

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Gavin Damien Francis Malone

Bachelor of Visual Arts (Hons)

**Phases of Aboriginal Inclusion in the Public Space in
Adelaide, South Australia, since Colonisation**

**School of the Environment
Faculty of Science and Engineering**

Flinders University

September 2012

Table of Contents

Summary	13
Declaration	15
Acknowledgements	15
Chapter 1 Introduction	16
Background to Research	16
Research Aims	19
Overview of the Research.....	21
Karna Country Acknowledgement	23
Chapter 2 Public Space, Public Art and Aboriginal Representation	24
Chapter Outline.....	24
Social and Cultural Exclusion of Aboriginal Peoples	24
Cultural Artefacts and Meaning in the Public Space.....	25
Public Space Representations of Aboriginal Peoples	27
Civic Art and Public Art.....	31
The Role of Visual Arts Practice	34
Public Space Art Criticism: Lack of Critical Writing	37
Summary.....	37
Chapter 3 Research Methodology and Dissemination.....	39
Chapter Outline.....	39
Positioning Statement	39
Definition of Terms	41
Aboriginal Cultural Markers.....	41
Public Space	42
Phases.....	42
Research Geographical Area	43
Research Methodology	44
Ethics.....	46
Research Data Collection	46
Data collected about each Marker.....	46
First cycle of data collection	47
Second cycle of data collection.....	48
Third cycle of data collection.....	48
Photo Documentary Exhibition	48
Exhibition Touring	49
Participation in Community Events	51
The Port Festival, Conversations Café, April, 2007.....	52
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Youth Expo, May 2007	52
Workshop, City of Onkaparinga, June 2007	52
Conversation Café, City of Port Adelaide Enfield, August 2007.....	52
Public Forum Ways of Belonging NAIDOC Week, 2007.....	53
Research Actions and Outcomes	54
The Markers: Descriptive Categories	55
Application of this Research Methodology in Other Places.....	58
Summary.....	59
Chapter 4 Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers: The Phases	60
Chapter Outline.....	60
Public Space Aboriginal Inclusion in Adelaide – The Phases Identified	60
Phase 1. The Silence (until 1960).....	62
Phase 2. Breaking the Silence (1960 to early 1980s)	62

Phase 3. Aboriginal Voice Emerges (early 1980s to early 1990s)	64
Phase 4. Community, Culture, Collaborations (early 1990s to present)	66
The Government Sector	68
The Education Sector	69
The Health Care Sector	70
Community Groups and Community Artworks.....	71
Phase 5. Kurna Country (mid 1990s to present)	71
The Government Sector	73
The Local Government Sector	74
Phase 6. Kurna Management and Determination (yet to occur).....	76
The Phases – Statistical Summary	76
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - Numbers by Phases	76
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - Numbers by Decades	77
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - By Commissioning Bodies	77
Summary.....	78
Chapter 5 Adelaide’s Aboriginal Cultural Markers: Phases 1 & 2	80
Chapter Outline.....	80
Phase 1. The Silence: 1836 to 1960.....	80
<i>Grotesques</i> , Adelaide Gaol, 1841.....	83
<i>Plaque</i> , Adelaide Bridge, 1931	84
Phase 2. Breaking the Silence: 1960 to early 1980s.....	85
<i>Piccaninny Drinking Fountain</i> , Rymill Park, Adelaide, 1960	85
<i>The Rainmakers</i> , Lohmann Park, O’Sullivan Beach, 1965.....	86
<i>Mural</i> , Shedley Theatre, Elizabeth, 1965.....	88
<i>Howie Memorial Aboriginal Statue</i> , Walkerville, 1967.....	89
<i>Three Rivers Fountain</i> , Victoria Square, Adelaide, 1968	91
<i>Pmara Nuka My Country</i> , Walkerville, 1970.....	95
<i>Tjilbruke Monument</i> , Kingston Park, 1972	96
<i>Mural, Rainbow Serpent</i> , Adelaide Festival Centre, 1973.....	97
<i>Mural</i> , Suzanne Ward, Women’s and Children’s Hospital, 1978.....	98
<i>Mural, History of Australia</i> , Prospect, 1982	100
The Role of Artists.....	101
Dowie and Shedley, Early Influences	101
Summary.....	104
Chapter 6 Adelaide’s Aboriginal Cultural Markers: Phase 3	106
Chapter Outline.....	106
Phase 3. Aboriginal Voice Emerges: Early 1980s to early 1990s	106
<i>Mural, Aboriginals Discovered Cook</i> , Adelaide Festival Centre, 1982-92 ..	106
<i>Mural, Kangaroo</i> , Adelaide Zoo, 1985	110
<i>Mural, Multi-Cultural</i> , Ascot Park Primary School, 1985.....	111
South Australian Jubilee 150 Commemorations, 1986.....	112
<i>Jubilee 150 Tjilbruke Track Markers</i> , Various Locations, 1986.....	114
<i>Jubilee 150 Commemorative Walk</i> , North Terrace, Adelaide, 1986.....	115
<i>Jubilee 150 Mural</i> , Goodwood Primary School, 1986.....	115
Australian Bicentennial Commemorations, 1988	116
<i>River Spirit Dreaming</i> , Tandanya, 1989.....	117
<i>Trees of Peace Bicentennial Marker</i> , Welland, 1988.....	117
<i>Murals - Museum Views</i> , South Australian Museum, 1988	120
<i>Mural, Amphitheatre</i> , Adelaide Festival Centre, 1992	121
Summary.....	122
Chapter 7 Adelaide’s Aboriginal Cultural Markers: Phase 4	124

Chapter Outline.....	124
Phase 4. Community, Culture, Collaboration: Early 1990s to the present.....	124
Community Artworks in Phase 4.....	125
<i>Visions</i> , Signal Box Park, Rosewater, 1997.....	128
<i>Port River Healing Mural</i> , Port Adelaide Visitor Centre 1998.....	130
<i>Fauna Path & Seat</i> , Adelaide Zoo, 1998.....	131
<i>Celebrating Diversity Stobie Poles</i> , Woodville Gardens, 1998 and <i>Mural</i> , <i>Aboriginal Flag</i> , Brompton, 1990s.....	131
<i>You Can Walk in My Shoes</i> , Port Adelaide, 1999.....	132
<i>Reconciliation Mural</i> , Port Adelaide, 2000.....	133
<i>Mural</i> , Tuggerway Bridge, Elizabeth South, 2002.....	133
<i>Norwood Narrangga Reconciliation Artwork</i> , Norwood, 2008.....	134
Major Artworks in Phase 4.....	134
<i>Pool of Tears & Grieving Mother</i> , Colebrook Park, 1998-99.....	135
<i>Passage of Time</i> , Port Adelaide, 2000.....	136
<i>Yangadilya For the Future</i> , Payneham, 2001.....	136
<i>Reconciliation Touchstone</i> , Adelaide, 2007.....	137
<i>Reciprocity</i> , Birkenhead, 2008.....	137
<i>Blessed Mary MacKillop</i> , Adelaide, 2009.....	138
Secondary Artworks in Phase 4.....	140
<i>Spirit of Family</i> , Brooklyn Park, 1995.....	140
<i>Meeting Places</i> , Salisbury, 2001.....	140
<i>To Leave, Lose and Find</i> , Glenelg, 2002.....	141
<i>The Bend and Flooded Gums</i> , Adelaide, 2005.....	141
Commemorative Markers in Phase 4.....	145
<i>Reconciliation Statement</i> , University of South Australia, 2000.....	145
<i>S. A. Aboriginal Cultural Groups Acknowledgement</i> , Walkerville, 2008.....	145
Interpretive Markers in Phase 4.....	146
<i>Aboriginal Flag History</i> , Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga, 2007.....	146
Public Space Design in Phase 4.....	147
<i>Reconciliation Feature Garden</i> , Modbury, 2009.....	147
The Reconciliation Movement, NAIDOC Week and Sorry Day.....	147
Summary.....	149
Chapter 8 Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers: Phase 5.....	151
Chapter Outline.....	151
Phase 5. Kurna Country: mid 1990s to the present.....	151
Major Artworks in Phase 5.....	152
<i>Yerrakartarta</i> , North Terrace, Adelaide, 1995.....	152
<i>Tjirbruki narna' arra The Tjirbruki Gateway</i> , Warriparinga, 1997.....	153
<i>Kurna meyunna, Kurna yerta tampendi Recognising Kurna people and</i> <i>Kurna land</i> , Adelaide Festival Centre, Adelaide, 2002.....	153
<i>Yitpi Tukkutya Parrundaiendi Dancing Spirits</i> , FMC, 2004.....	154
<i>Glow Taltaityai</i> , Port Adelaide, 2009.....	155
<i>Bulto Ityangga Traces</i> , Lochiel Park, Campbelltown, 2009.....	156
Secondary Artworks in Phase 5.....	157
<i>We Have Survived</i> , Mile End Wall, Mile End, 1998.....	157
<i>City Sites Seats</i> , Heywood Park, Unley Park, 1999.....	158
<i>Pods</i> , Karra Kundo, River Torrens/Karrawirraparri, Thebarton, 2001.....	158
<i>Text, Textiles and a Coil of String</i> , State Library, Adelaide, 2003.....	159
<i>Mural</i> , Gilles Plains Primary School, Hillcrest, 2004.....	160
<i>Mural, Celebrating Culture and Tradition</i> , SA Folk Centre, 2004.....	160
<i>Mural, Warriparinga Walk</i> , Bedford Park, 2006.....	161

<i>Mural, Bukki Yellaka Iamo Tarkarri Making Old Tracks New Again</i> , Outer Harbor Train Station, 2008.....	161
Commemorative Markers in Phase 5	162
<i>Kurna Acknowledgment Plaque</i> , Flinders Medical Centre, 1996	163
<i>Kurna Acknowledgment Plaque</i> , Cultural Walk, Norwood, 1998	163
<i>Former Native School Establishment Plaque</i> , Migration Museum, 1999	164
<i>Pilta wodli Former Native Location</i> , North Parklands, Adelaide, 2000	164
<i>Mullawirraburka Acknowledgment Paver</i> , Migration Museum, 2000	165
<i>Kurna Acknowledgment Plaques</i> , University of South Australia, 2000	166
<i>Kurna Pangkarra Acknowledgment Plaque</i> , Heywood Park, 2000	166
<i>Kurna Shield</i> , Gateway to Adelaide, Glen Osmond, 2000.....	167
<i>Paitya</i> , Adelaide Airport Terminal, West Beach, 2005.....	168
<i>Doris Graham Commemorative Plaque</i> , Elder Park, Adelaide, 2006	168
Interpretive Markers in Phase 5	169
<i>Warriparinga Interpretive Trail</i> , Warriparinga, 1999.....	169
<i>Kurna Naming Markers</i> , Adelaide Parklands, 2000-04	170
<i>Yunggullungalla Garden Interpretive Sign</i> , Christies Beach HS, 2000.....	171
<i>Gibson Street Historical Markers</i> , Bowden, 2001	171
<i>Kurna People Interpretive Signs</i> , Hillcrest Oakden Walking Trail, 2001 ..	172
<i>Tappa Wodliparri Interpretive Trail</i> , Kurna Park Wetlands, 2002.....	172
<i>Kurna Cultural Heritage Trail</i> , Port Adelaide, 2003	173
<i>Marni Naa Budni Kurna Wauwa-anna Welcome to the Kurna Coast</i> , Marion Coast Park, 2006.....	173
<i>Black Diamonds & Pearls - Kurna Marker</i> , Port Adelaide, 2009	174
<i>Tjilbruke Dreaming Interpretive Signs</i> , Kingston Park, 2009.....	174
<i>Kurna Cultural Markers</i> , City of Charles Sturt (in progress)	175
Community Artworks in Phase 5	176
<i>Turning Circle</i> , Kurruru Pingyarendi Community Garden, 2002	176
<i>Kuranye Metitya Dreaming Trail</i> , Largs Bay Primary School, 2007	176
<i>Community Artwork</i> , Wandana Reserve, Gilles Plains, 2008	177
Inclusion of Kurna Language in Phase 5	177
<i>Ground Mosaic</i> , Dew Street, Thebarton, 1997	178
<i>Peace Pole</i> , Wills Court, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1998	178
<i>Transitions</i> , Adelaide Railway Station, 2002.....	179
<i>Talking Our Way Home</i> , Elder Park, Adelaide, 2005	179
<i>True North</i> , Hawksbury Park, Salisbury North, 2005	180
Public Space Design in Phase 5	180
<i>Mikawomma Reserve</i> , Woodville Gardens, 2003	181
<i>Site Lines-Connecting Lines</i> , P. Wesbroom Reserve, Gilles Plains, 2005	181
<i>Taikurrendi</i> , Christies Beach Coast Park, Christies Beach, 2005	181
<i>Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve</i> , Old Noarlunga, 2006	183
<i>Towilla Yerta Reserve</i> , Port Willunga, 2007	184
<i>Lartelare</i> , New Port, 2009.....	185
<i>Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga</i> , Adelaide, (in progress)	186
Centenary of the Federation of Australia, 2001	190
Summary.....	191
Chapter 9 Kurna Management & Determination: Phase 6	193
Chapter Outline.....	193
Phase 6. Kurna Management and Determination: Yet to Occur.....	193
Cultural Protocols between Aboriginal Language Groups	195
Further Kurna Public Space Markers: Potential Themes and Sites	197
Themes for Consideration.....	198

Sites for Consideration.....	198
Themes Discussion	199
Sites Discussion	199
Further Kaurna Public Space Inclusion: Research & Facilitation	202
Cultural Research and Surveys by Council Areas	202
Oral History Recording.....	204
Kaurna Sites: Physical and Cultural Maintenance.....	205
Kaurna Sites: Ownership of Cultural and Spiritual Sites.....	206
Kaurna Political and Cultural Renewal.....	206
Summary.....	207
Chapter 10 Kaurna Ancestor Being Tjilbruke Commemorations	209
Chapter Outline.....	209
The Tjilbruke Dreaming	209
Major Commemorations.....	211
<i>Tjilbruke Monument</i> , Kingston Park, 1972.....	212
<i>Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Plaques</i> , multiple locations, Jubilee 150, 1986	215
<i>Yerrakartarta</i> , off North Terrace, Adelaide, 1995.....	225
<i>Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway</i> , Warriparinga, 1997	226
Other Tjilbruke Commemorations.....	232
Cultural and Social Significance of the Tjilbruke Markers	235
Summary.....	237
Chapter 11 Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers – Significance, Curation, Types and Distribution.....	238
Chapter Outline.....	238
Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers – Significance and Curation	238
Aboriginal Cultural Markers – Criteria for Significance	238
Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers –Distribution and Types	242
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - By Category of Marker	242
Major Artworks	242
Secondary Artworks	242
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - By Type of Art.....	243
Sculpture.....	243
Murals.....	244
Photography.....	247
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - Geographic Distribution and Type of Space....	249
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - Numbers by Council Areas	251
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - Lost Markers	253
Aboriginal Cultural Markers - Curation of the Public Collection	254
Summary.....	255
Chapter 12 Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations	257
Conclusions.....	258
Public Space Art and Design – Some Recommendations	263
Public Space Art and Design - Capacity Building	263
Public Space Art and Design - Training of Aboriginal Artists	264
Public Space Art and Design – New Forms of Inclusion.....	264
Public Space Art and Design - Aboriginal Public Art Fund	265
Concluding Comments	265
References	268

Figures

Figure 1-1 King Edward VII, 1920, North Terrace, Adelaide	16
Figure 1-2 Marlawahinha Inbiri, Adnyamathanha Country, South Australia.....	18
Figure 1-3 Kurna Country (courtesy Robert Keane, Flinders University)	23
Figure 3-1 Research area - greater metropolitan Adelaide (with council areas).....	43
Figure 3-2 Exhibition <i>Ways of Belonging</i> Tandanya, 2007	49
Figure 3-3 Exhibition <i>Ways of Belonging</i> City of Charles Sturt, 2008.....	50
Figure 3-4 Exhibition <i>Ways of Belonging</i> City of Unley, 2010	51
Figure 3-5 Exhibition <i>Ways of Belonging</i> State History Conference, 2008.....	51
Figure 3-6 Conversations Café, Semaphore (Photo Fernando Goncalves).....	53
Figure 5-1 National War Memorial, 1931, North Terrace, Adelaide.....	82
Figure 5-2 Grotesques, 1840, Adelaide Gaol, Adelaide Parklands.....	84
Figure 5-3 Plaque, 1931, Adelaide Bridge, King William Road, Adelaide	85
Figure 5-4 Piccaninny Drinking Fountain, 1960, Rymill Park, (John Dowie)	86
Figure 5-5 The Rainmakers, 1965, O’Sullivan Beach (Geoffrey Shedley)	87
Figure 5-6 The Rainmakers in 1965 (Photo courtesy NAA, A12111).....	87
Figure 5-7 Mural, 1965, Shedley Theatre, (G. Shedley) (Photo City of Playford)....	89
Figure 5-8 Howie Memorial Aboriginal Statue, 1967, Walkerville (Q. Harris).....	89
Figure 5-9 Three Rivers Fountain, 1968, Victoria Square (John Dowie)	91
Figure 5-10 Three Rivers Fountain, 1968, (detail).....	92
Figure 5-11 Pmara Nuka My Country, 1970 (William Ricketts).....	96
Figure 5-12 Tjilbruke Monument, 1972, Kingston Park (John Dowie).....	97
Figure 5-13 Mural, Rainbow Serpent, 1973, AFC, (Sidney Nolan)	97
Figure 5-14 Mural, Rainbow Serpent, 1973 (detail)	98
Figure 5-15 Mural, Suzanne Ward, 1978, RACH, (Photo Tauondi College)	99
Figure 5-16 Mural, Suzanne Ward, 1978, Royal Adelaide Children’s Hospital (B. Newchurch, P. Wanganeen, H. James, N. Casey) (Photo Tauondi College).....	99
Figure 5-17 History of Australia, 1982, Prospect (Prospect Mural Group)	100
Figure 5-18 History of Australia – Details.....	100
Figure 5-19 Chambers Gorge, northern South Australia	102
Figure 5-20 Marlawahinha Inbiri rock peckings, Chambers Gorge.....	103
Figure 5-21 Illustration, <i>The Salt Lakes of Kiti</i> , 1969, (Ainslie Roberts)	104
Figure 6-1 Aboriginals Discovered Cook, 1982-92, Amphitheatre, AFC, (detail)..	106
Figure 6-2 Aboriginals Discovered Cook, 1982-92, Amphitheatre, AFC, (C. Ruff and R. Ansell: Photo AFC).....	107
Figure 6-3 Adelaide Festival Centre Precinct. Mural outlined	107
Figure 6-4 Postcard, Torrens Lake & Elder Park. Mural outlined	108
Figure 6-5 Painting of the mural, 1982 (Photos NAA, A6135, 1/1965/6/22).....	108
Figure 6-6 Kangaroo, 1985, Children’s Section, Adelaide Zoo (Bluey Roberts)....	110
Figure 6-7 Dedication of Mural, 1985 (image courtesy Royal Zoological Society of SA)	111
Figure 6-8 Mural, Ascot Park P.S., 1985, detail (Z. Moskwa and school community)	111
Figure 6-9 Mural, Ascot Park Primary School, 1985, detail.....	112
Figure 6-10 Tjilbruke Track Marker, 1986, Pt. Noarlunga.....	114
Figure 6-11 Jubilee 150 Commemorative Walk, 1986, North Terrace, Adelaide ...	115
Figure 6-12 Jubilee 150 Commemorative Walk, Individual Plaques	115
Figure 6-13 Jubilee 150 Mural, 1986, Goodwood P.S. (Z. Moskwa et al)	116
Figure 6-14 River Spirit Dreaming, 1989, (B. Roberts) (Photo Arts SA).....	117
Figure 6-15 Trees of Peace, 1988.....	118
Figure 6-16 Trees of Peace Upgrade, 2010 (Karl Telfer, Gavin Malone)	119
Figure 6-17 Trees of Peace Dedication, 1988, Leila Rankine (Photo CSS)	120

Figure 6-18 Museum Views, South Australian Museum, 1988	120
Figure 6-19 Museum Views, South Australian Museum, 1988 (Left: Yuendumu Artists, Centre: Ann Newmarch, Right: Zig Moskwa)	121
Figure 6-20 Mural, Adelaide Festival Centre, 1992 (Trevor Nickolls).....	122
Figure 7-1 Cawthorne Street Mural, 1993, Thebarton (Kerry Giles and TCAN)	125
Figure 7-2 Cawthorne Street Mural, 1993, Thebarton (Kerry Giles and TCAN)	126
Figure 7-3 Cawthorne Street Mural (details), 1993	127
Figure 7-4 IYIP Mural, 1993, Parks C.C (S. McLean DeSilva, et al.).....	127
Figure 7-5 Mural, 1995, Gepps Cross PS (School community).....	128
Figure 7-6 Signal Box Park prior to redevelopment (Photo City of PAE).....	128
Figure 7-7 Visions, sponsors and participants, Signal Box Park, 1997	129
Figure 7-8 Visions, participants, Signal Box Park, 1997 (photos City of PAE).....	129
Figure 7-9 Visions, Signal Box Park, 1997 & repainted signal box, 2007	130
Figure 7-10 Mural, Christie Downs R.S, 1997 (Jimmy C et al.).....	130
Figure 7-11 Port River Healing Mural, 1998 (T. Fletcher et al)	131
Figure 7-12 Fauna Seat, 1998, Adelaide Zoo (J. Salazar, E. Karpany)	131
Figure 7-13 Fauna Path, 1998, Adelaide Zoo (J. Salazar, E. Karpany)	131
Figure 7-14 Murals, Celebrating Diversity, 1998, Woodville Gardens (Artist unknown)	132
Figure 7-15 Mural-Mosaic, Aboriginal Flag 1990s, West St, Brompton (Artist unknown)	132
Figure 7-16 You Can Walk in My Shoes, 1999, (Watson, Minuzzo, Watson).....	133
Figure 7-17 Reconciliation Mural, 2000, Port Adelaide CHS (M. Tye et al)	133
Figure 7-18 Mural, 2002, Tuggerway Bridge, (Jimmy C. et.al)	134
Figure 7-19 Norwood Narangga Reconciliation Artwork, 2008, Norwood P.S.	134
Figure 7-20 Pool of Tears, 1998 and Grieving Mother, 1999, Colebrook Reconciliation Park, (S. Apponyi, S. Rankine, T. J. Pole, K. J. McInerney) ...	135
Figure 7-21 Passage of Time, 2001, Port Adelaide (T. Wren & Tauondi College).136	
Figure 7-22 Yangadilnya For the Future, 2001, Payneham (D. Pfitzner Milika)	137
Figure 7-23 Reconciliation Touchstone, 2007, Uni. of Ad. (K. Casey, D. Cowie) .137	
Figure 7-24 Reciprocity, 2008, Birkenhead (Marijana Tadic).....	138
Figure 7-25 Blessed Mary MacKillop, 2009, Catholic Cathedral. (Judith Rolevink)	138
Figure 7-26 Proposed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander War Memorial, (T. Rosella, L. Tjunypa Buckskin and M. Nikou) (Photo Reconciliation SA).....	139
Figure 7-27 Spirit of Family, 1995, Brooklyn Park (S. Rankine & J. Stengel)	140
Figure 7-28 Meeting Places, 2001, Bagster Road CC, (B. Minuzzo & A. Potter)...	141
Figure 7-29 To Leave, Lose and Find, 2002-11, Holdfast Shores, (M. Blackman).141	
Figure 7-30 The Bend & Flooded Gums, 2005, Law Courts (N. Cumpston).....	142
Figure 7-31 Murals, 2002, Queen Elizabeth Hospital, (Tauondi College)	142
Figure 7-32 Mural, 2006, Foyer, Holden Hill Community Centre (Mara Dreaming)	143
Figure 7-33 River of Dreams, 2006, Women's and Children's Hospital (M. Blackman et al.).....	143
Figure 7-34 One Place, One Future, 2007, (A) Courtyard, Flinders Medical Centre (N. Cox, M. Mansell, G. Ash, Y. Sabuncu, S. Loffler)	143
Figure 7-35, One Place, One Future, 2007, (B) Entrance, FMC.....	143
Figure 7-36 Floor Pattern, 1997, Muna Paiendi CHS, Elizabeth Vale	144
Figure 7-37 Mural, 1994, Pooraka Primary School (Debra Szekely)	144
Figure 7-38 Mural, 2003, Warriappendi School, Marleston (School community) ..	145
Figure 7-39 Reconciliation Statement, 2000, City West Campus, Uni. of SA	145
Figure 7-40 SA Aboriginal Cultural Groups, 2008, DTEI, Walkerville	146

Figure 7-41 Aboriginal Flag, 2002 and Audio Marker, 2007	146
Figure 7-42 Reconciliation Garden, 2009, Tea Tree Gully.....	147
Figure 8-1 Yerrakartarta, 1995, North Tce (D. Pfitzner Milika, M. van Der Byl)...	152
Figure 8-2 Tjirbruki narna arra', 1997, Warriparinga (S. Rankine, G. Malone, M. Worth)	153
Figure 8-3 Kurna meyunna, Kurna yerta tampendi Recognising Kurna people and Kurna land, 2002, AFC (T. Rosella, D. Siwes, E. Karpany)	154
Figure 8-4 Yitpi Tukkutya Parrundaiendi, 2004, (K. Telfer & G. Malone).....	155
Figure 8-5 Glow Taltaityai, 2009, Port Adelaide (M. Nikou & J. Milanovic).....	155
Figure 8-6 Bulto Ityangga Traces, 2009, (K. Telfer, G. Malone, G. Johns)	157
Figure 8-7 We Have Survived, 1998, Mile End (S. Rankine, J. Moore)	158
Figure 8-8 City Sites Seats, 1999, Heywood Park (N. Cash, T. Wilson, M. Bar-Bara)	158
Figure 8-9 Karra Kundo, 2001, River Torrens <i>Karrawirraparri</i> , Thebarton (M. Blackman)	159
Figure 8-10 Text, Textiles and a Coil of String, 2003, (K. Lawrence et.al)	159
Figure 8-11 Text, Textiles and a Coil of String-Detail	159
Figure 8-12 Mural, 2004, Gilles Plains Primary School, Hillcrest (Tauondi college)	160
Figure 8-13 Mural, South Australian Folk Centre, 2004, Thebarton (Jimmy C).....	160
Figure 8-14 Mural, South Australian Folk Centre-Detail	161
Figure 8-15 Warriparinga Walk Mural, 2006 (Jimmy C et al) (RHS photo City of Marion).....	161
Figure 8-16 Bukki Yellaka Iamo Tarkarri <i>Making Old Tracks New Again</i> , 2008 (T. Molloy, B. Resch, K. Power)	162
Figure 8-17 Bukki Yellaka Iamo Tarkarri Interpretive Panel	162
Figure 8-18 Kurna Acknowledgment, 1996, Courtyard, FMC	163
Figure 8-19 Kurna Acknowledgment Plaque, Cultural Walk, 1998, Norwood	164
Figure 8-20 Native School Marker, 1999, Migration Museum.....	164
Figure 8-21 Pilta wodli Former Native Location, 2000, Adelaide.....	165
Figure 8-22 Mullawirraburka Paver, 2000, Migration Museum	166
Figure 8-23 Kurna Acknowledgment, 2000, City West Campus, Uni. of SA	166
Figure 8-24 Kurna Pangkarra Acknowledgment Plaque, 2000, Heywood Park	167
Figure 8-25 Kurna Shield, 2000, Gateway to Adelaide, Glen Osmond	168
Figure 8-26 Paitya, 2005, Adelaide Airport Terminal, West Beach	168
Figure 8-27 Doris Graham Commemorative Plaque, 2006, Elder Park (A. Collette)	169
Figure 8-28 Warriparinga Interpretive Trail, 1999 (Photo City of Marion)	170
Figure 8-29 Adelaide Parklands Kurna Naming Markers, 2000-04.....	170
Figure 8-30 Yunggullungalla Garden Marker, 2006, Christies Beach HS	171
Figure 8-31 Gibson Street Historical Markers, 2001, Bowden (S. Lorraine et al) ..	172
Figure 8-32 Kurna People Interpretive Sign, 2001, Hillcrest Walking Trail	172
Figure 8-33 Kurna Park, Burton	173
Figure 8-34 Kurna Cultural Heritage Trail, 2003, Port River	173
Figure 8-35 Marni Naa Budni Kurna Wauwa-anna, 2006 (B. O'Brien et al)	174
Figure 8-36 Black Diamonds & Pearls-Kurna Marker, 2009, Port Adelaide (T. Wren)	174
Figure 8-37 Tjilbruke Dreaming Interpretive Marker, 2009, Kingston Park	175
Figure 8-38 Turning Circle Kurruru Pingyarendi, 2002, Gilles Plains	176
Figure 8-39 Kuranye Metitya Dreaming Trail, 2007, Largs Bay PS	177
Figure 8-40 Gilles Plains Community Artwork, 2008, Wandana Reserve	177
Figure 8-41 Mural, Mosaic Ground, 1997 Park, Thebarton (TCAN)	178

Figure 8-42 Peace Pole, 1998, Wills Court, University of Adelaide	179
Figure 8-43 Transitions, 2002, Adelaide Railway Station Platform (H. Lovelock Deane)	179
Figure 8-44 Talking Our Way Home, 2005, Elder Park (S. Kirby)	180
Figure 8-45 True North, 2005, Hawksbury Park Entrance Concept (B. Minuzzo, A. Potter)	180
Figure 8-46 Mikawomma Reserve, 2003, Woodville Gardens (B. Minuzzo, A. Potter et al)	181
Figure 8-47 Site Lines, Connecting Lines, 2005, Peter Wesbroom Reserve (A. Stock, P. Herzich)	181
Figure 8-48 Taikurrendi, Christies Beach Coast Park, 2005	182
Figure 8-49 Taikurrendi (detail), Christies Beach Coast Park, 2005	182
Figure 8-50 Taikurrendi, Interpretive Sign, Christies Beach Coast Park, 2005	182
Figure 8-51 Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve, Old Reynella, 2006	183
Figure 8-52 Wodli based shelter, Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve, 2006	183
Figure 8-53 Kurna Interpretive sign, Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve, 2006	184
Figure 8-54 Towilla Yerta Reserve, Port Willunga, 2007	184
Figure 8-55 Towilla Yerta Reserve, Port Willunga, 2007	185
Figure 8-56 Plaque, Towilla Yerta Reserve, Port Willunga, 2007	185
Figure 8-57 Lartelare, 2009, Wirra Drive, New Port	186
Figure 8-58 Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga Regeneration Master Plan, 2010	189
Figure 8-59 Living Kurna Cultural Centre, 2002, Warriparinga	191
Figure 9-1 Reconciliation Week Tram, 2010	196
Figure 9-2 Shield Scar Tree, Karrawirraparri	204
Figure 10-1 Tjilbruke Dreaming Sites	211
Figure 10-2 Tjilbruke Monument, Kingston Park, 1972, (John Dowie)	212
Figure 10-3 Tjilbruke Monument, Collecting Stones, 1972 (Photo R. Edwards)	214
Figure 10-4 Tjilbruke Monument, Erecting Column, 1972 (Photo R. Edwards)	214
Figure 10-5 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Hallett Cove Karildilla	217
Figure 10-6 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Hallett Cove Karildilla	218
Figure 10-7 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Tainbarilla Pt. Noarlunga.	218
Figure 10-8 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Karkungga Red Ochre Cove	219
Figure 10-9 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track, Karkungga Red Ochre Cove ochre mine ..	219
Figure 10-10 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Port Willunga Wirruwarrungga ..	219
Figure 10-11 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Sellicks Beach Witawodli	220
Figure 10-12 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Carrickalinga Head Karragarlangga, (Georgina Williams in picture)	220
Figure 10-13 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Wirrina Cove Resort	220
Figure 10-14 Rapid Bay Patpangga, Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker	221
Figure 10-15 Light's Commemoration, Rapid Bay, 1986	221
Figure 10-16 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Cape Jervis Parawerangk	222
Figure 10-17 Yerrakartarta, off North Terrace, 1995 (Pfitzner Milika, Van Der Byl et al)	225
Figure 10-18 Yerrakartarta, off North Terrace, 1995, Plaques Detail	226
Figure 10-19 Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway, (S. Rankine, G. Malone, M. Worth)	226
Figure 10-20 Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway Dedication Ceremony. L to R: Lowitja O'Donoghue, Colin Haines, Sir William Deane, Lady Deane, Doris Graham, Vincent Copley	228
Figure 10-21 Georgina Williams with grandchildren at Spirit Fire	229
Figure 10-22 Paitya at Tjirbruki narna arra', Reconciliation Week, 1998	230
Figure 10-23 Reconciliation Week gathering, Tjirbruki narna arra', 1998	230

Figure 10-24 Tjirbruki narna arra' cultural maintenance, 2011	231
Figure 10-25 Tjirbruki narna arra' cultural maintenance, 2011	232
Figure 10-26 Cultural Path, 1997, Signal Box Park, Rosewater (Local community)	232
Figure 10-27 Mural, Tjilbruke, 1998, O'Sullivan Beach Primary School (David Weetra).....	232
Figure 10-28 Tjilbruke Mural, 1990s, Brompton PS (School community)	233
Figure 10-29 Warriparinga Walk Mural, 2006, Warriparinga (Jimmy C. et al)	233
Figure 10-30 Tjilbruke, the Ibis Man, Kurna meyunna, Kurna yerta tampendi (T. Rosella, D. Siwes, E Karpany).....	234
Figure 10-31 Towilla Yerta Reserve, 2007, Port Willunga Wirruwarrungga.....	234
Figure 10-32 Glow Taltaityai, 2009, Port Adelaide (M. Nikou, J. Milanovic) (photo City of PAE).....	234
Figure 10-33 Stairway and Signage, 2010, Tulukudangga Kingston Park	235
Figure 11-1 Mural, 2009, Golden Grove HS (Mara Dreaming)	244
Figure 11-2 Mural, 2004, Northern Women's CHC, Elizabeth (Mara Dreaming) ..	245
Figure 11-3 Mural, On the Wall, 2003, Angle Park (Youth project)	245
Figure 11-4 Centre of Life, 2007, Arndale (Jimmy C with Aboriginal youth)	246
Figure 11-5 Mural, 2008, Marden Senior College (Tauondi College).....	246
Figure 11-6 Paving & Crossing, 1995, Swallowcliffe, (F. Poole, J. Kivubiro)	247
Figure 11-7 Coloured Stones, 2005, Cowandilla PS (School staff and students)....	247
Figure 11-8 Katarapko, 2008 (Nici Cumpston).....	248
Figure 11-9 Aboriginal Cultural Markers, Geographic Location, Greater Adelaide	249
Figure 11-10 Fossil Forest, 2000, Beguiled (Pastoral Letters), Glen Osmond (T. Bishop et al)	253

Tables

Table 1 ACMs by Commissioning Bodies in Phase 4	69
Table 2 ACMs by Commissioning Bodies in Phase 5	74
Table 3 ACMs by Council Projects.....	75
Table 4 ACMs by all Phases	76
Table 5 ACMs by Decade	77
Table 6 ACMs by Commissioning Bodies in all Phases.....	78
Table 7 Public Statuary, North Tce. & Victoria Sq. 1890-1960	81
Table 8 Public Statuary: Initiators and Funders	82
Table 9 ACMs by Category.....	242
Table 10 ACMs by Type of Art	243
Table 11 ACMs by Type of Space	250
Table 12 ACMs by Council Areas	251

Appendices

Appendix A. Ways of Belonging: Reconciliation and the Symbolic Value of the Public Space in Adelaide; Exhibition Introduction and Essay.

Appendix B. Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers, Phase 4: Community, Culture, Collaborations. Chronological Listing of the 70 Markers.

Appendix C. Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers, Phase 4: Community, Culture, Collaborations, Images of Markers (murals) not included in Chapters.

Appendix D. Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers, Phase 5: Kurna Country. Chronological Listing of the 52 Markers.

Appendix E. Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Plaques, Jubilee 150, 1986, Wording on Plaques.

Appendix F. Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers by Council Area.

Appendix G. Adelaide Metro Northern Area, Aboriginal Cultural Markers

Appendix H. Adelaide Metro Central Area, Aboriginal Cultural Markers

Appendix I. Adelaide Metro Southern Area, Aboriginal Cultural Markers

Appendix J. Adelaide's Aboriginal Cultural Markers by Latitude and Longitude.

Summary

Phases of Aboriginal Inclusion in the Public Space in Adelaide, South Australia, Since Colonisation

'Post-colonial' Australia is evolving its identity and sense of self but reconciliation with its Aboriginal peoples remains politically and culturally unresolved. This reconciliation has been a national objective since the 1990s. Reconciliation is a multi-faced process to achieve the equitable inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in all aspects of contemporary society and for non-Aboriginal Australians to embrace Aboriginal people and their history as a valid and valuable part of the Australian nation and recognise their claim to sovereignty prior to colonisation.

One way a nation, or people, presents itself and its history is through the cultural artefacts it places in the public space. This contributes to cultural identity at both civic and personal levels. Social inclusion or marginalisation is also reflected in the public space and historically Aboriginal people and culture have been largely excluded from it. Whilst a casual walk around the streets of the main cultural precincts and streets of a city may reveal some recent Aboriginal representations, little is documented on what may actually exist.

In Adelaide, the capital city of South Australia, this also appears to be the case with a limited number of Aboriginal representations apparent in the public space. But there has been no research to fully establish what exists. This research overcomes that lack by investigating and documenting the extent and manner of Aboriginal public space inclusion in greater metropolitan Adelaide. In all, 143 monuments, memorials, public artworks, public space designs, community artworks and commemorative and interpretive markers, collectively called Aboriginal Cultural Markers, have been located and documented through this research.

Having established what exists, interpretation of the data can then take place to better understand the historical exclusion, and gradual inclusion of Aboriginal people in the public space; how and when any change occurred, who was involved and the manner of representation. This research traces the inclusion (or exclusion) of Aboriginal people and culture in the public space from the colonisation of South Australia in 1836 to the present. It identifies six distinct phases, which link to broader historical and social periods or events, in the evolution of representation: *The Silence* (to 1960), *Breaking the Silence* (1960 to early 1980s), *Aboriginal Voice Emerges* (early 1980s to early 1990s); *Community, Culture and Collaborations* (early 1990s to present); *Kurna Country* (mid 1990s to present); *Kurna Management and Determination* (yet to occur).

The phases documented reflect: the gradual and ongoing decolonisation process; a nation coming to terms with its treatment of Aboriginal peoples through Reconciliation; an evolving self-determination by Aboriginal people; and movement towards control of cultural production and self-representation by Aboriginal people in the public space and the evolution of a bi-cultural cultural landscape that has a distinctive Aboriginal presence.

There are still considerable gaps in the geographic and cultural spread of Markers and there is much more to be achieved to provide a visually and culturally strong

Aboriginal symbolic presence in the city centre and urban areas. I therefore make recommendations on themes, locations and processes to help guide future commissioning of Markers. The Markers form an identifiable collection of public artworks, albeit in diverse locations and under diverse ownership. I make recommendations on the curation of this collection.

Declaration

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

Gavin D. F. Malone

Disclaimer: This thesis may contain images of Aboriginal persons who are deceased and readers are warned that the depiction of these people may cause distress to some readers.

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, Professor Iain Hay, and my co-supervisor, Dr Christine Nicholls, my thanks for accommodating my approach to research and writing and guiding me appropriately along the way. To the staff in the School of Geography, Population and Environmental Management (now part of the School of the Environment) at Flinders University, thank you for your support and camaraderie. A special thank you to Robert Keane, GIS Specialist, for the preparation of maps and familiarising me with GPS technology and its potentials.

Much of what is discussed in this thesis relates to Kurna Country and Kurna cultural heritage. I acknowledge Kurna Country, on which I live, and Kurna cultural traditions. I sincerely thank Georgina Williams, Nganke burka, Kurna and Karl Telfer, Cultural Custodian, for their friendship and teaching over many years which has influenced my thinking.

To my children; well this is what distracted me for a while but I hope you too will see some benefit from it in the years to come, as will your children and my grandchildren. To Sonia Donnellan, my thanks for your encouragement in the early stages of this project, and to Sue Rodwell, thanks for reading and commenting on several early chapters. To Susan Schuller, who provided editing support, encouragement and a critical mind in the last phases of writing, my heartfelt thanks and gratitude.

This research was undertaken with the support of a Commonwealth Government Australian Postgraduate Award.