Chapter 12 Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

The aim of this thesis was to investigate and document the extent and manner of Aboriginal public space representation in greater metropolitan Adelaide; its past and present. From that a possible future has emerged. If the public space encapsulates or is a representation of who we are as a people, and one of the things we aspire to is to be inclusive of Aboriginal peoples and culture, then what does our contemporary public space tell us about how inclusive we have been? How have the ways that Aboriginal peoples and culture have been included in the public space changed over time and where might they be headed? And to what extent have Aboriginal people been given, or assumed, the power of determining their own public space cultural production?

Until this thesis there has been no extensive documentation, in one place, of the extent and evolution of Aboriginal public space inclusion in Adelaide through monuments, memorials, public art and design, and interpretive and commemorative markers. This thesis has filled that gap in knowledge. There was also no methodology to systematically locate Aboriginal Cultural Markers. This thesis provides a guide. There has been no extensive examination or critique of what Aboriginal representation exists.

This thesis provides data for the critical examination of what has been achieved and how it has been achieved. This thesis has also surfaced many questions and issues for further consideration including; self-determination in the public space by Aboriginal peoples, how might Kaurna and other Aboriginal cultural production evolve in the public space, the challenges of evolving an Aboriginal urban symbolic cultural landscape, the existence of some problematic representations, and what will be the curation of this collection of Aboriginal Cultural Markers. The phases, particularly the proposed Phase 6, provide a useful framework for determining curatorial and commissioning priorities and governance processes for Markers in Adelaide, as well as for documenting, assessing, curating and commissioning Markers in other cities in Australia. The methodology for locating Markers established in this research is intended to assist the latter.

The Markers and phases I have outlined answer the question 'To what extent and how are Aboriginal people represented in pubic spaces in Adelaide?' At the commencement of research I had anticipated there would be about forty Markers in Adelaide. Contrary to my expectations and what has been documented in the literature, there is extensive, although uneven, representation of Aboriginal people and culture in the public spaces of greater metropolitan Adelaide (in the order of 143 Aboriginal Cultural Markers). I also found that this representation has evolved with a steadily growing momentum; that there has been an immense numerical trajectory in the last twenty years, that the Markers have been initiated or commissioned by a diverse range of individuals and organisations, government and non-government, that there are five distinct phases in this evolution and that a sixth phase appears likely and, if we are truly aiming to be an inclusive society, desirable. As additional Markers were located over the time of this research, the narrative around them became deeper and richer, reflecting the history of communities seeking to implement change in the public space to portray a new understanding of themselves, of Aboriginal people, and of Australia having a dual black and white history. This

reflects a contemporary Aboriginal colloquialism 'Where there is a white history, there is also a black history'.

De Lorenzo (2005) in her study of three major public space art and design projects in Sydney and Canberra which reference Aboriginality concluded (2005:121) that those projects:

> *… suggest that Australian public spaces are no longer blighted by Stanner's 'cult of forgetfulness'. In 1984 Henry Reynolds said of Australian historiography: 'Slowly, unevenly, often with difficulty, white Australians are incorporating the black experience into their image of the national past' (Reynolds 1984, 15). Over 20 years later, this might now be said of art and other activities in Australian public spaces. Reconciliation is tough and confronting and no easier for individuals than governments to effect. But at least some efforts to address race relations in the public domain have been started, and that is a major historical and ethical breakthrough.*

Through this research I have confirmed that 'efforts to address race relations in the public domain' are occurring in Adelaide and have been occurring for fifty years.

Conclusions

To present outcomes and conclusions from this research I draw on my interpretation of the data and observations and perspectives which have been influenced by an ongoing dialogue and collaboration with Kaurna people and others in the field of public space art and design. This research has not been a formal cross-cultural collaboration. However, I have been careful to ensure that the research results are likely to be of direct interest and benefit to Kaurna and the broader Aboriginal community and to others with an interest in public space commemorations and public space art and design.

For well over a century there had been an exclusion of Aboriginal culture, as expressed through Stanner's analogy 'the great Australian silence'. Over the five decades since 1960, and particularly since the early 1990s, there has been a significant social change in terms of Aboriginal inclusion in broader Australian society and as has been demonstrated by the manner and extent of change in Aboriginal inclusion throughout the phases, this change is also evident in the public space. A new historiography has emerged in Australia since the 1960s including the public space, heralding the end of the previous neglect of Aboriginal culture. Aboriginal Australians who had been 'out' of history for over a century were returning (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1994:20). Collectively, the Markers have successfully moved Aboriginal issues into the public space to be part of an ongoing revision of the collective sense of self and debate in the public realm.

Phase 1. The Silence: 1836 to 1960

The absence of any respectful and intentional portrayal or inclusion of Aboriginal culture in the public space in this century plus long phase parallels the exclusion of Aboriginal people from mainstream society during the period. Fraser (1995:71, cited in Sharp et al, 2005) suggested that the processes through which cultural (or symbolic) injustices tend to arise are fundamentally 'rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication' and that one of the practices associated with cultural injustice is 'non-recognition' which renders groups invisible

'via the authoritative, representational and interpretive practices of one's own culture'. This has been the case in Adelaide.

Phase 2. Breaking the Silence: 1960 to early 1980s
Phase 2 saw a quiet change begin in the 1960s, starting with the unsophisticated utilisation of a figure of an Aboriginal girl in the *Piccaninny Drinking Fountain* (1960). From that point Aboriginal public space inclusion has progressed through to the more complex and culturally informed Markers of the past decade or so. Many of these early works, as with the works for Phase 3, are not well known, most have not been written about in relevant cultural or popular publications, their significance has not been fully assessed and their curation is uncertain. This is an issue that needs to be addressed by an appropriate cultural heritage authority to ensure that significant Markers are not lost to history and the role of these Markers, and the people behind them, are recognised. Histories are subject to ongoing revisions and interpretations, and these Markers serve as indicators of change and tell a story in themselves. Besley (2005:39) reminded us of Young's (1993) summation that it is through the telling and remembering of their own stories that monuments become more than immovable objects in the cultural landscape, they are re-invigorated and can become actively connected with broader discourses and debate in the public realm.

Phase 3. Aboriginal Voice Emerges: early 1980s to early 1990s
Phase 3 saw the emergence of urban based forms of commemorative and symbolic expression for and by Aboriginal people. Six of the eleven Markers of this phase included Aboriginal people in their making in line with an increasing Aboriginal urban population and their political and cultural activities. The opportunities provided by two major colonising commemorative events, South Australia's Jubilee 150 in 1986 and Australia's Bicentennial in 1988 were utilised by a small number of Aboriginal people, and others, to include Aboriginal recognition. They, and their supporters, saw that Aboriginal people also needed to be included in the celebratory and commemorative processes of the nation. This has now become a normal practice, with Aboriginal peoples being included in (most) such functions. In South Australia, this includes a Kaurna welcome in the ceremony of state to open each new session of Parliament. The actions of those involved in the 1980s helped lay the groundwork for a broader civic inclusion, both in the ceremonies and protocols of state and in the symbolic value of the public space.

The marking of the Tjilbruke Dreaming Track in 1986 by an Aboriginal based committee, including Kaurna descendants, was particularly significant. It saw, for the first time, Aboriginal people utilising the conventions of Western based commemorations to include and present their own culture in the urban space and to specifically represent Kaurna culture. It was a time of an emerging, although not yet public, Kaurna identity.

Phase 4. Community, Culture, Collaboration: early 1990s onwards
Phase 4 expresses a community reconciliation process underway between the coloniser and colonised. The period from the early 1990s onwards has been one of substantial if not profound change. Aboriginal cultural identity has become part of an Australian cultural identity, witness the Aboriginal inclusion in ceremonies associated with the 2000 Sydney Olympics and the painting of three Qantas planes in

Aboriginal motifs, the first *Wunala Dreaming* in 1994[42]. I am pleasantly surprised by the extent of community-based activity I have found in this research reflecting the evolving acceptance and embracing of Aboriginal people and their culture. There is still hesitancy, ill at ease or ignorance for many but each Marker achieved is reflective of people coming together to overcome hesitations. This phase has been one of people getting to know each other across the cultural divide, of mutual learning of the protocols of cross-cultural collaborations, and of the colonising culture better appreciating Aboriginal culture.

The phase primarily engaged the notion of Aboriginality in its generic sense; pan–Aboriginality, the concept of being Aboriginal, and the idea of an Aboriginal Australia. As outlined in this thesis the trend of major artworks in Adelaide is towards Kaurna recognition and I am not aware of any major pan-Aboriginal projects being proposed since the end of field research in December, 2009. I imagine that small scale, community level, local works will continue to occur as part of the on-going reconciliation process along with some major works. Phase 4 may linger for some time but I do not see it as having the importance it did during the Decade of Reconciliation and soon after. This is not to neglect or overlook the more than forty Aboriginal cultural groups whose lands encompass the state of South Australia (Hemming & Clarke, 1989) and other Aboriginal Australians living here. All need to be represented in the civic space and to see themselves as part of the social fabric of South Australia. I suggest it is along the cultural boulevard of North Terrace, a colonising construct and representative of the powers of state, that a major work is required to recognise all the Aboriginal cultural groups of South Australia. As discussed in Chapter 8 (Phase 5), North Terrace does not have the bi-cultural meaning that other cultural spaces in Adelaide may have for Kaurna. It is a celebration of the state, so it is most appropriate that any new work recognising all of the Aboriginal cultural groups of South Australia would be placed there.

The Markers of this phase are a benign or unproblematic expression of Aboriginality, Aboriginal history or reconciliation. Overall that is the pattern of this phase, where the majority of Markers have been commissioned by government agencies: governments and their agencies being risk averse are more likely to expressly or implicitly require Markers which are not challenging, disturbing or distressing. Public space inclusion is still predominantly on the terms of the coloniser, the evolution of equity in the public space is still required.

Phase 5. Kaurna Country: mid 1990s onwards

Phase 5 not only expresses a community reconciliation process with Kaurna but also the re-invention of culture for what is now an urban based Aboriginal people. The Markers provide a means of claiming the cultural and symbolic space without the highly contested legal processes of claiming physical space and legal title which are still to be resolved through the Native Title process. The Kaurna claim to the psychological and cultural space has emerged and should only grow, there is no going back to the complete dispossession and invisibility of the Kaurna that existed a relatively short time ago. The Kaurna Markers decrease the Kaurna's cultural isolation and contribute to creating a contemporary Kaurna Aboriginal Adelaide which other Aboriginal cultural groups respect and recognise as part of Kaurna

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[42] The design for the artwork was by Adelaide based Balarinji Designs, who in 1998 also designed a small footpath commemorative Marker at Norwood included in Phase 5. The Boeing 747-400 was one of the world's largest pieces of modern art, the Norwood Marker a small circle of change.

reclaiming their Country as they too must also do. There is evolving a story line of artworks crisscrossing Country, not telling Story in a traditional sense but contributing to the re-Aboriginalisation of place in an urban environment, an environment which has destroyed or smothered so much of what once existed for Kaurna people. The Markers have provided places for ritual and remembrance for Kaurna and other Aboriginal people, places that were not available to them two decades ago. The Markers are used as story telling places for Kaurna cultural renewal and for cultural presentation through guided tours and education. Many Markers have become the mnemonic to guide the structure of engagement with place, the narrative in some works multi-layered, requiring oral story telling to elaborate. Whilst there are Aboriginal sites in Adelaide that are not marked, they are far less frequently referred to, as if the lack of a Marker implies the lack of a history. The Markers are making visible a hidden history.

The extent of Kaurna recognition has been enhanced by the evolution of interpretive and commemorative Markers speaking of Kaurna culture, history and individuals. In this way Aboriginal people and culture are (gradually) being included in the commemorative processes of the public space. Care is required that these Markers do not become, or are seen as, just 'assimilationist strategies of representation' (Besley, 2005:39). To that end the Markers need to engage the more unpleasant and distressing aspects of colonising history and that forms of commemoration be developed that are Aboriginal in nature and don't just mimic the colonising tradition. An open expression of the distressing aspects of colonising history for Aboriginal peoples is yet to emerge as is the full determination of cultural content.

The complexity of Kaurna recognition has also been assisted by public space design projects, cross-cultural collaborative landscape design, which provide a larger scale interpretation, or reflection, of Aboriginal culture through both the landscape design and plantings, and sculptural or interpretive content. Of particular note is the regeneration plan for Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga and the inclusion and representation of Kaurna culture in the civic heart of Adelaide that it will provide. When a place has dual cultural significance, as in Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga, this form and scale of design assists in recovering the underlying Kaurna landscape inscription and helps translate it into a contemporary form. The Western based meaning has been the norm in reading public spaces; Kaurna inclusion enables spaces to be read cross-culturally and in particular, to be read by Aboriginal people from their cultural perspective. The redesigned Square is to include Mullabakka, the Kaurna Centre of Culture, which will have a Kaurna cultural presentation capacity and ability not yet seen in Adelaide. Whilst implementation is awaited, I believe this development will significantly alter the cultural landscape of Adelaide in the understanding and inclusion of Aboriginal culture. Cross-cultural, or more appropriately, bi-cultural, public space design is an area of inclusion which I suggest has great potential to contribute to a more visible and tangible Aboriginal sense of place.

Phase 5 is only of fifteen years duration, it is still early days in terms of building the cultural ideas and capacity for urban expression and the associated symbolic artefacts, and establishing Aboriginal places for ritual and ceremony. Warriparinga and *Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway* are prime exemplars contributing to a contemporary Aboriginal symbolic world. The place and the artefact are not fully of the Kaurna tradition nor are they fully of the colonising tradition. They are a synthesis and in many ways, an exemplar in sharing a space and its histories. More

such places and Markers are required, as are the processes and experimentation that bring them into being.

The Kaurna claim to the public space will continue whether the non-Aboriginal community maintains the impetus of a reconciliation process or not (although I anticipate it will). The claim is part of an ongoing political campaign for land, cultural identity and self-determination, not just visibility or inclusion on the terms of the coloniser.

Phase 6. Kaurna Management and Determination: yet to occur
The evolution of an Australian culture from exclusive of Aboriginal people and culture to aspiring inclusion (or even the development of a more complex and actually inclusive, possibly bi-cultural, Australian culture) suggests the desirability and possibility of a future phase, which calls for Kaurna determination of its public space representation, cultural production and symbolic landscape. The trajectory of the previous phases suggests that this will occur. In this phase Kaurna will manage and determine their own public space cultural identity and representations; managing the location, design brief, cultural content, conceptual development and fabrication of works (within normal public space governance constraints). This is not the same as the dominant culture commissioning more and more Markers; it is a sharing of the public and political space and allowing an Aboriginal culture to evolve its own contemporary symbolic landscape on its own Country. This will include assistance from non-Aboriginals and non-Kaurna Aboriginals but it will be under Kaurna guidance. In some ways it is not possible to imagine what all the outcomes may be as they will likely encompass the invention of new symbolic forms, places and artefacts not yet seen to represent a contemporary urban based Aboriginal culture. It is to be borne in mind that the existing public space construct and symbolic artefacts have built up over a considerable period of time and are based on an imported European tradition centuries old. For this phase to evolve, time, leadership and further Aboriginal cultural renewal are required, coupled with creative people, artists, cultural custodians and other design professions, in tandem with changes to public space governance.

In my envisaged Phase 6, more culturally cohesive and informed public space expression will be assisted or underpinned by cohesive and informed cultural knowledge, strength and governance structures, both within the Kaurna community and the wider community, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. I have brought attention to some problems in evolving the new genre of Aboriginal public space art and design and creating a constructed Aboriginal symbolic urban landscape. This is a complex area involving the interaction between public space governance structures, Kaurna internal political strength, their cultural and spiritual renewal, the reinvention of tradition in an urban area, and the ability of artists and cultural custodians to evolve contemporary forms of symbolic expression. It will also likely be necessary to edit out or alter some existing works as cultural knowledge evolves and Kaurna determination of their cultural production is implemented. The strength and depth of public space representation will reflect the strength and depth of Aboriginal culture itself and the dominant culture's willingness to facilitate and make space.

Whilst cultural renewal is primarily concerned with renewal of Aboriginal culture, there is a symbiotic relationship with the dominant culture. Change within one culture will have an impact on the other. Aboriginal cultural renewal and public space cultural expression is also a cultural revision, or evolution, for the dominant

culture, as the cultures can no longer be considered as completely separate entities. The inter-cultural changes are osmotic. Central to this process is the question: Does the dominant culture just want to reproduce an Aboriginalised version of its own culture in the public space, or truly step back and facilitate the development of contemporary Aboriginal cultures with their own forms of cultural production and presentation? And in doing do, allow itself to also change. Phase 6 will be part of answering this question.

Public Space Art and Design – Some Recommendations

The vast majority of Markers fall within what is now known as public space art and design which, as explained, can be quite different in intent and process to civic art, the formal commemorations of the state. Public art, which as a style of practice emerged in the 1960s, included Aboriginal representation from its beginning. As the extent and strength of public practice broadened, along with the recognition of its usefulness for social mediation, so did Aboriginal inclusion. Sharp et al (2005:1006) pointed out that public artworks:

> *Collectively … provide pointers to what, in public art terms, would define an inclusive city, as one giving expression to the multiple and shifting identities of different groups, as indicative of presence rather than absence, and of avoiding the cultural domination of particular elites or interests.*

Public space art and design does not yet balance the full weight of the colonising commemorations and history in the broader cultural landscape. There does not though need to be an 'overnight' revision and displacement of nearly 150 years of history, the 'cultural domination of elites' has been fractured. Time and an evolution of the cultural landscape and further knowledge and capacity building are required. Based on observations and reflections during this research I present here some ideas that will assist not only Kaurna but other Aboriginal inclusion in evolving this genre of public space art and design.

Public Space Art and Design - Capacity Building

Many artists, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and Kaurna representatives and cultural custodians have contributed to the Markers achieved, but there is no formal training for cross-cultural public space collaborations. Cultural capacity and know how, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, has been generated with each public artwork or project undertaken and some mistakes have been made along the way. To this end, the more artworks undertaken with due care and diligence, the greater will be the pool of experience generated and breadth and depth of expression achieved. Whilst many of the Markers, particularly the murals, have presented an aesthetic of pan-Aboriginality a richer symbolic expression can still be generated. Establishing more spaces to interact, incorporating a greater range of spaces and projects which are capacity building will assist this. Small-scale projects are to be encouraged as they will contribute to confidence and capacity building and the ability to then engage larger scale projects.

Temporary and ephemeral artworks are also to be considered as they can potentially engage the more difficult issues, and the contested spaces. For instance, this may be through a mural that has a limited life span, the use of other media including digital, and temporary art installations or art-actions. During the 2002 Adelaide Festival of Arts, before the dual naming of Victoria Square as Tarndanyangga took place, official looking 'Tarndanyangga' street signs were made and installed in the Square

by a small group of Kaurna activists and supporters. The signs were there for several days before they were noticed by officials and removed. This public space art-action was written about in the local media and widely discussed amongst artists and others contributing to the changing consciousness of the Square's dual identity and Kaurna making claim to their cultural heritage spaces.

Public Space Art and Design - Training of Aboriginal Artists

Public art practice is not for all artists as it has quite different challenges and requirements to a studio based practice, particularly in this new genre of urban Aboriginal symbolic artefacts. Assistance for Aboriginal artists and cultural custodians in engaging or entering public space practice is called for. Three possibilities come readily to mind. One is that in the commissioning of major projects, provision be made for an Aboriginal trainee to be included in the artist teams to be able to observe (and possibly contribute to) the process of concept development, project management and implementation. Another is the provision of scholarships through, say, an art institution, where Aboriginal artists can be part of an arts training process and be provided with work placements on a range of public projects as mentorees to develop their skills and experiences. The final (and preferred) option is to commission projects where the creative team is all Aboriginal (artists and cultural custodians) with appropriately experienced non-Aboriginal artists engaged as facilitators and mentors rather than as project collaborators. In this scenario, the creative ownership and cultural and legal copyright of the artwork is retained by the Aboriginal individuals or communities involved. The facilitator would provide a training component, in particular the managing of the myriad of governance requirements for a public space project. 'On the job' learning can be an appropriate way to introduce Aboriginal people to public space practice.

Public Space Art and Design – New Forms of Inclusion

I have outlined new forms of inclusion in terms of the use of the Kaurna language in artworks and the collaborative design of public spaces with landscape architects. But cultural expression in the public space is changing with new technologies, new media and even the understanding of what the public space can be (e.g. it may sometimes be a virtual space). The public space need not be thought of in a material form only, as encompassed in the Markers discussed in this thesis.

Over the period of this thesis I have become aware of the massive challenge to evolve an Aboriginal sense of place in the urban area, urban expression and symbolic artefacts. The stand alone Markers identified no doubt contribute, but I have a sense new media, mobile phone applications, social media, web based presentations and public space projections, can play a role, particularly for younger urban Aboriginals. This is not my field of expertise, but I recognise it has potential in the evolution of an urban Aboriginality and the claiming of public space. The colonising monuments are of their time and to an extent their power and status is being eroded. In the case of the Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga redesign, the monuments, in the form of several statues, including that of Queen Victoria, are to be relocated and re-presented as a grouping in a specific area, the statues will be 'in conversation' with each other and the public, representing one period of history. Public space art and design expanded the scope and style of public space representation, including Aboriginal, and grapples with ways to appropriately represent the layers and complexities of Aboriginality, traditional and contemporary. New media can potentially leap-frog some of the contemporary obstacles and absences. I can imagine new media, supported by readily accessible and culturally appropriate Aboriginal narratives, more dramatically

altering public consciousness than more stand alone public artworks in terms of both the narrative presented and value for money invested.

Public space image projections also provide great potential. Large-scale projection of images or text onto public space buildings has been part of arts practice for some time. Projections were utilised in the Adelaide Festival of Arts in 2008 and 2010 to popular acclaim and delight. Under the title *Northern Lights* colourful images and patterns were projected onto several buildings along the North Terrace cultural precinct. The projections were predominantly decorative rather than challenging. This is a medium that can dramatically alter the nightscape of a place and has great potential to present a message or narrative, including the political and the difficult.

Public Space Art and Design - Aboriginal Public Art Fund

Contemporary public artworks and other commemorations are funded from a variety of sources, mainly public. This includes federal government funding through the Australia Council and other specific programs, state government funding through various agencies, and local government. Arts SA does not normally provide the capital funding for major public works, the Art in Public Places program provides seed funding to facilitate the commissioning and funding of works by others. The coming together of project intent and funding is, to a degree, haphazard and in the past many public art projects, including Aboriginal recognitions, have not proceeded beyond the concept development stage as implementation funding has not been secured. The concepts have been commissioned to provide a substantive idea to facilitate the securing of funds but to no avail. It is a disappointment to all concerned when projects do not proceed.

The state government, through all its agencies, has the primary responsibility for the delivery of services that support community well-being and social health. It also sets the tone or character under which others implement a variety of social agendas. The establishment of an Aboriginal Public Art Fund by the state government with the purpose of commissioning major works, facilitating partnerships with other organisations and providing training and mentoring opportunities would hasten the rebalancing of the civic narrative. A contribution of $300,000 per annum from the state government is suggested as a starting point with additional funding as can be raised. It is suggested that half the funding be committed to a major civic/public art or design project each year and half to support a variety of other projects, including the education and mentoring of Aboriginal artists.

Concluding Comments

Australia does not have a proud history in terms of its treatment of Aboriginal peoples and is a nation that is still coming to terms with that aspect of its colonising history. It is germane to reflect upon what has occurred over the last half century to inform further action. Along with broader aspects of Aboriginal social inclusion, public space inclusion has been and still is required that is 'capable of achieving a "critical interaction" with Australia's past, a dialogue in which one perspective of history is balanced by another' (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1994:27). That rebalancing has commenced, as demonstrated in the Markers documented, but there is still much to be done to fully counteract the previous neglect and lack of sharing of the political, economic and social benefits of this nation, and the public space.

Whilst this thesis has outlined the gradual inclusion of Aboriginal people and culture in the public space I would not describe it as an equitably shared space in terms of history and power. To a large degree the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures have been working as independent entities with a degree of collaboration. However, to date it has been the Aboriginal who has had to adapt to the ways of the non-Aboriginal. Whilst achievements are to be acknowledged, the overall sense of Aboriginality in major civic spaces, and the public space in general, is minimal. As outlined, the majority of Markers are not highly visible. The dominant culture can still give ground, physically and culturally, to make space for Aboriginal peoples. As Lewis O'Brien, stated (O'Brien and Rigney, 2006:28):

> *In most cases it is non-Indigenous individuals and organisations that have the human and financial resources and power to contribute effectively to strategies of sharing space.*
> *A shared space where respect for each other and our cultures is paramount is a wonderful aspiration to have.*

He further stated (O'Brien, 2007:192):

> *I also think we can share the land in this unique state of ours. As a Kaurna man, I believe it is particularly important that we learn to share this city of Adelaide. If we can learn to listen to each other and to hear each other's stories we will see the importance of 'sharing the space'- sharing this country.*
> *A good place to start with reconciliation is to listen to Aboriginal stories about this country, particularly Kaurna country. By educating people about Kaurna country maybe we can all learn about the past and learn to share the land.*

The inclusion of Aboriginal Cultural Markers is not just about providing some space in the public arena for Aboriginal peoples. It is also about the dominant culture giving way and letting go of some of the previously held beliefs and values, the mythologies and lores of its culture. It is recognising that we in Australia all live on Aboriginal land, taken from colonised peoples. I posit that as part of an ongoing reconciliation it is necessary that changes provide a more equitable outcome for Aboriginal people across all facets of society, that there is a more profound change in the power structures and interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, which can be considered to be part of an ongoing decolonisation of Aboriginal peoples. As O'Brien (2006:28) stated:

> *If sharing the space strategies do not lead to Indigenous economic, cultural, legal, social and political empowerment, then sharing the space becomes another synonym for assimilation. We as Kaurna are all too familiar with the devastation of assimilation policies and its practices. There are dangers in embracing forced space sharing or strategies that others think are in the best interests of Kaurna. The true worth of a nation must be measured by the way it promotes the sharing of cultural, legal, economic and political space with its First peoples. The sharing of country is useless without the sharing of power.*

I suggest that a greater public space representation of Aboriginal people needs to be not only part of a realignment of recognition of Aboriginal people and culture but part of a move towards Aboriginal self-determination and social equity. Caution is required that the public space inclusion offered by the dominant culture does not end up just being a 'whitefella feel good' process; that it may assuage 'whitefella guilt'

and concern, but have little lasting impact on Kaurna and Aboriginal cultural identity and social disadvantage. Everett (2006:222-223) discussed the Decade of Reconciliation as being seen by most Aboriginal people as a 'feel good for white people' program with the Minister setting the agenda and excluding any radical Aboriginal voice or the notion of a treaty. I do not fully agree with Everett but concede there is some opinion of that nature.

Non-Aboriginal culture can include and acknowledge Aboriginal culture both in the public space and social programs, but much remains to be done in alleviating the systemic social disadvantage Aboriginal people face. This I believe will assist an Aboriginal urban expression to move beyond the achievements of cross-cultural collaborations, it will facilitate the further evolution of an Aboriginal urban identity and the renewal or reinvention of cultural traditions. The greater breadth, geographically and culturally, and complexity of Aboriginal inclusion in the public space will both reflect and lead ongoing reconciliation and Aboriginal self determination.

Whilst this research cannot adjudicate with certainty, it is beyond its aim, I believe that public space inclusion to date has been of overall positive benefit to Kaurna and the broader Aboriginal cultural identity and well-being. I believe that, collectively, the eleven commemorations and representations of the Kaurna Creator Being Tjilbruke have been of real cultural, political and social significance to Kaurna. When I have shown Kaurna and other Aboriginal people the photographic documentation of the Aboriginal Cultural Markers identified in this research there has been a delight and a pride in seeing what has been achieved. There has also been an element of surprise at the number and geographical distribution of the Markers; there is not necessarily knowledge of what is happening elsewhere in Adelaide, on the 'other side of town'.

A change in social values towards Aboriginal people and culture is evident throughout this thesis, however, for me it is still insufficient. The entrenched value systems and power structures yield slowly, almost like the dripping of water onto a soft stone. All injustices cannot be undone, some strands of history just have to be accepted with regret, pain and sorrow, but we can re-knit others, interlock the strands in the fabric of our cultural landscape to form a new civic quilt. Moving ahead requires a comprehensive and truthful acknowledgement of the past and a coming together to form a common, and equitable future.

In the 1968 Boyer Lectures W. E. H. Stanner, a person most influential in changing Australian attitudes towards Aboriginal Australians in a positive way, and forging a common and equitable future, said (1979:217):

> *Development over the next fifty years will need to change its style and its philosophy if the outcome is to be very different. I have begun to allow myself to believe that there is now a credible prospect of that happening. A kind of beneficial multiplier could be starting to have effect.*

This research has confirmed that the 'great Australian silence' articulated by Stanner has been broken in the public space and that a 'beneficial multiplier' is having effect. Stanner's optimism was not misplaced.