highlights how an Australian colonial legacy of dispossession and continuing barriers, having little information about the Ngadjuri people and Country, and having limited control and ownership over Ngadjuri heritage and intellectual property rights impact the Ngadjuri people's wellbeing. Additionally, the project acknowledges that centring Indigenous knowledge and perspectives in research is integral and applies decolonising methods throughout the process.

### *1.2 Research question, aims, and objectives*

The primary research question addressed by this research project is: how has dispossession from their traditional lands affected Ngadjuri cultural heritage, identity, and wellbeing? To address this question, it is important to 1) identify what constitutes wellbeing from the perspective of the Ngadjuri people and 2) identify barriers and facilitators to the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country. The research aims to understand the impacts of dispossession on Ngadjuri cultural heritage, identity, and wellbeing. It also aims to contribute to the discourse of wellbeing informed by Indigenous knowledge and perspectives.

### *1.3 Research significance*

This research is significant to Indigenous peoples from other parts of Australia and from around the world who have been dispossessed of their Country for two principal reasons. First, it investigates the importance of Country to Indigenous wellbeing. Second, it investigates some of the ways in which the dispossession of Country can be addressed ("Yotti" Kingsley et al. 2009; Gilbert 2013; Tobias and Richmond 2014). Above all, the research is important to the Ngadjuri people who have experienced dispossession through British invasion since the 1840s, with no Ngadjuri people being recorded as living on Country by the 1891 Census (Warrior et al. 2005:77–91). In addition to having experienced dispossession for more than a century, there is little documentation about the Ngadjuri people (Birt and Copley 2005). This research is based on the premise that if cultural heritage is strongly associated with Indigenous wellbeing (Schaepe et al. 2017; Wexler 2009) the dispossession of Ngadjuri cultural continuity and cultural identity is likely to negatively impact Ngadjuri wellbeing. The Ngadjuri people have been making consistent efforts to maintain Ngadjuri culture and identity. However, there remain barriers in reclaiming the land and protecting Ngadjuri cultural and intellectual property (Smith et al. 2018). Ngadjuri Elder, the late Vincent Copley senior, also expressed his concerns regarding barriers to Ngadjuri knowledge transmission and his wishes to maintain cultural places for the young Ngadjuri generation during the Burra archaeological field school (Vincent Copley senior, pers. comm. 2020).

The means by which archaeology can play a role in linking Indigenous cultural heritage and Indigenous wellbeing is discussed by Schaepe et al. (2017), who argue that community-based and place-based archaeological practices can enhance Indigenous health and wellbeing. It is argued that rediscovering cultural materials through community-based archaeology projects helps provide tangibility to the intangible Indigenous cultural heritage. In doing so, communities can reconnect with Country, places, and people which is therapeutic (Everill and Burnell 2022; Schaepe et al. 2017). This

idea is backed by Wexler (2009) who, introducing the Identity-Relevance Meaning model, explains that historical trauma, memory, and cultural identity are intersectional. Wexler urges that historical consciousness, the capacity to identify their own heritage, and to construct cultural identity are vital for the wellbeing of the young Indigenous population.

This research fills a gap in academic literature around heritage and Indigenous wellbeing, especially literature that presents Indigenous voices or is developed by Indigenous scholars. It fills this gap by documenting the voices and perceptions of the Ngadjuri people and integrating the gathered information into the broader heritage and wellbeing discourse.

#### *1.4 Background*

In November 2020, I had the opportunity to join a community archaeology field school (Figure 1.1) which took place for one week in Burra, South Australia. Staying on the lands of the traditional owners, the Ngadjuri people, I visited several Ngadjuri cultural heritage sites, and also had the opportunity to listen to the late Ngadjuri Elder, Vincent Copley senior share his stories with us. I learned during the field school that Burra, being the birthplace of *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (Australia ICOMOS Incorporated 2013)*, displays not one single acknowledgement of the Ngadjuri people nor their cultural heritage. According to Vincent Copley senior, the Ngadjuri Nation faced a major challenge in reconnecting to their lands and places of cultural significance. Vincent Copley senior was concerned that Ngadjuri knowledge may not be transmitted to the generations to come.

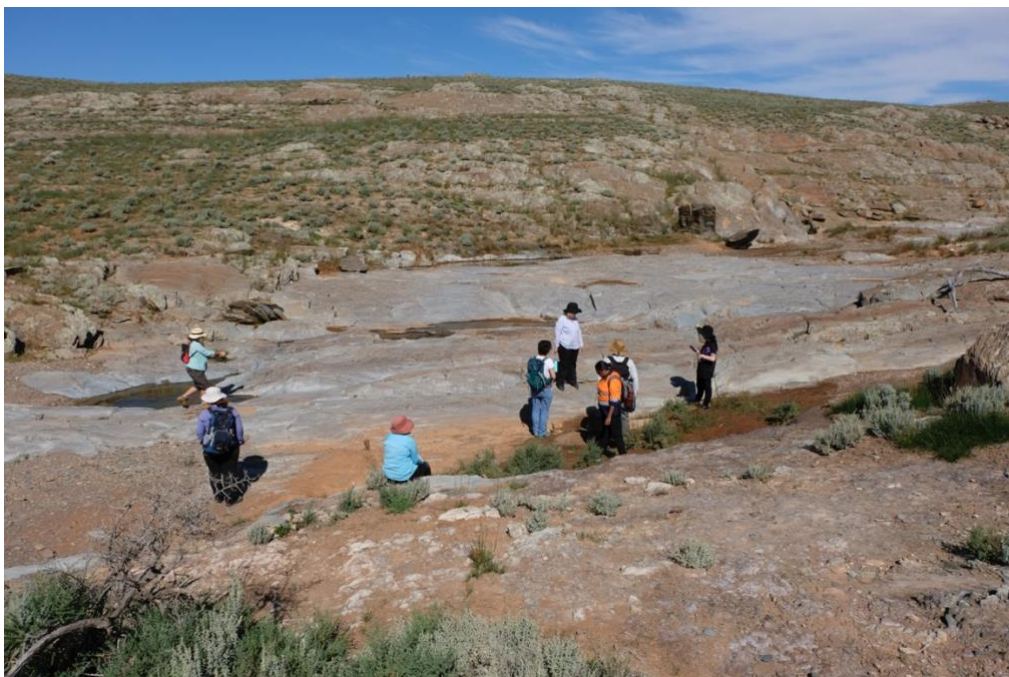


Figure 1.1 Community archaeology field school in Burra, November 2020 (Photograph: Josephine)

Barriers to knowledge transmission and cultural practices mean barriers to Indigenous wellbeing (Smith et al. 2022). Forced to move away from their lands and cultural spaces, some Indigenous Australian communities struggle to construct, insert, and transmit their cultural knowledge within a modern Australian narrative. Their struggle to maintain cultural values and practices manifests in disadvantages to Aboriginal peoples' wellbeing since culture and cultural identity are central to their notion of wellbeing ("Yotti" Kingsley et al. 2009; Butler et al. 2019). Connection to their traditional

lands is equally important in the formation of their cultural identity (Dockery 2016). Recognising that culture and access to Country is central to the wellbeing of Aboriginal communities, this study addresses the issue of how knowing culture has impacted the wellbeing of the Ngadjuri Nation. This project was developed under the supervision of Professor Claire Smith who has been conducting community-based archaeological research with and for the Ngadjuri people since 1998.

### *1.5 Previous works in the area*

From my first exposure to Ngadjuri cultural heritage, I learned that there remains a need for more collaborative works to be done to repatriate Ngadjuri cultural knowledge and heritage materials. Since 1998, Professor Claire Smith, Mr Gary Jackson and a Flinders University archaeology team have worked closely with the late Ngadjuri Elder, Vincent Copley senior and other Ngadjuri representatives to document heritage sites, conduct archaeological surveys and excavations, and to collect oral histories (see Birt and Copley 2005). The Ngadjuri Elder, Fred Warrior worked together with the local schoolteacher/librarian Fran Knight, archaeologist Sue Anderson, and Adele Pring to develop what seems the only book on the Ngadjuri people, language, culture, archaeological records, and history (Warrior et al. 2005). Commercial archaeologist Kylie Lower has also been working closely with the Ngadjuri Nation Aboriginal Corporation, a Ngadjuri representative body for Native Title, to provide cultural heritage services and to develop and maintain the Ngadjuri Nation's community-based heritage database (see <https://blackwoodheritage.com/about/>).

Today, little is known about the Ngadjuri people and their culture due to several factors; firstly, dispossession has significantly impacted the Ngadjuri people and has resulted in a loss of connection with Country after being forced away from their own land as early as the 1840s (Warrior et al. 2005). Secondly, a lot of historical and cultural information shared by the Ngadjuri man Barney Waria, the biological grand-father of Vincent Copley senior, with anthropologist Ronald Berndt in the 1940s remains under an embargo, meaning the Ngadjuri people cannot access the notebooks until 2024 (Smith et al. 2018). Such barriers have prevented Ngadjuri people from reconnecting with their land and culture. However, through collaborative works with local communities, councils, and academic institutions, such as Flinders University, the Ngadjuri Nation has gradually begun to reconstruct their Ngadjuri identity. Indeed, as Elder Vincent Copley senior explained, more meaningful collaboration, based on respectful relationships built over time is needed, not only from the government but from people with archaeology and heritage skill sets to also support the works of the Ngadjuri Nation (Birt and Copley 2005).

#### *1.5.1. Archaeological studies*

The Barossa District Aboriginal Archaeology and Heritage Survey report (1995) discusses the historical information about Aboriginal peoples of the Barossa District which include the Ngadjuri and Peramangk peoples. Detailed in the reports are descriptions of artefacts and archaeological sites across eight locations which had not been recorded prior to the 1995 study. The report also discusses quarry sites, culturally modified trees, and burial sites discovered during the survey study. Additionally, the report draws upon historical information gathered from residents and informants at Angaston, Truro, and Hahndorf and includes information regarding temporary campsites and ceremonial areas of both the Ngadjuri and Peramangk peoples.

As a project for the National Grants Program, Sue Anderson (Coles 2000) conducted an archaeological survey of Ngadjuri Country as defined by Tindale's 1974 tribal boundaries (Figure 1.2). The report notes that the Ngadjuri region stretches from Tanunda in the south, Crystal Brook in

the northwest, Georgetown in the east, and Willochra in the north. The archaeological survey project is an extension of another National Estate project that also concerns Ngadjuri history and oral histories. The result of the completion of these two projects is the 2005 publication of the book *Ngadjuri: The Aboriginal People of the Mid North Region of South Australia*.

Margaret Nobbs (2000) studied Aboriginal painting sites in the Olary Uplands area, focusing on the granite area of the northern edge of the Olary Uplands, to highlight how Aboriginal peoples made use of natural resources within the harsh environment. Nobbs drew on Tindale's 1974 map and Berndt's 1987 study to demonstrate that four Aboriginal groups shared boundaries within the hills of the granite area of the Olary District. They include the Yadiyawarra and the Ngadjuri, the Wilyakali and the Paakindji, the Malyangapa and the Adnyamathanha from the North Flinders Ranges. Nobbs assumed that the presence of more than 25 painting sites in the area suggested that different groups met in the area for social activities, and therefore the area was of great significance to those groups. Indeed, Nobbs concluded that the semi-arid landscape meant a large number of people could only be there for a short time period to conduct ceremony, trade, and exchange activities, and when food and water shortage occurred, they would have had to return to their Countries. Nobbs noted one of the important activities conducted in the area was gathering for game competitions.

As a part of the research for her master's thesis, Kylie Lower (2010) developed a GIS database for the Ngadjuri people. Her study provided a landscape archaeological analysis of Ngadjuri Country located in the Mid-North of South Australia. Lower's (2010:108) analysis reveals that transmission of cultural knowledge, the control over cultural heritage, the recognition of identity and self-determination are keys to Indigenous nation building. These factors relate to educating the public and younger generations; repatriation and cultural and intellectual property rights; economic empowerment; and recognition of identity, both within the group and by outsiders, as well as the use of language. Lower (2010:108) notes that the Ngadjuri community are concerned with passing on cultural knowledge to the younger Ngadjuri generation as well as educating the public, especially the school children of the Ngadjuri area. Having a GIS database helps the Ngadjuri people regain the power to manage their traditional lands and Native Title claims. Indeed, having control over cultural heritage asserts Ngadjuri identity and validates Ngadjuri custodianship of cultural sites. Lower (2010) concludes that more collaborative archaeological works can profit the Ngadjuri people.

Since 1998 Claire Smith and Gary Jackson undertook archaeological and anthropological research under the supervision of the Ngadjuri Elders Fred Warrior, Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Branson. Kylie Lower joined the research team in 2008. The initial research became the Ngadjuri Indigenous Heritage Project, which was funded by the Australian federal government. This project aimed to 'identify, record, manage and promote cultural heritage places on the traditional lands of the Ngadjuri people in the mid-north region of South Australia' (Smith 2014:2). Over two decades this work has involved archival research, recording oral histories, and documenting more than 600 sites that are now held on a Ngadjuri-controlled database.

Additionally, Smith et al. (2019) have developed a new analytical framework to analyse rock art style and to use stylistic characteristics to identify authorship based on the case study of rock art at Nackara Springs, situated within the boundaries of Ngadjuri Country. The study points out that there is a need to see beyond the motif when assessing rock art. The paper defines a set of features to develop a characterisation of style that is relevant to rock art at Nackara Springs, with which to help determine whether rock art in the region is of Aboriginal style or European style. The study of three ambiguous images reveals that the images that could easily be identified with Aboriginal authorship in a traditional approach of identifying contact rock art are in fact of European authorship. It is suggested that a more nuanced analysis of style can help to better understand 'the role and contribution of

historical inscriptions to interactions between Aboriginal and European peoples in early and postcolonial interactions' (Smith et al. 2019:602). Results from the study show that innovation emerges in a single aspect of an artistic tradition, and it is possible to assess a temporal sequence for contact motifs through a sequencing of innovations (Smith et al. 2019:603–604). Furthermore, the paper highlights that a specific analytical framework is needed to analyse a specific contact rock art model (Smith et al. 2019:604).

### *1.5.2. Knowledge and recognition of the Ngadjuri people*

In her book *Change on Change*, Nancy Robison (1971) describes the story of the area of South Australia which she calls 'The Northern Highlands.' The region is considered as the southern slopes of the Flinders Ranges by some and as the northern extremities of the Mt. Lofty Ranges by others. Robison mentions that very little is known of the Ngadjuri people whose traditional land included the Northern Highlands (1971:9). The book details stories of the Ngadjuri people which are woven into the storytelling of the region. In the area around Canowie, many of the Ngadjuri place names are used, which Robison (1971:79) argues may be because the Ngadjuri people preferred the hilly areas, especially during winter.

In his 1974 book entitled *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names*, Norman Tindale (1974) discussed the ecology, nomenclature, and structure of each Aboriginal group and developed a map that defined tribal boundaries (see Figure 1.2). According to Tindale, Ngadjuri Country consisted of 'Angaston and Freeling north to Clare, Crystal Brook, Gladstone, Carrieton, and north of Waukaringa to Koonamore; east to Mannahill; in Orroroo, Peterborough, Burra, and Robertstown districts' (Tindale 1974:214). He noted that the Ngadjuri people lived in the gum forest areas (Tindale 1974:214).

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Figure 1.2 Tindale's map of Ngadjuri Country (Reproduced from Tindale 1974)

In 1996 Tindale's map was updated by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS 1996), shown in Figure 1.3.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 1.3 Location of Ngadjuri Lands in South Australia (Reproduced from AIATSIS 1996)

In her autobiography and family history book *As We've Known It: 1911 to the Present*, Doris May Graham (Graham and Graham 1987) gave an account of her Ngadjuri family history. Graham's great grandmother, Kudnarto, was a Ngadjuri lady from Crystal Brook, near Clare. The marriage of Kudnarto to an Englishman Tom Adams was the first legal, Black-White marriage in South Australia. After her marriage, Kudnarto was called Mary-Anne Adams. Governor Robe permitted the couple to settle on land in the Skillogalee Valley near Clare. However, when Kudnarto died in 1855, it was said that the land would be given to her two children, Tom and Tim Adams, which never happened. After her death, the Adams family moved to Eyre Peninsula and lived on the Poonindie Native Training Institution. Doris' grandfather, Tom Adams, married her grandmother Louisa Roberts and settled in Point Pearce. They had seven children together and the fifth child, Maisie (May) Edwards nee Adams, Doris' mother, was married to Joseph Edwards whose mother, Matilda, is the daughter of King Tommy of the Narrunga people. The following figure recorded reporting of Tom Adams and Kudnarto (Figure 1.4).



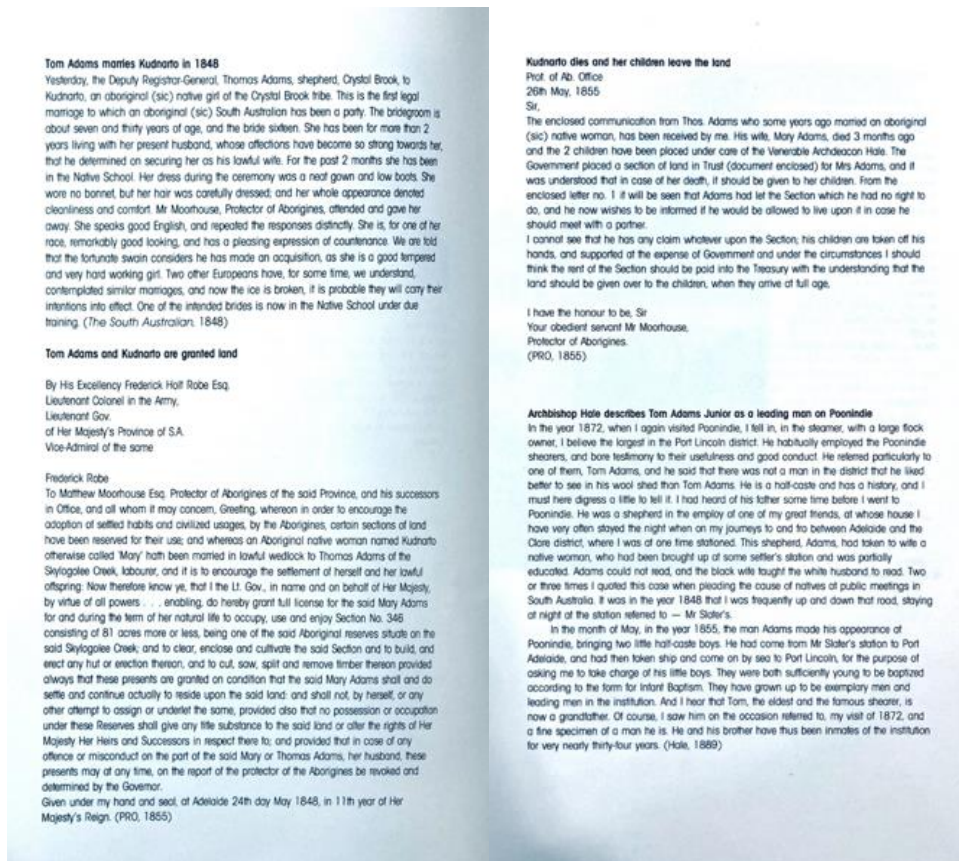


Figure 1.4 Reporting on Tom Adams and Kudnarto (Graham and Graham 1987:6–7)

The late Vincent Copley senior also published his own autobiography *The Wonder of Little Things* in which he shared his life story of growing up on a government mission, becoming an athlete and working for the rights of Aboriginal peoples with his friends and prominent leaders Charles Perkins, John Moriarty and Gordon Briscoe (Copley and McInerney 2022).

Fran Knight (1996) discusses in her book that the Ngadjuri people were one of the first groups who were severely affected by European invasion in South Australia, resulting in a loss of knowledge and information on Ngadjuri culture. Knight draws from multiple sources and published literature to collate a Ngadjuri history. Knight's research shows that there were records of Aboriginal people in the Mid North of South Australia working for settler communities in return for rations and tobacco, in places such as Bimbowrie Station, outside Yunta, Bundaleer and Booyoolie, in Jamestown district, and in Watervale. They were working as shepherds, wool scourers, sheep washers, and trackers. However, those close contacts were often cruel, followed by conflict and violence from 1840 which resulted in the killing of local Aboriginal peoples (Knight 1996:11). Knight stresses that following those initial experiences of European contact and violence, the Ngadjuri people experienced dispossession and dispersion, which were manifested in many forms: loss of culture and survival skills, dependency on landowners for rations, and eventually, being taken away to missions. Knight notes that by the mid-nineteenth century, the number of Ngadjuri people living on Country was diminishing. On top of that, those who came to regional centres for rations were often unwelcomed by townspeople (1996:16). By 1908, the Ngadjuri people had largely disappeared from the Mid North. With that, the stories and knowledge of Ngadjuri land were lost to history because of the events of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In recent years, research by Birt and Copley (2005) provides background understanding to the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country. The historical documentary sources of South Australia's Mid North region hardly mention the Ngadjuri, the Indigenous people of the region. The Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior recounted hopes and needs for the community in the process of reclaiming Country (Birt and Copley 2005:251–263). He believed it was important to take the younger generation to sites so that they could see, feel, understand, and connect to Country alongside other Ngadjuri people — this would make them feel better spiritually (Birt and Copley 2005:254). Furthermore, Vincent Copley senior urged that both the Indigenous communities and the White landowners should be open to sharing information about cultural sites so that people could be educated about the Indigenous heritage of the region, sites could be better understood, and Ngadjuri heritage could be properly documented. Vincent Copley senior was convinced that in addition to government support, there needed to be support from people with appropriate skill sets to help document sites, to explain them, and to run Ngadjuri heritage projects. For him, good collaboration happens when any research projects or development works that concerns the Ngadjuri, or that happens on Ngadjuri Country, involves the Ngadjuri people at every stage. He advised that the first step in collaborating with Indigenous communities was to build long-lasting relationships by investing the time to get to know each other (Birt and Copley 2005:263).

### Language and Culture

In a 1937 paper by Tindale, two legends of the Ngadjuri people in the 'Middle North' of South Australia were recorded, based on what ['Waria], a Ngadjuri middle-aged man, told Tindale during his visit to Adelaide. The first legend *The Old Woman and Her Two Dingoes* (Tindale 1937:149–150) tells the story of an old woman and her two dogs who came down from the north-west and travelled toward Ngadjuri Country and who killed any people they encountered on the way. To protect their Country, two Ngadjuri men Kudnu and Wulkinara killed the two dogs and the old woman with their boomerangs. The place where the red dog's blood was spilled became an ochre deposit and where the black dog's blood was spilled became a black wad deposit which Ngadjuri men used to decorate their bodies. Figure 1.5 shows an ochre deposit site on Ngadjuri Country.



Figure 1.5 An Ochre deposit site on Ngadjuri Country, November 2020 (Photograph: Josephine)



The second legend *Eagle and Crow* (Tindale 1937:151–152) tells the story of two animals, who in ancient times were human beings. Crow, jealous of Eagle's strength to crush rat's nests, convinced him to crush a nest he prepared with a sharpened kangaroo bone. Eagle was injured in the foot and Crow ran away. Eagle followed Crow and his family north-eastwards to ['Ti: talpa], northeast of Yunta on the Broken Hill Railway line and westwards to ['Waru: ni], a few miles north of Yunta Railway station (Tindale 1937:151). Where Eagle's foot sore burst open can be seen today as a white quartz reef. After smoking Crow and his family in the cave, Eagle turned into a bird that swoops down to the ground after its food. Crow and his family, after coming out of the cave, also turned into birds, Crow to this day is black from the 'smoking' he received in the cave.

Ngadjuri Country was defined as the land that extends from Angaston and Gawler in the south to Port Pirie and Orroroo in the north, and from Crystal Brook in the west to the eastern scarp of the Mount Lofty Ranges (Tindale 1937:149). The Ngadjuri people were known to their neighbouring group, Kurna peoples, as 'gum tree men' and to coast dwelling Nukunu peoples as 'back' and 'inland people' (Tindale 1937:149). Indeed, the name Ngadjuri itself meant 'we men' which derives from ['ḡadlu] 'we' and ['juri] 'man' (Tindale 1937:149).

The paper by Berndt and Vogelsang (1941) compared the vocabularies of the Ngadjuri and Dieri tribes of South Australia. The Ngadjuri vocabulary list was compiled from the information gathered from Gunaia (also known as Barney Warriia) during Berndt's visit to Adelaide between February and March 1940. It was noted that Gunaia was seventy-seven years old at the time and was the same individual referred to as ['Waria] by Tindale (1937:149) and ['Nadjli'buna] by Berndt (1940:456).

In an article discussing the transfer of food practices, Angela Heuzenroeder (2006) highlights the extent to which the food customs of the Ngadjuri and Peramangk peoples influenced European food habits within South Australia. Heuzenroeder suggests that food habits of the German-speaking Lutheran settlers in the Barossa Valley area evolved following encounters with Aboriginal culture (2006:31). Heuzenroeder outlines three levels of transfer of food practices from the incumbent culture to the newly arrived culture: using Indigenous ingredients, eating Indigenous food prepared by Indigenous hosts, and adopting Indigenous food preparation methods as their own (2006:31). It is noted that within the first ten years of contact between settlers and Aboriginal groups in South Australia, German-speaking settlers had learned about Indigenous ingredients and shared food prepared by Indigenous peoples. There was, however, no strong evidence of settlers adopting Indigenous cooking methods.

Paul Monaghan (2009) discusses Tindale's final project of a proposed gazetteer of Aboriginal names of places in southern South Australia and examines Tindale's methods for strengths and weaknesses to consider its usefulness. In discussing Tindale's use of various sources for developing placename cards, Monaghan highlights the Ngadjuri section of the project (Monaghan 2009:240), pointing out that because there was no fieldwork conducted with the Ngadjuri people and almost exclusive use of published materials, data on the Ngadjuri placenames was not rich. Consequently, the reliability of this data was questionable, and Tindale's assumed identity of the placenames based on his 1974 tribal distribution map made it more problematic (Monaghan 2009:241). Monaghan argues that the identity of placenames should be based on linguistic instead of ethnocartographic sources (Monaghan 2009:241). The author also notes that Tindale used 'outsiders' or non-Aboriginal informants for developing placenames.

## Terms

Throughout the thesis, the term Country is used to denote Indigenous sovereignty over Indigenous lands. The term Indigenous is used to refer to First Nations peoples around the world and the terms Indigenous Australians and First Nations Australians are used interchangeably when referring to First peoples of Australia. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AISTSI 20220) provides a guideline on language use when referring to Australia's First Peoples.

### *1.6 Limitations of this Study*

Several limitations were identified in conducting this research project. The major limitation was being a non-Aboriginal person who has not yet developed long-term relationships with the Ngadjuri people. This limited my capacity to engage a wide range of Ngadjuri people in the study. Like many Aboriginal people, the Ngadjuri people can be wary of researchers who they do not know, and it was only possible to interview the Ngadjuri people who had established relationships with my supervisor, Claire Smith, and who could also find the time to be interviewed. This meant that the research became a 'deep dive' into the views of a few Ngadjuri people, rather than an overview of the views of many Ngadjuri people. However, this limitation allowed me to obtain a deep understanding of the views of the Ngadjuri Elder, Vincent Copley senior, and his son, Vincent Copley junior, who were my principal interviewees. Other potential research participants were ultimately unable to participate in the project, for a variety of reasons. A second limitation is that the majority of the interviews were conducted in a home setting, as Vincent Copley senior was ill, rather than on Ngadjuri Country. Given the great value that he placed on being on Country, it is likely that interviews on Country would have elicited more detailed information regarding specific places. As Kearney (2009) points, out the sensory experiences of being on Country, particularly the use of sight, can be a key trigger to prompt how that land is perceived by Indigenous peoples. A third limitation is that the interviews were only conducted with men. Women and children have different experiences and may have different perspectives, and this would be a valuable focus of future research.

### *1.7 Discussion*

This thesis research project was developed as a result of my participation in the Flinders University community archaeology field school. This thesis explores how South Australia's colonial legacy of dispossession and continuing barriers to coming back to Country impact the Ngadjuri people's wellbeing. Furthermore, it examines how cultural knowledge impacts the wellbeing of the Ngadjuri people and how dispossession has affected Ngadjuri cultural heritage and Ngadjuri identity. The following chapter outlines and discusses the relevant literature surrounding cultural heritage, Indigenous cultural heritage, Indigenous wellbeing, and Indigenous archaeology.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant background literature on cultural heritage, Indigenous wellbeing, and Indigenous archaeology. Indigenous wellbeing is a holistic and multi-dimensional construct which encompasses broad and interrelated domains and focuses on the wellbeing of the collective as well as that of the individual (Butler et al. 2019; Manning and Fleming 2019). The health literature shows that there is a multi-directional relationship between Indigenous Australian culture, spirituality, identity, and wellbeing (“Yotti” Kingsley 2009; Barnett and Barnett 2009; Dudgeon et al. 2017). Hence, it is relevant to explore the relationship between Indigenous heritage, archaeological practices, and Indigenous wellbeing.

Situating this project within the context of existing research pertaining to the Ngadjuri people, the main focus of this review is to highlight Indigenous perspectives as revealed in the literature. Beginning with an overview of the epistemology and methods this research project is based on, this chapter then presents a brief background of the Ngadjuri people and their cultural heritage challenges. This is followed by a literature review on heritage and Indigenous cultural heritage. It then explores the concept of Indigenous wellbeing, and concludes with a review on Indigenous archaeology, highlighting the association between cultural heritage and wellbeing amongst Indigenous communities.

### 2.2 Epistemology

This research focuses on placing Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing at the centre of its epistemological construction. This is to resist the fact that mainstream research practices are continuously influenced by neo-colonial knowledge systems, and that researchers tend to build knowledge based on their own interpretations and cultural worldviews (Bishop 2011). Working in New Zealand, Bishop (1998) argues that research methods developed in traditional epistemologies are framed within Western cultural preferences and practices, instead of those of Māori people. Syed Hussein Alatas also warns that there is the tendency to develop a research process through ‘the captive mind’ (Alatas 2004), and to follow the set footsteps of Western research paradigms. As argued by Haraway (1988), ‘feminist objectivity’ is needed to contest, deconstruct, construct, connect, and transform systems of thinking. Indeed, instead of taking the dominant notion that knowledge is an individual entity and that the researcher forms the knowledge, this research study embraces the Indigenous research paradigms and acknowledges that ‘knowledge is relational. Knowledge is shared with all of creation’ (Wilson 2008:74). In that sense, the researcher’s way of knowing within this thesis will be constituted through what Moreton-Robinson (2013:341) terms ‘relationality’ and through the social positioning of an outsider. There are three main Indigenous research methodologies that will guide the formation of knowledge and ways of inquiry within this study: decolonisation methodology, feminist standpoint theory, and critical race theory.

### 2.3 Methodologies

#### 2.3.1. Decolonisation

Decolonisation process is key to this research as it places Indigenous worldviews and perspectives at the core of knowledge production. It encourages researchers to develop a critical understanding of the assumptions, motivations, and values that research practices are built on (Smith 2021). The Māori

academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2021) defines decolonising research as developing a critical understanding of the problematics of imperialism, history, writing, and theory in research. Smith (2021) highlights that research is still largely dominated by Western worldviews and that there remain continuing impacts of colonialism on Indigenous communities. Hence, it is important to critically review research practices, methodologies, and methods.

Decolonisation does not reject Western research practices entirely. Rather, it centres Indigenous knowledge and perspectives in research (Smith 2021). Smith's articulation is also reflected in the discussion of critical Indigenous inquiry by Denzin et al. (2008), who argue that transforming research epistemologies and methodologies can enhance the resistance and empowerment of Indigenous peoples. These works contextualise this project's adoption of decolonising methodologies, and the prioritisation of Indigenous worldviews to better understand the continuing impacts of colonialism in research.

### *2.3.2. Feminist Standpoint Theory*

Feminist standpoint theory is another guiding methodology for the project. A form of 'reflective solidarity,' feminist standpoint theory encourages the researcher to commit to taking collaborative action and to bridge the concepts of identity and universality (Jodi Dean 1998). Reflective feminist solidarity is also about decolonising knowledge and practicing anticapitalistic critique which paves the way to an 'antiracist and internationalist feminism—without borders' (Mohanty 2003:7). Theorising Indigenous women's standpoint, Moreton-Robison (2013) highlights the partiality and subjectivity in research and recognises that research is a situated and critical practice. Standpoint theory posits that research is neither value free nor impartial and provides an entry point for inquiry that acknowledges partiality and subjectivity (Moreton-Robinson 2013). Most importantly, standpoint theory is essential to Indigenous methodologies as it urges the researchers to state their privilege in relation to the researched (Ardill 2013). In other words, feminist standpoint theory attempts to embrace and pay respect to Indigenous sovereignty by looking at power relations (Ardill 2013). In this sense, feminist standpoint theory acts as a strategy to make space for new perspectives and social transformation.

### *2.3.3. Critical Race Theory*

It is important to recognise how different notions of race play a part in the Eurocentric nature of research. Ladson-Billings (1998) states that in a racialised society, everyone is measured against the normative 'whiteness'. She continues to illustrate that the fluidity of the way 'conceptual whiteness' operates means that an individual may be categorised as conceptually White when class and social position override racial identification (Ladson-Billings 1998:9). A product of critical legal studies in the United States, critical race theory argues that Whites have benefited mostly from civil rights legislations and that 'naming one's own reality' is essential to counter dominant rationalisations and dysconscious racism by the oppressors (Ladson-Billings 1998:13). It is also argued that moral and ethical activism urges society to make democracy a reality for not just for one privileged group but for the wider community (Ladson-Billings and Donnor 2008). Hence, racial differences cannot be ignored, and 'political race' requires scholars to identify how race and power interconnect at every level of the society (Ladson-Billings and Donnor 2008). In essence, critical race theory acknowledges that storytelling is a culturally relevant pedagogy for Indigenous scholarship (Ladson-Billings 1998) and that Indigenous scholars, and scholars of colour, need to 'write their own script' (Dunbar 2008).

## *2.4 The Ngadjuri people*

The traditional lands of the Ngadjuri people are located in the Mid North region of South Australia (Warrior et al. 2005). Norman Tindale defined Ngadjuri boundaries as 'from Angaston and Freeling north to Clare, Crystal Brook, Gladstone, Carrieton, and north of Waukaringa to Koonamore; east to Mannahill; in Orroroo, Peterborough, Burra, and Robertstown districts' (Tindale 1974:214). Ngadjuri Country covers 'approximately 30,500 square kilometres' (Lower 2009:5).

Ngadjuri people were some of the first Aboriginal peoples in South Australia to come in contact with settlers following colonisation in 1836 (Anderson 2000). From as early as 1840, the Ngadjuri people were affected by European invasion which resulted in dispossession and dispersion (Knight 1996). By the mid-nineteenth century, the Ngadjuri people had begun to move away or lived in camps and worked for settlers (Anderson 2000). By the late nineteenth century, hardly any Ngadjuri people remained in the Mid North region (Warrior et al. 2005). Their experience of dispossession was manifested in the loss of Ngadjuri history and cultural knowledge, and little has been documented about them (Birt and Copley 2005; Knight 1996).

Despite this long history of dispossession, the Ngadjuri people are determined to maintain connections to Country (Birt and Copley 2005). Dispossession has affected Ngadjuri cultural continuity and cultural identity and, presumably, this has impacted the wellbeing of the Ngadjuri people. Smith et al. (2018), note that significant barriers remain when it comes to reclaiming the past and protecting cultural and intellectual property. Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior articulated the need to share Ngadjuri history with the Ngadjuri youth, to educate people from the region about Ngadjuri cultural heritage, and to document cultural sites and information (Birt and Copley 2005). Such barriers to connection and access to cultural places can compromise the Ngadjuri people's wellbeing.

## *2.5 Heritage*

Laurajane Smith describes heritage as a social and cultural process that facilitates social, cultural and political change, and cultural continuity: Heritage describes 'activities that actively engage with thinking about and acting out not only 'where we have come from' in terms of the past, but also 'where we are going' in terms of the present and future' (Smith 2006:84). In other words, heritage is also a cultural process within which identities are formed as people engage with, reconstruct, appropriate, and contest heritage discourse (Bender 1993).

Heritage is also viewed as a tool that can be used to transmit ideas in different ways. Apaydin (2018) regards heritage as a communication tool used to convey ideas, values, and knowledges. Additionally, Graham et al. (2000) note that heritage represents selected parts of the past picked to inform the present for economic, cultural, political, or social purposes. Graham et al. (2000) reason that heritage, therefore, can be multi-used: it serves as an economic resource in terms of tourism, economic development, and rural and urban regeneration; and as a political resource, as it shapes culture and power meanings. Harvey (2001:332) draws the conclusion that heritage is 'not an innate or primordial phenomenon; people have to be taught it.'

Heritage also conveys controversial views. Graham et al. (2000:1), state that heritage is 'almost any sort of intergenerational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals.' Barthel-Bouchier (2013) argues that this means that one social group may inflict heritage interpretations upon another. Ashworth (2007) highlights that governments tend to use heritage as a tool to promote a single story of the nation-state and the legitimacy of the government, often

disregarding alternative competing narratives. Whilst heritage is commonly perceived with a positive connotation, it is a contested space because it can create conflict where individuals and communities hold opposing values and identities, sometimes resulting in oppression (Silverman and Ruggles 2007).

Heritage becomes particularly problematic when western perceptions, and ways of managing heritage property, are being legitimised as authorised heritage discourse and Indigenous perceptions of heritage are being undermined. Smith (2006), argues that Indigenous peoples, including Aboriginal Australians, have no control over their cultural tools and have no say in how their heritage is managed because they are effectively legislated out of the authorised heritage discourse. Smith (2006) continues to stress that control over the heritage process of remembering and meaning-making is crucial for Indigenous peoples to form personal identity and cultural meanings as they associate with heritage places.

## ***2.6 Indigenous Cultural Heritage***

Indigenous cultural heritage is often intertwined with intangible cultural heritage. Smith (2007) urges that heritage must be seen as a ‘moment’, an intangible process of negotiation in which identity, social and cultural meaning, memories, and experiences are facilitated, discussed, and formed. To achieve self-determination in identity construction and expression, it is important for Indigenous communities to be able to control the heritage moment of cultural processes and negotiations (Smith 2007).

Indigenous cultural heritage is linked to Indigenous rights. Indigenous communities around the world are vastly diverse yet most communities share a deep-rooted relationship between the lands and their cultural identity (Gilbert 2013). The United Nations Human Rights Committee (HRC) recognised this connection between cultural rights and land rights of Indigenous peoples in the General Comment No. 23: Article 27 (Rights of Minorities) of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR)* (The United Nations Human Rights Committee 1994). This was followed by the adoption of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in 2007 in which more emphasis on land rights and human rights for Indigenous peoples were given (The United Nations General Assembly 2007). Indeed, Indigenous Australians provide a strong case study for the linkage of land, cultural heritage, and human rights (Silverman and Ruggles 2007). Layton (1995) explains that Aboriginal land claims manifest the land as a source of knowledge, a heritage resource, and a place for identity forming as they consider themselves as custodians of the land.

Intellectual property is another intersectional point in regard to Indigenous cultural heritage. Silverman and Ruggles (2007) state that control over and use of traditional knowledge, a component of cultural heritage, will remain a contested area of discussion. Naming it an ‘intellectual soup’ and inspired by the Ngadjuri people’s experiences, Smith et al. (2018) offer a concept to explain intellectual and cultural property rights: the researcher and the Indigenous person jointly own the intellectual property of a research work.

Here, Ngadjuri experiences provide evidence of an historically unfair intellectual property ownership between researchers and Indigenous communities. Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley Senior fought for the last two decades to access materials documenting conversations undertaken by anthropologist Ronald Berndt with his grandfather. Due to a 30-year embargo placed on the materials at the time of Berndt’s death, many Indigenous communities will not be able to access knowledge and stories that their ancestors had shared with the anthropologist until 2024 (Smith et al. 2018). This unfair control over property is also reinforced by underlying contexts, such as a gap in law and policy centred on the protection of Indigenous cultural heritage and intellectual property as well as a lack of knowledge of the Ngadjuri people’s continuing existence as a result of dispossession (Smith et al. 2018). Smith



et al. (2018) argue that the intellectual property of Berndt's field notes should be jointly owned by the Berndt's and Aboriginal Elders like Barney Waria, since both sides contributed to the production of knowledge.

Many Indigenous communities encounter difficulty in reconnecting with Country and cultural heritage because of the 'Othering' and dispossession enacted by colonial institutions. Said (1978) notes that research works produced by Western scholars within colonial and imperial contexts characterised colonised peoples as inferior 'Others'. He argues that in the fields of philosophy, history, anthropology, and literature orientalism lives on as 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said 2009:113). Liebmann (2008) adds that 'Othering' also exists in fields like archaeology, noting that archaeology has had a distinct role to play in constructing colonial discourses and controlling representation of the history of colonised communities. Smith (2006:277) reminds us that archaeological practices often reinforce the colonisation of Indigenous heritage, as the authorised archaeological knowledge of Indigenous pasts deems Indigenous heritage as 'prehistory' and 'archaeological data'.

Increasingly, efforts have been made to decolonise and improve Indigenous cultural heritage works. Engaging with Country begins with Indigenous intangible culture heritage asserts Tran and Barcham (2018). In their discussion paper, Tran and Barcham (2018:12) note that while there is an increase in recognition of Indigenous cultural heritage in state heritage laws and legislation in Australia, there remains the need to include more say from Indigenous communities in the repatriation and definition of Indigenous knowledge. They suggest that there needs to be a new policy context within which Indigenous knowledge structures and cultural relationships are more directly aligned with governance measures (Tran and Barcham 2018:21). Further initiatives by Indigenous and non-Indigenous professionals include the promotion of political recognition and legitimacy of Indigenous heritage, deconstruction of colonial archaeological practice through postcolonial critiques, and achieving social justices through collaborative archaeology projects (Rizvi 2008; Smith 2007; Smith et al. 2019).

## ***2.7 Indigenous Wellbeing***

Whilst wellbeing is regarded as a multi-dimensional construct encompassing both objective and subjective components, Indigenous wellbeing is often viewed from a relational perspective which emphasises not only the wellbeing of an individual but also the wellbeing of the individual's community (Butler et al. 2019; Manning and Fleming 2019; Saikia et al. 2017). Manning and Fleming (2019) propose that Indigenous wellbeing is associated with five domains: physical, social, emotional, economic, cultural and spiritual, and subjective. While wellbeing is commonly understood from a health perspective, Taçon (2019:6) defines wellbeing as 'a positive sense of psychological, physical, emotional and spiritual satisfaction that results from being part of a culture and community that actively engages with its environment, heritage and traditions.' Yap and Yu (2016) state that for most Indigenous peoples, wellbeing is connected to community, Country, and a sense of belonging. They argue that autonomy and self-determination is integral to holistic Indigenous wellbeing.

A more specific look at Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's domains of wellbeing by Butler et al. (2019) identify nine broad and interrelated domains (Table 2.1). Their comprehensive literature review provides fundamental and interconnecting dimensions of wellbeing for Indigenous Australians (Butler et al. 2019:140). Noting that current measures and indicators of wellbeing do not reflect Indigenous Australians' values and worldviews, Butler et al. (2019) suggest that a wellbeing tool that privileges Indigenous Australians' perspectives and values needs to be developed to contribute meaningfully towards 'closing the gap' of health and wellbeing outcomes.

<b>Domains of wellbeing</b>
Autonomy, empowerment and recognition
Family and community <i>Family</i> <i>Community</i> <i>Social and cultural connectedness and social capital</i> <i>Disconnection from family and community</i>
Culture, spirituality and identity
Country
Basic needs <i>Food</i> <i>Money</i> <i>Housing</i> <i>Access to services</i>
Work, roles, responsibilities <i>Paid Work</i> <i>Other roles and responsibilities</i>
Education
Physical health
Mental health

Table 2.1 Domains of wellbeing (Butler et al. 2019:140–152)

Within an Indigenous context, wellbeing often has a focus on 'place' or land. In their study with Inuit peoples, Sawatzky et al. (2019) found that Inuit peoples involved in the study consistently saw land as a fundamental factor across all dimensions of wellbeing. For Inuit peoples, 'the land was everything', a 'traditional and customary way of life', and it made people feel 'whole' (Sawatzky et al. 2019:228). Also of note, Paul Taçon (2019) studies the importance of rock art for the wellbeing of Indigenous Australians and concludes that for Indigenous Australians, rock art is associated with 'story, Ancestors, identity, knowledge, spirituality, well-being, heritage, living culture, Country, inheritance, and teaching (Taçon 2019:10).

Indigenous communities often conceptualise wellbeing within their own context. Within a Fijian perspective, for example, wellbeing is known as 'sautu — the good quality of life of the vanua or people to be healthy and wealthy' (Nabobo-Baba 2006:155). For Yawuru people in Broome, Western Australia, the notion of wellbeing is centred in the concept of mabu liyan (italic in original) or good liyan — 'touching, eating, feeling, being and doing ... how one relates to others, to the surroundings, and to the environment' (Yap and Yu 2016:327).

Indigenous wellbeing is considered strongly associated with cultural heritage. Wexler (2009) introduces the Identity-Relevance Meaning model to explain the intersection between historical trauma, memory, and cultural identity, and elaborates on how they affect the health and wellbeing of Indigenous young people. Wexler (2009) highlights the importance of historical consciousness and argues that Indigenous young people need to identify with their own heritage to develop a strong cultural identity. This connection is important, as a threat to individual or community identity is a threat to the individual or community's wellbeing (Hallet et al. 2007:392). A sense of connectedness and commitment to the future can be sustained if Indigenous youth know their cultural past, present, and future (Chandler and Lalonde 1998). Indeed, in their study of self-continuity, cultural-continuity, and suicide cases amongst Indigenous peoples across Canada, Chandler and Lalonde (1998) found that there is a connection between communities' measures to preserve and rehabilitate their cultures and lower rates of youth suicide.



To promote resilience and wellbeing within Indigenous groups, some literature highlights community actions of culture preservation as vital. For instance, Dockery (2010) points out that prioritising 'assimilationist' arrangements in addressing Indigenous disadvantage over Indigenous cultural maintenance creates more negative outcomes. Dockery (2010:329) suggests that a solution to this is to pay greater attention to the restoration of Indigenous cultural attachment or self-determination through identity formation and participation in community cultural activities. Similarly, Hossain and Lamb's (2019) study on cultural attachment and wellbeing amongst Canada's Indigenous peoples demonstrates that involvement in traditional activities and Indigenous language may result in higher levels of psychological wellbeing within non-metropolitan communities. Sabone (2009:786), working with Indigenous communities in Botswana, also discusses how reviving traditional values and practices through activities within the family and school community can improve mental health. Sabone (2009:786) notes that rapid socioeconomic development and urbanization has diluted cultural aspects such as cultural values, social institutions, and approaches to day-to-day events that contribute positively to mental health.

## *2.8 Indigenous Archaeology: Archaeology for wellbeing*

There is an increased interest in interdisciplinary study, specifically between archaeology and psychology, to understand how archaeology can help improve the wellbeing of certain populations. Conceptualising the notions 'rehabilitation archaeology' or 'wellbeing archaeology', Everill et al. (2020) employed veteran-focused archaeological fieldwork to understand how archaeology can impact the wellbeing of veterans. This study found that veteran-led initiatives demonstrated measurable improvement in wellbeing, such as a decrease in the occurrence and severity of anxiety, depression, and isolation, and improved mental wellbeing and sense of value (Everill et al. 2020). Similarly, Ander et al. (2013) initiated a project named 'Heritage in Hospitals' to understand the therapeutic effects of a heritage focused intervention on the previously excluded population within hospitals and care home settings. Their facilitation of museum handling sessions with hospital and healthcare users revealed that heritage objects had engagement, feelings (positive and negative), and wellbeing impacts on the participants. Additionally, Gallou (2022) conducted a comprehensive, realist review of wellbeing benefits and provided a framework of theoretical pathways to understand why or how engagement or exposure to heritage improved wellbeing. This review highlighted the need to focus on place attachment and social wellbeing outcomes in heritage policy literature since the existing approaches relied primarily on measuring the benefits of visiting heritage and tended to avoid identity-related wellbeing outcomes.

Archaeology can play an instrumental role in linking heritage and Indigenous wellbeing. Practiced as a community-based approach, archaeology can enhance the health and wellbeing of Indigenous communities (Schaepe et al. 2017). Taçon (2019) specifically notes that places of heritage and history, such as rock art sites, are an essential part of Indigenous culture and wellbeing. Calling archaeology therapeutic, Schaepe et al. (2017) demonstrate that community-based archaeological practices can help revive cultural materials giving intangible Indigenous worldviews tangibility.

However, it should be noted that the therapeutic role of Indigenous archaeology proposed by Schaepe et al. (2017) has been met with some criticism. Holtorf (2017) is concerned that the emphasis on culturalism — the idea that confines individuals to a specific worldview and makes them into an 'apathetic, spineless product of their culture' (Eriksen and Stjernfelt 2010:373) — in community-based or Indigenous archaeology will entitle cultures to special rights and protections, thus, compromising individual rights. It is viewed that culturalism, in resisting imperialism, may become a form of totalitarianism by reducing and confining individuals to their cultural belongings and

boundaries (Eriksen and Stjernfelt 2010). Holtorf (2017) also warns that the idea of 'heirloom-based linkages of identity' (Schaepe et al. 2017) may lead to extreme forms of 'blood and soil' thinking which tends to create hatred and racism, dividing societies and communities.

The discussion on privileging lived experiences of Indigenous peoples in constructing archaeological knowledge and Indigenous heritage is brought by Preucel and Cipolia (2008) through postcolonial thinking. The authors argue that Indigenous archaeologies apply and transform postcolonial critique to decolonise Western constructs of archaeological knowledge. The idea that Indigenous archaeologies should be executed with and for Indigenous peoples is widely accepted. However, it is also important to note that Indigenous archaeologies is also criticised for its isolation from the dominant notion of archaeology hence its limited potential effect, its essentialism, and its racial thinking (Preucel and Cipolia 2008:131-132). Decolonising archaeology means readdressing colonial archaeological language and practices and challenging the way Indigenous histories are treated within the discipline (Preucel and Cipolia 2008).

Smith et al. (2019) call for collaborative archaeology for social justice. Social justice archaeology can be confronting because of 'deep colonisation'. However, it can also be inspirational/aspirational in terms of Aboriginal nation building and culturally appropriate research ethics (Smith et al. 2019:539). Collaborative archaeological practice starts with understanding research ethics from Aboriginal perspectives. This includes seeking approval from Elders, following research protocols required by the community, access to opportunities at both an individual and community level, recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty and governance, and institutional structural changes to ensure equal educational opportunities (Smith et al. 2019:541–546). Indeed, there is a need to readdress 'deep colonisation' that appropriates or excludes Indigenous histories and experiences and to contribute to social justice approaches: the redistribution of resources and goods, and the politics of recognition (McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith et al. 2019).

Within a local context, Ngadjuri perspectives on public archaeology are reflected in a collaborative study by Indigenous and non-Indigenous archaeologists, scholars, and Indigenous communities (Pollard et al. 2020). Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior believed community archaeology brought out better results and helped Indigenous peoples like him to reconnect with Country and to revitalise knowledge of the Ngadjuri people. He voiced the need for archaeologists to record more accurately by working closely with community people and, in circumstances where this did not happen, questioned who owned the information, the researchers or the researched who shared their knowledge? He also reminded the academic community of the need for better collaborative archaeological works that involve Indigenous youth. Similarly, as highlighted by the Ngadjuri man Vincent Copley junior, community archaeology should involve the community as it helps record Indigenous heritage and enable Indigenous peoples to defend their culture with evidence. Additionally, he expressed concern with the confusion archaeological and scientific terminologies create, suggesting that archaeological language should be explained in a way that Indigenous communities can understand. Vince Copley junior has also expressed that there should be a royalty system to compensate for Aboriginal peoples' intellectual property; for too long, government institutions have used Aboriginal knowledge as token gestures. Vincent junior hopes that archaeology can help reinsert Aboriginal cultural heritage into the broader Australian heritage narrative.

Smith et al. (2022) provide the case study of the Ngadjuri Indigenous Heritage Project to discuss the ways in which community archaeology can help the Ngadjuri community re-establish connection with lands and produce social, emotional, and economic wellbeing benefits. It is argued that archaeology and cultural heritage can establish a strong base for connectedness and continuity. Indeed, the project created a number of beneficial outcomes for the Ngadjuri people. Ngadjuri Elder and co-

author, Vince Copley senior, provided a personal testimony stating that the heritage project had contributed to his personal wellbeing. He also believed that the project had contributed to the local community's wellbeing as there was an increased recognition of the Ngadjuri people in the Mid North region. Additionally, there was a contribution to economic wellbeing, as the heritage project positioned the Ngadjuri people as cultural heritage consultants for Ngadjuri lands and as knowledgeable partners on university research projects. The project also contributed to the development of a small cultural heritage tourism enterprise. The recorded data and information that were developed as part of the Ngadjuri Indigenous Heritage Project enabled the Ngadjuri community to continue working on their social, cultural, and economic enhancement. It also contributed to redressing historical injustices and inherited inequities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

## *2.9 Discussion*

This chapter explored the broader literature within heritage, Indigenous cultural heritage, Indigenous wellbeing, and Indigenous archaeology to develop a background understanding of how cultural heritage can inform Indigenous wellbeing. Heritage is viewed as a social and cultural process that mediates social, cultural, and political change and continuity. It assists with the transmission of ideas and values, serves as an economic and political resource, and helps form memories and meanings. Heritage is also a controversial space as it can become a catalyst for conflicts when individuals and communities hold opposing values, particularly when authorised heritage discourse excludes Indigenous perspectives on heritage, resulting in ongoing oppression.

Indigenous cultural heritage is understood in association with intangible cultural heritage, cultural identity, intellectual property, and cultural rights. Barriers to Aboriginal peoples reconnecting with Country and cultural heritage remain, as a result of the colonial consequence of ‘Othering’ and dispossession. There remains the need to decolonise heritage practices and to prioritise Indigenous knowledge structures and cultural relationships in determining Indigenous cultural heritage. Decolonising means promoting political recognition and the legitimacy of Indigenous heritage, the deconstruction of colonial archaeological practice through postcolonial critiques, and achieving social justices through collaborative archaeology projects (Pollard et al. 2020; Rizvi 2008; Smith 2007; Smith et al. 2019; Smith et al. 2022).

Indigenous wellbeing is considered as relational and is associated with multi-dimensional and interrelated notions of wellbeing (see Bradley with Yanuwa families 2014; Brady and Bradley 2014; Smith et al. 2022; Yap and Yu 2016). It also focuses on the collective wellbeing of the community as well as the wellbeing of the individual. Places such as rock art and other cultural heritage sites and tangible heritage such as cultural materials, can contribute to the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples and communities because they create a space to connect with the past, form cultural identity, and develop a sense of belonging (see Brady et al. 2016; Taçon 2019; Taçon and Baker 2019; Schaepe et al. 2017).

Indigenous archaeology is endorsed as an instrument that links cultural heritage and Indigenous wellbeing. Postcolonial thinking suggests that the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples can be privileged in archaeological knowledge production and understandings of Indigenous cultural heritage. Collaborative archaeology and community archaeological practices that involve Indigenous researchers and Indigenous communities may contribute to achieving social justice approaches through the redistribution of resources and goods and recognition of Indigenous cultural ownership, hence to the holistic wellbeing of Indigenous peoples. There is at present limited literature around Indigenous cultural heritage and Indigenous wellbeing, especially literature by Indigenous scholars.

This research aims to fill this gap by recording the views of a range of Indigenous people and synthesizing this information into an overarching framework.

## Chapter 3: Research design and methods

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines my research methods as they are informed by Indigenous research paradigms. It covers my research methodologies and positionality, methods of data collection, ways of forming knowledge, ethical approaches, and limitations of the study. The methods undertaken in this study are grounded in a long-standing awareness that the world's Indigenous population and their ways of life, cultural knowledges, and practices are strongly connected to the lands and the natural environment they live in (Layton 1995; Silverman and Ruggles 2007). Despite these knowledges, in a world dominated by a Eurocentric development agenda, Indigenous worldviews and practices are given little attention and deemed incompatible with a 'modern' way of life (Smith 2021). Planted in the mind of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures today is the colonial notion of a 'developed' society where individual development is measured against a set of rules and worldviews rooted in an imperialist way of thinking. This creates conflict in the 'colonised mind' of the 'colonised Others' who rarely find their ancestors' presence in the narratives of the 'modern' culture discourse (Wilson 2008). Consequently, conflicting value systems and contradicting knowledges can negatively impact individuals' wellbeing. As a result Indigenous scholars are increasingly calling for the urgent need to alter colonial discourses and construct new forms of enquiries that embrace Indigenous knowledge systems. Moreover, as Brady and Kearney (2016) point out, there is much richness to be gained from a methodological openness that values Indigenous knowledge systems. The methods used in this study respond to this call.

### 3.2 Theoretical Positioning

Donna Haraway's (1988) concepts of 'feminist objectivity' and 'situated knowledges' are applied within this study to acknowledge that knowledge is partial, not universal, and that the 'object of knowledge' has the agency to transform the process of knowledge production. This study also recognises that 'knowledge is relational' (Moreton-Robinson 2013; Wilson 2008) and seeks the knowledges of partial sights and limited voices to form a collective position and knowledge representative of a community (Haraway 1988). By applying Indigenous research methodologies, this study resists the idea that the researcher forms the knowledge and that knowledge is an individual entity. Through three Indigenous methodological approaches of decolonisation, feminist standpoint theory, and critical race theory, this study shares the power of knowledge production with the researched.

#### 3.2.1. Decolonisation

Decolonisation process is important for my research work as it places Indigenous worldviews and perspectives at the core of knowledge production. In order to critically approach my research inquiry, there are several decolonisation strategies are adhered to. Firstly, it is acknowledged that the term 'research' itself is problematic. In her ground-breaking book, 'Decolonizing Methodologies,' Smith (2021:1) reminds the reader that "research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism ... It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity.' This reminder will guide me to be mindful of claiming to be 'giving voice' through my work and to always reflect my position throughout the process (Sikes 2006). Next is to reconstruct alternative histories in the popular narratives through lived experiences of the Ngadjuri people. To transform the colonised views of history, urges Smith, it is important to revisit the past portrayed by the West, critique it, and reclaim

the history by giving testimonies of injustices (Smith 2021). This 'coming to know the past' is a critical aspect of the pedagogy of decolonisation (Smith 2021). Through the voices of Ngadjuri representatives as well as the existing literature and research works, I will come to know the written past, look at it with a critical mind, and document testimonies given.

### *3.2.2. Feminist standpoint theory*

Feminist standpoint theory is another approach utilised within my inquiry. Applying feminist standpoint theory to this project means to start by acknowledging sovereignty of the Ngadjuri Nation, and their legitimacy and authority to knowledge. Moreton-Robinson (2013) states that the experiences and knowledges of research subjects are vital to inform social research, and that researchers make choices of inquiry methods based on their standpoint. By taking a feminist standpoint, I choose to acknowledge the partiality and subjectivity in my research and follow the objective of placing myself 'in the same plane as the subject of study' (Cabrera et al. 2020:310). Moreover, being a non-Aboriginal woman of colour, located in a different Indigenous cultural group, with a shared history of colonisation, 'intersectional experiences' of subordination and privilege are acknowledged and reflected upon (Cabrera et al. 2020). Awareness of intersectionality and how different axes of social division shape one's position in society is what urges me to take into consideration another approach, critical race theory (CRT).

### *3.2.3. Critical race theory*

Of importance to this thesis project, is an understanding of how different notions of race play a part in a research investigation. As a non-Aboriginal researcher of colour, critical race theory highlights several things to consider when conducting my investigation. One of them is to consistently reflect on my position and the possible categorisation I may be associated with in a given context. It is crucial to be aware that my 'conceptual whiteness' may become more dominant than my racial and cultural identifications (Ladson-Billings 1998). It is also important to keep asking Who is benefiting? Who is benefiting from the research, and or in the society, as a result of legislations? And finally, my investigation follows Ladson-Billings' pedagogy, storytelling, as a method of inquiry.

## *3.3 Positionality*

It is vital that a researcher is aware of her location and position in the research process. A researcher's position as an outsider or insider may govern the way knowledge is produced and interpreted. Here, my position as a scholar researching Ngadjuri wellbeing will be an outsider position, since I am a non-Aboriginal person, and my location holds different cultural knowledge and practices. As an outsider, I am aware that my understanding of Ngadjuri knowledge will be partial as a result of interpretation. It is also important to recognise that my own situated knowledge may also influence the knowledge production of the research project.

Although I am an outsider within a Ngadjuri cultural context, my own Indigenous roots in my home country of Myanmar may also place me in an insider position. As Moreton-Robinson (2013) explains, our ways of knowing are informed by shared knowledge and experiences: I share the experience of 'having different cultural knowledges, histories of colonisation, multiple oppressions, and lacking epistemic authority' with the Indigenous Australian sovereignties (Moreton-Robinson 2013:342). Hence, I am situating myself both as an outsider and insider within this research project. As a researcher committed to social justice, I can also be an 'ally' (Mutua and Swadener 2004).



### *3.4 Data Collection*

Research methods appropriate for this project are known as Indigenous mixed methods. Indigenous mixed methods are ideal for this study as they allow for ‘multidirectional lending and borrowing of knowledge systems between dominant and marginalized cultures’ (Chilisa and Tsheko 2014:224). Chilisa (2020) notes that qualitative interview methods tend to toward individualistic Westernised assumptions and, therefore, Indigenous research methods are needed to be integrated in order to develop a more equal research relationship. Indigenous mixed methods embrace a relational framework that recognise communities as knowledge holders and value the knowledge stored in their language, cultural practices, and heritage (Chilisa and Tsheko 2014).

Within this project, an unstructured qualitative interview method, also known as a relational interview method, called the focused life-story interview, was applied to collect data (Chilisa 2020). This method was chosen as it enables a ‘relational way of knowing’ that describes people’s connections ‘with one another and the environment, as well as topics absent from the standard vocabulary of academic disciplines’ (Chilisa 2020:253). Additionally, it helps the researcher to minimise control over the responses of the research participants and ‘let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace’ (Bernard 2017:164).

It was also important that research participants were closely involved in the research process, hence a participatory research method was applied to facilitate an action-oriented research process. In this process, the researcher acts as an 'activist dedicated to social transformation' by utilising therapeutic and social justice methods that are informed by the marginalised voices of the researched communities (Chilisa 2020:269). Indeed, by applying the community-based participatory research method, the research process placed participants as co-researchers (Chilisa 2020:271). With support and supervision from Professor Claire Smith, who has developed a decades long working relationships with the Ngadjuri community, I was introduced to Elder Vincent Copley senior and his family.

This study was developed in response to Vincent Copley senior’s long-term leadership of Ngadjuri efforts to reclaim the past. All interviews were undertaken in the home of Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Copley junior. During an initial interview, the purpose of this particular study was discussed, and Vincent Copley senior gave approval to write a thesis on the Ngadjuri people, health and wellbeing in relation to being on Country. Vincent Copley senior and Professor Claire Smith together identified who to interview and how many follow-up interviews to conduct. Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Copley junior gave verbal consent to be interviewed and allowed me to use the information they provided within this thesis project. The interviews were undertaken by myself, Claire Smith and Gary Jackson. I transcribed the interviews myself and a full draft of the transcriptions as well as the audio files were given to Vincent Copley junior. It was agreed by all involved parties that any data, interview transcripts, and this thesis would be classified as the intellectual property of the Copley family. The penultimate draft of this thesis was approved by Vincent Copley junior and his sister, Kara, subject to minor amendments.

### *3.5 Data Analysis*

For the data analysis process, grounded-theory research, inductive or open coding method, was utilised (Bernard 2017). Open coding enables data to be organised by themes, patterns, and concepts which can result in the emergence of a meaningful story (Chilisa 2020). The focused life-stories of Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Copley junior were gathered through conversations during community archaeology field schools, individual visits to their location, as well as through separate

visits by Professor Claire Smith. This was to ensure that as much data as possible was gathered. Interviews conducted for the purpose of this thesis, as well as interviews undertaken at other times, were transcribed and analysed. Additionally, a content analysis study was also conducted on previous publications and oral histories that included interview conversations with Vincent Copley senior.

NVivo qualitative data analysis software was used to store, organise, and analyse data (Figure 4.1). Through the open coding process, interview conversations and oral history transcripts were coded according to emergent themes and concepts. Four major themes were identified: domains of wellbeing, impacts of colonial dispossession, facilitators and barriers to coming back to Country, and aspirations for the future of the Ngadjuri Nation.

### ***3.6 Ethical Approaches***

As this research project aims to adopt Indigenous research practices, an Indigenous ethical framework guided the data collection and analysis process. Good research practices adopt Indigenous ethical and moral models where the researcher is accountable to the researched (Denzin et al. 2008). It was of key importance to this study that the research works benefit the Ngadjuri people. Particularly, in terms of shared cultural and intellectual property rights, shared knowledge and power, and in terms of accountability to communal responsibilities and sovereignties (Apaydin 2018; Birth and Copley 2005; Denzin et al. 2008; Moreton-Robinson 2013; Smith et al. 2018). Within an Indigenous relational framework, the researched are regarded as co-researchers (Chilisa 2020; Chilisa and Tsheko 2014). This notion is based on Ubuntu concept: viewing ‘self’ as a reflection of the researched Others, acknowledging the researched as knowledge holders, and building connections with the community (Chilisa 2020).

Building on the Indigenous ethical framework, this project consulted the *Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies* (AIATSIS 2012). These guidelines assisted the research project in developing a research design that acknowledged and considered the cultural knowledge and cultural ownership of the Ngadjuri people. Ethics approval for this study was granted by the Flinders University Human Research Ethics Committee, under the existing project entitled *Ngadjuri People Reclaiming the Past* (Project ID: 2751); the Primary Investigator for this project is Professor Claire Smith (Appendix 1). Consultation with the Ngadjuri people was conducted at every stage of the project: From identifying research participants, to writing up data analysis results. Negotiations for data collection were made under the guidance and supervision of Professor Claire Smith, who has a strong, long-term working relationships with the Ngadjuri community. Verbal consent was asked for and acquired before any research works. Appropriate royalties were provided to research participants in recognition of their contributions and the sharing of knowledge to the research project. Any products, including the thesis paper, interview recordings, and transcripts, are shared and jointly owned by the Ngadjuri community and external researchers.

### ***3. Limitations of the Study***

There were several limitations identified in conducting this research project. They included the availability of the research participants, the strength of the working relationships, and representation. Being a non-Aboriginal person who has not yet developed long-term relationships with the Ngadjuri people was my main limitation. This limited my capacity, and I could only interview the Ngadjuri people who had established relationships with my supervisor, Claire Smith, and who could also find the time to be interviewed. As a result, I could not engage other Ngadjuri people in my thesis project. However, the limitation allowed me to obtain a deep understanding of the views of Vincent Copley



senior and Vincent Copley junior. The location of the interview was another limitation. Most of the interviews took place in a home setting due to Vincent Copley senior's ill health. Interviews on Country would have likely elicited more detailed information since Vincent Copley senior placed great value in Country. The sensory experiences of being on Country such as the use of sight can prompt how the land is perceived by Indigenous peoples (Kearney 2009). A third major limitation was that the interviews conducted included only men. The reason for this is related to the first limitation: not having had established long-terms relationships with the Ngadjuri people. Since women and children have different experiences and may have different views, that would be a good focus of any future research conducted with the Ngadjuri community.

While there were limited research participants involved in this project, Elder Vincent Copley senior's and Vincent Copley junior's focused life-stories provide an important insight into the experiences of the larger collective of the Ngadjuri people. This was due to the impacts of colonisation, identity, and wellbeing of the Ngadjuri people as conceptualised through Elder Vincent Copley senior's and Vincent Copley junior's lived experience, as well as their connection and association with Ngadjuri Country. It can be argued that their web of connections with people around them, with their land, and the environment were depicted in their stories and therefore their perceptions provide key insight into the experiences of the Ngadjuri community (Chilisa 2020).

### *3.8 Discussion*

This study adopts Indigenous research methodologies and applies Indigenous research methods for data collection and data analysis. To resist dominant Euro-Western methodologies, this research project was informed by Indigenous methodologies including decolonisation methodology, feminist standpoint theory, and critical race theory. Decolonising approaches included critiquing 'words' themselves, reconstructing alternative histories that were invisible in dominant narratives, and building relationships. From a feminist standpoint, this project acknowledged Indigenous sovereignty, embraced partiality and subjectivity, and took into consideration intersectional experiences. Furthermore, the research work was informed by critical race theory to be conscious of 'conceptual whiteness' and potential associated categorisations. CRT also encouraged me to keep questioning who benefits from the research process. Coming from a different cultural experience, and being a non-Aboriginal scholar, I stand in an outsider position. However, my shared knowledge and experience, and my desire to make an Indigenous inquiry, may place me in an insider position as well. Additionally, I can also be considered an 'ally' for my commitment to social justice.

In this chapter, research data collection methods and data analysis methods were discussed in detail, whilst providing an overview of the themes identified within the data. Indigenous mixed methods, including unstructured relational interview methods and community-based participatory research methods were applied, and the grounded-theory research or open coding method using NVivo qualitative data analysis software was employed. The subsequent chapter discusses in detail the emergent themes within the data collected, and the perceptions of the Ngadjuri representatives consulted on impacts of cultural dispossession, notions of wellbeing, and coming back to Country.

## Chapter 4: Results

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on the findings from the thematic analysis of data derived from conversations with Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior and his son Vincent Copley junior. The analysis identifies several interconnected themes, including the impact of colonisation, determinants of Ngadjuri wellbeing, and facilitators and barriers to the Ngadjuri community's coming back to Country. The chapter begins with a discussion of the seven determinants that contribute to the wellbeing of the Ngadjuri people. It then continues to discuss Australia's colonial legacy and its impact on Ngadjuri people. The final section focuses on the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country in terms of which factors serve as facilitators and what seem to be barriers to the Ngadjuri community's effort to return.

### 4.2 What does wellbeing mean to the Ngadjuri people?

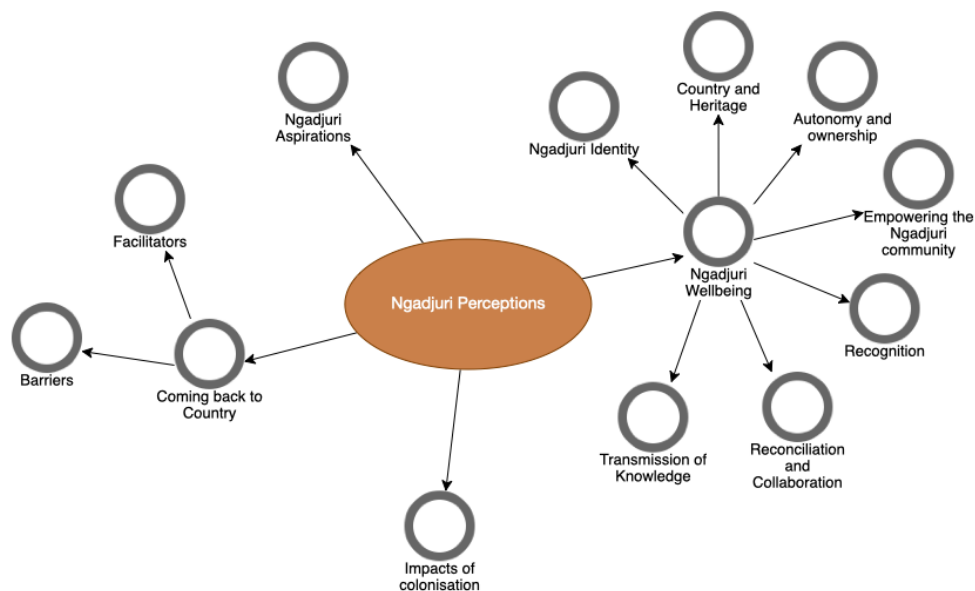


Figure 4.1. Themes which emerged from the open coding process

As shown in Figure 4.1, seven domains were identified as being associated with the wellbeing of the Ngadjuri people. They include Ngadjuri identity, Country and heritage, autonomy and ownership, empowerment and development, recognition, reconciliation and collaboration, and transmission of knowledge. It should be noted that the seven notions are often interconnected as the complex experiences and influences, which are the fundamental characteristics of Indigenous wellbeing, create shifting connections and overlap between the domains (Butler et al. 2019).

#### 4.2.1. Strengthening Ngadjuri Identity

Data that emerged from the conversations with Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior and his son Vincent Copley junior, highlights the importance of reconstructing Ngadjuri identity. Reconstructing identity means recognizing information about Ngadjuri ancestors and Ngadjuri families today, information that was lost as a result of dispossession. It is also about having a connection with a particular group and land. Ngadjuri identity is also formed from family coming together, and visiting

and documenting cultural sites. Characteristics such as connections to the land, quality relationships with extended kinship networks, and 'yarning' are important for Indigenous peoples' sense of identity and of their past (Dockery 2016).

Returning to Country is sort of good because ... it brings people together. The fact that they were identified as Ngadjuri bring that community together. You start actually finding out who your ancestors were and all that because everything was based in the land ... you gotta have that specific area to say Oh yes, my ancestor is in Ngadjuri Country. And that's why it's important that... to me, that's the connection to Country, is the ancestry and the culture that's left (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

#### *4.2.2. Country and heritage*

The interviews undertaken for this study demonstrate that Ngadjuri identity is strengthened by being able to come back to Country and to visit cultural places. It is evident that being on Country helps to form a restorative sense of wellbeing for Indigenous Australians (Butler et al. 2019). In order to do so, gaining information and records of Ngadjuri heritage as well as maintaining cultural places are crucial. It may be in the form of establishing a 'keeping place' where information about Ngadjuri Country and peoples is available. It may also be in the form of visiting and documenting heritage sites and sharing information with the non-Indigenous communities in order to educate the public about Ngadjuri Country. Being able to re-establish a tangible connection with heritage materials and sites can have positive effects on individual and community wellbeing (Scheape et al. 2017).

I think the best way to protect your sites is to educate people in the local community and say Look. This is a site. This is what it represents. This is what it is. You share that information, and people aren't so quick to destroy it then (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

#### *4.2.3. Autonomy and ownership*

The interviews within this project showed that maintaining a level of control and being able to actively participate in land and heritage management is also considered vital for wellbeing. It is important that Ngadjuri representatives are involved in all stages of development and heritage projects on Ngadjuri Country. It is also important to ensure meaningful collaborations by investing time to build relationships and trust with the Ngadjuri people and vice versa. Having more say in determining Native Title terms and conditions is essential to having autonomy. Only then their right to self-determination can be realised as the Indigenous peoples play a major role in sustainable leadership (Bobba 2019). Having autonomy over decisions and responsibility to care for and manage Country can contribute to the Indigenous peoples' wellbeing (Yap and Yu 2016). Last but not least, it is vital that intellectual property rights are acknowledged and ownership of Ngadjuri knowledge be recognised. Intellectual property rights should be 'a reformulation of two intellectual traditions and bodies of knowledge' particularly when working with Indigenous communities, and reformulated knowledge should be returned to the Indigenous communities involved (Smith et al. 2017:12).

If we're going to work with you, we're going to work with you, and whatever you do we're involved and whatever we do you're involved and then I think that makes the thing much better (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:262).

#### *4.2.4. Empowering the Ngadjuri people*

Empowering the Ngadjuri community and enhancing their prosperity is an essential means of promoting overall wellbeing. This involves creating community-led economic empowerment opportunities, job opportunities in the development sector, as well as developing educational and vocational opportunities for the Ngadjuri youth. Studies show that economic empowerment opportunities involving community participation, cultural heritage management, and Indigenous-owned businesses that create opportunities for the family, are linked with aspects of wellbeing (Butler et al. 2019; Yap and Yu 2016). Creating empowerment opportunities require long-term commitment and support from federal and state governments and heritage management bodies, developer companies, relevant experts, and the local community.

When you are talking about royalties from mining also ... It should go into the community to sort of employ and train people to work on their own Country ... because it generates income. And it generates pathways for people to get education (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

#### *4.2.5. Recognition*

The interviews undertaken in this study demonstrate that acknowledging and recognising Ngadjuri Country and heritage can have positive impacts on Ngadjuri wellbeing. Local councils, landowners, and non-Indigenous communities coming forward and inviting Ngadjuri people to visit Country, rediscover cultural places, and to do research works are considered primary ways of recognising the validity of Ngadjuri heritage. Respecting Ngadjuri cultural custodianship and cultural claims is a further way to recognise the legitimacy of their cultural difference (Smith 2007). Recognition can take the form of collaborating on research works and heritage projects, organising events, and creating teaching opportunities to share information with the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population about Ngadjuri history and heritage. Indeed, the ability to equally participate in the wider Australian community and to teach Indigenous knowledge can be beneficial to wellbeing (Garvey 2008; Mokak 2015). Another means of acknowledging Ngadjuri traditional owners is to establish tangible heritage places, such as signage and memorials, cultural centres, and open-access cultural sites (Figure 4.2).

I just think that the Clare Council have taken the first step or the Riverton Council in terms of Alfie Hannaford's sculpture at Riverton. That's the first visible thing we've seen, and it's really good. But now that you've got a signage at Tarlee, that's another big effort. So, gradually things... this is a third NAIDOC coming up at Clare Council. So things are happening and I think there's a lot more could happen with the Council (Vincent Copley senior, 3 July 2021).





Figure 4.2 The sculpture of an Aboriginal Woman and Child at Riverton, November 2020 (Photograph: Josephine)

#### *4.2.6. Reconciliation and collaboration*

The interviews highlighted that another major domain of wellbeing is reconciliation and collaboration. The notion of reconciliation is often enacted through practical, governmental interventions (top-down) and symbolic, people movement that recognises differences (bottom-up) (Saxton 2004). For the Ngadjuri community, reconciliation has to start from both sides: the non-Indigenous communities committing to recognising and respecting Ngadjuri heritage, and Ngadjuri individuals being open to non-Indigenous people getting involved in maintaining Ngadjuri heritage. However, ensuring an anti-racist practice of reconciliation requires non-Indigenous peoples to reflect on the power and privilege of their whiteness and change the dominant perceptions of Indigenous peoples in order to truly recognise the common humanity that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples share (Saxton 2004).

Meaningful collaboration is identified as being key to promoting reconciliation amongst Indigenous communities, experts, corporations, and local non-Indigenous communities.

That made ... people, both the community ... within the area and us a little bit more willing to know more about each other and became something that had been missing for that length of time, finally come home and that opened the door to how you wanted to carry that out. Like you could use it to its fullest ability or achievements that people were no longer fearing that what you were doing in the Country is not to take their land but to find out about your own (Vincent Copley senior, 5 October 2021).

#### *4.2.7. Transmission of Knowledge*

Passing down knowledge to younger generations, and sharing Ngadjuri culture and heritage with the non-Indigenous communities, was identified in the interviews as another important aspect of wellbeing. It is vital that the Ngadjuri people go back on Country and reconnect physically and emotionally with ancestors through remaining heritage places. Doing so can help the Ngadjuri people become conscious about their past, present, and future, and form a sense of connectedness which is essential to the wellbeing of young Indigenous peoples (Chandler and Lalonde 1998; Dockery 2010; Wexler 2009). The next step is to open access to some heritage places to the public, so that other Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples can participate in learning about Ngadjuri culture and history. Educating the local community, especially young people, about Ngadjuri history and heritage is also essential here; teaching about the Ngadjuri people in local schools is considered an effective way to recognise the Traditional Owners of the land.

I think that's why it might be a good idea to bring the kids when they're young, so they can start there, rather than start out angry and continue to be angry right up until they're adults (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Bert and Copley 2005:254–259).

#### *4.3 Impact of colonisation and dispossession*

Colonisation and dispossession affected the Indigenous Australian population, including the Ngadjuri people, significantly. Colonial legacy interrupted the connection between Country and peoples which resulted in loss of information about the Ngadjuri people and Country, a lack of documented information regarding the Ngadjuri community, and Ngadjuri people having to endure the process of regaining information. Not having this information consequently impacted the wellbeing of Ngadjuri people in terms of reclaiming Country and re-establishing a Ngadjuri identity. Impacts primarily took the form of barriers to information, disruption to identity, and discriminatory treatment.

The Ngadjuri people were disconnected from their Country since dispossession in the late 1890s and as a result, they had very little information about where their ancestors came from and who are families of the Ngadjuri today. Elder Vincent Copley senior did not have much information on the Ngadjuri part of his family and could not recognise Ngadjuri Country until he spent extended time recording sites on Ngadjuri lands as part of the Ngadjuri Heritage Project. This was evident in him noting: 'I'd been through here lots and lots of times, but as I said, before then I didn't know which Country my father had come from, so it had taken a long process (Vince Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:253).'

For the even younger generation like Vincent Copley junior, son of Elder Vincent Copley senior, being disconnected from Country meant there was a complete lack of awareness of his ties with Ngadjuri Country until non-Indigenous researchers shared information with him:

When we were growing up, I was told that my homeland was Narangga ... We have ties to Kaurna and stuff like that, and until my uncle Fred Warrior got this grant and sort of did a bit of research, we were only aware that Ngadjuri people still existed ... (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

Loss of connection deprived the Ngadjuri people like Vincent Copley senior of information on the identities and whereabouts of fellow Ngadjuri people. Consequently, Elder Vincent Copley senior and other Ngadjuri people found themselves, after decades, still at the beginning stage of finding out more information about Ngadjuri Country and peoples: 'so from then on, it's been a slow process of finding out just how many Ngadjuri people are still alive and are still living in the Country (Vince Copley senior, 18 April 2021).'

With more available information about all the different sides of the family, peoples began to discover more about the different groups they were associated with. However, Elder Vincent Copley senior felt that due to the lack of information about their Ngadjuri connection, many families with Ngadjuri ties had gone to be associated with other groups:

It ended up that Josie Aguis and I were the remaining group left from Barney Waria and sorted of worked back towards that being of course from that came the Barney Waria family, relations that we didn't think we had. Turned out to be of course quite a few Ngadjuri people left that really thought that they belonged to some other group because of the history (Vincent Copley senior, 18 April 2021).

Colonisation impacted the Ngadjuri people in such a way that it was almost impossible to prove the continuity of Ngadjuri Country and heritage. With no one living on Country, and language and heritage places lost, Vincent Copley junior pointed out the difficulty in providing evidence of Ngadjuri cultural continuity:

They're gonna say, then it comes down to the thing that you gotta prove the significance of the site. Again, especially with the Ngadjuri group, having been decimated so early in colonisation, we lost our language. We lost our heritage. We lost all the stories. It's like when they start saying sort of oh then, you lost the continuity. Hang on, we didn't leave, we were removed (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

Vincent Copley senior also shared concerns about keeping Ngadjuri heritage and identity alive: 'There's been no Ngadjuri people back on Country since they were all shifted off. So that is something that sort of history need to be told and it need to have some keeping place which we don't have at this stage.'

A further impact of European colonisation saw many Indigenous peoples, including the Ngadjuri, shifting away from their lands, moving from place to place and living in some sort of segregated areas. From a young age, Vincent Copley senior experienced the divisional nature of colonial rules when his family moved to Alice Springs:



As you went in through the Gap, on your righthand side was the abattoirs, and all of these painted white houses called the Rainbow town. And anyway, when we moved there and we stayed there, and that particular area was for all the half-caste at that stage; quarter-caste, quadroons, whatever. That was where they were allowed to stay. They weren't even town, right? They were outside the town, and this one you get through the Gap, south of the Gap, that's where all the traditional people stayed (Vincent Copley senior, 3 November 2020).

Portrayals of Indigenous peoples were often influenced by the colonial way of thinking which disapproved of Indigenous ways of life. Indeed, Vincent Copley senior found this negative view disagreeable and challenged the narrative by asking author Mallett Ashley to write about what some Indigenous peoples had achieved:

I got sick and tired of people writing in the books, in the papers, about Aboriginal kids being too lazy that they don't wanna work, all they wanna do is drink, and all they wanna do is fight and lay about and don't do...I said to him Listen Ashley, what about writing this book on these kids? There's 20 of us...I said that group of kids made their own way in life (Vincent Copley senior, 3 November 2020).

From the statements of Elder Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Copley junior, it was evident that colonisation had some major impacts in terms of Ngadjuri people being able to recognise their Country and their other families. Being disconnected from Country and culture had resulted in difficulty in providing proof of their cultural continuity and had led to the danger of not being able to keep Ngadjuri heritage alive. The portrayal and treatment of Indigenous peoples was also derogatory, with Elder Vincent Copley senior being well-experienced with such gestures of the colonial project.

The colonisation of Ngadjuri Country and associated experiences of Ngadjuri people resulted in significant impacts on their wellbeing. The next section discusses the facilitators and barriers to the Ngadjuri people's wellbeing in terms of coming back to Country and reconstructing Ngadjuri culture and heritage.

#### *4.4 Coming back to Country: Facilitators and Barriers*

From the time of reviving connection with Country, it has been a slow and long process for the Ngadjuri people to come back to Country and to reconstruct Ngadjuri heritage. Throughout the journey of re-discovery, there were many factors that contributed to re-establishing connection with Country. However, there were also barriers that stood in the way of the journey which made it difficult for Ngadjuri people to come back to Country. Drawing upon the conversations analysed within this project, this section discusses the existing facilitators and barriers to the Ngadjuri community's coming back to Country.

##### *4.4.1. Facilitators*

A number of factors contributed to reconstructing Ngadjuri identity. Being able to be physically present on the land, visit cultural sites, and meet other Ngadjuri people had assisted in rebuilding their identity and strengthening their Ngadjuri connection:

Until we got out here to Redbanks and saw the actual engravings, that it sort of started...oh, you know, this is a pretty strange sort of feeling, one, now I suppose I



have a connection with my father which I didn't have before. So those sorts of things come back. You know the feelings for your grandparents (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:253).

Returning to land, gaining more information about the Ngadjuri people, and rediscovering tangible and intangible heritage were rewarding experiences for Ngadjuri people. They provided an understanding of the landscape and the history as well as bridged that connection with Ngadjuri ancestors:

Right throughout the whole area you keep finding little bits of information as to the areas where Ngadjuri people lived. And that information's been a little bit more easily accessed ... so that people can get a better understanding, especially us as the descendants to be able to understand exactly what they mean (Vincent Copley senior, 18 April 2021).

It's [Indigenous Heritage Program] given people what you might have been on a peripheral of who you were, you now have a full understanding of. That's what it did to me ... one side of my family been missing for sixty years ... I knew ... that I had another part of my history without really knowing about it ... all of a sudden the door opened ... mainly wanting to getting to know my Country, getting to know Barney Waria, getting to know who all my uncles and aunties were, and a bit about my dad. So to me that was a personal achievement that it presented itself to me (Vincent Copley senior, 5 October 2021).

Being able to access and better understand their heritage also encouraged the Ngadjuri community to value and maintain their cultural heritage (Figure 4.3).

I guess the only historical record we've got now that have left is the landscape, the art, and stuff like that ... with protecting sites, the main thing is protecting what's left of tangible heritage. It's important (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).



Figure 4.3 Rock Art site at Ketchowla, November 2020 (Photograph: Josephine)

In terms of having autonomy and control over Ngadjuri heritage, it was noted as being important that Ngadjuri representatives were involved in heritage management projects and other development projects on Ngadjuri Country. Equal participation, that is being involved at all stages of the project, could lead to equal share of power between the Ngadjuri traditional owners and other parties involved:

What I want to happen with our group especially, is that if we're going to work with you, we're going to work with you, and whatever you do we're involved and whatever we do you're involved and then I think that makes the thing much better (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:262).

Another vital aspect of sharing power had to do with sharing intellectual property ownership. It appeared questionable if Indigenous peoples, in the past, were ever paid for the knowledge they shared with the non-Indigenous researchers. It was reasoned that if people usually had to pay to learn new knowledge and skills, it was only fair that Indigenous knowledge holders were to be compensated for their knowledge:

What I'm saying is that without heritage and what the discoveries through archaeology or whatever, who does that knowledge belong to? So now does it belong to the archaeologist? Or does it belong to the traditional people? And the thing is that if our knowledge is gonna be used...over and over again, there should be, I guess, some kind of compensation (Vincent Copley junior, 3 July 2021).

What also could facilitate the process of Ngadjuri wellbeing was their empowerment and development. Empowering Indigenous communities meant creating opportunities, such as Indigenous heritage projects and Indigenous-led economic programs. Generating income from royalties for community development would be a major facilitating factor.

Vincent Copley senior also pointed out that the Ngadjuri community could benefit from running their own cultural tourism programs:

I said what about tourist tour? ... you got an idea where you can come up from Eudunda way, through Worlds End, back up into the gorge, right? From the gorge, you head across to Redbanks because I think there's some connection between that area and that area. And then from Redbanks, you got another connection to Braema where the clay pans are right on the station. And then if you wanna go from there, it's just up to Ketchowla. So what I'm saying is that if you want to map out a touristy type of program, it's all there in front of you (Vincent Copley senior, 3 July 2021).

Coming back to Country became easier as the validity of Ngadjuri heritage began to be widely recognised by the local councils as well as local non-Indigenous communities. Both formal and informal acknowledgement of Ngadjuri custodianship was welcomed by the Ngadjuri people. Establishing tangible recognitions, such as signage, were also viewed as restorative action:

People and started to find out a bit more about it and it was interesting because more and more people within the area were looking for information on the Ngadjuri people and so we were invited to come up to a few things ... Which was really good in terms of them wanting to know a bit more about Indigenous people within the area (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:251).

Clare Council have taken the first step or the Riverton Council in terms of Alfie Hannaford's sculpture at Riverton. That's the first visible thing we've seen, and it's really good. But now that you've got a signage at Tarlee, that's another big effort ... So things are happening and I think there's a lot more could happen with the Council (Vincent Copley senior, 3 July 2021).

Reconciliation efforts and meaningful collaboration with the Ngadjuri community were keys in promoting their wellbeing. Indeed, local councils and other non-Indigenous communities coming forward and inviting the Ngadjuri people to participate in projects and events had many positive outcomes:

We just got an invite the other day ... they wrote to us as the traditional owners, for us to come. That's really great and I keep saying to our blokes—our group—that these are the sorts of things that will help expand and you will find that other people will come up with some more interesting facts about the area that we don't know (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:255).

What was also important in promoting reconciliation was that Ngadjuri people were willing to share information and work together with non-Indigenous people. Vincent Copley senior stated 'rather than saying lets not tell anybody this and lets not tell anybody that ... the more you relate to people, the more you find out about them and the more they find out about you' (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:258).

Meaningful collaboration between the Ngadjuri community and people with expertise on heritage was also identified as being beneficial. Academics and experts contributed to finding and documenting heritage information as well as supporting heritage management programs. Vincent Copley senior distinctly stated that Indigenous communities like the Ngadjuri group could use the collaborative support of the academic and specialist community to reconfigure Ngadjuri knowledge:

Now without people like yourselves who got me up here and we're talking about it ... this is half of my life that was missing, and I'm able to recapture it. But I wouldn't have done it without you blokes and that's the sorts of things I was talking to my mob about, is that we need to have people who can document things properly for us (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:255–260).

Another vital part of coming back to Country was the ability to pass down the reconfigured knowledge of Ngadjuri history and heritage. This is especially true for groups like the Ngadjuri, who were dispossessed of many connections to their Country. For the Ngadjuri, bringing young Ngadjuri people back on Country and helping them rebuild the connection with their ancestral land was critical to redressing dispossession through Ngadjuri nation-building. For one, it helped Ngadjuri youth to develop their identity; knowing who their ancestors were and where they came from could change their attitudes towards reconciliation. On top of that, Ngadjuri people sharing their knowledge with other non-Indigenous people would also create a more restorative environment:

I think the more that you share your culture with other people, the more accepted it is ... it integrates you into that community holistically as far as you are not the outsider Black people anymore. You are a part of that community (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

We've got to bring them to places such as this. Where there are the engravings and take them to the other places and sit down and discuss some of their feelings ... that may make them change of attitude or change of life ... and then we could probably get a much stronger feeling of everybody being together by just having that connection ... I think when that happens, that makes you a better person and I think that's why it might be a good idea to bring the kids when they're young, so they can start there, rather than start out angry and continue to be angry right up until they're adults (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Bert and Copley 2005:254–259).

The above discussion focusses on facilitating factors to the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country within the data analysed. While a number of factors contributed to Ngadjuri wellbeing and reconnecting with Country, there were also barriers to the process of coming back to Country. The next section explores what factors disrupted the re-establishment of Ngadjuri connections to Country and culture.

#### *4.4.2. Barriers*

Barriers when it comes to reconstructing Ngadjuri identity largely had to do with having little to no information about the Ngadjuri people and their heritage. Limited documentation of the Ngadjuri people and their Country remained a barrier from the days of colonisation to the present. Not having much documented about them, and in some cases, not being able to gain access to documents that include information about the Ngadjuri people (Smith et al. 2018), it was challenging to rediscover Ngadjuri connection and to reconstruct Ngadjuri identity:

We find it difficult to document and have things documented so that it can be kept, so other people can find it in terms—or have a look at it or be part of it ... getting that to a point where documentation becomes easy and is worked in conjunction with a number of our group. So that the stories and whatever is told and then people can read it as such (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:256).

we are still doing a lot of research in regards to ... how many other people stayed in that area ... and why they were shifted from one area to another and haven't returned ... we may find that there are still descendants that we don't know of still living on Ngadjuri Country. We like to find out the names of those people so that we can keep or make connection again (Vincent Copley senior, 18 April 2021).

Gaining information about Ngadjuri ancestors and heritage sites had not been made easy for the Ngadjuri people. This was partly because some local community members were reluctant to share information with Ngadjuri people for fear of losing their land ownership or damage to their property. This was highlighted in the conversations with Vincent Copley senior and junior:

There are still lots of other areas that we haven't unearthed or that we are having problems getting approval from owners because there are still some doubts as to people being afraid, or land owners being afraid that this gonna turn the area into tourist driven, and it would damage some of the soil and the grasses that grow on the Country and that feed their sheep (Vincent Copley senior, 18 April 2021).

The problem is again people are scared that Aboriginal people are, I remember watching a news report, and the headline was 'you are at risk of losing your house because of Native Title.' Other laws protect home owners so it's not just Native Title,

you can't walk into somebody's house and say 'we are from here so get out.' It just doesn't work that way, but that was the frenzy that they created in order to make us look bad, make Aboriginal people look like we are just on a land grab (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

In some cases, information about heritage sites was not available to the Ngadjuri people because researchers and experts were not sharing their knowledge with them. They did not have information about who had done what research and documentation on Ngadjuri heritage:

I think that very little has been developed, allowed the people to understand the meaning of some of the information that's available. And it's been quite a few historians that had been working on what some of the paintings or things with meanings. For a long time, they had a lot of information but really didn't come forward to us to the very late time till we met one of the old historians (Vincent Copley senior, 18 April 2021).

When it comes to having control over land and heritage management, law and legislation regarding land claims appeared to be a major barrier for the Ngadjuri people. One such barrier to reconnecting with Country came with the Native Title Act requiring Indigenous peoples to side with one family line if they wanted to reclaim a particular land. In the case of the Ngadjuri people, it complicated things in terms of identifying families and claiming Ngadjuri Native Title. Ultimately, this process resulted in families splitting up to follow a particular ancestral line in order to be able to participate in claiming Native Title:

So when people ask and say well listen you got to make a decision which camp you are in, I'm saying well I'm not interested in that, right, you just don't discard one set of grandparent because you want to be here ... they're have to go through all the legalities of fighting for land (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:253–254).

What it does is that it splits people up from ...Native Title, one grandparents to a set of another, and money ... they watered the system down with Native Title to say well, this will please... at least something is going to black fellas (Vincent Copley senior, 5 October 2021).

Moreover, there were also challenges when it came to accessing the full benefits of the Native Title claim. Land ownership remained a contested area, as it was not clear who owned what. Having to provide proof of cultural continuity was a burden, and it obscured the process of land title claiming. As Vincent Copley senior stated: 'I can go and camp on it, but I was never gonna own it. And that's the problem ... you gotta make sure that you can prove your longevity of being on that Country. How can you do that when you got kicked off of it (Vincent Copley senior, 3 July 2021)

Additionally, the land claiming process often leads to disputes amongst family groups and between Indigenous groups with the result being that no group were able to enjoy the benefits from claiming a title:

The government wants the Indigenous groups to fight each other because again it's the old divide and conquer where ... if you got two groups fighting over the same land, it's very easy for the government ... to just extinguish it all. The fact that a Native Title claim, when you put the claim in, we are still ... claiming. We don't hold

Native Title. This has been years. There still haven't been a decision as to who owns what because again while all the while that's happening, basically there's no one group to control when there's three groups fighting (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

Sharing power and intellectual property ownership remained a barrier to coming back to Country. It was a major concern for the Ngadjuri community that Traditional Owners were not included or given equal voices in heritage and land management. Indigenous knowledge was sought after but not acknowledged, and the intellectual property ownership of Indigenous knowledge holders often went unrecognised:

That's what worries us the most, is everybody's good intentions at the very beginning and you can get around and love each other and do the sorts of things and all of a sudden we don't need you any more—you've shown us where to go, we spoke to you, that's it. And we look back and say 'O' God its happening again' and I think that's the sad part about it, that's what I don't want to happen (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:261-262).

There's a lot of people making money off of knowledge that they haven't paid for ... What has happened to the payments or was there any payments to Barney Waria? From people like Berndt, they made a lot of money from rewriting, and a lot of the histories were from black fellas ... Who paid for the Aboriginal blokes (Vincent Copley junior, 3 July 2021)?

Another barrier to coming back to Country was gaining support for Ngadjuri empowerment projects. There was insufficient support from the government to initiate and sustain heritage projects. There was also a need for more meaningful collaboration from developers to promote Indigenous employment:

It just wasn't right for something so you had to choose the right sort of development you wanted to go and get done. Claire Smith: So tourism might have been something but to do that, you've gotta have investment in facilities, accommodation and stuff like that ... actually you needed that next level of financial input to build that up ... Vincent Copley Sr: Yeah. And then it became too hard of course. So people just drifted away from any ideas (Vincent Copley senior, 3 July 2021).

When we went to meeting with Origin, they took dad up there for NAIDOC week or whatever, but they didn't pay him any money ... my motivation was like Aw, do you have any Indigenous employment scheme? They're just like Uh, no. It's alright to put on some big platform ... you are not really doing anything for Aboriginal people. There's no apprenticeship scheme. There is no training. There's no funding (Vincent Copley junior, 3 July 2021).

Instead of empowering Indigenous communities through supporting sustainable Indigenous heritage projects, government bodies often failed to provide continuous support, which the Ngadjuri community most needed. Vincent Copley senior voiced his frustration:

That was the worst decision ever made because they've been talking about 'closing the gap' and reconciliation and it was all in that program [Indigenous Heritage



Program] ... the first thing they did when they got in power was cut that program out (Vincent Copley senior, 5 October 2021).

Efforts to recognise the Traditional Owners of the Mid North region could be improved. More tangible acknowledgements were considered required:

There's no real tangible identification of the area. There's no sign up that says You are now entering Ngadjuri Country. Or there's no sign up that says Thank you for visiting Ngadjuri Country. There's no real information centre on Ngadjuri culture. We got the one in Burra but in essence, compared with how long the occupation of Ngadjuri Country was, it's a fairly small exhibition. At least there's acknowledgement but I think there should be a lot more to identify our Country to other people (Vincent Copley junior, 18 April 2021).

Recognising Indigenous knowledge by providing royalties to Indigenous knowledge holders could pave a way toward reconciliation. Indeed, it was identified as a significant need that more recognition of Ngadjuri intellectual property ownership was needed:

They didn't pay dad. They paid all these other people ... that absolutely contradicts reconciliation ... There's nothing equal about that when everybody else is getting paid except the black fella ... that's where reconciliation fails because, again, he wasn't treated equal ... dad was hired as the Indigenous consultant ... But, Cricket Australia never paid him a cent ... He was on a voluntary basis. As in like Aw well look. We will bring you on as a token Black fella... It's still institutional racism. (Vincent Copley junior, 3 July 2021).

There were also significant barriers to ensure meaningful collaboration between the Ngadjuri community, government, local communities and researchers. Spending time and building good relationships with Indigenous communities was vital for meaningful collaboration. It was important that government agencies, corporations, and researchers put more effort into that area.

Governments have been doing it for yonks, they fly in for a couple of hours to a particular area, say hello and then you don't see them for 12 months and that's a situation that makes people [angry], because there is no reason for that nowadays. I mean you can go and spend a couple of days with people and get to know em. (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:263).

What has to happen first, is that you have to understand what we're thinking ... What they're thinking about your presence around the place, and then you've got to feel out in of the sorts of things where you can be of best service to whatever and takes in terms the sorts of things you are looking at. Once that's been established then I think you'll find that the cooperation and the work in terms of what you're doing, that we'll all do it together (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:261).

Conversely, the Ngadjuri community not willing to share with others information about their history and culture was also perceived as a barrier. It was perceived that the Ngadjuri people should be willing to share their knowledge and educate the local community and the public so that people could become aware of local Indigenous history. There was a strong feeling that hostile reactions and closed-minded

attitudes toward non-Indigenous people would not facilitate the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country:

Sometimes people might get a bit blind in regards to shutting off those avenues, by thinking that it's better keeping sites secret, but if you do that, how's the rest of the world going to know? (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:256).

I think we go through all them stages, you watch people's reactions and people's attitudes of how they want to go about claiming back the areas ... but I think that the best way to do that is to first of all explain the situations to the people concerned, so that they don't feel as though their being threatened in terms of things that are happening (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:258).

As discussed previously, South Australia's colonial legacy interrupted the Ngadjuri people's connection with Country. Consequently, that had resulted in younger generations not taking an interest in re-establishing connection with their Ngadjuri heritage. It was a major concern for Vincent Copley senior to have the young Ngadjuri generation going back on Country, experiencing the Ngadjuri side of their heritage, and reconstructing their Ngadjuri identity:

I'm finding it hard to get my kids going, but if that happens and I think, one, is that the hardest part at this stage is trying to get our family group to look at things in a different way ... They don't have a great deal of opportunity to go and really sit down in the places that they should be sitting down, like if they came up here and just sat down here for a day I mean, you couldn't really get anything better than this, this is great and you felt what's around them, but they can't do that and that is part of this other thing why we want to bring them up for, let them feel and wander where they like (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:258–259).

#### *4.5 Discussion*

This chapter explored conversations with Ngadjuri Elder Vincent Copley senior and his son Vincent Copley junior, and conducted a thematic analysis on Ngadjuri cultural heritage and wellbeing. What constituted wellbeing from Ngadjuri perspectives was identified, and domains of Ngadjuri wellbeing included strengthening Ngadjuri identity, reconnecting with Ngadjuri heritage places, having autonomy and ownership over Ngadjuri knowledge and heritage, empowering the Ngadjuri community, recognising Ngadjuri sovereignty, promoting reconciliation and meaningful collaboration, and passing down Ngadjuri knowledge and history. Data analysis also showed how the Ngadjuri community were impacted by colonisation. South Australia's colonial legacy, which caused a loss of connection with Country, resulted in difficulties in proving Ngadjuri cultural continuity and in keeping Ngadjuri heritage alive. Furthermore, it was identified that the process of coming back to Country for the wellbeing of the Ngadjuri nation was met with various facilitating factors as well as barriers.

A number of factors contributed to Ngadjuri wellbeing and coming back to Country. These are: being physically present on the land; visiting heritage sites; and reconnecting with other Ngadjuri people. These factors had assisted in rebuilding and strengthening Ngadjuri connections. Reviving information about the Ngadjuri people, and rediscovering cultural heritage had been remunerating. Having a deeper understanding of their heritage also encouraged the Ngadjuri people to value and maintain their cultural heritage. Equal participation and equal share of power were exercised through

collaborative community heritage projects and respecting Ngadjri intellectual property ownership. Indigenous heritage projects and Indigenous-led economic programs also created community empowerment opportunities and generated income for more community development programs. As a result, Ngadjri heritage is being more widely recognised by local non-Indigenous communities. Such reconciliation efforts and meaningful collaboration with the Ngadjri community were identified as being keys in promoting their wellbeing. Finally, being able to transmit knowledge of Ngadjri history and heritage to the younger Ngadjri generation, as well as to the greater public, further promoted Ngadjri wellbeing.

However, it emerged within the data that there remained barriers to the Ngadjri people's journey of wellbeing. Limited documentation of the Ngadjri people and their Country made it challenging to re-establish Ngadjri connection and to reconstruct Ngadjri identity. The process of rediscovering Ngadjri heritage places had been slow as sometimes landowners were reluctant to share information with the Ngadjri people. Additionally, law and legislation around land claiming appeared to be a major barrier for the Ngadjri people. Furthermore, sharing power and intellectual property ownership remained a barrier in coming back to Country. The Ngadjri community was particularly concerned that traditional owners were not equally engaged in heritage and land management. Support from the government, corporations, and other communities were also insufficient. Additionally, Ngadjri people not willing to be cooperative was perceived as a barrier. Lastly, concerns were expressed that young Ngadjri generations were not becoming interested in getting involved with Ngadjri heritage management.

Despite the barriers and building upon the existing facilitating factors, there were some aspirations identified that could further promote Ngadjri wellbeing and coming back to Country. The following chapter explores some of these aspirations in terms of nurturing Ngadjri wellbeing and the further development of the Ngadjri community.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

### 5.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to understand the impact of the dispossession of land on Ngadjuri cultural heritage, identity, and wellbeing and through this to contribute to the current interdisciplinary discourse around cultural heritage and wellbeing. The particular contribution that this thesis makes to this discourse is that the results are directly informed by Indigenous knowledges, voices and perspectives. This research has identified what constitutes wellbeing from Ngadjuri perspectives, and barriers and facilitators to the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country. The primary research question addressed by the research is how has dispossession affected Ngadjuri cultural heritage and identity?

Indigenous mixed methods including unstructured focused life-story interviews and community-based participatory research methods are applied to gather Ngadjuri knowledge and perceptions.

In this chapter, I focus on some of the aspirations Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Copley junior expressed for the future of the Ngadjuri nation. The chapter concludes with ways forward through meaningful practices and partnership building. First, some of the Ngadjuri aspirations and hopes for the future of maintaining Ngadjuri cultural heritage and promoting wellbeing are explored. The subsequent section then emphasises the importance of better practices and building partnerships, especially when working with and for Indigenous communities.

### 5.2 Ngadjuri Aspirations

It has been over two decades since the Ngadjuri people decided to make a concerted effort to find out more information about their Ngadjuri side of the family line, stories of their ancestors, and their cultural heritage sites. A lot more is still needed to be done to reconfigure and reconstruct Ngadjuri identity and Ngadjuri heritage. Identifying information about other Ngadjuri families and reconnecting with them is an important first step. Historiographical research and oral history projects like Warriors et al. (2005) provide a much needed resource to learn about who the Ngadjuri people are and where they come from. What is also important is to assist the young generation in identifying their Ngadjuri heritage so that they can develop a greater sense of their Ngadjuri cultural identity. Vincent Copley senior's hope was that having historical consciousness about Ngadjuri Country and people, as well as being able to visit Country and cultural heritage places, would help the young Ngadjuri reestablish their Ngadjuri connection. This research work is a mere reflection of Elder Vincent Copley senior's vision: reconnecting with Country and rediscovering Ngadjuri heritage for the young generation to feel well spiritually (Birt and Copley 2005).

Our nephews and nieces are fairly much alive, and our grand-nieces and grand-nephews they're all still around, so we thought we'd try to do something about giving them a place they could become interested in and become wanting to do something, or be part of ... once we bring you up here show you around and tell you some stories of our grandparents, your grandfather and great grandfather, you can then make up your own mind what you want to do (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:254).

Maintaining Ngadjuri cultural heritage is no doubt another important responsibility for the Ngadjuri people. Indigenous communities around the world tend to have Keeping Places and Tribal museums

to be self-determined and to create culturally safe spaces within colonial occupation (Hudson and Woodcock 2022). A Keeping Place can facilitate the process of receiving 'Old People and Ancestor objects back on Country' (Hudson and Woodcock 2022:14). In an Australian context, a Keeping Place has largely to do with repatriation/rematriation of objects and knowledge (Hudson and Woodcock 2022:14)). To have a Keeping Place is vital as, since dispossession, not a single Ngadjuri person is currently living on Country. Having a place to keep Ngadjuri history and heritage information was much needed in Vincent Copley senior's view:

There's been no Ngadjuri people back on Country since they were all shifted off. So that is something that sort of history need to be told and it need to have some keeping place which we don't have at this stage (Vincent Copley senior, 18 April 2021).

Groups being united and working together to protect each other's interests is also a way forward. Divisions and disputes among different families and communities are often the result of colonial legacy and imperial legislation. An ideal approach to working together could be different groups negotiating agreements when it comes to deciding on the boundaries and Native Title claims.

Especially when it comes to Native Title, like dad said, they designed this to destroy families and communities ... when there's a dispute between territories, the communities are so preoccupied with fighting amongst themselves that they don't fight the fight that they need to fight. And it destroys them ... In order to move on, there needs to be absolution about where these boundaries lie, and who controls what (Vincent Copley junior, 3 July 2021).

### *5.2.1. Collaboration for social justice*

Meaningful collaboration is key to advancing the narratives of Indigenous communities. It requires commitment from non-Indigenous communities, experts, corporations, and the state and federal governments. Meaningful collaboration calls for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians improving individual and collective skills to initiate new conversations that go beyond good intentions and feel-good statements (Aigner et al. 2014). It requires individuals and organisations to be vulnerable, to be genuine, and to challenge each other. As Vincent Copley senior had emphasised, both the Ngadjuri community and the local non-Indigenous communities need to come forward, share information with each other, and work together to achieve shared goals and to form a shared identity.

Collaboration with academics and other experts—people with the authorised power to make legitimate arguments and theories—can also help with bringing about social justices. Indeed, the Ngadjuri community could use the support of these individuals and groups who are willing and committed to work together using their authorised knowledge and skill set. Community archaeology and collaborative archeological practices can benefit the Ngadjuri people by facilitating the process of reconstructing their history, identity, and heritage — hence improving their wellbeing (Figure 5.1).

What we need outside of that is a group of people that are going to support the sorts of things ... if we want to put up a cultural centre or something like that, a keeping place or whatever, we know that we can go to a group of people and say listen this is what we are thinking about. Now you know the sites, you know the area—how can you help us achieve this sort of thing (Vincent Copley senior, quoted from Birt and Copley 2005:259)?

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 5.1 Community archaeology field school in Burra, November 2020 (Photograph: Claire Smith)

Government bodies and corporations also need to be more committed and to go beyond rhetoric, and feel-good statements. Reconciliation action plans can be more effective if the government and corporations are open to including Indigenous communities in decision-making positions and are willing to create employment opportunities for those communities. Having equal voice, equal power, and equal participation can advance the Ngadjuri community's aspired goals. However, it is vital that Indigenous peoples are not just taken on as 'token Black figures' and that reconciliation action plans are not just empty gestures (Vincent Copley junior, 3 July 2021).

### ***5.3 Building Partnerships***

It is evident that meaningful collaboration is a key commitment in facilitating the Ngadjuri people's coming back to Country. But what does meaningful collaboration with the community entail? This section discusses best practices for academics and institutions when working with the Ngadjuri people. Here, I draw on Bagele Chilisa's (2020) suggestions on best research practices and inventing a new dance for the difficult conversation by Aigner et al. (2014), to discuss building social justice partnerships with the Indigenous communities.

#### *5.3.1. Postcolonial Indigenous research methodologies*

In her book *Indigenous Research Methodologies*, Chilisa (2020) provides a few suggestions on moving toward a social justice relationship between academic institutions and the researched community. It is proposed that institutional ethics protocols give equal status to Indigenous research methods by legitimising Indigenous methods in their ethics application forms (Chilisa 2020:322). It is apparent Western research practices still homogenise many universities and academic institutions. The fact that the whole process of conducting this study and writing up the thesis paper still follows a Western-based research process approved by the university skews the main research agenda of decolonising Western research practices.



Another concern with building partnerships is overcoming researcher-centric research projects. Research topic choice and conceptualising and conducting research work are often predetermined by the researcher who operates within the boundaries of academic institutions' standard procedures and regulations (Hodge and Lester 2006). This distorts the process of decolonising research. Social justice relations between the researcher and the researched can be promoted if research projects reflect communities' priorities and needs (Hodge and Lester 2006). For instance, the research unit or department can identify research priorities together with the community and develop a flexible time frame for the research project, especially when participatory research methods are required. This ensures the researched and the community are participating as co-researchers.

Within this study, it can be claimed that the research topic was identified based on Ngadjuri issues of concern. Vincent Copley senior stated from the beginning his concerns for keeping Ngadjuri heritage alive and passing Ngadjuri knowledge to young people so that they can better form their Ngadjuri identity. All of those concerns were associated with considerations of the overall wellbeing of the Ngadjuri generation. However, the conceptualisation and implementation of research was still predetermined by me, in accordance with the standard procedure of my study course. In that sense, it is questionable how effectively my study has decolonised the Western research practices.

### *5.3.2. Inventing a new dance for the difficult conversations*

A group of Black and White Australian researchers have proposed a concept of inventing a new dance to initiate dialogue between Black and White Australian communities. Aigner et al. (2014) argue it is time to commit to authentic and sustainable changes if Australia wants to form a shared national identity and a collective purpose. To be able to lead together, there needs to be new conversations that go beyond rhetoric, good intentions, and feel-good statements — 'collaborative work that requires each of us to be vulnerable, more authentic and to challenge each other in new ways' (Aigner et al. 2014:12). Their new dance redefines the notion of togetherness as perceived by black and white Australia through open and honest conversation.

Aigner et al. (2014) stress that the lost conversation or the difficult conversation has to do with power. Often, power lies within formal structures and is associated with ranking positions and authority. Whereas, Indigenous Australia has the gift of informal power to offer — a power that derives from their continuity and survival and a power that is authentic, deep, and connected (Aigner et al. 2014:24). It is argued that both Black and White Australians have the power to create a more equitable Australia. However, it is important to recognise when power is off beat. Aigner et al. (2014) urge us to recognise four symptoms of being incongruent with power. Both Black and White change agents may be scrutinised and denied access to authority when power is kept within a tight circle. 'Fantasy leaders' may be built up to represent the entirety of Indigenous Australia, or to solve all the 'Indigenous issues' (Aigner et al. 2014:54). Change may be resisted by misusing the 'culture card' and seeing change agents as 'too passionate', 'too sensitive', or 'culturally inappropriate.' Whilst criticism can be useful, it may also annihilate and discourage agents of change. These symptoms can result in the long-term impacts of 'othering', dysconsciousness, and not sympathising with each other.

The new dance, or the new conversation, suggests ways of practicing cross-cultural leadership. It starts with 'doing things with' each other, going beyond 'doing to' and 'doing for' Black Australia. Ways of working together authentically include being genuinely open and willing for others to succeed. It is also important to recognise the informal and formal power we have, and to use it effectively. Next is to embrace new notions of power by recognising both White people's social and positional power as well as Black people's cultural and spiritual power. There needs to be a shift to

new roles, such as 'the learner, the teacher, the Elder, and the facilitator', moving forward from roles like 'victim, perpetrator, saviour, protector' (Aigner et al. 2014:75). It is also helpful to be vulnerable and to recognise our own incompetency in the inter-cultural space. Indeed, it is crucial to recognise that conflict is inevitable, and that improved tolerance is essential to enhance the capacity to negotiate and manage the conflicts. Change agents can benefit from building resilience and learning from others whilst also leading others. Additionally, it is vital that individuals value both their own and other cultures and embrace the diversity. When tension arises, Black and White change agents need to remember to respect and accept each other. Ultimately, working together authentically in the inter-cultural space means forming a new relationship to power whereby power is exercised consciously, and the other's power is acknowledged.

#### *5.4 Conclusion*

The results of this study demonstrate the notions of wellbeing from Ngadjuri perspectives. They also reflect on the colonial legacy and its impacts on Ngaduri peoples. Also identified and explored are facilitators and barriers to the Ngadjuri people's effort in coming back to Country. The main research approach within this thesis was to incorporate Indigenous research methodologies in my research project. The study aimed to share the power of knowledge production with the Ngadjuri community through three Indigenous methodological approaches of decolonisation, feminist standpoint theory, and critical race theory. I am truly grateful for the kindness and generosity of Vincent Copley senior and Vincent Copley junior for their guidance, and permission to access the stories of the Ngadjuri Nation and their aspirations for the future of the Ngadjuri community. I am also thankful for the support of my supervisor Professor Claire Smith for bringing me to the Ngadjuri community and guiding me throughout the research process. I would like to conclude this thesis with a dialogue between Professor Claire Smith and Vincent Copley senior:

*Claire Smith:* So when you talk about 'closing the gap', what are you thinking of?

*Vincent Copley senior:* I'm thinking about that things can be done together rather than separately ... We can't become a nation unless we do it together. And that's in every report at the end, and nobody takes notes of it (5 October 2021).

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1

8 July 2021



### HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL NOTICE

Dear Professor Claire Smith,

The below proposed project has been **approved** on the basis of the information contained in the application and its attachments.

**Project No:** 2751  
**Project Title:** Ngadjuri People Reclaiming the Past  
**Primary Researcher:** Professor Claire Smith  
**Approval Date:** 08/07/2021  
**Expiry Date:** 21/09/2025

**Please note:** Due to the current COVID-19 situation, researchers are strongly advised to develop a research design that aligns with the University's COVID-19 research protocol involving human studies. Where possible, avoid face-to-face testing and consider rescheduling face-to-face testing or undertaking alternative distance/online data or interview collection means. For further information, please go to <https://staff.flinders.edu.au/coronavirus-information/research-updates>.

**Please note:** For all research projects wishing to recruit Flinders University students as participants, approval needs to be sought from the Office to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Students). To seek approval, please provide a copy of the Ethics approval for the project and a copy of the project application to the Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Students) via [dvcsoffice@dl.flinders.edu.au](mailto:dvcsoffice@dl.flinders.edu.au).

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS

##### 1. Participant Documentation

Please note that it is the responsibility of researchers and supervisors, in the case of student projects, to ensure that:

- all participant documents are checked for spelling, grammatical, numbering and formatting errors. The Committee does not accept any responsibility for the above mentioned errors.
- the Flinders University logo is included on all participant documentation (e.g., letters of Introduction, information Sheets, consent forms, debriefing information and questionnaires – with the exception of purchased research tools) and the current Flinders University letterhead is included in the header of all letters of introduction. The Flinders University international logo/letterhead should be used and documentation should contain international dialling codes for all telephone and fax numbers listed for all research to be conducted overseas.
- the HREC contact details, listed below, are included in the footer of all letters of introduction and information sheets.

*This research project has been approved by Flinders University's Human Research Ethics Committee (Project ID 2751). If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact Flinders University's Research Ethics & Compliance Office via telephone on 08 8201 2543 or by email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au).*

##### 2. Annual Progress / Final Reports

In order to comply with the monitoring requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 (updated 2018)* an annual progress report must be submitted each year on the anniversary of the approval date for the duration of the ethics approval using the HREC Annual/Final Report Form available online via the ResearchNow Ethics & Biosafety system.

**Please note** that no data collection can be undertaken after the ethics approval expiry date listed at the top of this notice. If data is collected after expiry, it will not be covered in terms of ethics. It is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that annual progress reports are submitted on time; and that no data is collected after ethics has expired.

If the project is completed *before* ethics approval has expired please ensure a final report is submitted immediately. If ethics approval for your project expires please either submit (1) a final report; or (2) an extension of time request (using the HREC Modification Form). For student projects, the Low Risk Panel recommends that current ethics approval is maintained until a student's thesis has been submitted, assessed and finalised. This is to protect the student in the event that reviewers recommend that additional data be collected from participants.

### 3. Modifications to Project

Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval has been obtained from the Ethics Committee. Such proposed changes / modifications include:

- change of project title;
- change to research team (e.g., additions, removals, researchers and supervisors)
- changes to research objectives;
- changes to research protocol;
- changes to participant recruitment methods;
- changes / additions to source(s) of participants;
- changes of procedures used to seek informed consent;
- changes to participant remuneration;
- changes to information / documents to be given to potential participants;
- changes to research instruments (e.g., survey, interview questions etc);
- extensions of time (i.e. to extend the period of ethics approval past current expiry date).

To notify the Committee of any proposed modifications to the project please submit a Modification Request Form available online via the ResearchNow Ethics & Biosafety system. Please open the project, then select the 'Create Sub-Form' tile in the grey Action Menu, and then select the relevant Modification Request Form. Please note that extension of time requests should be submitted prior to the Ethics Approval Expiry Date listed on this notice.

### 4. Adverse Events and/or Complaints

Researchers should advise the Executive Officer of the Human Ethics Research Committee on [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au) immediately if:

- any complaints regarding the research are received;
- a serious or unexpected adverse event occurs that effects participants;
- an unforeseen event occurs that may affect the ethical acceptability of the project.

Yours sincerely,

Hendryk Flaegel

*on behalf of*

Human Research Ethics Committee  
Research Development and Support  
[human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)

Flinders University  
Sturt Road, Bedford Park, South Australia, 5042  
GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, South Australia, 5001

[http://www.flinders.edu.au/research/researcher-support/ebi/human-ethics/human-ethics\\_home.cfm](http://www.flinders.edu.au/research/researcher-support/ebi/human-ethics/human-ethics_home.cfm)

**ResearchNow**  
Ethics & Biosafety



*Proactively supporting our Research*