

Session 1: Indigenous Studies – Case Study Australia

Critical thinking:

- Who
- What
- When
- Where
- Why

Who are Indigenous peoples?

Considering the **diversity** of Indigenous peoples, an official definition of indigenous doesn't exist.

The **UN** describes it like this:

Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and **accepted by the community** as their member. (How the person feels, is linked historically)

- **Historical continuity** with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to **territories** and surrounding **natural resources**
- **Distinct social, economic or political systems** (distinct = ausgeprägt, unterschieden)
- **Distinct language, culture and beliefs**
- Form non-dominant groups of society (non-dominant = nicht beherrschend)
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities

The **Australian government** says:

- Early definitions: 67 classifications to determine aboriginal person, restrictive & discriminatory laws: disempowering aboriginal people from voting / enrolling to vote, **quantum of blood**: how much indigenous are you (Blutlinie: Uropa, Eltern...)

- The three-part definition:

An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander **descent** who **identifies** as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and is **accepted** as such by the community in which he [or she] lives. (descent = Abstammung)

- **Problems** with this definition: too much emphasis on genetic descent (traditional laws and customs ignored), poor recordkeeping (lack of evidence), being Indigenous a question of identity politics more than genetic descent
- **Accepted as such by the community = Australia**
- **Different organisations**

Terminology

Sensitive issue determined case by case which term is appropriate.

Examples:

- **Indigenous peoples**
- Tribes
- First peoples/nations
- Aboriginals
- Ethnic groups

or in **occupational or geographical terms**:

- Hunter-gatherers
- Nomads
- Peasants (Bauer)
- Hill people

→ The best is to just ask them, how they'd like to be referred to, how they're calling themselves.

Know the people you're talking to!

→ If you talk about a particular "group"/tribe, use their name: Yorta Yorta, ...

→ Capitalize it! **I**ndigenous, it is a noun.

→ **Peoples** = because whole community, which has different groups of people

Preferred ways:

- Indigenous Australian people/s
- Aboriginal people/s
- Aboriginal person
- Torres Strait Islander people/s
- Torres Strait Islander person
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander **peoples** (= area which is today Australia)

Larger regional group names are appropriate when talking about the area they are in, not when talking about it in general. (Murri: Qld, Koori: NSW, Palawa: Tasmania, ...)

There are a lot of offensive terms which are not to be used!

What is the purpose of Indigenous Studies?

Progressive post-colonial thought seeks to include minority cultural groups, including religions, migrant & indigenous, and lately sexual & gender groups -> equals within nation

Orthodox Indigenous Studies: Sees individual Indigenous people as all having the same core values.

Specific approaches:

- It celebrates a **primordial, internally coherent culture** (culture hasn't changed)
- The **culture is special and absolutely different** from others, especially middle class Anglo Australian (individual!)
- It retains its **particularity** (stays special despite mixing of other cultures)
- Individual Aborigines and Islanders are **unitary** Aboriginal or Islander, and each **reflect the same**

collective values (idea of this person, you reflect these "stereotypical values")

- It came as a reaction of the way they have been treated in the past: dominated by conservative thought, aim to dissimilation: aboriginal culture & people disappear
- **Concept made up by Moore and Co.**, **commonly held theories and beliefs**. The word 'orthodox' also has religious connotations, so Moore is also implying that the approach to indigenous studies in universities in the contemporary period is somewhat dogmatic (rechthaberisch). **This approach sees issues in black and white** (metaphorically and also in regard to skin colour), with nothing in between.

Australian Indigenous History

Pre-settlement (B.C. 60,000 – A.D. 1770)

- First settles 60-35 thousand years ago
- Remained almost completely isolated
- Some contact with Dutch and Portuguese between 1600 and 1770 but **no European settlement**
- **1770 - Captain Cook** arrived from Britain and claimed Australia to be British - still **no European settlement**
- From **1788** there was **permanent and expanding European settlement/invasion**

The early period (1770 to late 1800), it was **assumed** that:

- Aboriginal culture **insufficiently developed** to have law or land ownership
- Therefore must have lived, according to Hobbes '...[in] continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short' (Leviathan). Aborigines were the '**child race**' - **not fully human**
- **Western European** culture, society and knowledge **more advanced**
- Teleological view of **cultural development** - progress towards the European model - universal, necessary trajectory
- **Colonialism** brought **Aborigines** into the modern world
- Aboriginal culture, society and knowledge were **impediments** (Hindernis) to this development

(anims als)

- By the mid 1800s – It was thought Aborigines **could not be educated or civilised**
- Evolutionary certainty that they would **die out**

*save from
Abor. culture*

The protection period (late 1800s to 1930s), it was **assumed** that:

- **Aborigines needed protection** as members of an unfit society
- The reserves became **penal and disciplinary institutions** (eliminating aborig. Culture, western values)
- **Children** were **removed** from the **influence of their families**
- Schooling stressed basic literacy, agricultural and domestic trades, health, hygiene, the **Christian ethics**

Assimilation (Anpassung) 1930s to 1960

- By the 1930s the theory of the '**dying race**' being questioned – less justification for 'protection' in reserves
- **Humanitarian and Aboriginal political activity** sought liberation from the authoritarian reserve regimes, and recognition as human beings and **equal members of society**
- Many Aboriginal people accepted the **inevitability of having to abandon traditional** forms in order to realise **social advancement**
- In 1937 it was argued that state authorities should work to educate **children of mixed blood to white standards**, to take their place in the white community (idea of being white is inevitably better)
- The **policy of assimilation** was devised to **breed out** so-called Aboriginal inferior racial characteristics
- Those of **full blood were to remain segregated** (separiert), and allowed to **die out naturally**
- **lighter skinned** individual were removed from their communities and fostered into **middle class white home** and/or placed in **institutions** ("for their own good")
- ➔ Assumption behind assimilation: only way for aborig. People to be equal was for them to be the same as the rest of society.

The self-determination era (1960-2000s)

- **Resistance** to earlier **negative attitudes**
- Assimilation best managed by **strengthening Aboriginal families and communities**
- **2nd World War** changed attitude to **racism** (Nazi Germany)
- **Excesses of colonialism** recognised
- **Multi-culturalism** in society recognised
- **Urbanisation** and **political awareness** of Aboriginal communities (indig. People moving to the city: self-awareness)
- **Assumption** that what was **white was good and right questioned**
- Federal government leaders recognised that **Aboriginal culture legitimate**
- **Include as equals**
- **Accept as different**

Concept of being Indigenous is simplistic

Heutig

also by Moore et. Al.

Contemporary Orthodox Indigenous Studies assumes that:

- Concept of 'real Aborigine' (no recognition of diversity, either "real Aborigine" or "normal")
 - **Sanitised and ennobled** view of Aboriginal resistance
↳ Aborigines resistance, highlighted violence colonial encounter
 - Aboriginal culture **homogenous** and **absolutely different**
↳ blended also to sanitise & enoble Ab. resist. omitting accommodation, collaboration & betrayal of other Aborig. that also occurred, & to
 - **Romantic ideals** of Aboriginality – timeless, spiritual, non-material, non-gendered, sharing and caring and the ultimate environmentalists, non-violent, elders always morally upright
 - **exotic** and the **victim** (of colonialism)
 - All pre-settlement aspects of culture **continue today** (tied to country, acknowledgeable elders, kinship & parenting modes continue as do their distinct ways of learning) *neatly different from people of the West & fairly same as Indig. people elsewhere in world*
 - **White always evil – Aboriginal always good**
 - **All statements made by Aboriginal people about Aboriginality are correct**
- All are based on a stereotype and are quite possibly not the whole truth. What they ignore is problematic. **By focusing/emphasising difference, we develop a dehumanization** of the group that we are looking at. *(sometimes succeed in tolerance, sometimes opposite. Valorized differences: hidden into difference, step towards hatred is dehumanization of those who are strange, unlike us... insistence on difference leads to intolerance)*

→ encountering negative col. stereotyp. Orthodox texts positively stereotype Aborig. & Islander communities, society/people.

Critical thinking

It is essential that we hold everybody to similar standards that we hold ourselves, otherwise we're saying that they're not as good as we are.

Differentiated approach: things are not simple, never just one side of the story. One side is never essentially good and the other essentially bad. We have to **differentiate things**.

Summary Reviews:

- 1) Which statement does not match the opinion in quote from Moreton-Robinson:
 - Non-Indigenous and Indigenous scholars have different ethics
 - Non-Indigenous people cannot write indigenous literature
 - **Non-Indigenous scholars cannot participate in Indigenous scholarship**
 - Non-Indigenous and Indigenous scholars have different knowledges and ways of using...
- 2) According to the UN document 'United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Factsheet: Who are Indigenous Peoples?', which statements are false:
 - Indigenous peoples form a non-dominant group of society
 - Indigenous peoples have a strong link to their territories and surrounding natural resources
 - **The definition of 'Indigenous' is clearly defined**
 - The emphasis of identifying Indigenous peoples self-identification as Indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member

- 3) Which statements are true about the use of terminology to refer to Indigenous peoples in Australia according to the Indigenous Terminology | UNSW Teaching Staff Gateway and the other sources presented in lecture 1?
- Using a regional name like 'NSW Aboriginals' is generally more appropriate
 - It is best to refer to Indigenous peoples in Australia collectively as 'The Aboriginal people'
 - Abo' is an acceptable abbreviation of 'Aboriginal'
 - Different Indigenous groups will have different sensitivities about certain terms
- 4) Do the following statements match with the core notions of orthodox Indigenous Studies in Australia according to Moore et al., 2017.
- Orthodox Indigenous studies sees individual Indigenous people as all having the same core values.
 - Orthodox Indigenous studies sees Indigenous culture as diverse rather than homogenous (all the same).
 - ... - Orthodox Indigenous Studies sees Indigenous culture as having a lot in common with mainstream culture in Australia.
- Orthodox Indigenous Studies sees Indigenous culture as changing and mixing with mainstream culture.
- 5) In the pre-settlement period (B.C. 60,000 – A.D. 1770)
- There was some settlement by Dutch and Portuguese between 1600 and 1770
 - In 1770 Captain Cook arrived from Britain and claimed Australia to be British and European settlement began
 - There were continuous waves of settlement to Australia from people in South-East Asia
 - Australia was completely isolated in this period

Session 2: The development of Homo sapiens

According to Jarred Diamond, **proximate causes** of Eurasian military superiority over Indigenous groups include the fact that Eurasia:

- People lived in farms with farm animals, which developed "crowd" diseases
- **Had advanced weaponry and armour**
- Was a large, interconnected continent allowing communication
- Has large wild animals that could be domesticated

Which statements about human evolutions are correct?

- There is a direct line of descent from Australopithecus to Homo Neanderthalensis to Homo denisovian to Homo sapiens
- Homo neanderthalensis had stronger bodies and smaller brains than modern Homo sapiens
- All modern Homo sapiens have very small amounts of Homo neanderthalensis genes *(shared Ancestors)*
- **There is circumstantial evidence that Homo sapiens probably killed all other contemporary Homo species**

Harari talks about the cognitive revolution, which occurred around 70,000 years ago. Which of the statements is NOT one of the special things to Homo sapiens start doing around this time that no other human species had done before?

- The use of language allowed Homo sapiens to look back at the past and project forward to the future.
- According to Harari, probably the most important use of language for Homo sapiens was for gossip.
- The use of language allowed Homo sapiens to develop ideas about things that do not really exist, like spirits
- Homo sapiens could use language to cooperate in larger groups than humans had before
- **Homo sapiens could develop tools for the first time.**

According to Harari, hunter gatherers had a more comfortable life than the farmers that followed them for several reasons. Which of the following is not one of these reasons.

- The diversity of their food sources protected them from famine
- They had a variety of tasks
- **There was no violence in hunter-gatherer society**
- They had a variety of food – balanced diet
- They had less diseases – animal diseases such as smallpox developed due to people living in close proximity to their animals.

According to Diamond, there were several **ultimate causes of the military superiority of Eurasians over Indigenous peoples. Which statement is NOT one of these?**

- Eurasians were the first farmers
- The continent of Eurasia was large and had a large population
- The continent of Eurasia has a long and uninterrupted east-west axis
- Eurasians had plants and animals which could be easily domesticated
- **Eurasians had sophisticated military tactics**

Imbalance of power between Eurasians and the rest of the world

Americas pre-contact

- The Americas had been people-free up until 11,000 B.C.
- Almost total isolation from Eurasia (complex agricultural societies)

Spanish invasion

- 1492 Christopher Columbus “discovered” Caribbean Islands
- First encounter on November 16, 1532, Peruvian highland town of Cajamarca.

Pizarro

- Spanish explorer & conquistador
- Led a group of 168 Spanish soldiers
- Was in unknown territory
- Knew nothing of the local people
- Almost completely isolated – nearest Spaniards being 1600 kilometres away

Atahualpa

- Incan emperor
- In the middle of his own empire of millions of subjects
- Surrounded by 80,000 soldiers

→ Pizarro captured Atahualpa (world's largest ransom, received gold and silver to fill the room they were in, total worth 400 Million CHF, but executed Atahualpa anyway) – Spain conquered most of South America

→ Reasons why Pizarro was able to defeat Atahualpa are important.

European colonialism

How could it be that starting around 1500 and ending around 1914, Eurasians could have conquered the entire globe? Why were Europeans more powerful at time of colonial contact?

Proximate causes Diamond

- "near" / first / superficial causes
- At the time of large-scale colonial contact (ca. 1500), Eurasians had certain things others did not:
 - Advanced **weaponry** and armour (guns, steel swords: slash through armour & shields)
 - **Horses** (cavalry is vastly superior to an infantry)
 - Maritime **technology** and advanced **navigation**
 - **Writing systems** that supported navigation, religious and economic systems
 - Advanced military tactics (connected with writing systems)
 - Financial and religious structures to fuel zeal of empire building (connected with writing systems)
 - **Deadly infectious diseases** such as smallpox (wiped out ca. 90% of Inca population)
 - In Mississippi valley, 100% of Native Americans were killed by smallpox

climate, weather,
geography (exchange)

Ultimate causes: Why did the Eurasians have these advantages?

- We must understand the development of humans and human society to find the answer
- We are not talking about one group being better than another (we start at the beginning: **we are all similar**)
- "There is more genetic diversity in a single African village than in the whole world outside Africa" - Wells in Flood, 2006
- General perception that societies and culture must always get better and develop -> Teleological view, there is an ultimate goal that is inevitably met
- Different groups have **different levels of complexity in technology and society**, without value judgement (civilized vs. primitive). Just different level of complexity: Pros and cons for people living in that society

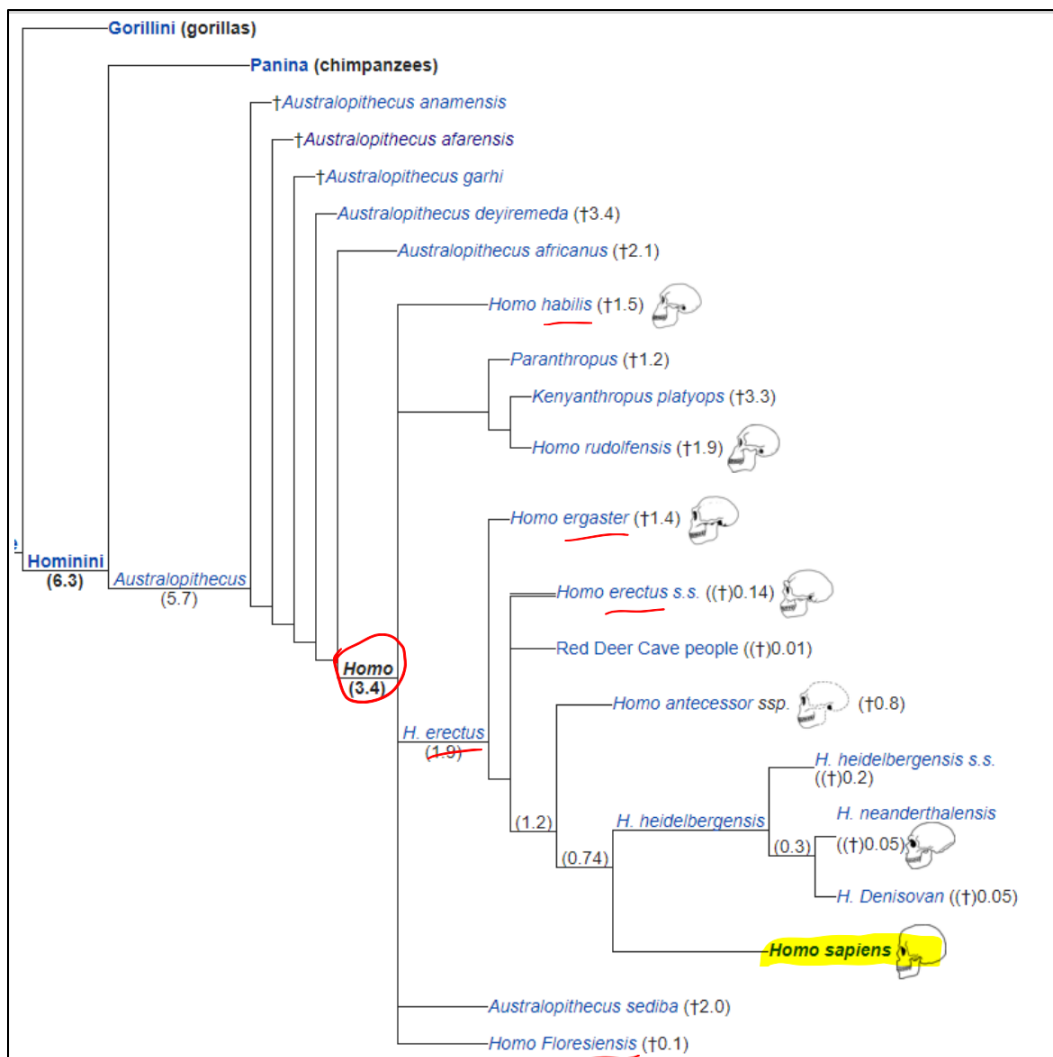
Where do we come from?

- **Palaeoanthropology**: Palaeo = bones, anthropology = Study of humans
 - fossils, very incomplete: possibilities and guesses of what happened
- **Genetics**:
 - more certain picture of where we came from & when.
 - Patterns of human diversity around the world (globally distributed)
 - We are a very diverse species (global species)
 - Origin: are we all related?
 - Our ancestors travelled
 - Family trees... pre-history, DNA-Level **(humans 99.9% identical at DNA-Level, one in every 1000 nucleotide positions (A,C,G,T) different)**
 - 70,000 years ago near-extinction event: 2000 humans left
 - Species originated in Africa – people used to say that humans evolved separately in different areas
 - **Cradle of Humanity** (place where something important began): North-west of Johannesburg, Lucy – Australopithecus, she lived on African planet between 2-4 million years ago

Genus (Genera) = group of species together

Homo sapiens: **Homo** = genus, **sapiens** = species (wise man)

Lion/Big cats : Panthera = genus, leo = species



Human evolution

- Misconception that human evolution was linear (say this because it's convenient, makes us feel better)
- 2'000'000 years ago-10'000 years ago there were many more humans around
- Implication that cultural change is on the same level as genetic evolution is quite wrong

Homo erectus (our direct ancestors)

- Fairly close to modern humans in body size, brain only about half the size
- More than an ape, less than humans
- Made tools but very crude flakes of stone
- First hominin to move out of Africa
- Colonised Middle East, southern Russia, India, Far East and Southeast Asia
- Java man = *Homo erectus* fossil found in Indonesia is 1.6 million years old (in Ice Age land bridges made it possible to get to Java)

Homo floresiensis (Flores = isolated island)

- 1m tall
- Native to island of Flores, Indonesia
- Used tools, cooked food, was able to hunt elephants
- Species often get smaller on isolated island due to lack of nutrition

Homo neanderthalensis

- **Bigger and stronger** than we are, had **bigger brains**
- Survived in arctic conditions, for about 2 million years
- Neanderthalensis lived in Europe and west Asia
- We have shared ancestors but we do not 100% descend from them

Homo denisovans

- Moved into far east and north of Asia
- Much closer relations to Neanderthals

Disappearance of other Homo species and sub-species

- Homo species in the middle of the food chain
- Around 150,000 years ago, with rise of Homo sapiens: top of the food chain (v. quick)
- No one else could keep up, including other human species
- Homo sapiens were not confident (because they got to top too quickly, lions were more confident) -
> neurotic, anxious, paranoid and therefore dangerous

Cognitive revolution 70,000 years ago

70,000 years ago **Homo sapiens out of Africa**: dramatically more intelligent (cognitive revolution), spread out of Africa to the world, enabled by their increase of intelligence

- Wiped out all our cousins
- Europeans and those of Middle East: 1-4% of their unique (not total) DNA Neanderthal genes
- People from Melanesia and Aboriginal Australians: 6% of their unique DNA Denisovan (very small amount, 1-6 ten thousand)
- Interbreeding was not the norm
- ➔ We are all much more closely related than appearances suggest
- ➔ We are all the children of cognitive revolution
- ➔ Some genetic differences, some very visually striking because associated with adaption of the body to the environment (darker/lighter skin)
- ➔ Even including the intermixing of Neanderthal and Denisovans, there is still more genetic diversity inside Africa than between all others

Why were Homo sapiens so successful?

Our unique language -> **language key to cognitive revolution**

- Entirely flexible and infinitely combinatorial system
- Can say anything that we can think
- Project into the future or look back to the past
- Put ourselves into the minds of others through changing perspective
- **Negotiate complex social relationships through gossip**

- **Language can build imagined ideas**, beliefs like religions, empires and nations, money and organisations (companies)
- New ability to **transmit larger quantities of information about the world surrounding Homo sapiens** (planning and carrying out complex actions such as avoiding lions and hunting bison)
- New ability to **transmit large quantities of information about Sapiens social relationships** (larger and more cohesive groups up to 150 individuals)
- New ability to **transmit information about things that do not really exist such as tribal spirits, nations, limited liability companies and human rights** (cooperation between very large numbers of strangers, rapid innovation of social behaviour)

Prehistoric hunter-gatherer (between cognitive and agricultural revolution)

- Very few archeological records: only gives some of picture away
- All cultures in all times change
- Not changed in type of technology
- Changed in customs, practices, stories told, language spoken
- Nearly our entire history, Homo sapiens have been hunter gatherers
- Being hunter-gatherer is our natural state

Generalisations:

- Large majority lived in **small bands** (all members human except of the **dog**)
- Knew each other intimately
- Little or no privacy
- **Few possessions -> they moved around**
- Probably competed and fought for resources but also had friendly contacts
- Spent most time in independence and isolation
- Trade restricted to luxury goods like shells – no evidence of trading in food
- No permanent political framework and organisations, no permanent towns or villages
- **Very few people: up to 12'000 years ago whole human population between 1-10 million***
- They would have general range of territory that they would traverse seasonally
- Hunt but mostly gather food
- Would gather knowledge
- Individual in the band would have encyclopaedic knowledge of plant and animal species within their range (which poisonous)
- Encyclopaedic cultural knowledge - apprenticeship of a traditional Australian hunter-gatherer would take about 40 years
- There is some evidence that the size of the Homo sapiens brain has actually decreased since the age of foraging (Futtersuche)
- Differed from region to region and season to season, but they seem to have enjoyed their lifestyle:
 - Had variety of tasks
 - Had variety of food – balanced diet
 - Had diversity of their food sources, protected them from famine
 - Had fewer diseases

→ didn't cause widespread environmental damage!

- ➔ **Don't romanticise:** cruel, killing older/unwanted members of tribe or unwanted children, human sacrifice in religious ceremonies
- ➔ How violent was society?
 - Two camps: peaceful paradise: enlightenment ideal of the Noble Savage
 - Exceptionally violent and cruel: Hobbesian philosophy of underlying potential for violence under the right circumstances in all people
- ➔ Moral circle: protect those within group, but not those outside

Disease hunter-gatherer society

- Very sparse population
- Moved away from their pollution
- **Didn't sleep/eat with animals** (except dogs)
- Some diseases picked up from natural environment (hookworm: very rarely, not infectious, doesn't kill you)

***In the year Jesus Christ was born (Anno Domini A.D.) the graph changed completely in the amount of world population (rise).**

Homo Sapiens changed entire landscapes even before agricultural revolution

Environmental impacts:

- **Extinction of mega-fauna**
 - At time of **cognitive revolution**, 200 species of large terrestrial mammals over 50kg
 - At time of **agricultural revolution** (12'000 years ago) only 100/25?
- Australia, transformation of landscape by fire
 - Large areas were covered in rainforest full of non-fire resistant vegetation (only Eucalyptus flourishes after a fire)

Agricultural revolution 12'000 years ago

- Nearly entire history, Homo sapiens have been hunter gatherers (our natural state)
- For less than one sixth of that time we have been farming, and farming only became widespread in the last 500 years
- Working in offices for the last 200 years or so
- Farming the primary method of food production
- Domestication of plants
- Domestication of animals
- **Development of villages**
- ➔ **Need to protect** farms and villages -> **division of roles** -> development of a **soldier class** -> development of a ruling class -> stratification of society - **taxes** - governments and state administrations - church as an **institution** -> increased **specialisation in trades and learning** -> rise of **science and technology**

Disease farming society

- Breed disease
- Lived with their own sewage and the sewage of their animals
- **Slept/ate with their animals** (and ate their animals)
- Larger population in close proximity ("crowd" diseases)
- Long-distance trade (could bring plague from China to Europe)

Scientific revolution 500 years ago

Development of technology

- Large, interconnected groups (pool of ideas)
- Supported by writing
- Supported by stratified society and specialisation in labour and learning (complex technologies)

Proximate causes and ultimate causes of imbalance power between Eurasians and rest of the world

Stages of agricultural revolution and scientific revolution occurred in Eurasia and not in Australia:

- **Rise of agriculture Fertile crescent**
 - o Domesticable seeds
 - o Domesticable animals (sheep, cows, horses: provided animal power to help with larger scale farming and are sources of protein, milk, wool, leather)
 - o Regular seasonal climate
- **Rise of agriculture in Australia**
 - o Only Australian plant suitable for large-scale production is Macadamia nut
 - o No suitable larger animals, megafauna had been too quickly killed and eaten
 - o Long climatic variations (El Nino, some years of dry followed by some years of wet)

Rise and spread of technology

Eurasia

- **Farming** led to development of technology
- Boosted by **largest and uninterrupted land mass** (horses for transport -> large-scale, rapid communication -> rapid spread of technology)
- Eurasia has **east-west axis** -> technological developments relating to food production were transferrable across whole continent (climate stays similar, plants can live rather on same longitude than latitude)

Australia

- Almost **no specialisation** -> no members had spare time **to develop technologies like writing**
- Non-sedentary lifestyle: **pack only what you need**, no ability to develop tools to make tools
- **No writing, so no accumulation of technical detail** = no rise of science
- Smallest continent – interrupted by desert – **travel difficult** for those who did not know the land.
Difficult to range out of territories – **conservative cultures** -> much less spread of technology
- East-west axis of Australia is **blocked by harshest environments** (big, dry deserts) -> inhibiting transfer of agricultural practices
- **Very thin band of fertile coast** on east coast, and even thinner on west

Conclusion:

Power difference between Eurasians & other groups **was not due to genetic superiority**, as the groups are too genetically similar for that.

Some features better in one environment than in another: biological success based on effectiveness on our organism in dealing with its environment.

Chance developments:

- **Domesticable plants and animals** in fertile crescent
- Mid strip of Eurasia had a **very conducive climate** to farming
- Continent of Eurasia is **very large and had very large population**
- It was possible for **good communication** and **exchange routes** to be developed

Session 3: Origins/Traditions/Environment

Which sentence below accurately describes pre-contact traditional Indigenous Australian culture?

- Cave paintings were important displays of artistic skill which were appreciated for their beauty.
- There were many different types of religion in Australia
- Songlines are particular melodies which are passed on from generation to generation
- Indigenous Australian peoples' connection to country is part of their religious beliefs and ceremonies

Which sentence below accurately does not describe the organisation of traditional Indigenous Australian society?

- Bands were the smallest groupings of people, numbering between 15 and 50
- Skins were groupings of people based on slight variations in the colour of their skins
- Clans were groups which were characterised by particular connection to country
- Bands could be made up of people from different clans and different skins

Religion/ceremony/law

Dreaming = Indigenous peoples religion

- Is communicated through stories, songs, ceremony's, artefacts.
- Tells the story of creation and lays down the laws for the living. It incorporates parts of modern day life. Often refers to relationships between humans and other species. It can be seen as a Map, it connects the people with their land. You aren't just related to the people, you are related to the country, so look after it the same way.

Songlines = Pass history (of certain Dreamings) with songlines to other generations. Ritual.

Religion: Animism regards animals and plants as being spiritual things.

Religion: Totemism connection between person or group with an animal species. They are the link between spiritual and real world.

Evil spirits Many events in the world were attributed to evil spirits.

Sorcery some members of the community had special powers to work good and bad magic. Often one person → medical men. He could use the magic to heal someone, but also to kill.

Ceremonies were used to show guilt or innocence of a person.

Payback System of punishment for a crime if the wrong person is hurt or damaged, they or their group would damage the perpetrator in return. *often take form of* Ritualised spearing. *(not always killing: leg...)*

Punishment for crimes = **Breaking kinship rules**: sleeping with another person you are not married to, **breaking the laws of Dreaming**: participating in ceremonies which aren't allowed, death for men and rape *Punishments would be spearing or* for women. Mostly decided by the elders, calling on spirits to carry out some form of harm.

Other violence like cannibalism

- 2 Forms: **mortuary cannibalism** where one's own dead were eaten, and the **consumption of the flesh of slain enemies**. Killing humans for food was seldom the case.
- Enemies were called cannibals as a derogatory term, myths of evil spirits practicing cannibalism: It was definitely considered as something bad.
- Main purpose: Absorb some of the dead persons qualities and ward off sorcery accusations, to show respect towards the deceased. → *act of love*
- cannibalism seems to have been abhorred (verabscheut) by most groups. For the groups that did practice it, it was believed that the strength of the person who was eaten would be absorbed. This is true of both the eating of one's own band and the eating of enemies.

Men's and Women's business ceremonies were held in mixed groups. When boys became men, only allowed for men to attend. Birth and menstruation ceremonies only allowed for women. Also, some laws were strictly separated for men and women

Initiation Boys and Girls had this ceremony to bring them into the world of being an adult. Age 13 or younger. Often harmed in that ceremony like removing a front tooth or scarring.

Marriage was strictly controlled by kinship laws to avoid incest. Most groups allowed men to have several wives. Women were often decided by an early age who they have to marry, mostly arranged by their mother's brother. The wife's family often acquired a bride price → men had to provide food or work for the wife's family. *Male forms begin with "Tj" and female forms with "N", see PP slide 33*

Elders it takes 30-40 years for a person to acquire the knowledge of their culture and ceremony. If you were good at acquire the knowledge, you had massive respect and people listened to you. Elders and their decisions were respected because they represented the Dreaming and law.

Language Families and Groups, Clans, Moieties, Skins and Totems

Divided in Pama-Nyungan and non Pama-Nyungan language families. 15 language families in Australia. (Indo-Europe is only 1 Language Family...) 250 separated languages

There are three levels of kinship in Indigenous society: **Moiety, Totem and Skin Names**.

Tribes, Clans and Bands

Population of **Australia 1788: 500'000-750'000**. 600 tribes. Not all tribes lived together, separated in bands. Australia wasn't densely populated: very conservative.

Tribes largest grouping; numbering average **450**. Linked through a **shared language**. Not socially organised. Split up in sections: **skins or moieties**. Two, four, eight and sixteen divisions exist.

Clans groups identified by their connection of an ancestor **homeland**. Within tribes but across skins.

Bands actual group who **lived together**. These were usually **15-50 people**. Bands are made up of people from **different clans and skins**, but would usually be from the same tribe.

Like mentioned before, husbands lived at the home of the bride → bride price. After that, the bride lived at the home of the husband. As a result, Indigenous people were deeply multi-lingual. Children first speak the mother's language, after ceremonies they speak more and more the father's language or languages.

Skins Each subsection is given a name that can be used to refer to individual members of that group. Skin is passed down by a person's parents to their children: blood line.

Moieties In Moiety systems, everything, including people and the environment, are split into two halves. A person's Moiety can be determined by their mother's side or their father's side = considered siblings: forbidden to marry.

Totems Each person has at least **four Totems** which represent their **nation, clan and family** group, as well as a **personal** Totem. **They link a person to the universe.**

Country Tribes had limit of ranges of their land. They were only crossed for ceremonies with other groups or war. It's because of the Dreaming, you are connected with the land and you have to take care of it → spiritual connection

Environment As mentioned, relationship to land was very important, part of maintenance → take care of spiritual life of the land and periodic burning → some plants need regular fire to germinate. Regrowth after the burning opportunity for the plant to recover fresh leaves → food for animals → more animals around to hunt.

Food/economy

Traditional economy; to share with others, but not equally. Men got more and better food than women and children. Internal trading of goods e.g. spear for honey.

Hunting techniques

Primary technique: Stalking by one spearman, great skill in tracking and recognizing footprints on the ground, knowledge of country and behaviour of animals. Fire was used as a round up device.

Hunting Birds → with Boomerang or hiding underwater with a straw to breathe through.

Variety of traps

Cooking Techniques

No pots or oven → cooked with open fire. Food was wrapped with leaves to prevent burning. Fire on the ground in a hole to create type of oven.

The techniques of food knowledge were so advanced that European explorers didn't recognise a single edible thing and died.

Diversities in Cultures

Similarities Clans and Family groups, strict social discipline like punishment for violence, social high-ranking.

Each regional grouping was distinct in some ways: ^{unterschiedlich} social organisation in desert more fluid than in other areas (changing with climatic conditions), rich Murray Valley and coastal north was more stable and more hostility towards strangers.

- **The people of the deserts:**

- Represented the harshest conditions under which human society could exist (Ice Age)
- One person per 150-200 square km, one of most sparsely populated areas = culturally conservative - change involved greater risks
- **Highly mobile** (constant search for water), languages less distinct (deutlich) ^{unterschiedlich}
- **Classificatory kinship system:** person related to all others by actual and classificatory relationships, basis for all social relationships (determined correct behaviour & marriage partners)
- Dreaming: called the Tjukurpa, determined kinship rules, language, social hierarchy and connection to Ancestral Beings (animal like forms) associated with country, is dynamic.

- **The riverine people of the south-east:**

- nearly 50 language groups in the region, language group made up of clans of people, clans numbered around 50 people
- Murray-Darling river highly productive land: densest population of people (river=water, water fowl, fish/shellfish)
- Richness in resources; larger groups occupied smaller and **more clearly defined clan territories**; more vigorous **boundary protection**, almost **sedentary (sesshaft)** life style.
- Dreaming closely associated with the Murray River
- Ngurunderi Dreaming forged connection between different cultural and linguistic groups along river: trade and ceremonial exchange
- Reciprocity (Austauschverhältnis) important ritualised activity (in marriage arrangements)
- Eel fisheries, stone fish traps, highly specialised use of fire (cultivation of plants, management of vegetation to maximise hunting)

- **The Tasmanians:**

- **Seasonal movements** and trading networks for goods such as ochre
- Did not have a Dreaming, creation stories related to the stars
- Didn't use boomerangs or play didgeridoo
- Almost nothing known of culture and very little preserved of language
- They had also lost the technology of making fire – although they used and preserved fire with firesticks

Human universals What we have in common because we are all human.

- Aboriginal people
 - Lived in families
 - Formed alliances and battled each other for power/influence
 - Saw others as inferior, established social hierarchies
 - Societies were inequitable (ungerecht) along age and gender lines
 - Women worked hard, nurtured children and regularly didn't get enough or good food
 - Men lived longer than woman, children didn't grow well because not as good nutrition as older people

➔ Aboriginal societies were dynamic and complex as are all societies of modern humans.

Session 4: Exploration and colonisation

Which statements about the first contact of Europeans with the continent of Australia are true?

- From the very beginning, European explorers saw the value of the Australian continent and made efforts to claim to it.
- Early European explorers often kidnapped Indigenous people in order to use them as interpreters and mediators.
- Dampier, a British explorer from 1688, saw Indigenous people as hard workers and recruited many to work on plantations in Indonesia
- There had been regular contact and trade between the New Guineans and far-north Queensland Aboriginal people for thousands of years.
- British explorers were the first Europeans to “discover” the continent of Australia, giving legitimacy to their later claim of the territory

Which statements about Captain Cook are true?

- Captain Cook was given instructions to use as much force as necessary to subdue the “natives” on arrival in Australia and take possession of the colony
- Captain Cook is honoured as great explorer by many people of European heritage in Australia
- Captain Cook was only able to complete the incredibly long voyage to Australia because of his cruelty towards his crew
- Captain Cook and Joseph Banks recognised that Indigenous people were living in areas which they considered their ~~own~~ land or Country
home

Which statements about Indigenous Australia language and European explorers/settlers are correct?

- Due to the simple nature of Indigenous languages, it was relatively easy for settlers to learn enough to communicate successfully with the Indigenous locals.
- Some misunderstanding occurred, for example, Europeans at first did not realise that different groups of Indigenous Australians spoke different languages.
- European settlers used the local Indigenous languages to learn as much as they could about the local land and its food resources.
- The word “Kangaroo” is a classic example of the linguistic misunderstandings that occurred at the time – it actually means “over there”, which is what Indigenous people thought that Europeans were saying when they pointed to a Kangaroo.
- There were a number of linguists amongst the European explorers/settlers who greatly facilitated understanding by researching the local languages.

Which statements are true of the first years of British settlement in Sydney?

- Europeans showed no regret about the deaths of Indigenous people due to smallpox.
- Smallpox was clearly deliberately introduced by the Europeans.
- **The settlers were unable to live up to their governor's intent to treat the Indigenous people well.**

Which statements are true of pidgin and creole language in Australia?

- Australian Kriol is considered a form of English with a lot of grammatical mistakes which makes it hard to understand.
- Creoles arise when speakers traditional language dies out.
- Kriol is a standard language across the whole of the north of Australia
- **Pidgins are (almost) never the primary language of people.**
- A creoles is an inferior language system and not considered a proper language by linguists.

British not the first

Myth that British were first to "discover" Australia.

- 1494 Pope divided non-Christian world between Spain and **Portugal** – western half given to - Portugal, eastern half to Spain.
- 1606 – **First recorded encounters with the Australian Aborigines by the Dutch** – (Jansz) – hostile – named continent New Holland.
- 1606 – Spaniard Torres sailed the Torres Strait – **kidnapped 'twenty persons'**.
- 1623 – Carstensz – instructions to kidnap 'some full-grown persons but especially young boys and girls.
- Cartensz **wasn't able to see resources** the Indig. Peoples could life of. He said region is **arid and barren**. He says they are the **most wretched and poorest** creatures because they appeared to have no possession which makes one, in a capitalistic western point of view, wretched and poor. He also emphasized (hervorheben) their **blackness and nakedness**, almost exaggerated.
- Carstensz encountered Aboriginal people in 1623 – things began well – met by curious people – peace shattered when **Dutch kidnapped a man, and Aboriginal people attacked**.
- 1642 Abel Tasman sailed past the bottom of Australia, landed on the island of **Tasmania**.
- 1688 Dampier – Literate English sailor – Landed near Derby in the Kimberley.
- Dampier reports that the Aboriginal people were interested in food and weapons, but not anything else they had. He made **some cultural assumptions**: no possessions = poor/low = miserablest (worst, most primitive), physical appearance: focusing on difference, comparing with other exotic people, nakedness. Dampier was shocked and compared them to monkeys and poor creatures. There was a **deep cultural misunderstanding**, because Aborig. People didn't have a concept of **exchange of goods for labour (clothes) or a concept of work/being paid**. Europeans interpreted this as Abor. Being lazy and unable to work.

- **Dutch void** continued to 1756, but despite the interest in the continent, they **didn't claim/settle it.**
- 1720 – Regular visits by the Macassans (City in Indonesia), Muslim traders from the port of Makassar in Sulawesi – Collecting sea cucumber for the Chinese market – many Macassan words entered the northern languages, but very little technology – Some suggestion that smallpox and syphilis were introduced by the Macassans

Captain Cook

- Explorer, map maker: maps were very precise and remarkable maps considering for the equipment he had by that time
- Captain Cook - 1768 – 71 voyage in the Endeavour – secret mission to find the great southern land – sailed around New Zealand – **Hero for Europeans, metaphor for all of the troubles of colonisation for the Indigenous peoples – even today.**
- 1770 met with Abor. People: fired a musket between them, they defended themselves, second musket loads. Found canoes on a beach – worst he thinks he ever saw. He didn't really mention how heroically they defended their family, its just factual and dry. Cooks writing is usually free from pos./neg. connotations, it does have some judgement though.
- 22 August 1770, Cook **'Took Possession'** of 'The whole Eastern Coast' of Australia in the **name of King George the Third** – Only gave preliminary title under European law, **settlement in 1788** gave **actual possession.**
- Instructions were: You are also with the **consent** of the natives to take possession of convenient situations.... **Some problems:** Could not seek consent – no common language – no signs of houses, villages, fields, domesticated animals, cultivation or any system of land ownership or government.
- Banks described them as: wandering like the Arabs from place to place... less industry... (primitive, worst...) **it seems they have no fixed ranges, but they did.** They had huts and moved inside their ranges.

European legalities of colonialization

Were treaties possible? (Abkommen)

- Political issue – there was never a treaty
- *Making a treaty was one of the ways that Europeans deemed as a legal way of taking possession of new lands with existing Indigenous populations. However, in the case of Australia, this would have been problematic because the **Aboriginal tribes were not united**, and even the bands were not united with a recognised leader, so a treaty would need to have been made with every band.*
- Aboriginal people lived in independent bands and that there were no chiefs or headmen of larger groups, any negotiation with any group would not have been valid for any other group

Was the British settlement legal?

- In 18th century Europeans recognised three ways of acquiring legal sovereignty:
 - o 1. cession (the owners agreeing to give up land through a treaty)
 - o 2. conquest (*Eroberung*)
 - o 3. occupation of ownerless land
- Abel Tasman 1641 following instructions: with friendly sovereign (Herrscher) power: **make treaty**, with unfriendly sovereign power: **declare them an enemy**, in lands manifesting no sovereign power/visible government (whether uninhabited or not uninhabited), **claim the land Dutch State**.
- **British** believed **justified** to take the land by **recognising it as unowned** according to **European standards of ownership**. It is important to understand **how Indig. People were using land beforehand**. They failed to recognise different type of land use.
- Cook: We see this country in the pure state of nature, the industry of man has had nothing to do with any part of it. Europeans don't see how Abor. **Cultivated land by regular burnings...**
- **Terra nullius** became central debate of land rights and justification European Settlement: legally meant "land over which no previous sovereignty has been exercised" or "land of no sovereign power". Generally misunderstood. Literal: land of nothing.
- **Assumption terra nullius meant "land empty of people"**, which was not case, now argued possession AUS unlawful. **Settlement might be wrong but not unlawful by the time**.
- However, if British had not declared 'terra nullius' they would have either declared war or negotiated the right to settle and claimed it in another way which were considered legal at the time.

Misunderstanding of Language

- Big factor in building relationships between explorers/Indig. People. **Misunderstandings had heavy cost.**
- **Cook assumed** that all Indig. peoples would speak **same language**, viewed as all the same.
- Word "Kangaroo" from Guugu Yimthirr falsely assumed referred to all macropod (plant eating mammal...), actually referred to **one variety**. Some stories say it meant "over there" or "I don't know", but these are untrue.
- Abor. People meant when word "Kangaroo" was used by Europeans, that it was a European word which meant "All animals". Colonists thought there were few animal types in area because Abor. Would call all animals "kangaroo".
- Later, the colonists realised that they had inadvertently taught the local Aborigines a word from another Aboriginal language.

The French

- On the same day that the British landed, the French also landed (François de Lapérouse)
- Had instructions to treat "natives" well, but caused hostilities (Feindlichkeit) between Abor. People, resulting in people remaining very hostile to newcomers after that.
- French made no claim to land

Why colonialise Australia?

- Primarily to **house convicts** (criminalists but were not punished by death penalty. One could become a convict very fast) First to America but then because of American Revolution not anymore. Then to AUS.
- British penal system was **overloaded**, prisons overflowing.
- Not cheapest way to solve problem, but it was also a way to **establish a claim to Australia**
- Access to some **resources** they needed (trees for building masts for ships)

Who were colonisers?

- **1788**, 11 ships transported 717 convicts (lower class), 290 seamen soldiers (lower class) and officers (upper class). Captain Arthur Phillip first governor.
- His instructions were: open **intercourse** with natives (conversation), **conciliate** their affections (become friendly with them), **enjoining** all our subjects to **live in amity and kindness** with them (requiring), if any of **our subjects wantonly** (without any good reason) **destroy** them... it is our will and pleasure that **such offenders are punished**.
- **Eora** people (Sydney) thought Europeans were ghosts of past ancestors.
- **26 January 1788**, the **British flag** was raised at Sydney Cove, and the land became **'settled colony'** and a dominion of the Crown: Under common law, all those born in dominions were British subjects. Aborigines became British subjects but **lost any property rights to the land that they inhabited**

Social stratification among settlers

- 3 groups: **convicts, regular sailors, officers**
- **Convicts:**
 - o Lowest society level: victims social injustice, poverty and child labour, not necessarily serious criminals
 - o forced to work, held in miserable conditions and punished brutally if broke rules: lashing or hanging (death penalty, crimes related to violations of private property)
 - o well-behaved convicts could be given some freedom
 - o Story of the convict who makes it good and builds a life is something that has become part of the **National myth of Australia** of what it is to be Australian (Aussie Battler)
- **Regular sailors:** from underclass and had few privileges
- **Officers** and their families belonged to upper class

Lower classes in England

- Life was very harsh: Industrial Revolution, harsh working conditions, child labour (they would develop growth defects)
- Disease rife (weit verbreiten)
- Alcoholism "The Gin Craze", 300ml per day/person, 100l a year.
- **Lower classes were viewed with disdain by upper classes. (Verachtung)**

The first years

- fairly good relations existing between the newcomers and the Aboriginal people
- Local aboriginals were dancing with the newcomers
- Sometimes when the Europeans were out fishing, they shared their catch with the Aboriginal people
- Phillip reported middle of 1788: his point of view, there is an assumption that Abor. Will benefit from living in a farmer style. **Ownership important to Europeans.**
- This state of affairs did not last long:
 - o How can we interpret the breakdown in relations:
 - o There was the will to have good relations with Aboriginal people from the governor and the senior officers
 - o There was **not enough cross-cultural understanding** to achieve this
 - o Both sides **misinterpreted the other's actions because they were just so different**
 - o They had **no language to communicate** for a long time
 - o The clash philosophies of **ownership**
 - o Destruction of food ways

Disease

- **Smallpox** struck April 1789, killed **over half of Eora (Sydney)**, Mortality 95% in some bands, 50 Cadigal reduced to 3.
- Hunter reported: it was shocking to go around the harbour and see men, women, children lying dead in the caves of the rocks.

Moral condemnation (on both sides)

Aboriginal disapproval of the British

- English society highly stratified (geschichtet), stratification and enforcement of rights of property - extreme punishments were applied
- If convict stole chicken, they were **flogged** (ausgepeitscht), if they stole a sheep, they were hanged. An Aborigine was not.
- Aborigines were (in theory) free British subjects under full protection of British law. In early years, Phillip forbade any retaliation (Gegenschlag) expeditions against Aboriginals if convict was speared. (aufspiessen) **this caused many convicts to hate Aboriginals**, which became problematic when they were released.
- Perpetrators (Straftäter) of violence towards Aborigines were flogged in front of **Arabanoo** (first of Sydney Aboriginal people to learn English) to impress him of British justice. He was **appalled** (entsetzt) and **disgusted by display**.

- Aboriginal reactions to flogging: there was not one of them that did not testify strong abhorrence (Abscheu) of the punishment and equal sympathy with the sufferer

British disapproval of Aborigines

- **Bennelong**: Aborig. Man who lived with Europeans. He wanted British assistance to attack his enemies: '...he was desirous to have all the tribe of Camaraigal killed'.
- **Tench** observed: woman are treated with savage barbarity, when Indian (Aborigine) is provoked by woman, he spears her or knocks her down. Bennelong (Baneelon) did the same to Barangaroo. This shows his **dislike on how Aborig. Women were treated**.

➔ Both sides were seeing certain behaviour of the other side and were condemning (verurteilen) it morally.

British expansion and settlement – rise of violence

- During first 35 months, fewer than a **dozen Aborigines died from conflict with newcomers**, and they were killed by convicts. However, settlers hadn't yet intruded far into Aboriginal lands.
- **Real violence started when British settlement expanded and disrupted more of Aboriginal people's food ways**
- Much violence **against Aboriginal people was left unpunished** because, although Aboriginal people were officially classed as British citizens, they **could not give evidence in court because they were heathen (Ungläubige) and could not swear on the bible**.
- **Violence** can be partly **explained** by fact that many "underclass" people, who had been punished so severely by their state for violation of property rights, were **now in a position to own property**, and were following the principle of their society, to punish with violence those who break property rights.

Frontier conflict 1794

- **1794**, Sydney was spreading up the Hawkesbury River, 546 farms, encroached (beeinträchtigen) severely on Aboriginal food sources, Aborigines attacked, Europeans responded by firing on them
- **More settler convicts**, became lawless frontier, between 1794 and 1800 26 whites and up to 200 Aborigines killed. **Pemulwuy became active**.
- Today **Pemulwuy** ^{Wintjams} acclaimed as **first hero of resistance** – regarded by parties on both sides as **impediment to peace and friendship**
- Not all Eora fought, many worked for governor or farmers as guides, **some Aborig. Were given land, some became fully integrated into white society**, some married settlers and several had land allocated to them.
- 1802 Governor King issued proclamation reminding colonists "instance of injustice or wanton cruelty towards the natives will be punished", but "that the settler is not to suffer his property to be invaded, or his existence endangered by them"

- 1810: Governor Macquarie set up "Native schools"
- He tried hard to convert Aborigines to farmers, settled 16 Aborigines on land in Sydney, provided with boat, huts, gardens, pigs, ... and a convict -> they stripped the huts of saleable items, ate, stole or lost the pigs but used the boat to sell fish in Sydney Town.
- 1816 he granted 2 Aborigines 12ha of land: first formal land grant made to indigenous Australians
- Due to increase of murders and robberies in 1816, control of Aborigines. People started to increase
- Armed Aborigines. Were forbidden from coming "within one mile of town, village or farm"
- Aborigines. Punishment duels and fights banned
- Peaceful, unarmed Aborigines were given certificates to protect from injury

Period of less violence 1817-1825

- From 1817 to 1825 the Sydney Gazette reported only nine cases of interracial violence in NSW, none in Sydney.

Pidgin and Kriol (Creole)

- **Pidgin:**
 - o Contact languages between two different linguistic groups (limited purpose in contact situation)
 - o **Not same** grammatical and lexical **standardisation** of full language (Limited lexicon)
 - o **No regular language system**
 - o Not as flexible
 - o Spoken by first generation speakers who **do not use it as their main language**
- **Creole:**
 - o Full language
 - o Fully flexible and **regular language systems** (made up of mix of languages)
 - o Used as **main language** of speakers (transform a pidgin into a kriol)
 - o Developed into a language by first generation of children growing up in an environment where pidgin is widely used
 - Creoles arise when there is a communicative need to communicate across language groups felt by children growing up in this situation.

<https://educationalresearchtechniques.com/2015/12/11/pidgins-and-creoles/>

Kriol

- Permanent settlement by non-Indigenous groups in Northern Territory happened late around 1870
- Over the next thirty years, there was an influx (Zufluss) of English speaking people and Chinese speaking people
- On the goldfields, the Chinese outnumbered the English speakers

- Northern Territory – different language groups of Aboriginal people were brought together to work on cattle stations – need to communicate with the cattle station bosses in English and with the other Aboriginal people in English. Special varieties of creole developed (out of a pidgin)
- Creole often viewed as just bad English, although it has a system of its own and incorporated aspects of traditional languages as well as English
- Creolisation began after 1908 particularly around mission stations – this language is now called Kriol
- The development of a standardised written form of Kreol was particularly important for a missionary project to translate the Bible into Kriol – this has also been criticised as a continuing form of colonialism

Conclusion

- Europeans came with an idealised view of how their colonisation project would work
- Had no understanding of Indigenous culture, and tried to fit them into the European legal concepts of land ownership – deeming the land as terra nullius
- Indigenous people could not effectively negotiate with the Europeans or organise a consistent resistance to them due to the band structure of their society
- Indigenous people were soon ravaged by disease, and their food ways were quickly disrupted causing hunger and dependence of European food
- Europeans treated their own in very harsh ways
- **Despite noble and enlightened declared intentions of the British governing class, the actual process of colonisation often involved the most disadvantaged of the European society battling for their property with Aboriginal people**
- Two societies could hardly have differed more than Georgian England and Aboriginal Australia
 - o English society was based on the **Christian work ethic** and the sanctity of **private property**, whereas
 - o Aborigines saw **no value in work** except the food quest and believed in the sanctity of **communal property**.
- **Each society tried to make the other change.**
 - o Aborigines expected Europeans to share their food and other goods;
 - o Europeans tried to instil principles of private ownership and regular work into Aborigines.
- Instead of mingling (vermischen), they lived uneasily side by side, and, as the pastoral frontier spread, there was accommodation and cooperation but inevitably conflict.

Session 5: Conflict / depopulation / assimilation

Which statement about the population of Indigenous Australians before the settlement of the British is true?

- Higher estimates are possible because the land would have been able to support up to three million hunter-gatherer groups.
- The population was assessed (bewertet) at the time of settlement.
- Assessments vary between 500,000 and three million.
- **An estimate considered realistic by Flood is from 500,000 – 750,000.**

Which statement is false about traditional Indigenous violence at the frontiers?

- The traditional system of payback caused a cycle of violence between tribes.
- European settlement took away many resources that Indigenous groups competed for, causing an increase in competition between Indigenous groups.
- Some Aboriginal groups were pushed out of their traditional land into that of enemy groups where they would be killed.
- **At the frontier, traditional violence stopped as there was a clear external threat (European settlers).**

Which statement about alcohol in Indigenous communities is true?

- **Indigenous people's way of consuming alcohol is different (on average) to non-Indigenous people's.**
- Death rates due to Alcohol are approximately the same between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.
- Indigenous Australians are genetically predisposed to Alcoholism.
- Due to awareness campaigns, fewer Indigenous women drink while pregnant than non-Indigenous people.

Pre-contact population and population decline

- **Hard to estimate pre-contact population - initial settlement just around the coastal fringe**
- Some too low: 1920s anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown: 250,000 – 300,000
- Some too high: Butlin estimated **over 1 million** – considered **too high because of environmental carrying capacity** (hunter-gatherer lifestyle: not enough food)
- **Realistic estimate by Flood around 500,000 – 750,000**
- 60,000 in 1930s, 80-90% decrease from pre-contact times (decline after European settlement)
- Population of 500,000 = average population density of 1/15km²
- Only 1 in 10 Aboriginal people lived in desert regions

Phases of contact

- Aboriginal **shock** at the new
- Curiosity and developing **eagerness to taste new foods and possess new tools**:
misunderstandings - Aboriginal people regarded all native creatures as their property and settler's new animals were theirs to hunt as well, just as settlers felt they had a right to hunt the wild animals and protect their own property with force: **Commence of war due to misunderstanding of private property**
- **Hostilities** (Feindseligkeiten) grew as Abor. People realized newcomers were going to stay: few years of sporadic violence against settlers, accompanied by reprisal attacks by settlers
- Tribes were **unable to retreat** because of neighboring **enemy tribes**
- **Collapse of traditional societal (food) and economic structures**: addiction to new "easy" foods: more violence to get European food that was now necessary for survival
- **Abor. People's only option to "come in" to European settlements**, best case they could stay in their own land and work in exchange for food from a friendly pastoralist

Reynolds: continent-wide between 1788-1925:

* In total 2000-2500 non-Indig. and 20,000 Aborigines were killed in frontier conflict

Frontier violence (Grenze)

Casualty rates

- Orthodox Indigenous Studies view that frontiers were very **violent places** where Aboriginals were indiscriminately **slaughtered**
- What is seldom mentioned in the Orthodox discourse is the **loss of Aboriginal life at Aboriginal hands**, and the loss of **European life at Aboriginal hands**
- Historian Richard Broome estimates that, in frontier conflict in Victoria between 1835 and 1850, 1000 Aboriginal people and 80 Europeans died due to violence
- **Some regions suffered more violence, others less**
- Ratio of **Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal deaths by violence to be 10 to 1** *
- In comparison, the costliest war for Australia was the **first world war**, 60,000 deaths, 26,000 at Gallipoli alone
- Henry Meyrick: quote in which he compares Aboriginal people with wild animals, tone is firstly very sympathetic until the last line: *For myself, if I caught a black actually killing my sheep, I would shoot him with as little remorse as I would a wild dog ...* -> when it comes to one's own, attitude changes.
- In **Queensland, violent deaths were higher on both sides**. The estimated tally of 5:1

The "Native Police"

- **Many of the killings of Aboriginals committed by Aboriginal people**
- The aim was to establish Aboriginal troopers and their families in villages to become educated and practice farming

- Aboriginal troopers would operate in territories far from their home country so that there would be no kinship relationships (Verwandschaften)
- Punishment expeditions were often carried out – unaccompanied Aboriginal troopers would track down a target band and massacre them – killing men, woman and children
- Aboriginal troopers would often **target traditional enemy groups**
- “Black trackers” used widely by police after 1900 to help find and kill Aboriginal outlaws and runaway children
- Case of Europeans instrumentalising Aboriginal people, but also Aboriginal people instrumentalising European power (guns, horses)

Traditional violence

- Between 1835 and 1850, in some areas, the number of **Aboriginal people killed in inter-tribal violence** (with the deaths caused by the ‘tribal police’ added) **equals that of those killed by Europeans**
- Aboriginal groups pushed into enemy territory -> killed on sight
- Groups **competed more for food and woman** -> increase of **payback killings and punishment duels**

Massacres

- Pre 1970s - violence against Aboriginal people often **protested against by missionaries and humanitarians**: some credited with saving many Aboriginal lives by bringing them together, sometimes caused more deaths. Later criticised that conditions in missionary stations were very poor.
- **Little was done at a legal level** to stop violence against Aboriginal people – perpetrators sometimes brought to trial but often acquitted and allowed to continue violence
- From after 1970s, **violence as a cause of depopulation was emphasised** by most historians – **disease ignored**
- Advocacy to raise awareness of violence much needed – created a feeling of sympathy towards Aboriginal people – at time exaggerated or fabricated – **creating a backlash**
- Out of 7 famous massacres, Flood argues, 1 myth, two battles and the rest ‘shameful events, where whites massacred defenceless Aborigines or engaged in massive reprisals for the murder of whites. In only one case were the murderers brought to justice.’ *Vergeltungsakt*

Massacres did take place

- o **Hornet Bank, Queensland (1857)**: Queensland black police under their young white officers carried out massive reprisal raids (Vergeltungsangriffe) each time whites were killed. At this station an Aboriginal **massacre of settlers** took place, where 11 people were *White*

butchered. One son survived: swore to destroy the whole Yeeman tribe and later killed over 150 Aborigines, with help of native police and non-local black hands.

- **Cullinlaringo, Queensland (1861):** worst massacre of whites in Australian frontier history, number of those shot in retribution (Vergeltung) dwarfed (etwas klein erscheinen lassen) the number of whites killed. The victims didn't provoke the murders, but they were believed in befriending Aborigines - they presented an easy target in revenge for earlier 'dispersal' raids by native police.
- **Coniston massacre, Northern Territory (1928):** last known massacre in Australia was a punitive (strafend) police raid in reprisal of death of an old white dingo-trapper (Fred Brooks). Brooks accepted a deal with an Aboriginal man to get his wife for a night in exchange for food. He failed to provide the promised items. 4. Year of most severe drought and desert Aborigines were almost starving. The husband and his uncle hacked Brooks to death and escaped. Fearful retribution followed at the hands of settlers led by mounted Constable George Murray, who was the only active policeman in 650 000 km² of Central Australia. Rumours had reached Coniston that the Walbiri were coming in to kill all whites and station blacks. Shot 16 Aboriginal men and 1 woman. Later killed even more and dispersed (aufgelöst) a ceremonial gathering with bloody slaughter.

Destruction of food-ways – temptation of western food

Very strong force of breaking down own culture and bringing them closer to Europeans and their troubles.

- Aboriginal craving for settlers' food and tobacco was 'regular and irresistible'
- As Aboriginal food and waterways were taken for the feeding and watering of cattle, Aboriginal food sovereignty (Herrschaft) and security was destroyed

Diseases

Smallpox: four theories

- J.H.L. Cumpson suggested that **smallpox was introduced deliberately when the British arrived**, Possibly as an act of revenge for an Aboriginal attack or part of an organised action of the Marine Corps – circumstantial evidence = no actual proof
- Problems according to Flood: Nobody on the first fleet was suffering from smallpox when they landed (the infection would not have remained in the person for the long journey from Europe – **possibly picked up on the way**)
- **Not deliberately released but accidentally introduced** by contact with various matter brought for inoculations – Flood argues that this would not have been medically possible
- **Introduced by the Makassans** – corresponds to the time of an epidemic – other known epidemics came from this source – this seems like a big coincidence that this would have been at the same time Europeans arrived
- Not actually smallpox (Pocken) but chickenpox (Windpocken)

Stolen generation

Much more current & relevant: Abor. children taken from their homes are still alive now

- Foremost (führender) Aboriginal issue of 20th century – removal of mixed-race Aboriginal children from their families – 1905 to 1970s – government program of **assimilation** (Angleichung)
- 1997 government report either 1 in 10 to 1 in 3 Indigenous Australian children taken from their families (**high estimate 100,000 – low estimate 20,000**)
- **Different categories of removal:**
 - o **forcible removal:** police physically came and physically take children
 - o **removal under threat or duress (Nötigung):** threat / pressure on parents to give children
 - o **official deception (Betrug):** parents were told a story about what would happen to children (maybe they'd come back or go to school...)
 - o **uninformed voluntary release:** parents didn't really know what was happening
 - o **voluntary release:** parents did know what was happening and agreed to it
- Some reports of being well cared for in missions (missionary stations) – almost all educated activists from that generation received education through the missions or foster homes
- **Deep scars - Sheila Humphries YT Video,** they were never taken to a doctor
- In Switzerland - Kinder der Landstrasse – forcible removal of Yenish (travellers) children from their families 1926 – 1973 – over 500 children taken (Verdingkinder ähnlich: arme Eltern, verkaufen Kinder, versklaven)

Current health issues

Alcohol – “The coming of the grog” (grog = alcohol), both historical and current

- Aboriginals banned from drinking Australia wide in 1840 (issue of discrimination)
- By 1940s, Aboriginals granted Australian citizenship and some were granted certificates which allowed them to drink
- By 1950s, Australian government granted **full and equal rights to indigenous people** – by 1964 bans on Aboriginal drinking lifted: on one side good: equality, on other side VERY bad: violence, suicide, day-drinking, foetal alcoholic symptom (brain damages, different abilities, ...)
- The coming of the grog' had disastrous effects on some communities
- **Many alcohol related deaths (many suicides)**
- Alcohol problems very acute in some areas, causing a lot of media coverage and creating a popular perception of Aboriginal people having alcohol problems
- **Alcohol strongly affects the death rate of Indigenous people**, leads to exposing Indigenous people to **more danger than non-Indigenous people**

Australian Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal drinking

- 1.4 - Number of times Aboriginal people are more likely to abstain (verzichten) from alcohol than non-Aboriginal people

- 29% - Percentage of Aboriginal Australians who did not drink alcohol in the previous 12 months, almost double the rate of non-Indigenous Australians, more abstinence
- 15% - Percentage of Aboriginal Australians who are long-term, risky or high-risk drinkers. Same figure for non-Indigenous Australians: 14%
- **The differences are the specific behaviours that put Aboriginal people at much higher risk in these drinking situations:**
 - o Drinking while pregnant
 - o Very very heavy drinking (binge drink)
- 5x more - Rate Aboriginal people die from alcohol-related causes compared to non-Aboriginal people
- 60% - Percentage of Aboriginal Australian drinkers experiencing some alcohol-related harm - for non-Aboriginal drinkers: 35%
- 1.5 - Number of times Aboriginal people are more likely to drink alcohol at risky levels
- The heavier the drinking, the fewer white people engage in it.

Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD)

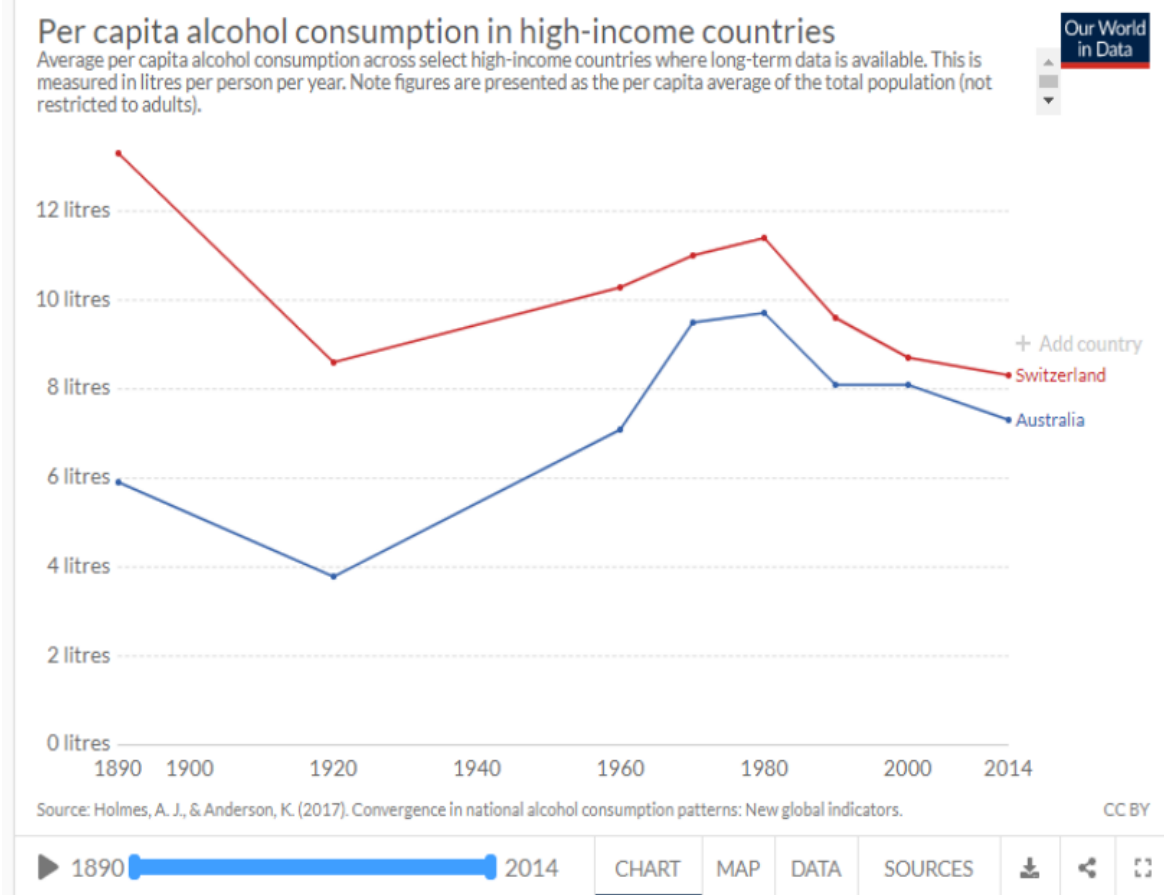
- incurable but preventable conditions **caused by exposure to alcohol before birth**. Alcohol damages the developing child and its **main target is the brain**.
- Children usually have **distinctive facial features** (e.g. small eye openings, thin upper lip, flat midface). These develop during the first trimester - before many women know they're pregnant. Babies may be **low birth weight and brain abnormalities**.
- They cannot **learn or memorise well**, a devastating effect in Aboriginal communities where culture is passed down orally.
- **brain damage causes problems** with thinking, judgement, reasoning, behaviour, language and speech. It is responsible for low IQ, poor growth, motor co-ordination problems, and social and behavioural problems. Sufferers are easily overstimulated, don't socialise well and need routine.
- **Worldwide problem but rates among Aboriginal people estimated 2.76-4.7, general population 0.06-0.68**
- The study found one in four children has some form of permanent damage. **Mothers often have no idea they are damaging their unborn children, as FASD wasn't talked about at that time.**

Urban binge drinking "epidemic" in Australia

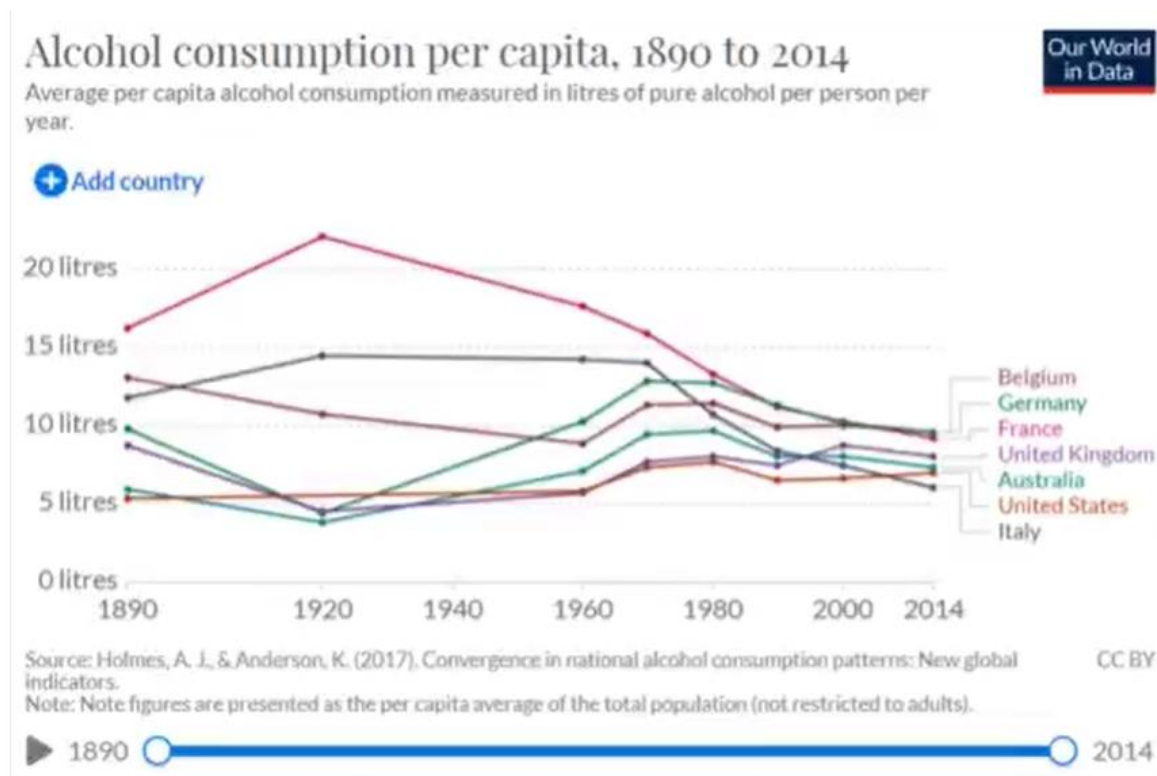
- 9.2 - Number of drinks that surveyed Australian men think are safe to drink during one night.
- 5.9 - Number of drinks that surveyed Australian women think are safe.
- **2 - Number of drinks that are in fact safe to drink in one night.**
- 6 - Number of drinks more than 1.9 million Australians drink on average per day.
- \$1.4b - Money spent each year **for paying for the results** of alcohol-fuelled violence.
- 80% - Proportion of surveyed Australians **who say the nation has a drinking problem**.
- 50% - Proportion of alcohol consumed by 10% of Australia's heaviest drinkers.
- ➔ **Heavy drinking concentrated on heaviest drinkers, same in Aboriginal drinking habits, not generalizable!**

Our perceptions are not necessarily a good guide for what really happened. Comparison with CH:

Total alcohol consumption in high-income countries



Comparison other countries



Session 6: Resistance / Reconciliation (Widerstand / Versöhnung)

Which statements is **false** about the Australian Labor government's approach to Indigenous issues?

- Bob Hawke (Labor) promised a treaty in 1988.
- Labor governments made more gestures of reconciliation (Versöhnung) towards Indigenous people than Liberal governments.
- It was a Labor leader, Kevin Rudd, who offered an apology to Indigenous Australians over past wrongs in 2013.
- Paul Keating's Labor government started seriously discussing the negative parts of Australian history regarding Indigenous people.
- Labor governments were able to achieve large reductions in inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Which statements about land right for Indigenous Australians is **true**?

- Indigenous people were never given land until the High Court decision of 1992 set a precedent.
- It is generally true that Indigenous people agree about ownership in land rights disputes. (No, there were conflicting claims of different Indigenous groups)
- The land rights precedents set by Mabo and Wik were severely restricted by the governments of the day. (Yes, back then by 10 point plan by John Howard)

Language Death

- Around 250 distinct languages spoken at first European settlement
- Most languages had several dialects – many hundreds in total
- Soon after arrival of first European settlers, number of languages started to decline - many languages died directly after European settlement (smallpox / chickenpox), just 13 not considered endangered and learnt by children
- Biggest languages have 1000 to 3000 speakers

Political approaches to Indigenous issues

- Australia 2 party political system: Right Liberal, Left Labor (very divisive (gespalten))
- Hawke government (Labor, left) - Prime minister 1983 to 1991 - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission formed (ATSIC) (1990 – 2005) – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission formally involved Indigenous people in processes of government - 1988 – Bob Hawke promises a treaty (this wasn't possible before (treaty with every band...), but now it became possible) - 1992 Mabo decision (Torres Strait Islander, claimed land rights: case set standard for treaty/treating landrights of Indigenous people) – no treaty to this day – Bob Hawke died on 16 May, 2016
- Paul Keating – Labor – 1991 to 1996 – “Big picture” view of Australia (closer ties to Asia and embracing multiculturalism) – participated in the ‘history wars’ (massacres, etc vs. good influence Europeans...) – made Indigenous issues part of the national discourse (Redfern Speech 1992: Recognition)
- John Howard – Liberal (right) – 1996 to 2007 – not friendly to multiculturalism – rejected Aboriginal land rights (restricting the concept of native title through the ‘10 point plan’ – said a treaty was ‘repugnant’ (widerlich) - ATSIC abolished (abgeschafft) 2004 and labelled a ‘failed experiment in

selfdetermination'. Speech: He says blemish (Makel, verunstalten)... **the prime minister denying race violations were at heart of AUS problems...** using blemish draws attention to skin color...

- **Kevin Rudd - Labor** – 2007 to 2010, 2013 – **offered official apology** to the 'stolen generation' – set up 'close the gap' policy to bridge the gap in health and education between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (equal partners, equal opportunities, equal stake in creating next chapter AUS)
- **Pauline Hanson – Far right** – none should get help based on cultural background (equality), should be based on individual needs, accept each other. Against helping Indigenous people additionally.

From assimilation to integration

- 1950s and 1960s, **the idea of multiculturalism developed** – idea of the **need for assimilation replaced by the idea of integration**
- Integration allows for **separate identities to be maintained while giving different groups full access to equal standards of living and opportunity** – still the government policy regarding Indigenous and immigrant groups
- 1967 referendum a symbolic event – conferred citizenship rights on Australia's Indigenous people
- **Land rights movement** – predominant movement in the latter part of 20th century – by 2011, 16 per cent of Australia was under Aboriginal ownership
- **Landmark land rights court cases:**
 - o **Mabo (1992)** – the highest profile 'Native Title' case. He was a Torres Strait Islander, won – giving land rights to Torres Strait Islanders on Murray Island
 - o **Wik (1996)** – set a **precedent** for opening up land rights claims to the whole of the mainland. It set the precedent that lease holds did not extinguish (erlöschen) native title. **John Howard's 10 point plan put significant restrictions on this.**

Current land rights situation

- They use land for **different purposes**: hunt/fish. Build shelter, conduct ceremonies, some native titles may also have right to control access to land... can differ from European meaning of control access to the land.
- Land rights claims often held up **because of lack of evidence or conflicting claims** from different Indigenous groups.

Current statistics

- **Closing the Gap** – government initiative started in 2008 to **reduce the difference in health, education and employment measures between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people** – enjoys bipartisan (both sides of politics) support - heavily financially supported by the federal government
- Targets were set to **close the gap on child mortality**, early childhood education, school attendance, life expectancy, year 12 or equivalent, reading and numeracy, employment.
- **Only targets for early childhood education and year 12 or equivalent schooling are being met.** Other measures are improving, but **not enough to significantly close the gap.**
- New policy from current government is **emphasising working partnerships with Indigenous communities.** (Current government **Liberal – Prime Minister Scott Morrison**)

Indigenous Art (positive impact!)

- Remarkable impact despite to small size of the population. 13,000 artists working in remote area centres between 2003 and 2012
 - During this time AUD 99.3 million was generated in sales of 340,000 products
 - Only 1.1 per cent was high-end product (valued at over \$5000 per item) – 3500 items worth \$21.35 million - **about 100 artists created artwork attracting the attention of the artworld**
 - **Australian Indigenous artists developed new, iconic styles which have come to symbolise the nation**
- ➔ **Significant impact on Australian national image & connection with Indigenous people**

Indigenous Tourism (positive impact)

- Indigenous tourism began in the 19th century as the lure of the exotic became popular – increasingly popular today
- Indigenous experiences offered all over the world to tourists – bring financial gain, but also other benefits, e.g. cultural pride, preservation and maintenance – 'reclaiming culture' in the face of colonisation'
- In Australia, Indigenous culture has been considered an important point of differentiation and has been highlighted in tourism campaigns since 2000s
- Indigenous tourism has enjoyed a slow but steady growth since 2000, with much government support and encouragement at all levels.

Indigenous Sport

- **People/Culture great positive impact**
- AFL (Australian Football League, not football!), and NRL (National Rugby League) two top sports in Australia
- Indigenous players represent 10-14% of players. In state vs. state competition between Queensland and NSW, 22% of the players are Indigenous, and one-third of the Queensland team are Indigenous
- **Natural athletes?** – This explanation is accepted by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations – other characteristics that are often widely accepted by Indigenous and non-Indigenous athletes are: being instinctive, magical, inventive and having a 'sixth sense' and that these are also genetically passed on
- **However, simplistic genetic explanation widely criticised** - Light and Evans argue that socioculture dominant – is an interaction of genetics, environment and experience over time

Reconciliation

- 2 sides of conflict come together and heal wound of conflict (acknowledge conflict & then move on), movement, in which whole AUS is interested in
- **Reconciliation Australia** is the national lead organisation for reconciliation in Australia – partners in business, government, and community. The following information is from this body, publishes research:

The Five Dimensions of Reconciliation

- **Race Relations** *Relationships, Racism*
All Australians understand and value Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous cultures, rights and experiences, which results in stronger relationships based on trust and respect and that are free of racism.
 - o 90% of Australians in the general community feel our relationship is important.
 - o **There are gaps in the trust** that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous people have for each other. (Relationship with police...)
 - o **Something clearly not going well in terms of Racism...**
- **Equality and Equity** *Self-determination, socio-economic conditions*
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples participate equally in a range of life opportunities and the unique rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are recognised and upheld.
 - o 95% agree it is important for **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to have a say in matters that affect them,**

- Institutional Integrity *Institutional Racism, Cultural Safety, Media*

The **active support of reconciliation** by the nation's political, business and community structures

- o experienced racial prejudice in the past 12 months has **slightly reduced** across many different settings. A notable **improvement has occurred in interactions with police**.
- o **High level of Racism**
- o Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are portrayed negatively in the media.

- Unity *Culture, Reconciliation, Representation, Recognition*

An Australian society that values and recognises Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and heritage as a proud part of a shared national identity.

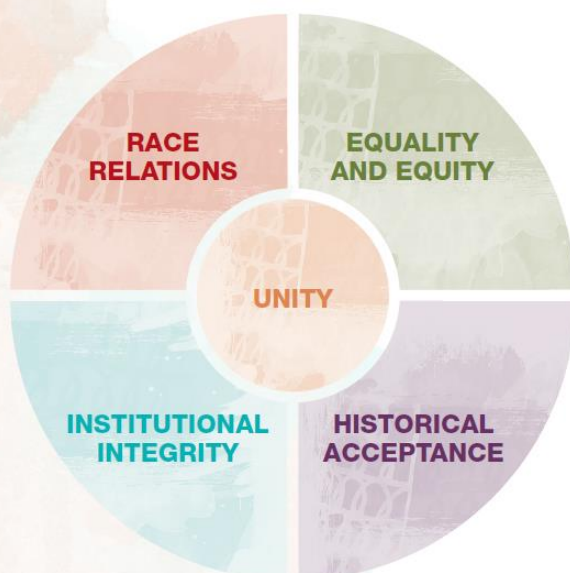
- o More Australians would like to do something to **help improve reconciliation**.
- o agree they are **proud of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures**.
- o agree that **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures are important to Australia's national identity**

- Historical Acceptance *Understanding history, Truth-telling*

All Australians **understand and accept the wrongs of the past** and their impact on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Australia makes **amends** for past policies and practices **ensures these wrongs are never repeated**.

- o More Australians in the general community now accept key facts about Australia's past.
- o 70% accept that government policy enabled Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children to be removed from their families without permissions until the 1970s
- o 69% accept Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were subject to mass killings, incarceration, forced removal from land and restricted movement throughout the 1800s
- o 71% accept Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people did not have full voting rights through Australia until the 1960s
- o 86% Australians in the general community (87% in 2016) believe **it is important to learn about past issues**, compared with 91% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

FIVE DIMENSIONS OF RECONCILIATION



Race Relations

All Australians understand and value Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous cultures, rights and experiences, which results in stronger relationships based on trust and respect and that are free of racism.

Equality and Equity

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples participate equally in a range of life opportunities and the unique rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are recognised and upheld.

Unity

An Australian society that values and recognises Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and heritage as a proud part of a shared identity.

Institutional Integrity

The active support of reconciliation by the nation's political, business and community structures.

Historical Acceptance

All Australians understand and accept the wrongs of the past and the impact of these wrongs. Australia makes amends for the wrongs of the past and ensures these wrongs are never repeated.

Key findings: Relationships | Racism

As in previous years, almost all Australians—Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and general community members—believe the relationship between each other is important. More effort is required to curb racism as experiences of racial prejudice increased for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in 2020.

Almost all Australians think the relationship is important.



95%

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (94% in 2018) and **91%** of the general community (90% in 2018) **feel our relationship is important.**

70%

people in the general community (unchanged since 2018) and 68% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (56% in 2018) **believe that Australia is better off with many cultural groups.**

Australians largely feel they have good relationships with medical staff, local shop owners and police.



However, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are **much more likely to have a poor relationship with police** (16%) than the general community (6%).

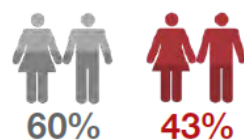
There are still gaps in the trust that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous people have for each other.



44% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people believe they have **high trust towards people in the general community** (46% in 2018).

30% of people in the general community believe they have **high trust towards Indigenous Australians** (27% in 2018).

60% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents agree that **Australia is a racist country** (51% in 2018), compared with **43%** of the general community (38% in 2018).



Experiences of racial prejudice have increased.



52% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have experienced at least one form of **racial prejudice** in the past 6 months (43% in 2018).

5

Key findings: Self-determination | Socio-economic Conditions

Nearly all Australians want Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to have a say in their own affairs. While perceptions towards responsibility for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's disadvantage are varied, a majority of all Australians believe governments must do more to close the gap in health, justice, and employment.

95% of the general community

94% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

believe it is important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to have a say in matters that affect them.

86% of the general community (85% in 2018)

91% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (90% in 2018)

believe it is important to **establish a representative Indigenous Body.**

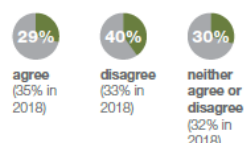
81% of the general community (77% in 2018)

88% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (86% in 2018)

believe it is important to **protect an Indigenous Body within the Constitution, so it can't be removed by any government.**

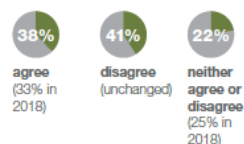
In Australia there has been some change in perceptions and attitudes towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people being responsible for their own disadvantage.

In the general Australian community



that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people **are responsible for their own disadvantage.**

For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people



that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people **are responsible for their own disadvantage.**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and people in the general community, generally believe **more must be done by government departments to close the gap in outcomes for health, justice, and employment.**

Health



60% general community
73% Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

Justice



62% general community
71% Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

Employment



57% general community
64% Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

Living Conditions



Since 2018 there has been some improvement for all Australians when considering their own living conditions.

18% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people **consider their living conditions to be worse** compared with the majority of people in Australia (23% in 2018).

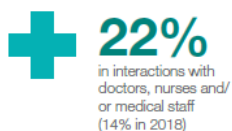
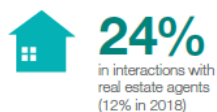
13% of the general public **consider their own living conditions to be worse** than the majority of people in Australia (17% in 2018).

7

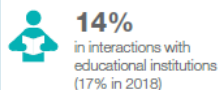
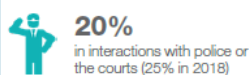
Key findings: Institutional Racism | Cultural Safety | Media

Experiences of racial prejudice by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have increased in the last year. The feeling that media portrayal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is usually negative has continued to be high. There has been some improvement in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people feeling they can be true to their cultures in different settings.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are more likely to have experienced racial discrimination in the last 12 months.



There has been some improvement in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people feeling they cannot be true to their cultures in a number of different settings.



46% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (50% in 2018)

44% of the general community (42% in 2018)

believe media portrayal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is **usually negative**.

11

Key findings: Culture | Reconciliation | Representation | Recognition

The desire to become a more reconciled nation has increased, with more Australians knowing what they can do to help. Most Australians believe it is important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures to be taught in schools. Support for treaty and sovereignty has grown.

Pride in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures remains strong.



agree they are proud of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures.

Pride in Australia's multiculturalism is unchanged since 2018.



are proud of Australia's multiculturalism.

Australians increasingly want to do something to help improve reconciliation.



And more of us know what we can do to help:



More of us believe it's important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures to be taught in schools.



Support for Treaty and Sovereignty continues to grow.



39% of the general community (31% in 2018)

58% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (55% in 2018) support sovereignty

9

Key findings: Understanding history | Truth-telling

Most Australians believe formal truth-telling processes should be undertaken in Australia, while more accept key accounts of Australia's history as factual, and believe it is important for all Australians to learn about past issues.

More Australians in the **general community** believe key accounts of Australia's past are factual.



81% believe it is true that government policy enabled Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children to be removed from their families without permissions until the 1970s.

76% believe it is true that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were subject to mass killings, incarceration, forced removal from land and restricted movement throughout the 1800s.

80% believe it is true that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people did not have full voting rights through Australia until the 1960s.

More Australians want Australia's shared history to be brought into view through truth-telling.



89%

of the general community and 93% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people believe it is important to undertake formal truth-telling processes in relation to Australia's shared history.



90%

of the general community (86% in 2018) feel it is **important for all Australians to learn about past issues**, compared with 93% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (91% in 2018).

35% Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (40% in 2018) believe **the wrongs of the past must be rectified** before we can move on with reconciliation, compared with 29% of the general community (28% in 2018).