

# **Caring for Country Inside the Illegal Clearing:**

**A survey of Aboriginal teacher educators' work in Australian teacher  
education programs**

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## **Abstract**

The more recent inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies in the Commonwealth of Australia's curriculum and pedagogical frameworks has marked Australian teacher education programs as sites for achieving nation-building agendas and social justice imperatives. Whilst well-intentioned, the programmers and the programming of Australian teacher education have historically proven to be ill-equipped when teaching Aboriginal worldviews and standpoints and have sought the expertise of Aboriginal teacher educators to design, teach, and assess new compulsory studies in Aboriginal education.

Yarning with five other Aboriginal teacher educators about teaching inside the still-illegal settler colonial architecture of the Australian university, my thesis surveys the Faculty of Education spaces we currently occupy using sovereign and self-determining standpoints as compass directions. Located at the place where the foundational logics of the Australian university meets with a much older way of knowing Country, Aboriginal teacher educators encounter a range of territorial disputes concerning the legitimacy to own the body of Aboriginal knowledge written across Australian teacher education.

My thesis stories how we are applying the First Laws of Country to the programming of Australian teacher education in ways that disrupt the structural organisation of faculty whilst preparing its population/s for a new relationship

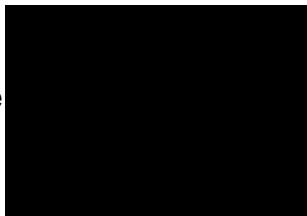
that recognises the continuing and ongoing sovereignty of Aboriginal societies. Making public the violent curricular, pedagogical, and administrative trajectories resulting from the original dispossession and ongoing settler colonial occupation, the localised Aboriginal work unsettles the relationships teaching has with the everchanging settler colonial project, decolonising the one-nation landscape of Australian teacher education and indigenising returned and repatriated physical and intellectual territories.

The endpoint political work of Aboriginal teacher educators is situated on an uncertain timeline, co-existing with a faculty grammar that is determined to close the gap between Aboriginal and Australian societies. My yarning with other Aboriginal teacher educators offers little reprieve for those currently located in these faculty spaces and instead describes the forever business of teaching across settled and unsettled times and places of promised change and delayed transformation, working with and against the structural obstructions of settler colonialism.

## Declaration of Authenticity

I, Mathew Jakobi, declare that the PhD thesis entitled *Caring for Country inside the illegal clearing: a survey of Aboriginal teacher educators' work in Australian teacher education programs* is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature



Date 15<sup>th</sup> of September 2020

## Acknowledgments

I acknowledge that this thesis was written on Kulin territories.

I acknowledge the Ancestors, Elders and families of the Kulin who are the Traditional Owners of university land. I acknowledge that the land on which we meet is a place of age-old ceremonies of celebration, initiation and renewal and that the Kulin people's living culture has a unique role in the life of this region.

I offer my profound gratitude to Kulin Elders past and present and acknowledge that their struggles in advancing Kulin cosmologies and standpoints have created the current conditions that allow Aboriginal people like me the opportunity to engage in higher education. I acknowledge and pay respects to my Gunditjmara and Djab Wurrung Elders, kin, Ancestors and Creator Spirits. I extend this acknowledgement to those territories where my studies have taken me.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
AITSL	Australian Institute of Teaching and School Leadership
MCEETYA	Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs

## Language and Terminology

In this thesis, I use the term ‘Aboriginal’ when describing myself, my co-yarners and when writing about the body of knowledge about us across Australian education studies, theory and methodologies. At times, I have quoted and/or used specific social–ecological terminology that languages home (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010; Bunda & Phillips 2018) and to describe the biopolitical naming of populations in this home (Veracini 2010).

Rejecting the term ‘Indigenous’, but also ‘tired and annoyed at typing “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander”’ (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 20), I acknowledge the term ‘Aboriginal’ is also racialised language resulting from a colonial constructed ‘system of classifying’ (p. 20), marking an ‘indelible, long lasting effect on the ways of being for Aboriginal peoples’ (p. 23). Racialised language and the right to name ourselves and the world ‘is about and produces entitlement ... but name appropriation is an equally powerful dispossessory tool’ (Veracini 2010, p. 47) where ‘settlers confiscate the very term that identifies indigenous peoples’ (p. 47).

In naming, I describe Aboriginal people working in Australian teacher education programs as being Aboriginal teacher educators. In this powerfully possessive, diverse and dispossessive description, I seek to refract the generic ‘pan-Aboriginal’ (Burgess 2017, p. 742) grammar that

structures the way in which Aboriginal teachers are spoken to or about in the workplace. It also serves to deflect other identity positions that may more accurately reflect their interests, strengths and concerns. (p. 742)

I have had similar struggles in naming ‘those colonisers who had come to stay’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 223). In my initial conceptual drafting, I named the White intruders (Andersen 2009; Mitchell 1836) as ‘squatters’, illegally pegging out territorial claims over already-owned Country (Donald 2012). Whilst historically accurate, my localised explanation sat within an established global theorisation of the settler colonial triad relationship between *the White settler*, ‘the land’ of the *disappearing* First Peoples and the ‘chattel slaves’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224).

In choosing to describe the invasive structures pegged out over Aboriginal territories as belonging to settlers (Wolfe 2006), my thesis acknowledges the still-violent, unfinished business of settler colonialism that ‘rolls on relentlessly’ through time and place (Watson 2017, p. 213) and the dependency that settler Australian society still has on the destruction and erasure of Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1).

## Background to Study

My focus in this inquiry was to survey *the settled and unsettled spaces* (Watson 2007) in Australian teacher education. Yarning (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010; Walker et al. 2014) with five other Aboriginal teacher educators about teaching at this interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2007a), my thesis asked,

Who is free to roam? What is the continuing Aboriginal connection over roamed spaces and what space do Aboriginal people occupy in this one-nation Australia? (Watson 2007, p. 15)

This introductory chapter gives context to my research focus and question. I trace how federalist moves for a singular Australian Curriculum has provided practical, symbolic but also divisive opportunities to return Aboriginal knowledge to Australian teacher education programs. In providing a rationale for my thesis, I argue that Aboriginal teacher educators who participated in this collaborative inquiry are located between these settler nation-building curriculum and regulatory agendas and the needs of classroom teachers (Herbert 2012). Left with the task of 'respectfully reintroducing' to teacher education curriculum 'an ancient system of this Country' (McKnight 2016, p. 12), this small research community of Aboriginal teacher educators are attending to the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that emerge when teaching between two knowledges (Nakata 2007a).

My thesis identifies how Aboriginal teacher educators' localised curricular, pedagogical and administrative Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) transforms the education relationship that teacher education programs and their populations have with Australian settler colonialism. However, the 'shine' of this ancient sovereignty is structurally obstructed by the operational logics that are determined to enclose upon and eliminate Aboriginal difference. These settler colonial obstructions appear in the everyday practice of Australia teacher education and require Aboriginal teacher educators to savage (Nakata 2007b) at its architecture. In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are waiting in the illegal clearing that was later turned into a university for settler systems and populations to come alongside agendas that care (Watson 2009a) for the Aboriginal cosmos of ideas (Wilson 2019, p. 47).

## **Context**

Facing the 21st century, a range of domestic and global crises, challenges and developments 'inextricably tied' (Brennan 2011, p. 259) Australian schools' curriculum to nation-building agendas. In this curricular and pedagogical entanglement, the Commonwealth Government of Australia sought to unify its colonial past by federating the 'mixed ancestry' (p. 268) of its state and territory school curriculum. Although the transfer of authority from its traditional 'home' to a 'federal domain' was contested on many 'fronts' (p. 260), the long-standing 'political moves to national consistency' in curriculum (p. 260) produced an Australian Curriculum in 2012.

The building of the Australian Curriculum provided 'offensive and less offensive' (Veracini 2010, p. 34) opportunities for Aboriginal populations to engage with the now-settled but still-illegal Commonwealth (Watson 2009b).

Building upon 'past commitments in education policy and strategic drivers' (National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education 2015, p. 2), the Commonwealth's engagement with peak body Aboriginal education representatives aimed to 'close the gap' between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians in 'early childhood education, school achievement and attainment' (p. 2).

The socioeconomical 'gaps' that have determined pastpresent (King 2012) educational policy relationships and agendas (Strakosch & Macoun 2012) are the lived-out, shared conditions of settler colonialism (Land 2015) that relentlessly roll through time and place (Watson 2017). As a key strategic driver, the 2008 *Melbourne Declaration for Education Goals for Young Australians* (the Melbourne Declaration) marked a significant watershed in this relationship (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs [MCEETYA] 2008). Making public Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander goals for Australian school curricula, the Melbourne Declaration positioned Aboriginal 'knowledges, skills and understandings' as central to the 'nation's history, present and future' (p. 4), placed in ways that could counter the uncertainties and complexities of our ecological, social and economic lives (p. 5). Asking schools and teachers to build foundations upon this detailed 'local cultural knowledge and experience' (p. 9), the Melbourne Declaration aspired to use 'curriculum' to 'contribute and benefit from reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians' (p. 9).

The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) adopted many of the goals of the Melbourne Declaration in its own functions of writing the new Australian Curriculum (MCEETYA 2008). In its



shaping, the Aboriginal and reconciling curricular and pedagogical agendas and social justice imperatives produced a 'contrived cultural war' (Dodson 2016, p. 3) that positioned the recognition of Aboriginal rights as 'symbolic aspirations, as opposed to the practical outcomes of public investment in education, employment and housing' (p. 3). Although framed as 'no longer inferior, just different' (Nakata 2002, p. 282), the study of Australia's First Peoples written across the Australian Curriculum was balanced with the positives of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006) and 'the benefits of Western civilisation' (Pyne, cited in Cullen 2014).

The territorial tensions rendered the curriculum and pedagogical balance to a celebration of 'unique belief systems that connected people physically, relationally and spiritually to Country and Place' (ACARA 2019), that provided

opportunity for all young Australians to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures, knowledge traditions and holistic world views. (ACARA 2019)

Contouring the territorial claims for legitimacy in the development of the nationalised school curriculum, federalist arguments of a public education in crisis meant increasing attention was placed upon teachers and in defining a standard of teaching of the Australian Curriculum (Connell 2009; Loughland & Ellis 2016). In 'placing students first' (Pyne 2014), the Commonwealth sought to critically measure teachers against global scales, claiming 'you simply cannot provide young Australians with a first-rate education without first-rate teachers' (Pyne 2014, para. 3).

Working with and across state, territory and federal jurisdictions and their respective teacher registration bodies, the Australian Institute for Teaching and

School Leadership (AITSL) established standardised benchmarks in teaching. Included in the new Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2019) were expectations that teachers have a 'broad knowledge of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories, cultures and languages' (p. 13) and professionally understand 'the impact of culture, cultural identity and linguistic background on the education of students from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds' (p. 11). The professional knowledge and understandings attend to the nation-healing and -building agendas of the Australian Curriculum, requiring teachers to pedagogically demonstrate strategies that promote 'reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians' (p. 13) and engage all students in 'understanding and respecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people' (p. 13).

Nationalising curriculum and professional teacher standards resulted in a reaccrediting of Australian teacher preparatory and initial teacher education programs. This process required subject and graduate outcomes to speak to national benchmarking standards and procedures (AITSL 2019). Whilst it was argued that local teacher education providers had agency in deciding how to achieve national standards and procedures (Loughland & Ellis 2016), Herbert (2012) notes that professional practices within programs delivery became 'increasingly determined by these regulatory demands of the profession' (p. 43), reflecting

the ever-expanding accountability framework imposed by modern governments seeking to increase ministerial control over all levels of service delivery. Those located at the end of the line, classroom teachers—present and pre-service—often appear to be subsumed by the

demands associated with acquiring the skills and knowledge required to continually demonstrate their accountability as service providers. (p. 43)

Responding to the nationalising of the state and territory school curriculum, the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers and the reaccrediting of teacher education programs, many Australian universities sought the expertise of Aboriginal teacher educators to design and teach new compulsory studies in Aboriginal education. In these newly created Faculty of Education positions, returning and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators (Fredericks 2015; Tuck & Yang 2012) are located between the 'ministerial control' and the 'end of the line' classroom teachers (Herbert 2012, p. 43).

'Teaching teaching' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) at the interface between two knowledge societies (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators embody 'the problem' of 'respectfully reintroducing' to these teacher education curriculums 'an ancient system of this Country' (McKnight 2016, p. 12). Aboriginal teacher educators know that the survival of Aboriginal knowledge systems is dependent on changing the settler colonial functions (Marker 2019, p. 2) inherent to Australian teacher education.

The structural mutation of settler colonialism has *marked* (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) Australian teacher education programs, territorially *marking out* 'the organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2). In this settled Faculty of Education place (Watson 2007, p. 15), conquering logics claim the 'rights to know' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) Aboriginal 'land and life' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1) and to organise this 'corpus body of knowledge about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12).

The curricular, pedagogical and administrative organisation of Aboriginal land and life in Australian teacher education has produced a range of offensive and less offensive 'population transfers' (Veracini 2010, p. 34) for Aboriginal teacher educators. These population transfers operating inside Australian teacher education mirror the broader population transfers in settler colonial societies that remove the First People and replace with a settling population and/or include this native population/s in ways that enclose upon and eliminate Aboriginal difference (Veracini 2010).

Restoring the foundations of a separate sovereign existence inside the gates of the university (Alfred 2005; Fredericks 2015), Aboriginal teacher educators' knowledge relationships to 'Country, kin and Ancestors' (Grieves 2008, p. 364) truth-tell settler nation-building educational projects. The localised curricular, pedagogical and administrative Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) savages settler colonialism (Nakata 2007b), hacking at (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) its 'continuities, discontinuities, adjustments, and departures whereby a logic that initially informed frontier killing transmutes into different modalities, discourses and institutional formations' (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of Australian teacher education.

The juxtaposition (Donald 2012, p. 6) between the localised Aboriginal gaze (Maoz 2006) and the settler logics that have organised Australian teacher education has produced competing claims of territorial curricular and pedagogical legitimacy (Strakosch & Macoun 2012).

### **Personal Factors**

I am an Aboriginal teacher educator teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education. My thesis is

an opportunity to document the Aboriginal standpoints (Nakata 2007a) when teaching at this interface and the complexities of working with, and against, settler knowledge systems (Tuck & Yang 2014).

I have always learnt and taught at this interface between two knowledge societies, teaching in schools as a Koorie intern primary school teacher whilst attending block-release studies at the Institute of Koorie Education, Deakin University. As a place that centred Koorie education, the Aboriginal enclave of the university (Andersen, Bunda & Walter 2008) grounded my emerging teacher identity with my social–ecological obligations and responsibilities (West 2000) in being a descendant of the world's oldest living peoples. In my being and becoming an Aboriginal teacher (Burgess 2017, p. 742), I saw more clearly a hidden curriculum and the functions that schools, teaching and education play in the reproduction of power (Tuck & Yang 2012). At this place where the logics of the school meet with the local ways of caring for Country (Watson 2009a), Aboriginal teachers could be positioned as agents of change but also, in reality, become actors for the settler colonial nation-state.

After graduating in 1993 and teaching in schools across Australia, I woke (Cherry-McDaniel 2017) to the practical and conceptual limitations of *being* the Aboriginal teacher and the 'one-way burden' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) in becoming this agent of change and transformation. Working within, with and against systems I wanted reformed (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015), I was always faced with making certain on-the-ground settlements, agreements and compromises along the way (McDonald 2017).

Returning to the Institute of Koorie Education as a lecturer in 2005, I taught across their programs that included teacher education studies, teasing

out with my own students the tensions of these settlements, agreements and compromises in teaching, tracing their offensive and less offensive (Veracini 2010, p. 34) educational trajectories and outcomes. I moved from the Institute in 2008 to my more recent position as a lecturer in a Whitestream (Andersen 2009) Australian teacher education program, arriving at a time when attention and public debate was given to curriculum, the teacher and nation-building agendas (Connell 2009; Loughland & Ellis 2016).

In my Faculty of Education role, I was writing previous elective 'Aboriginal Studies' subjects into its new core compulsory teacher education curriculum. Emerging from this everyday practice were the key policy drivers like the Melbourne Declaration (MCEETYA 2008), shaping not only the Australian Curriculum (ACARA 2019) but my own professional responses, responsibilities and obligations. Similarly, the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2019) became the common language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) across Australian teacher education programs, informing not only the dialogues of tutorials but also assessment tasks and the benchmarks in measuring graduate outcomes against nationally agreed procedures and standards.

On this 'educational front' (Brennan 2011, p. 259), the increasingly 'overcrowded specification' and 'disjuncture between content, assessment and pedagogies' (p. 259) written across nation-building educational directives did 'not bode well for providing practicable and well-resourced support for teachers' (p. 259); nor did it necessarily open up 'debate regarding the locus of curriculum decision-making' (p. 259). Caught up in the history and culture wars (Dodson 2016) that had rendered curriculum agendas as a *reconciled* celebration of Aboriginal identities, histories and cultures (McKnight 2016), the more pressing

issues of curricular and pedagogical ‘justice, sovereignty, and self-determination’ (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 941) were left unattended, *marked* as future ‘symbolical aspirations’ (Dodson 2016, p. 3).

In the delayed space of nation-building transformational discourses and social justice imperatives (McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012), I was left with the ‘messy exhaustive work of combat-deflecting insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism that permeate White institutions’ (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24). The permeations of settler logics distracted me from the wider tasks of decolonising and indigenising returned and repatriated curriculum and pedagogy (Tuck & Yang 2012), leaving me ‘in unsafe and insensitive spaces, ironically in [my] own country where [my] sovereignty should be acknowledged and respected’ (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 24).

### **Rationale for the Study**

The contrived culture wars (Dodson 2016) across the colonial and federated Australian landscape have marked compulsory studies in Aboriginal education as a site for transformational nation-building curriculums (Brennan 2011). The recoding of teacher education curriculums to include Aboriginal cosmologies and standpoints has produced a range of ‘offensive and less offensive’ population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) for Aboriginal teacher educators. Located between national regulatory bodies and ‘the needs of classroom teachers’ (Herbert 2012, p. 43), Aboriginal teacher educators are left with the messy and exhaustive task (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012) of unsettling curriculum and pedagogical frameworks’ ‘axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes’ (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224).

Restoring the foundations of a separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005) *inside the gates* (Fredericks 2015) of Australian teacher education programs, my thesis explores how Aboriginal teacher educators' returning of 'an ancient system of knowledge' (McKnight 2016) is juxtaposed with these common-sense logics of Australian teacher education (Donald 2012, p. 6). The localised restoration of First Knowledge (West 2000) is played out across the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2), where at the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education, settler colonial logics are still illegally pegged out (Donald 2012, p. 3) across existing Aboriginal knowledge relationships to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364).

Returning and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators make public the colonial interplay (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) that has marked settler logics natural and the organisation of the 'corpus body' about 'us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12) as neutral (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92). Cross-culturally trading and transacting (Donald 2012) with settler systems we wish reformed, Aboriginal engagement at this cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education produce unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) with competing claims of curricular and pedagogical legitimacy.

My thesis tells how all too often those who program Australian teacher education look for a hurried reprieve (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9) when we truth-tell and make public settler colonialism's naturalised claims of neutrality. Methodically, my thesis provides a way to negotiate the territorial tensions in Australian teacher education resulting from the original dispossession (Veracini



2010) of the continent that are reasserted each day that the illegal occupation is allowed to continue (Tuck & Yang 2014).

Listening deeply to the ancient text (McKnight 2016) that 'cares for all living things' (Watson 2017, p. 216) mediates the crises, challenges and developments (Brennan 2011, p. 259) Australian teacher education faces when decolonising its relationship with settler colonialism. Staying with these tensions, Aboriginal teacher educators are talking in ways 'so there is no bad feeling anymore' (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13).

Whilst listening to the First Laws and their epistemologies contributes to the decolonising of Australian teacher education (Tuck & Tang 2012, p. 1), the localised Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) that privileges (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245) Aboriginal storying of the world offers the locus of decision-making in Australian teacher education (Brennan, 2011 p. 259) ways to navigate times and places of cataclysmic shock, change and transformation (Greives 2008, p. 364; Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 110; Rose 2013). The world 'is in crisis' (Watson 2017, p. 220) where 'we are on a trajectory which it appears could sacrifice all life forms', making 'the need for translation ever more urgent' (p. 220).

### **Issues to be Investigated**

My thesis surveys the spaces that Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri, Davel and I occupy in Australian teacher education programs (Watson 2007, p. 15) as Aboriginal teacher educators (Burgess 2017). The intentions of study were to identify where in the more recent returning and repatriation of Aboriginal education (Tuck & Yang 2012) our sovereign rights to roam across this 'one-nation' faculty

landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15) works with, and against, settler 'rights to know' logics (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225).

By engaging in research topic yarning (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010; Walker et al. 2014) with other Aboriginal teachers, my aim was to co-create standpoints that speak of the 'conditions of our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xii) when at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education, and to the logics of knowledge systems 'that shape and produce Indigeneity' (p. xviii).

The propositions that I explore are how sovereign roaming (Watson 2007) in Australian teacher education attends to the ongoing 'creation, continuity and mutuality' (Rose 2013, p. 216) of Aboriginal knowledge relationships. However, the localised curricular, pedagogical and administrative caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364) is entangled within the colonial and neoliberal doctrines of shock and cataclysmic change (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016) and is delayed by these pathways of humanisation (Tuck & Yang 2014).

Like colonialism, neoliberal logics separate and dominate nature and humanity (Arbon 2008, p. 140), and these logics operate as neutral, natural functions of Western knowledge systems (Strakosch 2009b; Tuck & Yang 2014). This interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) has territorially marked out settled and unsettled logics, spaces, locations and epochs in Australian teacher education (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48), informing how we talk to one another across the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2).

In finding the standpoints that speak of the conditions of our faculty existence as Aboriginal teacher educators (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii), and to the programmers of Australian teacher education that shapes and produces indigeneity (p. xviii), my inquiry has two interconnected intentions. The first is to document how the *recoding* of Aboriginal knowledge as teacher education curriculums has transferred and continues to transfer (Veracini 2010) Aboriginal minds, bodies and territories into, across and out of Australian teacher education. The second intention is to identify how this restoration of separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005) shadows settler colonialism's shine (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015), purposefully juxtaposing (Donald 2012, p. 6) nation-building curriculum agendas, agreements and settlements with the localised Aboriginal gaze (Maoz 2006). These two interconnected Aboriginal standpoints of knowing the world that Aboriginal teacher educators work in have produced a range of claims and counterclaims of curricular, pedagogical and administrative legitimacies in Australian teacher education.

In wayfinding (Klippel 2010, p. 3079; Meyer 2001) the educational landscapes of my inquiry, I theoretically explored the fields of Australian teacher education studies that are pegged across Aboriginal knowledge relationships to Country (Donald 2012, p. 3). I drew on the conceptual theorising and production of standpoints by First Knowledge scholars, settlers and other critical theorists to describe the critical terrains and intersections of this landscape (Rose 1996) that situate these two knowledge systems. The critical local and global scholarship has taken the shine out of colonial (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) tropes that promise educational pathways to a 'better Whiter world' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232), cataloguing the unextinguished grievances (Veracini

2010, p. 42) Aboriginal teacher educators have with those 'enchanted' with colonialism's shine, who 'tend to resist and deny their complicity in harm' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24).

Attending to my main research question that asks if Aboriginal teacher educators are free to roam the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Watson 2007, p. 15), the critical scholarship I followed addressed my subquestions, which shadow (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) settler colonialism's well-intentioned claims:

- How does the curricular and pedagogical returning of the local Aboriginal gaze work towards transforming the relationships in the mutual gaze of Australian teacher education?
- What are the processes and practices of self-actualisation towards settler sovereignty that need most disrupting in Australian teacher education programs?
- What does territorial justice mean for Aboriginal teacher educators?

The irreducible element of territory (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) can be read across my research question and subquestions. Framing the unextinguished grievances in Australian teacher education as territorial claims and disputes intentionally disrupts nation-building social justice imperatives that emerge as settler generosity (Veracini 2010).

### **Significance and Beneficiaries of the Study**

My thesis charts the territorial tensions Aboriginal teacher educators like me encounter as we return to teacher education (Fredericks 2015), reintroducing to these programs an ancient system of Country (McKnight 2016). As a direct

beneficiary of this research project, I have needed to ask myself, 'What am I revealing here, and why?' and 'if I can do this and still come home' (Simpson, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 234).

Personally, my PhD study has been part of my lifelong journey in knowing, doing and being an Aboriginal teacher educator. This task has provided opportunities to describe and theorise my praxis with previously marked-out Aboriginal standpoints written across the scholarship of Australian education studies. Following the scholarship of my Ancestors, Elders and kin, and their revelations in navigating these settled and unsettled terrains, has restored my own sovereign separate existence (Alfred 2005) in being and becoming the Aboriginal researcher.

My restoration as an Aboriginal researcher aligns theoretically to the previously marked-out terrains that nourish and renew Aboriginal cosmologies inside the gates of the university (Fredericks 2015, p. 79). I applied this scholarship and their production of standpoints in understanding my current realities of teaching in Australian teacher education programs, identifying how this restoration purposefully talks back to the complexification of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) and those 'enchanted with its shine' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24).

Yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel revealed where at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a) the localised Aboriginal gaze of 'oppression, exploitation, and domination' (hooks, cited in Brady 1997, p. 147) is replaced with nation-building 'buzzwords' that enclose upon Aboriginal difference, separating studies of Aboriginal education from its 'political and historical context' (p. 147). Our contributions to these curricular

and pedagogical discussions offer affirmation in terms of the pedagogical directions Aboriginal teacher educators take teacher education curriculums (McKnight 2016). The returning of First Knowledge (West 2000) relationships is the messy, exhaustive and sometimes painful one-way burden (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) of decolonising Australian teacher education programs and indigenising returned and repatriated territories (Tuck & Yang 2012).

Our revelations illuminate how the reintroduction of Aboriginal knowledge relationships to Country (McKnight 2016) can reconcile the *institutional integrity* (Reconciliation Australia 2020) of Australian teacher education. However, structural reform is needed for this sovereignty to ‘shine through as a fuller expression of Australia’s nationhood’ (Referendum Council 2017, para. 4). My yarning with other Aboriginal teacher educators collectively describes this structural reform, where we are wounding settler logics that have organised Australian teacher education, hacking at ‘feel good’ (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24) colonial and neoliberal discourses that demand Aboriginal affirmation of ‘looking good’ and ‘doing good’ (p. 24).

In this curricular, pedagogical and administrative Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017), Aboriginal teacher educators unsettle the homesteading (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) logics written across the programming of teacher education (Tuck & Yang 2014), offering palliative care (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) to these dying tropes of settler legitimacy, ‘attending to the integrity of the process, dealing with tantrums, incontinence, anger and hopelessness, “cleaning up”, and clearing the space for something new’ (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28).

In this context, my contributions offer no new solutions to the unfinished business of settler colonialism that relentlessly rolls on (Watson 2017, p. 213) through the programming of Australian teacher education. Instead, my thesis attends to describing the processes of cleaning up this faculty space (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) and the challenges in teaching the academy about themselves (Rose 2013) and *their* dying fantasies of settler legitimacy (Strakosch 2015, p. 106).

At this interface, the programming and programmers of Australian teacher education continue their claims to know 'teacher education' better than we know it ourselves (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), and there is 'no need to hear your voice' (p. 227) and 'only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story' (p. 227). In knowing Australian teacher education, our yarning charts the complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of these logics that violently erase life and lands (Tuck & Yang 2012). However, this storying of settler colonialism that is 'constituted by the pain of others' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) *refuses* the positionality/subjectivity of this violence.

The articulation of a restored separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005; Fredericks 2015) is truth-telling the settled but still-illegal Australian university, getting these settled spaces unsettled (Watson 2007) and ready for something new (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28). As hosts (McDonald 2017) in this 'aspirational' new 'settlerless' location (Veracini 2010, p. 49) *inside* Australian teacher education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), Aboriginal teacher educators are waiting for structural reform that will allow this ancient sovereignty to shine (Referendum Council 2017).

## **Limitations of Inquiry**

For this study, I yarned (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010) with five other Aboriginal teacher educators who, like me, teach teaching (Loughran 2010) in an Australian teacher education program. This small cohort refracts the 'generic ethnic labelling and positioning' of 'an assumed pan-Aboriginalism' (Burgess 2017, p. 742) in these programs and the limitations of such assumptions.

As Aboriginal teacher educators, we bring to the one-nation landscape of Australian teacher education unique knowledge relationships (Adams & Faulkhead 2012). Aboriginal teacher educators' knowledge relationships are contextualised by our connections to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364) and by the histories of the settler knowledge systems pegged across this intellectual terrain (Donald 2012, p. 3).

My agendas were to draw these highly individualised locations, places and times that we occupy (Watson 2007, p. 15) into a mutual dialogue (Maoz 2006) that could co-create knowledge about ourselves and the 'corpus body of knowledge about us' operating around us (Nakata 2007a, p. 12). The diversity of our knowledge relationships means my thesis cannot be read as a 'how-to guide' that prescribes what is and is not 'Aboriginal best practice' in Australian teacher education, although the reflections I share here about our work at this interface might help (Adams & Faulkhead 2012).

Yarning about the unique professional identities, relational responsibilities and obligations we have at the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education produced intimate, identifiable 'data'. This intimacy of my co-yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel about these settled and unsettled places we occupy, where our voices are potentially



‘captured, echoed, ricocheted, and distilled’ (Watson 2007, p. 15), determined the scope and limits of what could be said and what could be left unsaid, what could be revealed and what still needs to be hidden. In revealing the conditions of our existence as Aboriginal teacher educators, our yarning speaks back to the programming of Australian teacher education that shapes and produces ‘indigeneity’ (Moreton-Robinson 2015, pp. xvii–xviii). Speaking back to these structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) can be tricky and sometimes dangerous work, and in my project, I needed to ensure my co-yarners’ identities remained hidden.

Leaving things unsaid and people hidden potentially marks the yarning process as not ‘objective’ and my use of the ‘data’ generated as selective. My thesis refuses (Tuck & Yang 2014) the nonrelated interlopers’ demands for objectivity (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010) and instead looks for alternative pathways that make transparent my subjective relationships with the ‘research cohort, the community, the land and the cosmos, and ideas’ (Wilson 2019, p. 47).

## **Chapter Summation and Thesis Organisation**

In this introductory chapter, I presented my research focus, asking if Aboriginal teacher educators like me are free to roam the one-nation landscapes of Australian teacher education (Watson 2007, p. 15). I conceptually mapped the continual connections (p. 15) and emerging unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) Aboriginal teacher educators encounter when returning an ancient text of the land (McKnight 2016, p. 13) to the professionally shared language of Australian teaching and learning (Loughland & Ellis 2016).

In the next chapter, my Literature Review surveys the ‘conditions of our existence’ (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a), working with and against settler logics that structurally (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) ‘shapes and produces Indigeneity’ (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii). Distilled into four sections, my review of the literature first returns to the eventful (Wolfe 2006) localised past, tracing colonial descriptions of my own Country to identify where territorial claims of settler legitimacy are ‘dependent on the destruction and erasure of indigenous inhabitants in order to clear them from valuable land’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). Mapping how settler logics structurally formed the settler colonial nation-state, my second discussion of the literature traces three ‘offensive and less offensive’ Aboriginal population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) operating across the programming of Australian education. My third section of this literature review explains the structural programming as being the *imperial fort* still illegally pegged out (Donald 2012 p. 3) over existing Aboriginal territories. Returning and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators (Fredericks 2015; Tuck & Yang 2012) arrive at this interface (Nakata 2007a) with individual and collective relational responsibilities and obligations (Grieves 2008, p. 364) that restore the foundations of a separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005) *inside* Australian teacher education programs (Fredericks 2015, p. 79). My fourth discussion in the literature review theorises how Aboriginal teacher educators cross-culturally trade with the settler (Donald 2012) in these settled and unsettled times and places (Watson 2007, p. 15). The local Aboriginal gaze guides the settler gaze (Maoz 2006) through dark destinations in Australian education, where ‘pain’ and ‘suffering’ are claimed as well-intentioned (Rose

2013) educational pathways to a better world (Tuck & Yang 2014). The localised Aboriginal trading savages the disciplines (Nakata 2007b) in ways that transform the coloniser/colonised relationship into a mutual dialogue between host and guest (McDonald 2017), decolonising Australian teacher education programs and, returning to these repatriated territories, Aboriginal life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1).

My Methodology chapter explains how these territorial struggles translate as Aboriginal research agendas in Australian education studies. Naming my methodology as *wayfinding* (Klippel 2010, p. 3079; Meyer 2001) the desire lines in Aboriginal research, I give reason for following previously marked-out scholarship that has offered 'counter explanations' and 'non-Western alternatives' (Rigney 2006, p. 74). As a *new old way* of being, knowing and doing research (Arbon 2008, p. 137), I explore where and how wayfinding contextualised my research responsibilities and obligations to the 'cosmos of ideas' (Wilson 2019, p. 47), conceptually providing ways to organise and interpret the social–ecological (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) cues, signposts and markings I found on my research journey.

I present an overview of my process of research topic yarning, explaining how this research tool contours familiar everyday communication in Aboriginal communities (Walker et al. 2014, p. 1218). In my thesis, I frame the everyday communication as the mutual dialogue between Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri, Davel and me, and in this small community of 'Aboriginal teacher educators' (Burgess 2017, p. 742), we explore the curricular and pedagogical articulation of our responsibilities and obligations in caring for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). In this methodological discussion, I justify why I adopted Bessarab and

Ng'Andu's (2010, pp. 40–41) stages and frames of research topic yarning and how I adapted this research tool to generate

- self-yarns that took the form of a reflective professional diary that revealed my own localised story of teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education
- audio recording co-yarns with other Aboriginal teacher educators that storied the conditions of our Faculty of Education existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) and to the logics in the organisation of Australian teacher education 'that shape and produce Indigeneity' (p. xviii). My recorded co-yarning sessions were digitally saved, transcribed and then returned to participants for review.

I provide a rationale for my analysis framework, explaining how I applied my collaborative yarns against the three Aboriginal population transfers (Veracini 2010) described in my literature review. This framework storied (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43) where in the transfer to education faculties Aboriginal teacher educators' sovereign rights to roam (Watson 2007) are juxtaposed (Donald 2012) with settlers' rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014). The juxtaposition between the local Aboriginal way of doing teacher education and the international system of the university (Adams & Faulkhead, p. 1019) produced common themes that spoke of the faculty conditions at this cultural interface between two knowledge societies and what happens when we disrupt the programming of Indigeneity (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii).

The common themes of my yarning are organised as chapter subheadings in my three Findings and Interpretations chapters. Documented in these discussions is the territorial contestation for curricular and pedagogical

legitimacy in the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2) and the confrontations Aboriginal teacher educators have with those 'enchanted' with colonialism's shine, who 'tend to resist and deny their complicity in harm' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24).

In my first Findings and Interpretations chapter, *The End of Roaming Through Forced Change and Transformation*, I organise yarns in ways that story the recasting (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 4) of Aboriginal Studies as teacher education curriculum and how this transfer of teaching and learning forced distinctions (Veracini 2010, p. 38) between the agendas of the university's Aboriginal Unit and the Faculty of Education.

In my second Findings and Interpretations chapter, *The Consumption of Aboriginal Difference Through An All-Inclusive Citizenship*, I tell how the new faculty brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) has left Aboriginal teacher educators homeless (Watson 2009a), working with discourses and practices that erase our separate sovereign claims for curricular and pedagogical legitimacy.

In my third Findings and Interpretations chapter, *The Pathway Towards Treaty Is Obstructed By the Promise of Practical Reconciliation*, I story how Aboriginal teacher educators' long waiting for settlerless spaces (Veracini 2010, p. 49) in Australian teacher education is marked as future symbolic aspirations (Dodson 2016, p. 3), delayed by the immediate needs of settlers to be reconciled from their pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) whilst rescued from their future (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231).

In my final chapter, I summarise what I have learnt from my yarn sessions with five other Aboriginal teacher educators, where I ask if we are free to roam (Watson 2007) the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education. In this final discussion of my yarning, I return to the common themes identified in my Findings and Interpretations chapters, attending to my thesis subquestions, summarising

- how the local Aboriginal gaze is transforming the relationships in the mutual gaze of Australian teacher education
- the processes and practices of self-actualisation towards settler sovereignty that need most disrupting
- what territorial justice means for Aboriginal teacher educators.

In my closing remarks, I argue that Aboriginal teacher educators teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) are delayed by nation-building agendas (Brennan 2011) and social justice imperatives (McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012). The localised work of Aboriginal teacher educators is currently 'clearing up' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) these settled and unsettled spaces (Watson 2007) in Australian teacher education, actualising the principles and protocols that return lands and life (Tuck & Yang 2012 2014) whilst waiting for a new relationship (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) that can recognise the sovereignty of Aboriginal people (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 24).

## Literature Review

Throughout this chapter, I examine literature that conceptually maps the dimensions of my research problem, which explores whether Aboriginal teacher educators like me are free to roam across the one-nation landscape of Australian teacher education (Watson 2007, p. 15). To document the continuing connection that Aboriginal teacher educators have at this interface between two knowledge societies (Nakata 2007a), I have framed this chapter by four sections.

In the first section, I return to the eventful (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) localised past, tracing early colonial descriptions and accounting of my own Country to identify where territorial claims of settler legitimacy are 'dependent on the destruction and erasure of indigenous inhabitants in order to clear them from valuable land' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). Through the discussion, I note how this colonial interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) informs the foundations of settler colonial nation-states like Australia, producing a range of 'offensive and less offensive' Aboriginal population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34).

In the second section, I trace the complexification of these genocidal and assimilatory logics (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), identifying three Aboriginal population transfers (Veracini 2010) operating in Australian social and education pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) policy directives. This organisation and

explanation of Aboriginal population transfers in Australian education studies provide a historical summary of Australian education and in this, the organisation of Aboriginal knowledge in settler colonial curriculums. When operationalised, these population transfers

- end Aboriginal rights to roam through forced change and transformation
- consume Aboriginal difference through an all-inclusive citizenship
- obstruct the pathway towards treaty with the promise of practical reconciliation.

In the third section of this chapter, I consider how returning and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators (Tuck & Yang 2012) arrive to the cultural interface of Australian teacher education with individual and collective responsibilities and obligations to caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364). These pedagogical and curricular responsibilities are informed by our First Knowledge, and the *totality* of this knowledge (West 2000) determines our sovereign rights to roam (Watson 2007). I conceptually map how caring for these knowledge relationships restores the foundations of a separate sovereign existence inside Australian teacher education programs (Alfred 2005), caring for Aboriginal teacher educators when working at this cultural interface, with the social and attitudinal chaos created by settler logics. Metaphorically describing the physical and metaphysical settler structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of the university as being the imperial fort illegally pegged out over Aboriginal territories (Donald 2012, p. 3), I identify through the literature how Aboriginal teacher educators educationally trade with the settler (p. 6) in this cross-cultural 'chaos' (Grieves 2008, p. 364). Trespassing and traversing through the internal and external walls of the fort, this trading with settler structures we wish



reformed decolonises Australian teacher education programs, savaging the disciplines (Nakata 2007b) in ways that return and repatriate Aboriginal minds, bodies and territories (Tuck & Yang 2012).

In the fourth section of this chapter, I refer to the literature to conceptually frame the localised curricular and pedagogical trading as being dark tours of Australian settler colonialism (Dunkley 2017; Rose 2013). On these tours, the local Aboriginal gaze (Maoz 2006) guides students and staff through physical and metaphysical dark destinations in Australian education, where ‘pain and suffering’ (Rose 2013, p. 212) were claims of well-intentioned pathways of humanisation into a better, Whiter world (Tuck & Yang 2014). This mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) looks to how our dark colonial pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) informs the way we talk to and about one another (Donald 2012) in and across Australian teacher education studies, theory and practice. Aboriginal teacher educators’ dark tours seek to transform the coloniser/colonised relationship into a mutual dialogue between host and guest (McDonald 2017), seeking an apology for past wrongs (Geboe 2015) whilst advancing future relationships that care for Country and share its resources (McDonald 2017).

### **Settler Logics: Invasion and Structures**

In this first section, I write through the literature to demonstrate how settler Australian society is structured (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) by its desire to conquer Aboriginal territories (Tuck & Yang 2014). I return to the history of my own Country as a way to place this colonial interplay of ‘erasure, bodies, land, and violence’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224), tracing how the settlers Henty’s and Mitchell’s intrusive footsteps forever changed the relationship Aboriginal people have with Country (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011).

I stuck a plough into the ground, struck a she-oak root, and broke the point; cleaned my gun, shot a kangaroo, mended the bellows, blew the forge fire, straightened the plough, and turned the first sod in Victoria. (Edward Henty 1832 cited in Old Colonists' Association of Victoria 2019)

A land so inviting, and still without inhabitants! As I stood, the first European intruder on the sublime solitude of these verdant plains, as yet untouched by flocks or herds, I felt conscious of being the harbinger of mighty changes, and that our steps would soon be followed by the men and the animals for which it seemed to have been prepared. (Mitchell 1836)

Edward Henty's 1832 settlement within the Country of Gunditjmara was beyond the pale of the New South Wales colonial administration. *Unauthorised*, he and his family

began whaling at Portland Bay and took their flocks and herds inland to the rich areas on the Wannon River, the 'Australia Felix' described to them by their discoverer, Major (Sir) Thomas Mitchell, in 1836 when he reached Portland Bay overland from Sydney. (Bassett 1966)

The illegality of Henty's squatting was pointed out by the Surveyor General Major Mitchell when the two met on that eventful day (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) when both parties realised they were not the 'first European intruders' (Mitchell 1836). Mitchell, as the Crown's surveyor, writes Henty's illegal clearing into the ever-expanding administrative claims to the continent, noting in his diary,

It was very obvious indeed from the magnitude and extent of the buildings and the substantial fencing erected that both time and labour had been expended in their construction. (Mitchell 1836)

Mitchell's imperial mapping of Henty's property became a physical and metaphysical structural marker of a collapsing colonial frontier (Wolfe 2006). Tuck and Yang (2014) argue that the permanence of these structures defines

settler colonialism as different to exogenous colonialism in that colonisers stay after arriving to discovered land and decide to claim the place as their permanent home (p. 224). They (2012) write that external colonialism recasts 'all things Native' as 'natural resources' (p. 4), denoting

the expropriation of fragments of Indigenous worlds, animals, plants and human beings, extracting them in order to transport them to—and build the wealth, the privilege, or feed the appetites of—the colonisers, who get marked as the first world. (p. 4)

The recasting of all things native as being verdant plains 'prepared for them and them men who would follow' (Mitchell 1836) created 'war fronts' and 'frontiers against enemies to be conquered' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4). Tuck and Yang name the 'biopolitical and geopolitical management of people, land, flora and fauna within the domestic borders of the imperial nation' as 'internal colonialism' (p. 4). Operating simultaneously 'through internal/external colonial modes' (p. 4), settler colonialism collapses 'spatial separation between metropole and colony' with 'the intention of making a new home on the land, a homemaking that insists on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain' (p. 5). In this new domain,

Land is most valuable, contested, required. This is both because the settlers make Indigenous land their new home and source of capital, and also because the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence. This violence is not temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation. (p. 5)

The ongoing occupation means settler 'invasion is a structure not an event' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388), where colonisers like Henty and Mitchell who had come to stay erect a 'colonial society' that 'strives for the dissolution of native societies'

(p. 388). In this *new* South Wales, 'land is remade into property' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5), legally and morally dividing 'nature and humanity' (Arbon 2008, p. 140), recasting Aboriginal 'epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships to land as pre-modern, backwards, and savage' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5).

The new settling domain is marked by the violent interplay of erasing native bodies from the land (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). The divisive race, culture and civilisation logics (Donald 2012; Veracini 2010) are the foundations of 'Whiteness in settler colonial nation-states' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), deciding who in the new Victorian colony was 'capable of moral action and who is subjected to it' (Murphy 2000, p. 37). The organisation of populations inside the domestic borders of the Victorian colony formed a triad relationship (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224)

between the White settler (who is valued for his leadership and innovative mind), the disappeared Indigenous peoples (whose land is valued, so they and their claims to it must be extinguished), and the chattel slaves (whose bodies are valuable but ownable, abusable, and murderable). (p. 224)

In 'the frenzy for native land' (Wolfe 2006, p. 391), global economic 'immigrants' and 'rabble' from 'the ranks of Europe's landless' (p. 339) converged with 'the international slave trade' and 'the highest echelons of the formal state apparatus' (p. 339). In the localised colonial convergence, Henty and Mitchell are valued for their White leadership and innovative male thinking (Moreton-Robinson 2000) and carrying with them the right to 'discover' and 'claim' the disappeared Indigenous peoples' land (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224).

Deeming themselves of their own settler legitimacy (Watson 2007), Mitchell's recognition of Henty's enterprising labour ends the temporality of his illegal squat, whilst Henty's industrious tilling of 'the first sod in Victoria' serves both the individual and Crown's claims of 'civilising a country and building a nation' (Donald 2012, p. 3). However, as Wolfe (2006) writes, 'whatever settlers may say—and they generally have a lot to say' (p. 388), the 'ideological justification for the dispossession of Aborigines was that "we" could use the land better than they could' (p. 388), and

the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilisation, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element. (p. 388)

### **Settler consciousness and the organisation of the world**

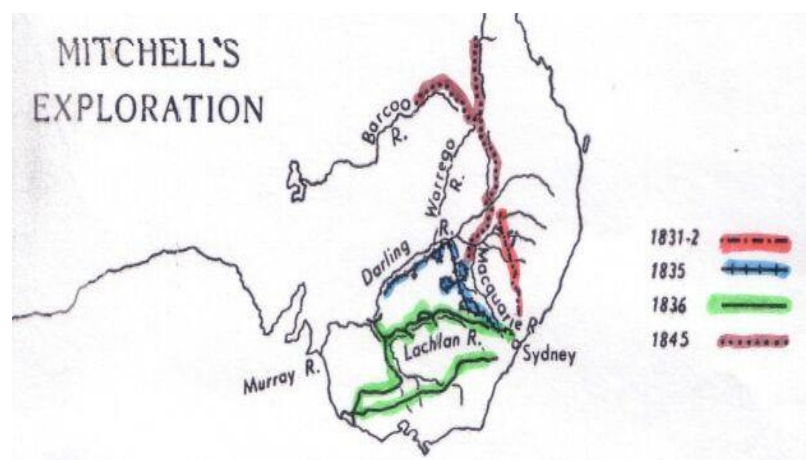
Both Henty and Mitchell saw themselves as 'more developed, more human, more deserving than other groups or species' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 6) and re-cast the 'wild land and wild people' (p. 6) 'not yet touched by flocks or herds' (Mitchell 1836) as resources made for their benefit (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 6). Conscious 'of being the harbinger of mighty changes', Mitchell collapses 'the distinctions between "political stories" and "political realities"' (Strakosch 2015, p. 106), *dissolving* their own illegal and 'temporary 'colonial status' (p. 106). Imagining the Victorian colony's beginning coinciding with the end of Aboriginal society (p. 106), Henty and Mitchell's homesteading fantasies acknowledge 'that what they claim to be true is not yet true' (p. 106), but collectively, 'in their act of willing and intensely desiring this alternative reality, they do everything possible to bring it about' (p. 106).

Organising discovered and claimed, “verdant plains” according to resources and impediments to resources (Rose 2013, p. 210), Mitchell and Henty’s homesteading is dependent on ‘the separation and domination of nature and humanity’ (Arbon 2008, p. 140). Settler consciousness is characterised by this violent structural interplay that erases life from land (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224), where ‘everything that can be consumed will be consumed, everything that gets in the way of consumption will be killed’ (Rose 2013, p. 210).

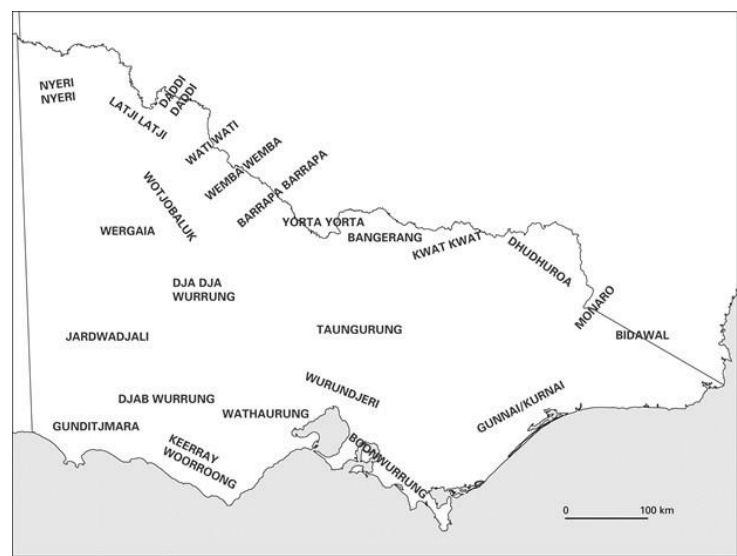
I stuck a plough into the ground, struck a she-oak root, and broke the point. I cleaned my gun, shot a kangaroo. (Edward Henty 1832 cited in Old Colonists’ Association of Victoria 2019, para. 3)

Functioning as the state apparatus that actualises settler consciousness, Mitchell and Henty are the *harbingers* of an advancing death ‘cult of consumption’ (Rose 2013, p. 10), ‘discovery, and individualistic self-growth’ (Arbon 2008, p. 140). Blurring the space ‘properly called military colonialism’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4), Henty’s and Mitchell’s intrusive footsteps (see Figure 1) created war fronts across Aboriginal geographies (see Figure 2) with ‘frontiers’ (see Figure 3) to ‘be conquered’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4). The philosophical justification to settle a ‘land so inviting’ that was ‘seemingly prepared’ for the men who would follow Henty and Mitchell make the advancing (Rose 2013, p. 10) settler logics ‘invisible, natural, without origin (and without end), and inevitable’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229). Naturalising death-cult rights to conquer Aboriginal territories, the systematic violence geologically transforms Descartes’ ‘I think, therefore I am’ into ‘I know, therefore I conquer, therefore I am’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225), where ‘knowledge of self/Others became the

philosophical justification for the acquisition of bodies and territories, and the rule over them’ (p. 225).



**Figure 1.** Mitchell’s explorations 1831–1845



**Figure 2.** Victorian Aboriginal language map



**Figure 3.** Massacre map of Victoria 1836–1850

The settling logics written across Henty's and Mitchell's accounts in being the first of many colonial *intruders* cannot be dismissed as 'just errant or inauspicious beginnings' and 'by product of birthing of a new great nation' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 228). Rather, Henty's and Mitchell's diary notations can be mapped to 'the demands to scientifically prove the supremacy of the White mind' (p. 228), tracing,

the spaciality (expansionist control of lands), ontoepistemic racism (elimination and subjugation of difference) and geopolitics of knowledge production (epistemic violence) that are constitutive of modernity. (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 23)

Bunda and Phillips (2018) note how the 'colonial knowing of us as objects of study has travelled from the diaries of White "explorers"' (p. 20), 'coalescing' with 'the records of government officials, the observations of squatters and colonial news print' (p. 21). The coalescence of the settler *gaze* (Maoz 2006) in/formed 'the "scientific" notes' of 'the field and travelled further to laboratories, lecture theatres and research proposals in anthropology and archaeology



departments at universities' (p. 21). Where *inside* settler knowledge systems (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) that were still illegally pegged over Aboriginal territories (Donald 2012, p. 3), the

belief in European supremacy legitimised the violent theft of all things Aboriginal—our lands, our lives, our laws and our culture. It was a way of knowing the world, a way which continues to underpin the continuing displacement of Aboriginal peoples. (Watson 2007, p. 17)

The Australian university situates the pastpresent violence to Aboriginal knowledge relationships to Country, where settler 'rights to know' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) Aboriginal land and life has organised the 'corpus body of knowledge about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12) in ways that complete the settler colonial project (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 16). In subsequent sections of this literature review, I map how settler rights to know and organised nature and humanity (Arbon 2008, p. 140) complexified (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), producing a range of Aboriginal population transfers in Australian education (Veracini 2010) that left 'no balance, nor opportunity to enact justice for a peoples whose systems are founded upon the rights of the collective' (Murphy 2000, p. 64).

### **Aboriginal Population Transfers in Australian Education**

In this section of my literature review, I conceptually frame three Aboriginal population transfers operating in and across Australian teacher education programs. Veracini (2010) writes that Australia as a 'settler-colonial' nation-state is in itself an example of mass population transfers (p. 33), demonstrating the capacity to shift 'substantial clusters of peoples' (p. 33) with the objectives and 'fantasies of ultimately "cleansing" the settler body politics' (p. 33) of Aboriginal difference. As Veracini argues, the cleansing of Aboriginal difference can mean the complete 'military liquidation' (p. 33) of populations, as well as 'less

offensive' assimilatory alternatives to genocide (p. 34). Veracini explains that 'the settler colonial situation is primarily defined by an inherent drive towards supersession' (p. 33), and in self-actualising this logic, Aboriginal populations 'must be seen as disappearing in a variety of ways' (p. 33).

In my discussion of the literature, I chart the complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of settler colonial transferist logics as they 'transmute into different modalities, discourses and institutional formations' (p. 402). I consider how pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) social and education theory, policy and practice transfer Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012) in ways that complete the settler project (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 16). Although presented as a linear accounting of historically significant events (Wolfe 2006, p. 388), my discussion of operating Aboriginal population transfers looks to the pastpresent to map the structural complexification of necropolitical and assimilatory logics (Veracini 2010, p. 35). In my mapping of settler fantasies that remove to replace and/or include to enclose Aboriginal difference (Strakosch 2015, p. 106), I look to how 'time' and 'place' factors overlap, producing unique settler colonial locations and relationships (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48).

I found Veracini's (2010) conceptual listing useful in terms of thesis organisation and in making sense of the range of offensive and less offensive Aboriginal population transfers operating in Australian teacher education. Veracini explains that 'different strategies can become activated at different times' (p. 34), responding to 'the settler project's relative power and specific necessities' (p. 34) expressed through differing population transfers

targeting different aspects of indigenous life: settlers and their legislatures agitate for removal, missionaries for assimilation, the state operates by way of administrative transfers, and so on. (p. 34)

In this context, the 'so on' is the complexification of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) that relentlessly rolls on through time and place (Watson 2017, p. 213), becoming the forever-unfinished business (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011; Watson 2017, p. 213). Organising 'nature and humanity' (Arbon 2008, p. 140) in ways that self-actualise (Tuck & Yang 2014) the incomplete unfinished business of settler colonialism, these population transfers

- end Aboriginal rights to roam through forced change and transformation
- consume Aboriginal difference through an all-inclusive citizenship
- obstruct the pathway towards Treaty with the promise of practical reconciliation.

Whilst historically presented as linear storying of Australian educational policy, practice and theory, my discussion of population transfers provides a way to describe how this praxis is contextualised through time and place. Whilst these factors mark some population transfers as different, 'potentially less offensive' and 'compassionate' (Veracini 2010, p. 34), the shifts in the settler colonial relationship with Aboriginal populations also 'complement each other and are deployed concomitantly' (p. 34) and 'premised on the successful enactment of previous transfers' (p. 34).

### **Ending the purposeful roaming through forced change and transformation**

To map the population transfers that end roaming through forced change and transformation, I look to how the *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* (Vic.) and the *Education Act 1872* (Vic.) organised internal and external populations in ways

that legitimated the authority of the Victorian colony as a settler state. Like other Australian colonies' prefederated policy relationship with Aboriginal populations, Victoria's Aboriginal Protection Act assumed responsibility for the Aboriginal people within its domestic borders (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224). The Act effectively regulated the lives of Aboriginal people, becoming wards of the state where a board of appointed trustees administered and accounted for their lives.

Veracini (2010) points out that Aboriginal protectorates were 'established as branches of government in the settler colonies' (p. 49) to watch over and supposedly 'check the harmful effects of contact with civilisation' (p. 49). Organising and mobilising Aboriginal populations ethnically (p. 35), the objectives of the Aboriginal Protection Act transferred Aboriginal people to, from and between various protectorates, missions and reserves across the Colony of Victoria, established as 'holding pens for conquered peoples' (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112).

Bin-Sallik (2003, p. 21) notes that early colonial Aboriginal education was dominated but divided with debate regarding the educability of Aboriginal people living in protectorates, missions and reserves. They identify how race, culture and civilisation logics of the colony were influenced by Rousseau's concept of the noble savage, where colonial authorities like the Aboriginal Protection Board

saw Aborigines as people who lived in perfect harmony with nature, free from the constraints of urban living. Alternatively, other colonial authorities viewed Aborigines as 'savages' who were 'primitive' and incapable of accepting 'civilising' influences. (p. 21)

Price and Rogers (2019) argue that this ‘myth that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were uneducable’ (p. 4) meant Aboriginal children were excluded from the ‘broader education system’ (p. 4), where in missions, reserves and protectorates, they learnt how ‘to sew, launder, cook, clean, garden, build fences, tend livestock and generally participate in more menial tasks’ (p. 4), placing ‘emphasis on preparing the children for a future as unskilled workers’ (p. 5) and ‘cheap labour in the wider community’ (p. 5).

The legislative transfer of Aboriginal populations written into the Aboriginal Protection Act enforced a ‘sedentarisation’ (Veracini 2010, p. 44) that forever changed (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011) Aboriginal ‘life and social and political organisation’ (Veracini 2010, p. 44). Ending sovereign rights to territorially roam (Watson 2017), the process of sedentarisation written into the Aboriginal Protection Act transferred Aboriginal ways ‘of allocating, transferring, and recognising property rights’ (Veracini 2010, p. 44), enabling ‘the possibility of initiating transfer by assimilation and transfer by repressive authenticity’ (p. 44).

The repressive authenticity can be read in the original legislation, where ‘one-drop’ race logics meant,

Every aboriginal native of Australia and every aboriginal half caste or child of a half-caste, such half-caste or child habitually associating and living with aboriginals, shall be deemed to be an Aboriginal. (Aboriginal Protection Act 1869, p. 3)

However, repressive blood quota race constructs, increasingly written into and across the Aboriginal Protection Acts throughout Australian state and territory legislation, meant children from mixed European and Aboriginal parentage were

mostly 'not counted as being Aboriginal' (McCallum 2011, p. 17). Understood as the 'Half-Caste Act', the rewriting of the Aboriginal Protection Act fixated on 'ethnically' ending Aboriginal childhood through processes of 'cognate biocultural assimilation' (Wolfe 2006, p. 383) that, when practised, came to mean 'child abductions, religious conversion, [and] resocialisation in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools (p. 383).

Defined by systems of classifying Blackness and Whiteness, the racialisation and subcategorisation (Veracini 2010, p. 48) of Aboriginality written into the Aboriginal Protection Act endorsed an Aboriginal ethnocide (Mako 2012) that severed cultural attachment, connections and territorial claims without physical extermination (pp. 177–178). The blood quota race constructs written into the Aboriginal Protection Act wilfully forgot Aboriginal childhood (Bradford 2013) and, when practised on a national scale (Sherwood 2013), intergenerationally counted Aboriginal people 'out of existence' (Veracini 2010, p. 39). The conceptual displacement (Veracini 2010, p. 35) of Aboriginal populations in centuries of Australian social and education policy

clearly sought to distance the education of the citizen child from the Aboriginal child, whose education was managed via separate legislation, often through separate schooling. (McLeod & Paisley 2016, pp. 484–485)

When read together, the Colony of Victoria's *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* smooths the dying pillow of Aboriginal childhood, whilst the *Education Act 1872*, mandating free, compulsory and secular schooling, birthed a new White consciousness (Bradford 2013; Connell 2009; McLeod & Paisley 2016). At this policy interface, the Aboriginal Protection Act was presented as a delayed

pathway of 'humanisation' into this 'better, Whiter, world' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232).

In this context, the 'irreducible element of territory' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) can be read across both Acts of the Victorian colony. Whilst the population transfers of the Aboriginal Protection Act systematically expand the distance between Aboriginal territories and populations, the Education Act, with its promise of free, secular and compulsory education to all its citizens, collapses the distance between the imperial centre and its colonial frontier. The logics of both Acts reflect the colony's 'ever-expanding' (Herbert 2012, p. 43) legislative agendas to organise the domestic populations in ways that self-actualise the White settler triad (Tuck & Yang 2014). Veracini (2010) argues that in this process,

The integration of exogenous Others is relatively less complicated than the integration of indigenous people. Belonging within the settler polity can be more easily organised for exogenous Others on the basis of a common exogenous origin and an emancipatory passage that follows displacement than, for indigenous Others, on the basis of a qualified dispensation granting rights that are premised on an original dispossession. (p. 43)

In the original territorial dispossession, previous and co-existing colonial legislation (see, for example, the *Chinese Immigration Restriction Act 1855*, the *Male Suffrage Act 1857*, and the *Reform Act 1867*) defined the Colony of Victoria as a 'White Australia' (Naughton 1910) and in doing so claimed legitimacy in deciding 'who comes, and how they are to arrive' (Howard 2001).

Set within the restrictive, race-based, biological colonial citizenship, the population transfers operating in the free but compulsory state education sought

to create a singular White nationalist consciousness that could collapse societal and sectarian differences among its White populations (Connell 2009).

Descending from global economic 'immigrants' and 'rabble' from 'the ranks of Europe's landless' (Wolfe 2006, p. 391), who had arrived to the colonies with 'little or no formal education' (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 3), the new White homesteading population 'were ignorant of other cultures, languages and societies and were not attuned to different possibilities' (p. 3). Connell (2009) describes the new mass system of schooling as 'interventions into a turbulent colonial society' (p. 3) 'conceived' to assert 'social control over working-class and rural youth who might easily escape it' (p. 3).

To illustrate my discussion, colonial school readers from this period promote the unifying 'achievements of the frontier' (Phillips 2011, p. 23), contrasting the birthing of a new White nation with 'textual and visual representation of immobilised Aboriginal population/s caught in a static past' (p. 23). Initially, the *Irish National Readers* were commonly used in Victorian schools, as early as 1848; however, content in these readers *troubled* sectarian relationships between Protestant and Catholic colonial populations (State Library of Victoria 2019, para. 3). The *Royal Readers Series* (1877) sought to address these growing sectarian differences within the colony, with 'non-denominational religious education and a focus on literacy and moral values' (State Library of Victoria 2019, para. 3), whilst the *Royal Readers*

included English literature and poetry, tales of British history and expansion, and facts about geography, food and animals. Later editions contained some content relating to Australian history, flora and fauna. (State Library of Victoria 2019, para. 4)



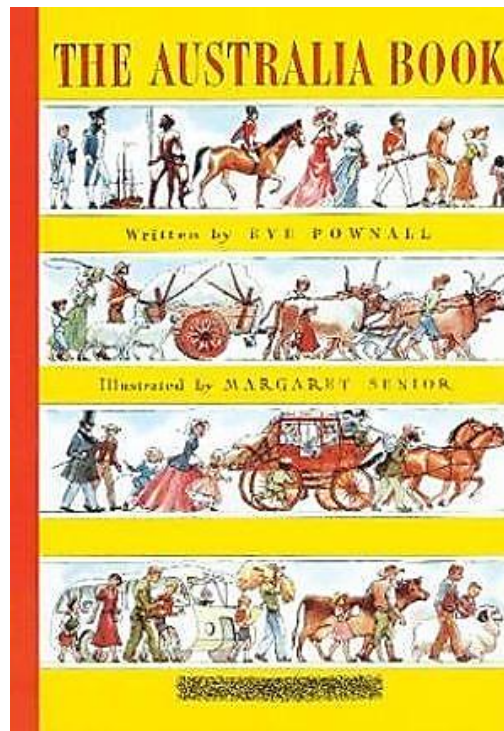
The writing of school readers became palimpsests of the colonial desire to unify social and attitudinal chaos of the colony. The rewriting of a curriculum to better reflect and actualise settler consciousness (Tuck & Yang 2014) included the *Victorian Readers* (1927–1950s) and, whilst set ‘still within the context of British imperialism’ (State Library of Victoria 2019 para 4), were also ‘more distinctively Australian’, purposefully writing in the Australian ‘pupil’s home’ (para 13).

In Book 8 of the *Victorian Readers* (Department of Education & Training Victoria 1953), settler accounts like Mitchell’s expeditions of the continent’s interior sits against Kendall’s poem, *The last of his tribe*. Whilst the rights to know (Tuck and Yang 2014) the interior through a settling lens is celebrated as ‘civilising a country and building a nation’ (Donald 2012, p. 3), Kendall reconstructs Aboriginality (Bradford 2013) as ‘crouching’, ‘face on his knees’, thinking of ‘loss and the loneliness’ and ‘of fights that he fought, with those who will battle no more’ (Department of Education & Training Victoria 1953, p. 10).

Textually actualising the agendas of both the Aboriginal Protection Act and Education Act, the *Victorian Readers*’ grammar territorially (dis)counted Aboriginal societies as once living but now dead (Veracini 2010, p. 40), whilst counting in and settling White sectarian and class differences (Connell 2009). Informing entire generations of Australians, school readers produced by the state enforced a grammar that explained Australian ‘history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12).

Creating educationally destructive discourses of cultural deficit in its wake, the reproduction of colonial grammar (Donald 2012; Veracini 2010; Wolfe 2006) immobilised, scarred and wounded Aboriginal populations (Tuck & Yang 2014), where on alternative pathways of humanisation (Tuck & Yang 2014),

Aboriginal people crouched outside the industrious centre of the new White settlement (Donald 2012, p. 2), designated to the 'realms of the primitive and inferior cultures' (Nakata 2002, p. 281) that became 'obstacles' in the way of 'progress along the path to modern civilisation' (p. 281). The popular 1950s *The Australia book* (Pownall & Senior 2008; see Figure 4) pictorially timelines the obstacle of Aboriginal sovereignty, where on its front cover, Aboriginality (constructed to be the naked male and child) appears only after the arrival of Cook and/or Phillips and the First Fleet (Bradford 2013).



**Figure 4.** *The Australia book* (Pownall & Senior 2008)

Standing in the way of a future-facing White nation, the settler fantasy of discovering disappearing native land (Tuck & Yang 2014) textually recast Aboriginal society as 'once alive but dead', 'left-looking, backwards and unchanging' (Veracini 2010, p. 40). In the pictorial narration of Australia's pathway towards nationhood, the abandoned Aboriginal child(hood) coincides

with the birthing of a healthy White childhood, and the explicit presence of White motherhood erases Aboriginal matriarchy completely (Jacobs 2009, pp. 88–89).

The conceptual (dis)placement of populations in social and education policy, articulated textually across Australian teaching and learning, seek to transfer, absorb and assimilate (Veracini 2010) internal and external populations (Tuck & Yang 2014) in ways that do not hinder the project of completing settler sovereignty (Strakosch & Macoun 2012). Whilst the Aboriginal Protection Act concerns the biocultural severing and assimilation of the Aboriginal populations, the logics of the Education Act seek to organise a new singular citizenship that could resolve the social and attitudinal chaos among the various White settler and exogenous population/s (Connell 2009).

The trajectories of the Aboriginal Protection Act and the various settler state Education Acts have meant Aboriginal populations are wilfully forgotten in much of ‘mainstream’ Australian education and social policy (Sherwood 2013). Territorially marked out as separate to agendas of settling White nation-state, Aboriginal education has come to mean the biopedagogical assimilation and absorption processes and practices (Wolfe 2006, p. 383) that organise and prepare Aboriginal populations for the status of the ‘exogenous Aboriginal other’ (Veracini 2010, p. 35) within the Australian settlement.

In further discussions for this chapter that reviews the literature, I trace the complexification of genocidal and assimilatory logics to its contemporary realities (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), where in Australian social and education policies, settler fantasies still inform practices that continue to wilfully construct Aboriginal people as ‘homeless’ (Watson 2009a) within the one nation of Australia (Watson 2007). In my tracing of logics, I consider how the social and

attitudinal chaos resulting from recent neoliberal cataclysmic change and transformation contours settler colonialism (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016) and identify the range of offensive and less offensive population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) operating as they emerge in Australian teacher education programs, organising the corpus body of knowledge about 'us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12). In these further conversations, I describe how neoliberal social and education policy is akin to colonial logics in that it 'will kill anything it can't consume' (Rose 2013, p. 210), conceptually displacing Aboriginal education and creating diasporas, expulsions and resettlements in its wake.

### **Consuming Aboriginal difference through an all-inclusive citizenship**

'Comrades,' he said, 'Here is a point that must be settled. The wild creatures, such as rats and rabbits—are they our friends or our enemies? Let us put it to the vote. I propose this question to the meeting: Are rats comrades?'. The vote was taken at once, and it was agreed by an overwhelming majority that rats were comrades. There were only four dissentients, the three dogs and the cat, who was afterwards discovered to have voted on both sides ... The cat joined the Re-education Committee and was very active in it for some days. She was seen one day sitting on a roof and talking to some sparrows who were just out of her reach. She was telling them that all animals were now comrades and that any sparrow who chose could come and perch on her paw; but the sparrows kept their distance. (Orwell 1945)

In this next discussion, I consider how the ac/counting of Aboriginal people as Australian citizens operates as a population transfer in Australian social and education policy and practice. As like the wild creatures living in the wild lands (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 6) around Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945), the population transfers associated with citizenship 'uplift' Aboriginal people into a new singular Australian brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37). In the palimpsest of world history

where the colonial world was collapsing and was replaced with the rise of the post-empire nation-state, the Australian brotherhood forced distinction between the 'native status and national citizenship' (p. 38), counting in Aboriginal difference 'out of existence' (p. 39).

The 1967 referendum was perhaps one of the 'most powerful influences on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education in the 20th century' (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 5), formally ending the various state and territory Aboriginal Protection Act(s) that regulated the lives of Aboriginal people, allowing for greater opportunities to engage in public institutions like universities.

As a population transfer, citizenship provided pathways towards increased participation and access to 'dominant culture, and mainstream opportunities' (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 7), with a policy vision where 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people would achieve educational outcomes equal with non-Indigenous Australians' (p. 7). However, these policies directives were never imagined or

understood as something beyond the potential for Indigenous Australians to be 'more like' dominant culture Australians in terms of their ability to access acknowledged dominant cultural rights, freedoms, and privileges. (Cross-Townsend 2017, pp. 70–71)

Like Orwell's cat inviting the sparrows to rest on its claws, Aboriginal citizenship to the settler colonial nation-state is an assimilatory process, where Aboriginal populations 'end up conforming to variously constructed notions of settler racial, cultural, or behavioural normativity' (Veracini 2010, p. 38). In this context, the assimilation of Aboriginal people into the nation-state's settler colonial structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) is dependant also on the

Commonwealth's ability 'to absorb the indigenous people that have been transformed by assimilation' (Veracini 2010, p. 38).

The assimilatory and absorbing logics of nation-state citizenship are dependent on the pre-existing colonial interplay of 'erasure, land, violence and bodies' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). At this interface, the Commonwealth's structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) responsible for the absorption and assimilation of Aboriginal difference are fixed to theories of Aboriginal cultural deficit and to the singular currencies of Australian 'utilitarianism, equality, and egalitarianism' (Murphy 2000, p. 37). The fixed currencies of Australian citizenship contain Aboriginal movements of resistance (p. 32), by drawing Aboriginal difference into the imperial centre and collapsing the distance and 'political distinctions' between settler and Aboriginal populations (Strakosch & Macoun 2012).

Despite these barriers, Bin-Sallik (1990) describes this period of postcitizenship as a 'renaissance of Aboriginal intellectual and cultural heritage' (p. 4). In education, this Aboriginal renaissance translated as Aboriginal teacher education programs, offering enclaves within university structures that could 'facilitate the training of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to become teachers' (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 9). Price and Rogers point out that

Most enclave support programs required potential students to leave their home communities, but this excluded a large group of potential students who were unable/unwilling to leave their communities for any length of time. Relocating to another 'country' posed (and still poses) a sometimes-insurmountable problem. (p. 10)

This focused attention of producing Aboriginal teachers meant an increasing engagement with institutions that Aboriginal societies wanted reformed. Price

and Rogers (2019) argue this reform throughout the '1970s saw a significant growth in the involvement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in education' (p. 8), producing counternarratives that documented how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people 'stand in stark contrast to the general Australian society, and also to other ethnic groups' (p. 8).

Mako (2012) identifies that throughout the 1980s, the internationalisation of First Peoples advanced theoretical and legal definitions of genocide to include the cultural nonphysical destruction of a group (p. 176). This advancement provided a 'critical framework for assessing indigenous cultural degeneration as a result of past and ongoing government policies' (p. 176). For example, in the preamble of the *Coolangatta Statement* (World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education 1999), this global First Peoples educational collective

argued that they have been denied equity in non-Indigenous education systems which has failed to provide educational services that nurture the whole Indigenous person inclusive of scholarship, culture and spirituality. (para. 2)

Challenging the assimilatory and absorption grammar, constructs and limitations of educational citizenship, the increasing globalised indigenous standpoints enabled local ways to formally critique cultural deficit theory and the educational currencies fixed to Australian settler logics and conditions.

The converging local/global Indigenous demand to use public institutions to know ourselves as First Peoples translated as titled and untitled physical and intellectual Aboriginal territories in many Australian universities. Anderson et al.

(2008) contend that although Aboriginal students needed to 'feel at home in all disciplines and all locations across university campuses' (p. 5),

A dedicated, welcoming and highly visible Indigenous centre is central to Indigenous students' persistence and educational survival. The positioning of the Indigenous centre both on the campus and within the university hierarchy also speak much louder to Indigenous students and community of the value the university places on Indigenous education than do any mission statements or memorandum of understanding. (p. 5)

Starrs (2014) writes that these Indigenous support units based in Australian universities typically housed 'meeting spaces and kitchen facilities' (p. 115), with office spaces for support staff and those who delivered 'Indigenous Studies' (p. 115). Placed within the 'settlerless space' (Veracini 2010, p. 49) of the Aboriginal Unit, this teaching led to the development of 'authentic Indigenous content' across 'the disciplines of the academy' (Cross-Townsend 2017, p. 72).

Teaching in and across the Western knowledge systems was 'difficult and taxing work' (Cross-Townsend 2017, p. 75), where the production of localised Aboriginal standpoints pedagogically critiqued foundational settler logics and ideologies that had constructed Aboriginality in and across the organisation of the university's disciplines and disturbed 19th century constructs of 'race, intellect and decision making' (Brady 1997, p. 417). Universities Australia (2011) acknowledges this history, where the *coalescing* of 'records of government officials, the observations of squatters and colonial news print' that informed universities' 'colonial knowing of us' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 20–21) shaped

the thinking and practices of generations of professionals who have played a significant role in structuring relationships between Indigenous Australians and the broader society, including advising colonial and



contemporary governments, authorities and professional bodies on policy and practice, constructing and legitimating societal values and attitudes, and providing professional services to Indigenous peoples. (Universities Australia 2011, p. 18)

As a population transfer, the pedagogical truth-telling of settler logics from localised Aboriginal standpoints occupied teaching and learning across the disciplines of Australian higher education, where disturbing colonial logics distracted Aboriginal teaching, keeping staff busy explaining, ‘over and over again’ their reason for being (Morrison 1975):

Somebody says have no language and you spend twenty years proving that you do. Somebody says your head isn’t shaped properly so you have scientists working on the fact that it is. Somebody says you have no art, so you dredge that up. Somebody says you have no kingdoms, so you dredge that up. None of this is necessary. There will always be one more thing.

The litigious one-more-thing process of truthing the illegal origins and contemporary legitimacy of Australia, whilst unnecessary, savaged the logic that had organised the disciplines of Australian higher education (Nakata 2007b). The pedagogical and curricular Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) pointed to the forever-changing, ‘unfinished business’ of Australian settler colonialism (Watson 2017, p. 213) that sparked a series of history and culture wars (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 41) reverberating across the academy and more generally the one-nation landscape of Australian settler society (Watson 2007, p. 15).

Dodson (2016) points to how this critical work was advanced with ‘the recognition of native title by the Australian High Court in 1992 and its accompanying extinguishment of the insidious terra nullius doctrine’ (p. 3) that

‘presented urgent legal and moral challenges to the Australian nation’ (p. 3).

This moral challenge created the expectation

that a treaty would facilitate the provision of national land rights and enable claims to be made for monetary compensation based on prior ownership of land and past injustices. This has certainly been the experience overseas. (Howard 1988)

In the Commonwealth’s reasoning, Australia could not have a treaty with itself and rejected calls for an apology and treaty process, dismissing them as ‘symbolic and divisive’ (Strakosch 2009a, p. 83).

In my further chapter discussions, I note how the more recent inclusion of Aboriginal teacher educators has enclosed Aboriginal difference within the fixed currencies of the Faculty of Education and to the goals of Australian Reconciliation. I argue the Faculty of Education mantra (Herbert 2012, p. 40) of the new brotherhood (Veracini 2010) is dominated by citizenship discourses and their social justice imperatives (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014). This grammar obstructs the recognition of Aboriginal sovereign legitimacy, confiscating how we talk about ourselves in Australian teacher education programs about our educational ‘history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12).

In the positives of citizenship (Wolfe 2006), the population transfers relating to citizenship created territorial and intellectual spaces for Aboriginal scholars who then made public institutions more accessible and accountable. However, citizenship as a population transfer has not formally ended the temporality of Australian colonialism, and in continuing the confiscation of our sovereign rights (Watson 2007) to self-determining the returning of an ancient

text of Country (McKnight 2016), the grammar of reconciliation frames the endpoint agenda of returning as a future symbolic aspiration (Dodson 2016).

### **Obstructing the pathways towards treaty with the promise of reconciliation**

In this third discussion of population transfers in Australian education, I describe how Australian Reconciliation has become the current educational palimpsest in the complexification of settler logic (Wolfe 2006, p. 402). Reconciliation logics are litigiously symbolic and divisive (Strakosch 2009a, p. 83) for they move closer to recognising the status of Aboriginal populations as sovereign *host* (McDonald 2017). However, language to describe this status is obstructed, confiscated by a 'contrived cultural war' (Dodson 2016, p. 3),

where the collective rights of Indigenous people were pitted against the rights and responsibilities of individuals; and where Indigenous traditional rights were framed as symbolic aspirations, as opposed to the practical outcomes of public investment in education, employment and housing. (p. 3)

Practically, reconciling population transfers have bolstered (Geboe 2015) Aboriginal participation across Australian universities who have taken on the responsibility for, and leading 'Indigenous programs and services' (p. 7). These responsibilities aim to 'close the gap' between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participation, working with the university across its 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2), reconciling its 'institutional integrity' through processes and practices of 'healing, recovery and advancement' (Geboe 2015, p. 4). In the Australian context, these processes and practices of national reconciliation critically interrogate and respond to

- Race and racism

- Historical Acceptance
- Institutional Integrity
- Unity
- Equality and Equity. (Reconciliation Australia 2020, para. 7)

As a population transfer, Australian universities' reconciling and social justice imperatives (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014) provide practical outcomes for Aboriginal people. However, these transfers also become 'powerful acts of relegitimation and settler self-supersession of Aboriginal populations' (Veracini 2010, p. 49) who 'disappear into the now 'Reconciled Nation' category' (p. 49). With this erasure of Aboriginal difference, the calls for closing of

the (socioeconomic) gap between indigenous and non-indigenous constituencies are premised on indigenous dysfunction, not sovereign entitlement. As indigenous rights become settler generosity, indigenous sovereign capabilities are transferred away. (p. 46)

In Australian teacher education, the all-consuming 'mantra' (Herbert 2012, p. 40) of reconciling settler colonial Australia's *dark past* co-exist with decolonising agendas that return and repatriate Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1). For Aboriginal teacher educators working across the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2),

The challenge is to reduce colonial social justice thinking for decolonising theorisation to occur, while at the same time maintaining social justice principles which assist the individual to become aware of the ways that social justice continually re-establishes colonising knowledge systems and processes. (McKnight 2016, p. 13)

Aboriginal participation in these reconciling agendas and social justice imperatives is 'symbolic and divisive' (Strakosch 2009a, p. 83). Watson (2007) notes that reconciling dialogues legitimate the illegal settler nation-state that has yet to acknowledge an 'Aboriginal humanity' (p. 20); and whilst many Aboriginal people have sought the middle ground of Australian Reconciliation, 'there has been just as many who did not' (p. 20). Further to this, Dodson (2016) tells of 'powerful forces' (p. 3) who thought 'modern Australia has no responsibility for past government policies and practice' (p. 3); and nation-healing and recovery agendas created a 'culture of victimhood' (p. 3) that encouraged 'historical wounds to fester' (p. 3).

In this reconciling dialogue, both Australian settler and Aboriginal societies are 'obedient to the rules of pure Aristotelian logic' (Fanon 1967, p. 31) and follow 'the principle of reciprocal exclusivity' (p. 31), where conciliation is not 'possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous' (p. 32). National curriculum and teacher registration rewrites across graduate and professional capabilities reflected this reciprocal exclusivity between two sovereign societies. In writing the new Australian Curriculum, the contrived cultural war framed Aboriginal cosmologies as 'no longer inferior, just different' (Nakata 2002, p. 282), but at the same time 'balanced' this returning of First Laws of Country (Grieves 2006; McKnight 2016; West 2000) with the positives of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006) and 'the benefits of Western civilisation' (Pyne, cited in Cullen 2014).

As McKnight (2016) notes, the processes of *embedding* Aboriginal perspectives, histories and cultures (p. 11) across the Australian Curriculum were

focussed on knowledge and understanding, rather than utilising Aboriginal educational systems and approaches. At the same time, Australian academic discourse on Aboriginal knowing and learning has moved beyond knowledge, understanding and Aboriginal content to a focus on the importance of Aboriginal pedagogies and processes. (p. 11)

McKnight (2016) writes that returning pedagogical relationships to Country are undervalued in these 'colonial knowledge systems and processes' (p. 11) and placed and misplaced in the curricula 'backgrounds' (p. 11). In similar terrain, Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that 'decolonisation brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life' and is not 'a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools' (p. 1). Although important, social justice imperatives like Australian Reconciliation inform critical methodologies and approaches (p. 1), where the objectives are potentially 'incommensurable with decolonisation' (p. 1).

At the interface of Australian teacher education, federalist nation-building curriculum agendas (Brennan 2011) that reconcile 'settler guilt and complicity' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) invade the processes and practices of decolonisation by recentring Whiteness (p. 3). This invasion kills the 'very possibility of decolonisation' (p. 3) by entangling Aboriginal teacher educators within territorial disputes relating to 'resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation' (p. 3), *pushing* decolonisation to the 'faculty background', where it is marked as a future, symbolic aspiration (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

In confiscating long-term Aboriginal agendas with short-term (Geboe 2015, p. 10) curricular and pedagogical social justice imperatives, the localised account of 'oppression, exploitation, and domination' (hooks, cited in Brady 1997, p. 417) is replaced with 'celebratory' nation-building curriculum and

pedagogical ‘buzzwords’ (p. 417). In the Australian Curriculum, this *celebration* of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures, knowledge traditions and holistic worldviews (ACARA 2019) ‘promote[s] the appearance of difference within intellectual discourse’ (hooks, cited in Brady 1997, p. 417) but in reality is separated and ‘separating from a political and historical context’ (p. 417), failing

to ask who is sponsoring the party and who is extending the invitations. For who is controlling this new discourse? Who is getting hired to teach it, and where? Who is getting paid to write about it? (hooks, cited in Brady 1997, p. 417)

The processes of embedding Aboriginal perspectives, histories and cultures (McKnight 2016, p. 11) as reconciling imperatives in Australian teacher education ‘begins to look a lot like colonialism’ (Nakata 2002, p. 282), where the totality of Aboriginal Studies (McKnight 2016; West 2000; Whitehouse et al. 2014) is extracted and then embedded into the curriculum in ways that rescue ‘settler guilt and complicity’ (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). Having ‘everything and nothing to do with us’ (Nakata 2002, p. 282), Aboriginal teacher educators are caught up with reconciling logics of the university’s teacher education programming and are ‘called upon to be all things to all people’ (Brady 1997, p. 418). Hacking at ‘feel good’ discourses that rescue settlers (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24), the localised Aboriginal engagement takes the shine out (p. 23) of faculty ‘buzzwords’ and ‘mantras’ that ‘look good’ and claim to ‘do good’ (p. 24).

Refracting the complexification of settler violence (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) that has underwritten nation-healing agendas as being delayed ‘pathways to a better, Whiter world’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232), Aboriginal teacher

educators unsettle those enchanted by reconciliation's shine (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, pp. 23–24), who 'tend to resist and deny their complicity in harm' (p. 24). The pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) Aboriginal struggles in Australian teacher education concern transforming the institutional power 'relationships between settler-coloniser and colonised which is based on force, into a more respectful relationship of host and guest' (McDonald 2017, para. 5).

The *Uluru Statement from the Heart* (Referendum Council 2017) describes this process as a Makarrata, with the agenda of 'coming together after a struggle', where 'with substantive constitutional change and structural reform' an 'ancient sovereignty can shine through as a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood' (para. 4). Hacking at soft reform (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24) that reconciles Aboriginal difference structurally within the violent settler triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), the Yolngu definition for Makarrata

literally means a spear penetrating, usually the thigh, of a person that has done wrong ... so that they cannot hunt anymore, that they cannot walk properly, that they cannot run properly; to maim them, to settle them down, to calm them. (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 11)

Maiming settler structures (Nakata 2007b) in ways that disrupt the violent reproduction of the settler triad (Tuck & Yang 2014), the localised Makarrata process is a 'negotiation of peace, or a negotiation and an agreement where both parties agree to one thing so that there is no dispute or no other bad feeling' (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13).

Bennelong's spearing of Governor Phillip in 1790 (Clendinnen 2002) is an example of this way of solving grievances and disputes. Whilst historically



considered a minor incident with Phillip surviving the beach spearing, the Governor's participation in Bennelong's application of First Laws illustrates how the politics of two groups overlap on that one Country. In this meeting, the Makarrata potentially becomes a pathway towards treaty-making and is a 'generous invitation to settlers to enter into the legal, moral and binding agreements that should have been the foundation act of settlement' (McDonald 2017, para. 20).

As an agreement between two sovereign peoples, McDonald (2017) describes how this treaty would ensure 'guarantees, promises, responsibilities and obligations' in how 'one party (the settlers) may come onto and share in the resources of the land over which the other party (Indigenous owners) holds sovereignty':

Under a treaty, hosts and guests have rights, responsibilities and obligations, based on their standing as equals. What is honoured in the relationship stems from conventions, protocols and laws that protect both parties. This includes sanctions for dishonouring obligations. (para. 6)

More recently, state and territory governments of Australia are moving towards treaty-making agreements with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies. As a symbolic near future (Dodson 2016, p. 2) 'event' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388), state-level treaty-making processes have no clearly articulated pathway in terms of agreed principles as 'each treaty is shaped by the history between the parties and the social and political context in which it is made' (Aboriginal Victoria n.d)

State and territory recognition of host and guest status, rights, obligations and responsibilities (Geboe 2015; McDonald 2016) will mean a rewrite across

curricular and pedagogical expectations. This near-future event will occur with and against the authority of the Commonwealth (Brennan 2011) to define professional standards of teachers teaching (Loughran 2010, p. 223) a nationalised curriculum.

My thesis argues that Aboriginal teacher educators are already in this treaty-making and treaty-doing space, actualising the responsibilities and relationships in caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, truth-telling the complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of all-conquering assimilatory and genocidal logics as they emerge and organise our professional lives (Nakata 2002, p. 12).

In my further thesis discussions, I pay attention to how reconciliation discourses written across the Australian Curriculum have bolstered the population of Aboriginal teacher educators working in Australian teacher education programs (Geboe 2015, p. 7). However, enclosed within the institutional endpoint agendas of reconciliation, Aboriginal teacher educators cannot trouble the 'structural selectivity' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012) in how Aboriginal education is organised for we have had little 'institutional power to do' (p. 945) and instead have been kept busy explaining over and over our reasons 'for being' (Morrison 1975). In this delayed space of reconciling nation-building agendas, both settler and Aboriginal agendas seek acknowledgement, apology and redress of past wrongs; however, the recognition of Aboriginal host status is still framed as a future symbolic aspiration (Dodson 2016).

### **The Cultural Interface of Australian Teacher Education**

So far, my literature review has traced how the invasive footsteps of the 'first intruders' (Mitchell 1836) collapsed the distance of home for settlers by

expanding the distance of home for Aboriginal populations. Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis (2011) write that despite the 'devastating losses amongst Aboriginal communities across Victoria over the past two hundred years' (p. 13), Aboriginal people caught up in the mass transfer of populations were not 'helpless victims of the broader society' nor 'merely noble savages and survivors' (p. 13). Instead, our Ancestors, Elders and kin were 'incredible achievers and contributors' (p. 13) to the Aboriginal and broader communities, whilst living through times of 'incredible social and attitudinal duress' (p. 13). Charting the complexification of settler in Australian teacher education (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), my first discussion of the literature demonstrated the achievement and contribution of Aboriginal scholarship in these times and places of social and institutional chaos, change and delayed transformation.

In my mapping of population transfers (Veracini 2010) that have organised the 'corpus knowledge about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12), I have been mindful to not depict two worlds but rather one Country where 'Western science and Indigenous epistemologies' are *colliding* (Marker 2019, p. 7). This violent, on-the-ground colonial interplay (Tuck & Yang 2014) has constructed competing narrations of 'time' and 'place' in Australian teacher education (Strakosch & Macoun 2012), creating 'particular political relationships in the present' (p. 48). Watson (2007, p. 26) writes that land binds this relationship together:

It is the land that the White man came for, but we the Aborigines are in relationship with the land in different ways. The White way of knowing country is forged by ownership, possession and control. The Aboriginal way of knowing comes through spirituality, identity and traditions of historical connectedness. (p. 26)

Nakata (2007, p. 12) names this 'contested' place 'between the two knowledge systems' as being the cultural interface, 'where histories, politics, economics, and interconnected discourses, social practices and knowledge technologies' inform 'how we come to look at the world' (p. 9). Although the cultural interface is 'sutured' with 'Western' logics (Nakata 2002, p. 285), Aboriginal teacher educators know this 'in between place' well (p. 285) where 'things are not clearly Black or White, Indigenous or Western' (p. 285). At this interface of Australian teacher education,

Traditional forms and ways of knowing, or the residue of those, that we bring from the pre-contact historical trajectory inform how we think and act and so do Western ways, and for many of us a blend of both has become our lifeworld. (p. 285)

In this next discussion of the literature, I pay attention to Country, documenting how knowledge relationships, responsibilities and obligations to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008) *care* for Aboriginal teacher educators (Watson 2009a) when in the chaos of the cultural interface (Nakata 2002, 2007a), working with and against settler rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014). This discussion positions how ancestral logic is guided by Law of Country (Grieves 2008) and

ensures that each person knows his or her connectedness and responsibilities for other people (their kin), for Country (including watercourses, landforms, the species and the universe) and for their ongoing relationship with the Ancestor spirits themselves. (p. 364)

### **First Knowledge and caring for Country, kin and Ancestors**

West (2000) writes that our social, ecological and spiritual relationships, responsibilities and obligations to Country, kin and Ancestors as being our First Knowledge. West explains,

First Knowledge is that knowledge that is 'person-constructing'. It is the core knowledge of the continuum of human societies, the credible and mystical discourse between two living, holistic tissues: that of the person and that of the land. (p. 39)

First Knowledge is 'the totality of Aboriginal thought, conceptualisation, psyche, morality, behaviour, social order and humanity' (p. 39), where this 'combination of all things' means we are 'members of the world community' (p. 39).

Membership to this world community reflects what Martin (2016) identifies as 'one of the tenets of Aboriginal world views' and 'that somehow we are all related' (p. 4). This relatedness to Country is determined by the place of self in Country and is 'reflexive because that sense of self, of other people, of Country and all things within, is affirmed at the same time' (p. 4). Actualising this Aboriginal worldview means paying attention and caring for Country, nourishing our relationships with others, and that 'these relationships are not exclusively with other people' (p. 4).

Watson (2009b) theorises how the 'ethics of this caring for Country encompasses a relationship' to land that is 'equivalent to caring for one's own body; it is an act of self-preservation and self-protection, and it engages a deep knowledge of our interdependency' (p. 41). In 'proposing another truth', Watson (2017) argues this 'interdependency' with the laws of Country are

ancient and as old as the continent itself; they continue to exist. The laws of the land cannot be finished, other than perhaps in the minds of those humans who proclaim their ending. But law continues, just as the natural world continues, regardless of how it may be denied by humans. For that is the law. (p. 218)

Arbon (2008) explains that pre-Socratic Western philosophies understood the interdependency of these First Laws of Country and share similarities with

Aboriginal ontologies and cosmologies (p. 139). However, more recent Western knowledge systems are based on the 'separation and dominance of nature and humanity' (p. 139) and not 'premised on relatedness nor is all of life ordered by kinship as in an Indigenous philosophical position' (p. 138). Tracing the more recent phenomenon of Western systems of knowing and knowledge production, Price and Rogers (2019) point to how 'the industrial revolution in Europe brought about a system of schooling' where the primary goal was not about 'truth', but rather the provision of literate, 'well-trained, skilled labour force' (p. 3).

In this context, Grieves (2008) argues the term 'Aboriginal spirituality' *obscures* 'the reality of Indigenous Australian knowledges, philosophies and practices' (p. 364) that story 'the shaping and developing of the world as people know and experience it through the activities of powerful creator ancestors' (p. 364). Finding order in times of great chaos, these powerful creator Ancestors 'established the ways in which all things should live in interconnectedness so as to maintain order and sustainability' (p. 364). This philosophy *ensured* that each person knew their relationships with and responsibilities to kin, Country and their Ancestor spirits themselves (Grieves 2008), and 'this obligation to care for Country' ensures 'future generations of all living things' (Watson 2017, p. 216).

Many First Nations understand that this is law which is core to our being and hold this core even in the face of the colonial assimilation policies that were intended to destroy our connections to law. (Watson 2017, p. 216)

## **The Fort Walls and the demarcation of knowledge relationships in the cultural interface**

Aboriginal teacher educators bring to the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education unique social–ecological First Knowledge relationships to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). Caring for our First Knowledge relationships (Watson 2009a) amid the colonial interplay of ‘erasure, land, violence and bodies’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224), returning and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators arrive (Fredericks 2015) at the territorial, contested cultural interface of Australian teacher education programs,

knowing that the survival of [our] communities is dependent on [our] ability to change the ways education has historically functioned as an assimilationist and colonial enterprise. (Marker 2019, p. 2)

At this interface between two knowledge systems, we are obligated by the First Laws of Country (Grieves 2008) to ensure the ‘creation, continuity and mutuality’ (Rose 2013, p. 216) of our epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). In the university, ‘there are few places where the Indigenous relationship with and love of land are respected and recognised because land is viewed as a commodity’ (Watson 2009a, p. 42).

Donald’s (2012) metaphoric example of the ‘fort’ is useful in describing the demarcations of knowledge relationships at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education programs. Donald explains that in the Canadian imagination, the fort is a physical but also metaphysical structure that ‘represents a particular four-cornered version of imperial geography that has been transplanted on lands perceived as empty and unused’ (p. 3). Reflecting upon their tour of the ‘Fort Edmonton Park’, Donald writes that the ‘organisation

of the reconstructed fur industry embodies the anthropological articulation of the other'(p. 3), where 'the space outside the fort walls' is dedicated to a 'museum-like exhibit presumably depicting authentic renditions of Indian people and culture' (p. 3), and 'inside the walls was a more industrious place where newcomers laboured in the interests of civilising a country and building a nation' (p. 3).

The settling Canadian grammar of the fort position narrates *Aboriginality* to be outside, 'adhering to the myth that forts facilitated the civilisation of the land and brought civilisation to the Indians' (Donald 2012, p. 4). The fort's grammar traces a social and spatial geography that perpetuates the belief that Aboriginal peoples and Canadians 'inhabit separate realities' (p. 4), *conflating* 'with ways of organising and separating people according to race, culture and civilisation' (p. 4). Whilst these walls demarcate, Donald describes how the fort's walls are also porous in places, where Aboriginal people and settlers trespass and traverse the in-between (p. 6). The 'cross-cultural realities' of trading with the other in this in-between place is the 'shared condition wherein colonisers and colonised come to know each other very well' (p. 6).

In the Australian refraction of settler colonialism, Aboriginal people and settlers are physically and metaphysically situated on opposite sides of the race, culture and civilisation 'palisades' (Donald 2012, p. 3) that have been 'pegged out over Aboriginal territories' (p. 3). These palisades obstructed Cook's *first* intrusive gaze upon the landmass, where 'he and those men who would follow' (Mitchell 1836) erased Aboriginal life by claiming 'discovery' and 'possession' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 26). Bunda and Phillips write that the botanist Banks who accompanied Cook on his voyage 'was 'instrumental' (p.



27) in Britain's decision to establish the penal colony of New South Wales, arguing,

No purchasing of land would be required (as was the case with the other contenders Africa, Canada and the West Indies), as the Aboriginal people showed no interest in what Captain Cook and his crew had to offer. The perceptions, decisions and actions of these two men have created monumental devastation through widespread displacement and genocide for millions of people, all flora and fauna, land and water of what are now known in English as Australian territories. Such unconscionable arrogance, that Cook and Banks felt that their perception of other people's lived practice was the authority to determine that their existence and inhabitation was of insignificance. (p. 27)

In the expansion and complexification of the penal colony (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), the fortress claimed legitimacy (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 23) in the social and spatial organisation of populations in its domestic borders (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224). This triad relationship between the White settler, the disappeared Indigenous peoples' land and the chattel slaves has structurally organised the foundations of 'Whiteness in settler colonial nation-states' (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 224), influencing the 'ways in which we speak to each other about history, identity, citizenship, and the future' (Donald 2012, p. 12).

In this 'long and bumbled history' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3), Aboriginal populations have found official and unofficial times and places along the fort walls and have cross-culturally traded (Donald 2012, p. 6) in ways that have worked towards caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grievies 2008), whilst living and being within the architecture of the settler. As demonstrated by my literature discussion of population transfers operating in and across Australian social and education policy and practice, this history of cross-cultural trading with the other in times of attitudinal duress (Franklin,

Bamblett & Lewis 2011, p. 13) has meant Aboriginal people have come to know the institutional logic, opportunities and limits of formal schooling very well (see, for example, Price & Rogers 2019, p. 4).

### **Caring for Country: indigenising and decolonising the cultural interface**

In this next discussion, I frame how Aboriginal teacher educators are finding the settled and unsettled (Watson 2007, p. 15) porous places along the university's walls (Donald 2012) that separate nature and humanity (Arbon 2008, p. 140). Teaching teaching (Loughran 2010), where the logics of the Aboriginal and settler knowledge geographies overlap (Nakata 2007a), our relational responsibilities that care for Country (Watson 2009a) *restore* the 'spiritual foundations' (Alfred 2005, para. 9) of an 'independent sovereign existence' (para. 10). This localised restoration inside Australian teacher education purposefully gets in the way (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of the colonial nation-state's desire to consume us into (Alfred 2005, para. 10) capitalist logics, structures and realities (para.25).

In this collision of consciousness (Barnhardt, cited in Marker 2019, p. 6), our sovereign existence informs Aboriginal teacher educators' curricular and pedagogical rights to roam (Watson 2007). The purposeful Aboriginal roaming competes with the rights of settlers to know and organise the Aboriginal other (Tuck & Yang 2014), emerging as justice disputes across the programming of Australian teacher education, where settler discourses of generosity 'obfuscate their ability to comprehend notions of Aboriginal agency and self-determination' (Foley, cited in Land 2015, p. i).

Aboriginal roaming over the one-nation teacher education landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15) makes 'distinction between one's indigenous values and

those of non-indigenous peoples' (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245), *privileging* 'indigenous voices, worldview, images, language, stories and history' (p. 245). The curricular and pedagogical work that returns an ancient knowledge system (McKnight 2016) draws attention to the settler colonial interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) and the shared condition between the coloniser and the colonised (Land 2015) that has 'mark[ed] the organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2).

In this context, indigenisation, as being a curricular and pedagogical process of Aboriginal self-actualisation (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) towards a better, *Blacker* world (p. 232) sits with and against learning about the shared condition that is settler colonialism (Land 2015, p. 86). For Aboriginal teacher educators, the concurrent savaging and disciplining (Nakata 2007b) is played out in and across the programming of Australian teacher education where we are kept busy working through the litigious one-more-thing (Morrison 1975) process of decolonising the institution. West (2000, pp. 26–27) contends that in this social and attitudinal chaos of faculty, we need to still 'hear the songs, the voices and the discourse of culture and growth' (p. 26) and to 'nurture our contemporaries' (p. 26), 'massaging them to adulthood, maturity and responsibility' (p. 26).

The indigenist (Rigney 2006) agenda that nourishes and renews Aboriginal cosmologies requires stepping away (McKnight 2016, p. 13) from the decolonising agendas to a settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49).

These are our ways. The intruder may indeed say these ways are the old ways and no good for us, but I tell you this, on my word on Law, any of

you that cease to use our own ways will be exiled to the place 'between' and you all know that that is where you die without spirit, without language, without the Mother and in a state of pale. (West 2000, pp. 26–27)

### **Trespass and traversing the cultural interface**

In this next discussion of the literature, I consider how competing worldviews and standpoints operating within the overlaps of the cultural interface produce a 'struggle' for Aboriginal teacher educators working through everyday 'conflicting forms of consciousness' (Barnhardt, cited in Marker 2019, p. 6). Trespassing and traversing across the settled and unsettled geographies (Watson 2007, p. 15) of Australian teacher education, Aboriginal teacher educators risk being caught both in the 'state of pale' (West 2000, p. 27) and 'beyond the pale'. At this interface, the conceptual displacement of Aboriginal knowledge within Western knowledge systems often lends

to ubiquitous representations of indigenous people as pathologically mobile and 'nomadic', constantly engaged in unpredictable and periodical migrations, 'traversing' but not occupying the land, 'roaming', 'overrunning', 'skulking', 'wandering'. (Veracini 2010, p. 36)

*Wandering* across these palisades that 'separates to dominant' (Arbon 2008, p. 140), Aboriginal teacher educators can become criminalised (Nakata 2002, p. 284) for either being an 'essentialist to an Aboriginal epistemology' or taken up with the 'assimilationist' logics (p. 284) of the settler.

On a panoramic view, Aboriginal epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) sit *outside* the imperial walls of the university (Donald 2012), and Aboriginal teacher educators function similarly to local knowledge guides (Maoz 2006), leading settler incursions into the wild territories (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 6). The

intruder's surveying catalogues Aboriginal lands and life on their own 'rights to know' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) journeys of 'discovery and individual self-growth' (Arbon 2008, p. 140).

Alternatively, the assimilatory logics *inside* (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) the imperial walls of the university include to enclose Aboriginal minds and bodies 'beyond the pale' of Aboriginal territories (Wolfe 2006). In this enclosure (Morrison 1975), the collective and intergenerational totality of First Knowledge (West 2000) is replaced with conditional academic individualism where survival in the 'state of the pale' (West 2000) logics of the university is dependent on individual charisma and 'ability to charm' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 942).

The extremes at both ends of this binary risk the long history of curricular and pedagogical trading through the fort walls becoming 'trading of/f the other', *domesticating* and extracting land and lives into old and new economies (Tuck & Yang 2014). In *reconciling* this conflicting consciousness (Barnhardt, cited in Marker 2019, p. 6), a more pragmatic view of Aboriginal teacher educators' agency in the curricular and pedagogical roaming (Watson 2007, p. 15) must be taken. Nakata (2007a) describes how the

cultural interface as a place of constant tension and negotiation of different interests and systems of Knowledge means that both must be reflected on and interrogated. It is not simply about opposing the knowledges and discourses that compete and conflict with traditional ones. It is also about seeing what conditions the convergence of all these and of examining and interrogating all knowledge and practices associated with issues so that we take a responsible but self-interested course in relation to our future practice. (p. 285)

In this context, returning and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators are not homeless (Watson 2009a) in the one-nation landscape (Watson 2007) of Australian teacher education. We have 'always been inside the gate of the university even when we were not' (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), where we were 'expected to be simply staff, researchers and students' (p. 80). Returning Aboriginal teacher educators bring with us ecological, spiritual and social relationships to knowledge that is situated within an Aboriginal ontology (Grieves 2008, p. 364). Nakata (2002) tells that this First Knowledge will vary among individuals and their communities, reflecting 'original heterogeneity of traditional contexts, the varied experiences and impact of colonisation' (p. 6) and the 'diversity of contexts in which indigenous Australians now live' (p. 6).

### **The mutual gaze: dark tours of the cultural interface**

For Aboriginal teacher educators, the current work at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education follows the long history of engaging with settler institutions and their populations as pathways towards liberation (Rigney 2006).

Watson (2009a) points out that in these institutions,

our voices are still talking while the colonial project remains entrenched and questions concerning identity politics, and the *authentic native* are constructed and answered by those who have power. (p. 49)

In this next section of my literature review, I explore this idea of our voices still talking as being the local gaze (Maoz 2006) and the curricular and pedagogical work of undoing colonialism as dark tours (Dunkley 2017; Rose 2013) of Australian teacher education.

### ***The mutual gaze***

Maoz (2006) theorises that this local gaze is a way to 'discuss the agency and the power' (p. 222) of locals in speaking back to 'the power and authority Western tourists hold and exercise over the inhabitants of the places they visit' (p. 223). Projecting their desires onto the less developed, 'tourists, in their search for a pure and authentic past' (p. 223) use this 'Third World' as the 'playground of their imagination and a target to conquer and consume' (p. 223). On these journeys of 'self-discovery and individual self-growth' (Arbon 2008, p. 140), the *guest* has 'the potential to discipline and normalise the locals' behaviour', who are 'influenced by this power and are objects of the gaze' (Maoz 2006, p. 223). Arriving to these other locations expecting a 'staged authenticity' (p. 224), tourists demand locals

sell their culture, history, and customs as major commodities, pose as the primitive and exotic, and preserve an authenticity that no longer exists or never did as conceived by these tourists. (p. 224)

In my discussion of the Aboriginal teacher educators' agency, the construction of the local curricular and pedagogical gaze seeks to draw the settler into a mutual gaze (Maoz 2006). The purpose of this mutual gaze is to see how the grammar of the race, culture and civilisation (Donald 2012, p. 3) has deeply structured (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) our 'harsh lived-out shared reality' (Land 2015, p. 86). The localised curricular and pedagogical forever business of undoing colonialism (Watson 2017) requires the 'purposeful juxtaposition of mythic historical perspectives (often framed as common-sense) with Aboriginal historical perspectives' (Donald 2012, p. 6).

The local Aboriginal gaze deploys a range of sophisticated curricular and pedagogical strategies and techniques (Maoz 2006) that work with and against the gaze of the guest and their demands to know ‘useful things’ about Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1). These strategies and techniques that draw settlers into a mutual gaze can

- Cooperate with the settler gaze, meeting ‘their needs and tastes’, acknowledging their ‘fear’ and fragility (p. 231).
- Openly resist the settler gaze and their settler narrations of Aboriginal difference as being deficit and inferior (p. 231); this open resistance ‘is answered’ by the local gaze that ‘similarly relies on a sense of superiority’ (p. 231). In open resistance models, the local is there to educate the settler ‘and teach them how to behave’ (p. 231).
- Resist, but are veiled and ‘low-key”, “passive” or “mediated” (p. 232). These ‘sophisticated techniques’ resist the settler demands to know useful things but do not resist these ‘behaviours’ openly (p. 232).

The strategies and techniques of the local gaze are transacted in the in-between places of ‘Australian teaching and learning’, where the Aboriginal and settler knowledge relationships overlap (Nakata 2007a). As such, the local and the settler gaze meet on Country, and this mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) is contextualised through this Country, ‘emphasising the relationality and connectivity that comes from living together in a place for a long time’ (Donald 2012, p. 6).

In this context, Country provides the curricular and pedagogical ‘space’ and ‘place’ across the ‘organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of



compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2), where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people can 'learn with Country in relationship to everything that is of Country' (McKnight 2016, p. 13). McKnight writes that in these transactions with Country, there is opportunity to 'experience an ancient story of connection' (p. 13), where 'all the living unseen and seen teachers of Country' provide 'the stories and the knowledge' (p. 13) to 'learn, reflect, challenge, cry, laugh, oppose and agree' (p. 13).

In this mutual gaze (Maoz 2006), Aboriginal teacher educators are drawn into teaching and learning relationships with the settler about not only 'us', but also who 'they' are, in a transactive dialogue 'so there is no bad feeling anymore' (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13). Land (2015) points out that working with the foundational grammar of settler colonial race, culture and civilisation (Donald 2012, p. 3) is sometimes not helpful for it constructs unnecessary borders and walls when it comes to grounding settler allies' support and advocacy (p. 86). However, this labour is critical in 'undoing the ideological work of colonialism' (p. 86), and that by 'coming to see that how we see ourselves and whose interest we share has been constructed and inherited' (p. 86), we can then also see how 'the idea of racial difference has been created and made real—as reflected in harsh lived realities' (p. 87).

For those with an open mind (McKnight 2016), this dialogue provides ways to explore what it means to be a settler who is also at this cultural interface of Australian teacher education and marked by the colonial interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). Writing from this space, Phillips (cited in Bunda & Phillips 2018) names themselves as a 'White Australian', tracing how this territorial claim is 'riddled' with an

‘ontological emptiness’ (p. 25). Phillips’ own ‘kith and kin’ journey to learn more of the ancestors’ roles and experiences were ‘in the horrors of genocide under the sinister mask of nation building’ (p. 25) was a way to ‘formulate an answer to ‘Where do you come from?’ (p. 25). In searching out this ‘family history—back three to five generations along all lineages to arrivals in Australia’ (p. 25), Phillips surfaced their own colonial origin that ‘was hidden by the White practice of sweeping under the carpet past shames’ (p. 25).

### ***Dark tours of settler colonialism***

The now core compulsory study tour of Aboriginal education situates the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) upon our shameful colonial origins, contouring the thanatological themes and consumption of dark destinations where mass globalised tourists search out places where particular ‘pathways towards humanisation’ (Tuck & Yang 2014) have caused much ‘death, disaster and suffering’ (Rose 2013, p. 211). In my third Findings and Interpretations chapter, I reflect upon my own experiences as a dark tourist visiting the dark destination of Tuol Sleng High School in Phnom Penh, which chronicles the Cambodian genocide, where on my own journey of ‘self-discovery and individual self-growth’ (Arbon 2008, p. 140), I wanted to know (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) how a high school could be turned into a torture centre and then a museum. Finding pain ‘more compelling than privilege, scars more enthralling than the body unmarked by experience’ (p. 229), I demanded an authentic staging (Donald 2012; Maoz 2006) of this *pain* in order to convince me—the ‘outside adjudicator’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227)—that ‘reparations are deserved’ (p. 227).

Comparing the roles of the tour guide and my own work in teaching settlers useful things about Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1),

Australian dark tours of settler colonialism (Jakobi 2019) include genocidal logics of an expanding physical colonial frontier (Wolfe 2006), as well as 'less offensive' (Veracini 2010, p. 34) state-sanctioned biocognitive population transfers that sought to eliminate Aboriginal cultural and political connections to territory (Veracini 2010; Wolfe 2006, p. 383). Looking directly at this homesteading (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) violence is both profound and profane, for this fascination with dark destinations brings us all closer to what Rose (2013, p. 211) describes as the 'witnessing of our own demise', where state-sanctioned 'violence and misery could be claimed as acts of well-intentioned assistance' (p. 212).

In Keating's (1992) Redfern Speech, the former Australian Prime Minister is witness to this colonial promise of pain (Rose 2013, p. 212) and, tracing this suffering to the place where 'the first European settlers landed' (para. 13), names that site as being the continuation of 'devastation and demoralisation' (para. 13). Reminding the '*dispossessed, poor and the refugees from war and famine and persecution*' (para. 26) that it was 'we who committed murders' (para 32), Keating incorporates 'all non-Indigenous citizens, no matter how recent or ancient their family histories of immigration' (Clark 2013, p. 12) into the settler colonial story of Aboriginal dispossession.

Listing 'events' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) that 'smashed' a 'traditional way of life' (para. 30), Keating invites the Australian consciousness to imagine (Rose 2013, p. 211) 'if this was done to us' (Keating 1992, para. 36). Tracing the physical site of 'original dispossession' (Veracini 2010) to its contemporary physical reality, Keating (1992) argues that this dark tour is proof that settler Australian society has failed to 'extend opportunity and care, dignity and hope to

the indigenous people of Australia' (para. 5), testing our 'self -knowledge as Australians' (para. 8)

of how well we know the land we live in. How well we know our history.  
How well we recognise the fact that, complex as our contemporary identity  
is, it cannot be separated from Aboriginal Australia. (para. 8)

In similar terrain, Marker (2019) describes how in the truthing of policy that sought to eliminate (Wolfe 2006) Aboriginal childhood, the Canadian 'public was shown' (p. 501) the *consequences* of settler logics that 'forcefully and often violently removed children from their homelands' (Marker 2019, p. 501), placing them in

church-run institutions that were neither truly residences nor truly schools.  
Rather, they were dark factories for eradicating Indigenous culture and for fabricating an assimilated Otherness. (p. 501)

In this respect, the curricular and pedagogical importance of remembering past atrocities appears to be an accepted 'good' (Dunkley 2017, p. 11). For the local Aboriginal gaze, the dark tours of the Australian teacher education concern the profound desire Aboriginal teacher educators have in witnessing and truthing (Rose 2013, p. 211) the 'interplay of erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) and to pedagogically not turn one's back on the harsh lived-out, shared conditions (Land 2015, p. 86) of settler colonialism that is 'constituted by its conscription of others' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231).

Strakosch (2015) argues that

Western societies can produce massive harms, and yet at the same time  
no one within these societies feels responsible. While many settler people  
acknowledge the dispossession that exists in Australia, when you look  
hard you cannot find one person who thinks they are actually responsible.

The colonising society disappears into an aggregation of innocent bystanders. (p. 105)

Teaching teachers that they are not innocent bystanders to the complexification of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) requires disrupting the linear and rigid curriculum tours (ACARA 2019) of events (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) in Australia's dark past (Herbert 2012). The work of the local Aboriginal gaze seeks to 'traverse the divides of the past and present' (Donald 2012, p. 5), where teaching and learning 'of history, memory and experience are connected' (p. 5). In constructing the dark tour, the desire-based frameworks (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) of the localised Aboriginal gaze traverse both 'the past and the future to situate analysis' (p. 231). This present-day and future *caring* for our 'humanness' is enriched by the past and it 'is not only the painful elements of social and psychic realities, but also the textured acumen and hope' (p. 231).

In this context, the local Aboriginal teacher educator's gaze traverses across the structures of colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) as it transmutes across time and place (Strakosch & Macoun 2012), guiding the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) to look also at other less visible (dis)places that are hidden in the plain-view everyday 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2).

On these dark tours of Australian social and education policy and practice, the Australian classroom has never been a neutral space for Aboriginal people (Phillips 2011, p. 26). Burgess (2017) points to how

Australian education systems and their schools are embedded within historical, social and cultural contexts initially imported from the British system and localised to create an Australian version. This system and its institutions represent a monolingual, hegemonic Western based system

that shapes perceptions and beliefs, establishes parameters and consequently reproduces norms and standards that are evident in pedagogy, curriculum and assessment. (p. 738)

The legacy of this settler consciousness (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) is what is taught in schools. Aboriginal teacher educators' localised dark tours situate a mutual gaze where students and colleagues consider how teachers can be both state actors and agents of transformational change working in 'dark factories that eradicate and fabricate Otherness' (Marker 2019, p. 501).

The mutual gaze in Australian teacher education reflectively traces the mass sociological trauma (Rose 2013, p. 212) to their contemporary educational realities, teaching the academy about themselves and how their world is implicated in this shared colonial reality. Teaching the painful colonial realities in Australian teacher education is difficult because the university 'can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself' (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), and there is 'no need to hear your voice' (p. 227), 'only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story' (p. 227).

At this interface, the 'academy's voracious hunger' (p. 223) for painful stories has 'voyeuristic and consumptive implacability' (p. 227). The hunger contours the economic imperatives of dark tourism that authenticate only the 'scarred' and 'wounded' (p. 227) where, caught up in repeated reconstructions of the violent 'postmodern spectacles' (Stone et al. 2018, p. 48), Aboriginal teacher educators are working with nation-healing agendas to witness (Strakosch 2015, p. 105) the Aboriginal other's curricular and pedagogical pain.

When put to market, damaged-centred theories (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) of transformational change must document harm for outside ‘adjudicators’ (p. 227), narrating how

the pained body (or community or people) is set back or delayed on some kind of path of humanisation, and now must catch up (but never can) to the settler/unpained/abled body (or community or people or society or philosophy or knowledge system). (p. 227)

When documenting our educational relationship with settler colonialism, the local Aboriginal gaze must forcefully refract the colonial fixed view of the victim and their victim statements back onto themselves (Tuck & Yang 2014). The localised strategies of cooperation, and open and veiled resistance (Maoz 2006) provide opportunities to deeply reflect upon human suffering, using the educationally dark past to ‘effect change in teacher thinking’ (Herbert 2012, pp. 46–47), seeing their teaching selves both in the past and in the future, ‘beyond the immediate confines of what is happening within their classrooms today’ (p. 47).

### **Summation of the Literature**

The literature considered in this chapter mapped the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a), documenting the ‘continuing Aboriginal connection’ (Watson 2007, p. 15) Aboriginal teacher educators have with Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364) when teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) between these two knowledge systems. I surveyed the settled and unsettled spaces (Watson 2007, p. 15) in Australian teacher education, locating where Aboriginal teacher educators’ sovereign rights to roam (p. 15) are juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with settler rights to know Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014).

This literature allowed me to step back to Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13), where following Henty's and Mitchell's first intrusive footsteps, I traced how their arrival was the beginnings of a mass transfer (Veracini 2010) of internal and external populations (Tuck & Yang 2014). In this violent overlap, the settler imaginary (Strakosch 2015) becomes a systematic violence to Aboriginal knowledge geographies (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015), and this organisation of the nature and humanity (Arbon 2008, p. 140) is the complexification of genocidal and assimilatory logics (Wolfe 2006, p. 402).

The violence resulting from this original dispossession produced three Aboriginal population transfers in Australian social and education policy (Veracini 2010). In my review of the literature, I wrote that the intent of social and education policy was to eliminate Aboriginal childhood (Wolfe 2006) by intergenerationally severing (Mako 2012; Strakosch & Macoun 2012) connections to kin and ancestral relationships (Grieves 2008) and to political and social systems organised by Country (Veracini 2010, p. 44).

I considered how the 1967 referendum was a radical (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 5) and nonradical (Cross-Townsend 2017, pp. 70–71) break from this settler logic. I wrote through the literature that whilst citizenship has provided recognition of a long-denied 'Aboriginal humanity' (Watson 2007, p. 20), the policy agendas of assimilation and absorption (Veracini 2010, p. 38) are presented as reasonable pathways of humanisation into this better (Tuck & Yang 2014), Whitestream (Andersen 2009) Australian society.

I identified how after the 1967 referendum Aboriginal people and our institutions and organisations increasingly returned to roaming (Watson 2007), both domestically and internationally, and this roaming re/centred Aboriginal



scholarship. I followed this critical intellectual work of Aboriginal scholars to explain how the 'indigenisation process' savaged (Nakata 2007b) the fixed view (Maoz 2006, p. 235) of Aboriginal Australia, producing a series of contrived history and culture wars (Dodson 2016, p. 3; Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 41) that reverberated across the academy and more generally the social-political landscapes of Australian society. This critical work sought to make legal, moral and binding agreements (McDonald 2017) but were obstructed by the Commonwealth, fearing a treaty would recognise Aboriginal land rights and compensation (Howard 1988) for unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42).

Replacing the pathway towards treaty with national reconciliation (Strakosch & Macoun 2012), the Commonwealth confiscated the status of Aboriginal people as a separate sovereign society (Alfred 2005). Committing to closing this gap between these two populations (Herbert 2012, p. 40), social and education mantras, discourses and practices were redirected in ways that reconciled the nation-state's illegal origins, rescuing settlers from an uncertain, unsettling future (Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014).

I situate the current work of Aboriginal teacher educators in Australian teacher education as being caught between these three operating population transfers (Veracini 2010). Located between the regulatory forces of nation-building curriculum agendas and student needs (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017), Aboriginal teacher educators are roaming within the 'place of the pale' (West 2000, p. 27) logics of the university that have been illegally pegged out (Donald 2012, p. 3) over existing Aboriginal knowledge relationships to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364).

I write through the literature that this Country underpins these ‘place of pale’ settled spaces (Watson 2007, p. 15) as being the curricular and pedagogical sites where Aboriginal teacher educators enact our individual/collective and social, ecological and spiritual relational responsibilities and obligations (West 2000, p. 39). When translated into professional practice, our First Knowledge renews and nourishes Aboriginal ways of being, knowing and doing (Arbon 2008, p. 137) ‘teaching’ that draws attention to our continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) to this separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005; Fredericks 2015).

This returning of the localised Aboriginal gaze in Australian teacher education catalogues the neutral and natural functions of settler colonialism (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92; Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229), charting the complexification of frontier logics (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) as they mark the programming of teacher education studies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2).

I describe this caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364) as both indigenising and decolonising, where Aboriginal teacher educators work towards ‘creation, continuity and mutuality’ (Rose 2013, p. 216)—in the ‘midst of change’ (p. 216) resulting from the invasive necropolitical logic of the settler—and that ‘we need to also work with that too’ (p. 216).

I situate this place of attitudinal duress (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011, p. 13), chaos (Meyer 2001, p. 131), delayed change (McDonald 2017) and transformation (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) as being the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a). At this interface between two knowledge systems, settler logics claim territorial legitimacy in organising

Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1), competing with Aboriginal knowledge systems sitting beneath the imperial architecture of the university (Donald 2012). The connection to the First Laws of Country (Grieves 2008) radiates a purposeful localised juxtaposition (p. 12) to these advancing death-cult logics (Rose 2013, p. 10) of discovery and individual self-growth (Arbon 2008, p. 140).

I theorised through the literature how these competing logics metaphysically demarcate 'knowledge' to places inside and outside of the university (Donald 2012). The knowledge demarcations operating along the internal and external fort borders, walls, and palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3) erases (Tuck & Yang 2014) the continual connections (Watson 2007) Aboriginal people have to Country inside the university (Fredericks 2015), erasing the long curricular and pedagogical histories of trading with the other (Donald 2012, p. 6).

The localised Aboriginal trading works with, and against, the settler gaze (Maoz 2006) to mutually see how the violent and 'unfinished business' (Watson 2017, p. 213) of Australian colonialism has structured our lived-out reality (Land 2015, p. 87) in teaching and learning. Pedagogically, localised Aboriginal tours of dark destinations in Australian education pay attention to where, and how, 'violence and misery' are claimed as educational 'acts of well-intentioned assistance' (Rose 2013, p. 212).

In this context, compulsory studies in Aboriginal education are implicated (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) by powerful forces (Dodson 2016, p. 3) that demand an authentically staged (Maoz, 2006, p. 224) curriculum and pedagogy. Becoming the repeated reconstructions of the violent 'postmodern spectacles'

(Stone et al. 2006, p.148), the ever-expanding federalist agendas to reconcile its mixed colonial ancestries (Brennan 2011, p. 268) risk turning dark tours of settler colonialism into 'educational commodities' (Watson 2009a, p. 42), pushing local political realities, struggles (Land 2015, p. 87) and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) into the curriculum and pedagogical backgrounds (McKnight 2016, p. 11).

## Methodology

My thesis poses the question of our rights as a separate sovereign people (Alfred 2005), asking if Aboriginal teacher educators like me are free to roam (Watson 2007, p. 15) when at the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education.

My review of the literature documented the ‘continuing connection’ (Watson 2007, p. 15) Aboriginal teacher educators have with Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364) when teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) between these two knowledge societies (Nakata 2007a). Located between the regulatory forces of settler nation-building agendas and the needs of students (Brennan 2011; Herbert 2012), Aboriginal teacher educators’ curricular and pedagogical roaming draws attention to our separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005), privileging Aboriginal ‘worldviews, voices, images, language, stories and history’ (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245). This returning of an ancient knowledge system (McKnight 2016) makes public the settler colonial interplay of ‘erasure, bodies, land, and violence’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224), producing claims and counterclaims for territorial legitimacy in ‘the organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning’ (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2).

In this methodology chapter, I outline how the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) in Australian teacher education translate as Aboriginal

research agendas in Australian education studies. I name this methodology as *wayfinding* (Meyer 2001) the desire lines of Aboriginal research (Rigney 2006) and provide justification for following previously marked-out pathways that offered 'counter explanations' and 'non-Western alternatives' (p. 74).

Wayfinding this research pathway back to Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) restored the foundations of a separate philosophical existence (Alfred 2005), returning to my project Aboriginal ways of knowing and doing research (Arbon 2008) that liberated this thesis from settler paradigms and agendas (Tuck & Yang 2014). This liberation acknowledges the 'thousands of years of accumulated knowledge' that is 'captured within the terminology of Country' (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59), placing my social–ecological obligations as an Aboriginal researcher within the 'cosmos of ideas' (Wilson 2019, p. 47).

To document my 'continuing Aboriginal connection' (Watson 2007, p. 15) to research methods and practices, I have distilled this methodology chapter into three sections, where I articulate how these new old ways of knowing and doing research (Arbon 2008, p. 137) informed my methodological approaches, responsibilities and obligations in being and becoming an early career Aboriginal researcher (Bunda et al. 2020).

In the first section, I provide an overview of the research problem and how I used Aboriginal standpoint theory to speak of the 'conditions of our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when teaching at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education and to the logics in the organisation of Australian teacher education 'that shape and produce Indigeneity' (p. xviii). I provide an account of my wayfinding methodology (Arbon 2008; Meyer 2001) and the relationship this methodology has with renewing Aboriginal desire lines

in educational research (Rigney 2006; Tuck & Yang 2014). I write that methodologically, wayfinding privileges Aboriginal 'knowledge-based relationships between ecology and social identity' (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) in ways that nourish First Knowledge 'epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships' (p. 57). When made transparent, my desires of research *refuse* Western research paradigms that separate the Aboriginal researcher from the researched world (Arbon 2008) of Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008).

Having articulated First Knowledge 'epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships' (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 57), the second section provides an overview of my yarning as a 'data' collection tool, justifying why I adopted Bessarab and Ng'Andu's (2010, pp. 40–41) stages and frames of research topic yarning and how I adapted this research tool to generate

- *self-yarns* that revealed my own localised standpoints in teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at the cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teacher education
- *co-yarns* with other Aboriginal teacher educators that storied (Bunda & Phillips 2018) the 'conditions of our existence' at the cultural interface (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) and to the logics in the organisation of Australian teacher education 'that shape and produce Indigeneity' (p. xviii).

I outline my stages of yarning, detailing how I used 'social yarning' (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 38) to initiate research relationships with other Aboriginal teacher educators. This invitation to yarn about teaching at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education was an opportunity to *collaboratively* 'journey

together' (p. 38), *therapeutically* visiting 'places and topics of interest relevant to the research study' (p. 38). I identify how research topic yarning about our practice as Aboriginal teacher educators is both a 'process and exchange between researcher and participants' (Walker et al. 2014, p. 1218), accountable to and reliant upon mutually understood 'cultural protocol[s], relationships, and expected outcomes' (p. 1218). I acknowledge how these cultured relationships guided my ethics application, yarning processes and deidentification of findings and interpretations.

In the third section, I provide a framework for analysis, explaining how I merged my self-yarns and co-yarns together, applying this bigger co-creating collaborative yarn (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 38) against the three Aboriginal population transfers described in my literature review. This framework storied (Bunda & Phillips 2018) where in the transfer to education faculties Aboriginal teacher educators' sovereign rights to roam (Watson 2007) were purposely juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with settlers' rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014). This juxtaposition between the local Aboriginal way of doing teacher education and the international system of the university (Adams & Faulkhead, p. 1019) produced common themes that spoke of the 'conditions of our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when at this interface between two knowledge societies and what happens when we disrupt the programming 'that shape[s] and produce[s] Indigeneity' (p. xviii).

### **Wayfinding the Research Problem**

Nakata (2007a) writes that methodologically, Aboriginal standpoint theory is useful when researching within the cultural interface as it is 'a process for making more intelligible the corpus objectified knowledge about us as it



emerges and organises our lives' (p. 12). In this section, I provide an overview of how I used this methodological approach to wayfind the standpoints of Aboriginal teacher educators that reveal 'the conditions of our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education, working with settler colonial logics that 'shape and produce' indigeneity (p. xviii). When applied to my research focus, these revelations attend to my surveying of the spaces we occupy (Watson 2007, p. 15) as Aboriginal teacher educators and my research question that poses if we are free to roam over the one-nation landscape (p. 15) of Australian teacher education.

My reflective self-yarning and co-yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel sought deeper clarification and interpretation of the complexities of knowledge production in Australian teacher education, working with and against the demarcations of 'knowledge and knowing' (Meyer 2001, p. 131). In these implicated encounters, I looked to see where our rights to roam (Watson 2007) as Aboriginal teacher educators are juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with settlers' rights to know, transfer and organise (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1). This juxtaposition of rights to roam/know frames emerging sets of unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) that concern territorial legitimacy of an ancient knowledge system within the cultural interface of Australian teacher education.

These territorial justice disputes are addressed by my subquestions:

- How does the curricular and pedagogical returning of the local Aboriginal gaze work towards transforming the relationships in the mutual gaze of Australian teacher education?

- What are the settler processes and practices of self-actualisation towards settler sovereignty that need most disrupting in Australian teacher education programs?
- What does territorial justice mean for Aboriginal teacher educators?

My research question and subquestion when drawn together maps the labours of Aboriginal teacher educators working across the one-nation (Watson 2007) landscapes of Australian teacher education, paying attention to the liminal porous spaces (Donald 2012), terrains and critical intersections where settler populations co-exists and meet with Country, kin and Ancestors.

### **Wayfinding the desire lines of Aboriginal research**

More generally, wayfinding is understood as a cognitive–conceptual process of navigating through known and unknown spaces (Klippel 2010, p. 3079). For many global Indigenous societies, this navigation enhanced communication and trade and is the accumulation of First Knowledge relationships with the human and more-than-human world (Symonds, Brown & Lo Iacono 2017, p. 2).

Wayfinding in Australia may be best understood in this context, ‘where people living in the better-resourced parts of Australia lived sedentary lives in clearly defined territories’ and ‘travelled mainly for trade and ceremony’ (Arbon 2008, p. 137). Writing from an Arabana standpoint, Arbon (2008) argues that this

does not mean that one does not explore broadly but in doing this, Elders and one’s peers are given authority to grow knowledge through affirmation, passing on information and gentle interpretation as their responsibility. (p. 137)

In this gentle process of coming to know one's way in the world, 'young people were not told "you will be a hunter", "you will be a reteller of stories"' (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 3) but instead 'nurtured and mentored, their natural abilities honed throughout their lifetime' (p. 3).

As a 'new old way of being, knowing and doing research' (Arbon 2008, p. 137), wayfinding has context in understanding the metaphysical, more-than-human knowledge relationships Aboriginal researchers like me have with and bring to the research problem. Methodologically, wayfinding has the potential to 'navigate the shores' of complexities in knowledge and knowing (Meyer 2001, p. 131), especially

as we enter the new millennium where information will no longer be synonymous with knowledge, but rather how that information helps us maintain our sense of community in the daily chaos of access and information overload. (p. 131)

In my thesis, I use a wayfinding methodology to make sense of the 'knowledge-based relationships between ecology and social identity' (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) as I navigate the attitudinal duress (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011, p. 13), chaos and information overload (Meyer 2001, p. 131) posed by my research problem. Wayfinding these Aboriginal relationships means the research pathway is not an individual 'journey' in all its classical and now co-opted meanings. Rather, wayfinding is a connected shared experience with 'entities' in this 'social-ecological system' (Whitehouse et al., p. 59), where I am related (Martin 2016, p. 4) to the 'research cohort, the community, the land and the cosmos, and ideas' (Wilson 2019, p. 47).

These social–ecological relationships are evident across my research project, where those who chose to participate and assist me in my inquiry provided gentle reflective interpretations and analysis (Arbon 2008, p. 137) that *co-created* knowledge (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010) of ourselves and the world we live in as Aboriginal teacher educators (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii). In this dialogue, we privileged (Tuhiwai Smith 2013) those scholars who came before us, acknowledging how their Eldership documented the collision between 'Western science and Indigenous epistemologies' (Marker 2019, p. 7), creating particular *research* relationships and agendas that have shaped our present and continue to inform our future (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48).

To wayfinding my research relationships, I need to not be too focused on the destination (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 42) and instead pay attention to the range of cues encountered when I read 'geographies and histories together' (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 57) in ways that acknowledge First Knowledge 'epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships' (p. 57). When made transparent, my relationships with the *cosmos* (Wilson 2019, p. 47) become research responsibilities and obligations in Aboriginal scholarship (Rigney 2006). My desire lines for research refuse Western paradigms (Tuck & Yang 2014) that separate Aboriginal researchers from the researched world (Arbon 2008).

Adams and Faulkhead (2012, p. 1018) remind researchers that 'Indigenous peoples of Australia have been conducting various forms of research for generations' that have engaged 'in intergenerational knowledge sharing' (p. 1018), but 'the onset of colonisation disrupted these practices' (p. 1018). They argue that 'Indigenous peoples have adapted to new ways of

conducting research' (p. 1018) that include 'changing the coloniser/Western paradigm of being researched to becoming researchers', 'conducting' and 'self-determining' research agendas, and developing 'new ways of research' (p. 1018).

These research desire lines of Aboriginal research that I followed across the terrain of my research problem step away from colonialism (McKnight 2016) and are 'inscribed on the earth due to the passage of people' (Lynch, cited in Tiesson 2007, p. 4) who have deviated 'from the official boundaries, premeditated constructions and directional imperatives' (p. 4). Following the previously marked-out Aboriginal scholarship back to Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) has *liberated* me from these premediated imperatives inherent in settler research paradigms (Rigney 2006, p. 69). Engaging with these old ways of knowing the world (Arbon 2008, p. 137) *have* become compass directions in my embodied (McKnight 2016, p. 18) research encounters with time and place (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48), determining my sovereign right to roam (Watson 2007, p. 15) and *to explore* new theoretical and methodological results, methods, explanations and issues.

### **Respecting Aboriginal relationships in research**

In preparation for research topic yarning with other Aboriginal teacher educators, an application was submitted to and approved by Victoria University's Ethics Committee<sup>1</sup>. As I was researching within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, my application was considered by the Committee as vulnerable and high risk.

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<sup>1</sup> Victoria University Ethics Number HRE14-033

Writing against the *Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies* (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies 2012), my ethics application acknowledged the resilience of Country rather than its vulnerability. My acknowledgment of the diversity of Country (p. 4) marked the research locations as sovereign territories different to my own. Making public a grammar that had predetermined my application as a domestic study in this ‘one nation of Australia’ (Watson 2007), my acknowledgement committed to behaving responsibly and respectfully (Martin 2016) when researching in these international locations.

This commitment to maintaining ethical research relationships ensures the rights of Aboriginal people to self-determine research concepts, methodologies, agendas and outcomes (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies 2012, p. 5). Recognising this self-determination informed processes of gaining consent, and this ‘consultation and negotiation [was] a continuous two-way process’ (p. 10) occurring before, during and after research topic yarn sessions. This consultation process ensured that findings from yarn sessions were not moved to others in a one-way communication pathway (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026) but instead returned to the participants to ‘muse over’ and meaning-make the *metaphors*, *symbolism* and *motifs* surfacing in our yarns (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 44–45).

The intimacy of our yarning relationships determined what could be said and left unsaid, revealed, and what still needed to be hidden. In further discussions in this chapter, I explain how I deployed de-identifying transcripts in ways that ensured and respected this intimacy.

## **Yarning on Country in the Language of Home**

In this second section of this methodology chapter, I describe how I applied a process of yarning (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010; Walker et al. 2014) to document the Aboriginal standpoints of working in the settled and unsettled spaces (Watson 2007, p. 15) of Australian teacher education. Yarning about these often-isolated positions where Aboriginal teacher educators' voices are potentially 'captured, echoed, ricocheted, and distilled' (Watson 2007, p. 15) is an invitation to 'journey together' (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 38) and pay attention to the physical and metaphysical 'places and topics of interest relevant to the research study' (p. 38).

Walker et al. (2014) write that yarning is a useful tool for Aboriginal researchers engaged in research with/in our own communities as research topic yarning contours familiar everyday communication (p. 1218). In my thesis, I frame this everyday communication as the mutual dialogue between Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel and me, and in this small community of 'Aboriginal educators' (Burgess 2017, p. 742), we explore the curricular and pedagogical articulation of our responsibilities and obligations in caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008).

Collaborative, co-creating dialogue about our practice is both a 'process and exchange' between researcher and participants (Walker et al. 2014, p. 1218), accountable to and reliant upon mutually understood 'cultural protocol[s], relationships, and expected outcomes'. Acknowledging these shared cultural protocols we have to Country, kin and Ancestors, and understanding the importance of these relationships with everyone and everything (Martin 2016), informs and adds value to my own research relationships, topics and agendas.

In this context, my thesis acknowledges Country as a research partner in this project of respectfully ‘reintroducing’ an ancient knowledge (McKnight 2016, p. 12) to the *exiled* ‘place of the pale’ (West 2000, p. 27) settler education systems. Acknowledging Country as a research partner recognises the research location as being a place that holds ‘thousands of years of accumulated knowledge’ that is ‘captured within the terminology of Country’ (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59).

This totality of Aboriginal thought (West 2000) exists even when we are not inside the gates of the university (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), co-existing with the physical and metaphysical structural complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of settler logics pegged out over perceived empty and/or unused territories (Donald 2012, p. 3). Accountable to the social–ecological research relationships that are ‘entwined’ within the cosmos of ideas (Wilson 2019, p. 47), this First Knowledge is sometimes obscured (Grieves 2008) by settler structures that ‘separate to dominate’ nature and humanity (Arbon 2008, p. 140).

When yarning about our professional identities, obligations and responsibilities at this interface where these two knowledge systems co-exist, it can be difficult to separate which aspects of our lives *inhabit* what ‘domains for they are inextricably intertwined’ (Martin 2016, p. v). In this context, Country speaks from and to its settler and Aboriginal geographies, refracted in the localised physical and metaphysical Australian educational landscapes, terrains and fields of inquiry. Adams and Faulkhead (2012) summarise this *localised* ‘Indigenous knowledge’ as being unique to ‘a given culture or society’ (p. 1019), contrasted ‘with the international knowledge system generated by universities, and their research institutions’ (p. 1019).



My yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel paid attention to the totality of Country that is *captured* (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) within our research yarns that stories 'home' (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 41; Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43), where this 'text of the land is the language of possibility to step out of colonisation ways of thinking and doing' (McKnight 2016, p. 13). Described in my thesis as the local gaze (Maoz 2006), this language that stories home restores the foundations of separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005), countering settler logics that have collapsed the distance between imperial 'home' and its colonial frontier (Wolfe 2006).

Localised collective storying of Australian teacher education in our own languages of home produced unique, place-based research relationships (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026) that *disrupt* 'university conventions and norms when it comes to research' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 112). Cutting across the homesteading (Strakosch 2015) doctrines of colonial and neoliberal cataclysmic shock, change and transformation (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016; Rose 2013, p. 216), our yarning collectively stories the violent interplay of Aboriginal land and lives (Tuck & Yang 2014) in these Kuhnian shifts of Western knowledge. This disruptive yarning

- nourishes thought, body and soul;
- claims voice in the silenced margins;
- is embodied relational meaning making;
- intersects the past and present as living oral archives;
- enacts collective ownership and authorship. (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43)

For those ‘outsiders’ but in earshot of this shared dialogue among ourselves, this disruption to settler colonialism is often not understood, or valued, and is overheard as being ‘a rambling and pointless’ story or conversation ‘of questionable veracity’ (Rynne & Cassematis 2015, p. 104). Failing ‘to hear that what the person was talking about was in fact to do with the research topic’ (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010, p. 41), these disruptive stories are sometimes not heard by those ‘looking and listening for language steeped in academic’ (p. 41).

Bunda and Phillips (2018) write that the ‘sceptic might read’ (p. 45) this storying of our knowledge relationships as ‘just the morals or metaphors’ (p. 45). They write the ‘intent of story is to illustrate theory through symbolism’ (p. 45), and ‘morals and metaphors explain something just as theories do, but through implicit illustrative experiences’ (p. 45). Storying Australian teacher education provides ways for the researcher and researched to embody the research problem (McKnight 2016), where we can ‘muse over’ (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 44–45) and meaning-make the metaphors, symbolism and motifs of the ‘encounter’ (p. 45) surfaced in our yarning.

From this standpoint, yarning should be a ‘risky’ research tool and not be concerned with the unrelated intruder’s demands for methodological legitimacy (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010). Frustrating settler models of educational research by establishing equivalent research relationships ‘that can allow for both the researcher and the researched to “open up” and to listen and give’ (Walker et al. 2014, p. 1219), yarning collapses ‘the distance’ between knowing the totality of Country (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) and doing ‘home methodologies’. Getting in the way (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of the homesteading (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) ‘corpus body of knowledge about us’ (Nakata 2007a,

p. 12) our yarning looked to the ‘cosmos of ideas’ (Wilson 2019, p. 47), embodying old ways of knowing, doing and being the ‘researcher’, the ‘researched’ and the ‘method of data collection’.

### **The four stages of yarning**

In this section, I provide an overview of my yarning process and how I adapted Bessarab and Ng’Andu’s (2010) framework to research topic yarning with other Aboriginal teacher educators about the settled and unsettled spaces we occupy and own (Watson 2007, p. 15) in Australian teacher education programs. As a research tool for collecting ‘data’, Bessarab and Ng’Andu (2010) frame the yarning process as moving the *social yarn* to the *research topic yarn*, where both participant and researcher can move between *collaborative yarning* and *therapeutic yarning* (pp. 40–41).



**Figure 5.** Bessarab and Ng’Andu (2010) Four Stages of Yarning

### ***Before the yarn: generating research stories***

In the first stage of yarning, I produced a series of reflective research stories that focused on my everyday work in Australian teacher education. My stories took the form of first-person, descriptive journal-like entries that focused on real-life critical incidents and provocations, professional reflections and imaginings.

In 'crafting stories to make meaning' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 46), I *selected* and shared this self-yarning in ways that *relinquished* 'control over the story's meaning' (p. 46), *welcoming* the reader, which included me, to reflectively analyse the story and 'bring their own interpretations, understandings and sensibilities to bear on the story told' (p. 47).

### ***An emerging framework for analysing and organising self-yarns***

Emerging from this self-yarning process were a range of research stories that identified the localised corpus body knowledge about 'me' that was operating around 'me' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12), where my curricular and pedagogical rights to roam (Watson 2007, p. 15) got in the way of the settler rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225). My self-storying documented 'the problematic and dynamic essence of teaching' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224, emphasis in original) studies in Aboriginal education, surfacing the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (p. 224) in teaching about Australian teaching. The self-yarning process allowed me to reflectively make distinctions between 'what was learnt through researching the situation' and how I do teaching (p. 223).

I identified through the process of self-yarning that my workplace was in cataclysmic neoliberal shock, change and transformation (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016; Marker 2019). This upheaval of the world produced a range of offensive and less offensive (Veracini 2010, p. 34) workplace settlements, transfers and mass expulsions. In my broader reading of Australian settler colonialism, I began tracing these more recent lived-out (Land 2015, p. 86) neoliberal restructures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of the Australian university to their colonial ancestries (Brennan 2011), identifying the settler desires to organise the policy and

practices of 'teaching' in ways that legitimated and self-actualised the sovereignty of the settlement (Tuck & Yang 2014).

Reading my own yarns against Veracini's (2010, p. 33) cataloguing of population transfers in settler societies, I developed three broad or meta-Aboriginal population transfers in Australian teacher education that provided ways to analyse and organise my reflective self-yarning. When operationalised, these population transfers

1. end Aboriginal rights to roam through forced change and transformation
2. consume Aboriginal difference through an all-inclusive citizenship
3. obstruct the pathway towards treaty with the promise of practical reconciliation.

Drafting my self-yarns against these three Aboriginal population transfers in Australian teacher education storied the complexities of working in knowledge systems that are marked by the colonial and neoliberal interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). This storying of my immediate landscapes and terrains produced a series of vignettes that identified common themes in working at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education, with and against these operating population transfers. The common themes describe my social–ecological relationship within the architecture of the *transforming* university, working with settler populations and their programs.

My self-yarning vignettes were later shared with research participants, with the common themes becoming research topic points in our yarns. I have purposely not included these vignettes as an appendix to this research project;

content in this self-yarning intimately identifies my workplace and workplace relationships and therefore cannot exist within the public domain unedited.

### **Social yarning**

My initial approach to finding other Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander staff I might yarn with involved a web-based search of Australian universities' Faculty of Education staff profiles or biography pages. I also searched via university online subject guides and course sequences for Aboriginal education and/or studies in teacher education programs. This allowed me to identify staff names and contact details from online guides in the public domain.

In my search, I excluded those Aboriginal staff who taught standalone studies offered by the Aboriginal Unit and/or from other faculty programs, for example, the arts. My reasons for this were linked to the primary question of my study, which concerns the roles of Aboriginal teacher educators working within Faculty of Education programs. It was important to consider the inside conversations of being on faculty and the territorial tensions of recoding, rewriting and teaching the emerging compulsory Aboriginal education unit of study.

From this preliminary work, I identified a potential but limited pool of Aboriginal teacher educators who could participate in this research project. I compiled a national list of contact details and sent a generic email outlining my research proposal and an invitation to participate. In all, five Aboriginal teacher educators responded to my call to participate in a research relationship. This small cohort refracts the 'generic ethnic labelling and positioning' of 'an assumed pan-Aboriginalism' (Burgess 2017, p. 742), operating across the programming of Australian teacher education, and their willingness to

participate in yarning sessions were opportunities to explore ‘the limitations of such assumptions’ (p. 742).

Co-yarners’ willingness to build a research relationship is an intimate process, requiring a relationship that can ‘cut across the formality of identity as a researcher’ (Bessarab & Ng’Andu 2010, p. 47) as we ‘both are learners in the process’ (p. 47). This relationship is ‘strained by tension between informants’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 233) expectations that ‘something useful or helpful will come from the divulging of (deep) secrets, and the academy’s voracious hunger for the secrets’ (p. 223).

In my responding email, I sent research participants information about my project, an electronic copy of my self-yarning stories and consent forms that were later signed when we met face to face. These self-yarns served as a further explanation of my research ideas and themes and how I conceptually framed the theoretical and physical landscape. I provided my participants time to read my general introductions and my yarns, and I followed up my email with a phone call approximately one week later.

The social yarning that took place before my research topic yarning was informal and unstructured (Bessarab & Ng’Andu 2010, p. 40), following ‘a meandering course’ (p. 40) bridging connections via our professional workplaces, collegial relationships that situated our knowledge relationships to Country and providing opportunity to ‘develop trust and build relationships’ (p. 40). Advancing from this preliminary social yarning, I arranged a suitable time to travel and meet with research participants in their own locations. To do this, I needed to be not only responsive and reflexive to research participants’

availability, but also strategic in terms of my project costs and university procedures for approving travel.

Meeting with co-yarners in their unique locations and workspaces allowed participants ‘to speak with authority’ (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026), providing ‘avenues for new and renewed connections’ (p. 1026) that affirmed our research relationships, obligations and responsibilities. When travelling to these locations, I paid attention to the Countries I visited, the imperial architecture and the social–ecological organisation of the university’s campus (Donald 2012) and where I met with research participants. In the informal and formal stages of yarning, this paying attention to Country prompted and sustained our dialogue, where we could compare the pegged-out imperial architecture of the university (p. 3). The ‘colonial presence’ (Veracini 2016, p. 38) in these locations meant some co-yarners with shared and/or open offices could not speak their authority with comfort, preferring to yarn in a café or park, ‘away from the distractions of their day-to-day work’ (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026).

In our face-to-face meeting, we continued the social yarning established from our phone and email communications. Yarn sessions began unrecorded, and in this part of the yarning process, I outlined the project overview and my own collections of shared yarns. I explained and collected signed consent forms (Appendix 1), making clear that knowledge co-created in that yarn session would be owned collectively, and that we could and should return to these yarns for further reflection and possible individual and collective action. My ‘deliberate and determined’ conversation with other Aboriginal teacher educators had a



‘beginning and end’ but was ‘relaxed and interactive where we both responded as we saw fit’ (Walker et al. 2014, p. 1218).

### **Research topic yarning**

When I felt it was appropriate, I sought verbal and nonverbal body language approval and started voice recording. The recorded yarn sessions ranged from 45 minutes to almost 2 hours. To begin the research topic yarn, I asked participants to story their own professional pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) and how they ‘ended up’ in their current role teaching studies in Aboriginal education. This purposeful beginning provided opportunities to identify in this storying ‘information relating to the research question’ (Bessarab & Ng’Andu 2010, p. 40), becoming research topic starters, prompts and segues to therapeutic and co-creating yarns, where we could ‘return to the topic at hand for further and deeper interrogation or for following new directions, and threads’ (p. 43).

### **Collaborative yarning**

This part of the yarning session sought deeper clarification of where and how the logic of the university sought to organise the physical and intellectual Aboriginal geographies. In this time, participants explained the histories of the university in terms of Aboriginal scholarship, engagement and governance (Fredericks 2015, p. 79). In these dialogues, we described how particular events, systems and/or structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) in the everyday programming worked with and against Aboriginal standpoints in teaching and learning. At times, ‘the conceptual baggage and understandings’ (Bessarab & Ng’Andu 2010, p. 41) of my own research agendas dominated the conversations, and I needed to ‘be mindful to not feel compelled to talk about

my research topic and agendas' (p. 41). Bessarab and Ng'Andu (2010) remind researchers that collaborative yarning needs to *meander* and *digress*, 'exploring similar ideas or bouncing different ideas in explaining new concepts' (p. 41) and 'cutting across the participant's' rights to roam 'through the storytelling process' limited the potential of 'new discoveries and understandings' (p. 41).

Mapping our localised work and workplaces allowed us to collectively share and co-create research stories about the 'corpus body about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12) operating around 'us'. In this wandering/wondering yarning, we described our relationships, roles and purposes using specific examples that allowed us to launch into the complexities of working in programs using a range of theoretical, cultural terminologies and metaphors that relied on shared social–ecological understandings. This storying 'connect[s] personal experience to broader societal discourses' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47), offering 'insight that generates empathy and builds social bonds' (p. 47).

### **Therapeutic yarning**

At times, I became both the speaker and listener in intensely personal and emotional dialogues (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 41) of being caught up in the structural event (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of neoliberalism, where the executive termination (Veracini 2010, p. 42) of programs had resulted in the expulsion and transfer of populations within the transforming university. This storying (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) of the complexification of genocidal and assimilatory logics (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) were not self-wounding pain narratives (Tuck & Yang 2014), and nor were they counselling sessions (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 40). Instead, our storying witnessed teaching through the shiny side of settler discourses, where the interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck &

Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) are claimed as well-intentioned assistance (Rose 2013, p. 212). This therapeutic yarning spoke back to the institutional chaos promoted as pathways to a better world (Tuck and Yang 2014) and our truth-telling disclosed information that sometimes spoke beyond sharable public domains of this research project. In this dialogue, I looked to *assist* co-yarners by ‘giving voice to their story’ (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010, p. 40), as they did with mine, where in the exchange and process of ‘meaning making’, we are both ‘empowered and supported’ (p. 40) in re-thinking our ‘experience in new and different ways’ (p. 40).

#### ***After the yarn and maintaining research relationships***

My yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel provided ‘a source of rich data and thick descriptions’ (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010, p. 44) of the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a). After each yarn, transcripts were de-identified, re-read and edited for clarity and then sent to the co-yarner for approval. In this stage, research participants had opportunity to clarify and re-draft, delete and de-identify their own professional history and collegial relationships. These postyarn conversations were conducted by either phone, email, video conference tools, or in some instances physical conversations at domestic and international events. In these postyarning sessions, we continued sharing information and exploring ideas in explaining new topics, leading to new understandings (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010).

#### ***De-identifying people, places and Country***

In the transcription process, and the reporting of interpretations and findings, I needed to work through issues of de-identifying my research participants. The ‘rich and thick data’ (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010) described accounts of events,

relationships and structures where co-yarners self-identified through specific histories to and with Country/ies and by the imperial geographic markers and locations of our workplaces (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) pegged-out over these terrains (Donald 2012, p. 3). In my analysis of yarns, I needed to consider what was 'learnt through researching the situation' about the localised 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes in teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) and how I made these findings public.

In my transcribing of yarns, I removed specific references to places that could identify my participants. This included the Aboriginal territories that we came from and were teaching into, the university's name and the specific naming of the Aboriginal locations or centres in that university, and the naming of organisational structures like faculties, degree programs and subject names.

In my analysis, interpretations and reporting of findings, I name the universities' Aboriginal centres as the *Aboriginal Unit*, and the generic organisation of Australian teacher education programs as being the *Faculty of Education*. In my discussions and interpretations, I replace specific names of subjects and degree programs and, when appropriate, make distinctions between the 'elective' Aboriginal unit of study housed at the Aboriginal Unit and the new 'core' compulsory studies in Aboriginal education housed with the Faculty of Education.

### ***Naming participants***

In initial drafts of my transcriptions, I gave my participants gendered pseudonyms; however, this process did not limit all risks in terms of identifying current and previous work and lifeworlds, and participants' place-specific relationships. In the final reporting of findings, I use nongender-specific

Aboriginal first names and nongendered pronouns when referring to my participants and in their storying (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) of working at the cultural interface (Nakata 2002) of Australian teacher education.

Connell (2009) notes that 'teaching' has been a 'gender-divided occupation from the start' (p. 3), and in the colonial context, the *blurring* of teaching and motherhood (p. 3) birthed a 'new great White nation' (Jacobs 2009, pp. 88–89). This grammar of race and gender pathologically erased Aboriginal women's matriarchal roles in this intergenerational nation-building work (Moreton-Robinson 2000) and continues to erase the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) Aboriginal women have in this continuous caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008).

Writing as queered Aboriginal man, I remain troubled by the double erasure (Tuck & Yang 2014) taking place in my use of nongendered Aboriginal names and how I continue the tradition in Australian education studies of writing out the long and specific gendered histories, struggles and engagement in Aboriginal education. My thesis acknowledges the individual and collective standpoints of those Aboriginal women who participated in my study and scholarly work of Aboriginal women that has grounded and shaped my analysis, interpretations and findings. In this context, I hope for a shared reading, where our racialised, gendered and queered voices as Aboriginal teacher educators speak 'from the margins' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43) through limiting processes of de-identifying the embodied relationships with place and Country, enacting a 'collective ownership and authorship' (p. 43).

## Framework for Analysis

To organise my co-yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel, I returned to the framework used to surface my own complexities of teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) in settler knowledge systems that are marked by transferist logics (Veracini 2010). My storying (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) documented 'the problematic and dynamic *essence* of teaching' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224, emphasis in original) studies in Aboriginal education, surfacing the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (p. 224) I encountered when I disturbed the corpus body of knowledge about us (Nakata 2007a, p. 12).

Placing my co-yarning alongside my own self-yarning drew individual yarns into a bigger, mutual yarn about teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at this interface between two knowledge societies (Nakata 2007a), working with and against offensive and less offensive population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) that

1. end Aboriginal rights to roam through forced change and transformation
2. consume Aboriginal difference through an all-inclusive citizenship
3. obstruct the pathways towards treaty with the promise of practical reconciliation.

Organising my yarn sessions against this framework provided linear ways to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) Aboriginal teacher educators' pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) and potential futures (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) in Australian teacher education.

I used this linear framework of analysing the yarns to structure my three Findings and Interpretations chapters. In my first Findings and Interpretations

chapter, I look to the *past*, mapping out participants' histories, prior responsibilities and obligations in teaching, and relationships with and between the university's Aboriginal Unit and faculties. I note how emerging nation-building curricular and pedagogical regulatory processes recoded Aboriginal Studies as teacher education curriculums, forcing distinctions between the teaching agendas of the university's Aboriginal Unit and the Faculty of Education.

My framework marks the neoliberal restructure of the Australian university as the *present*, where in my second Findings and Interpretations chapter, I consider how nation-building curriculum agendas are claimed as being pathways into a better, Whiter world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232). Organising our yarning in ways that shadowed faculty's claims of a reconciled and inclusive brotherhood (Veracini 2010), this storying of yarns (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) tells how Aboriginal teacher educators have been left with 'messy exhaustive work of combat-deflecting insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism' that 'permeate White institutions' (pp. 23–24). This current permeation of race, culture and civilisation narratives (Donald 2012, p. 3) is the complexification of settler logics in Australian teacher education (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), functioning in ways that distract (Morrison 1975) Aboriginal teacher educators, transferring our attentions away from the wider tasks of decolonising the institution and indigenising returned and repatriated curriculum and pedagogy (Tuck & Yang 2012).

My third Findings and Interpretations chapter outlines how our current demands for a settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) in Australian teacher education are framed by the university as future, symbolic aspirations (Dodson

2016). Delayed practically by the needs to reconcile the institution's felonious past, 'the unequal problematic relationships of colonialism' are allowed to continue in the present (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61),

justified in terms of preparing the Indigenous subject for the moment when colonialism can be dissolved. The vanishing endpoint again recedes into the future and does its political work in the present. (p. 61)

When sorting yarns against this linear framework, I looked to where in the transfer (Veracini 2010) to education faculties Aboriginal teacher educators' sovereign rights to roam (Watson 2007) were purposely juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with settlers' rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014). This juxtaposition between the *local* Aboriginal way of doing teacher education and the *international* system of the university (Adams & Faulkhead, p. 1019) produced common themes that storied the 'conditions of our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when at this cultural interface between two knowledge societies and when we disrupt the programming 'that shape and produce Indigeneity' (p. xviii).

These common themes are addressed in the following chapters as chapter subheadings, documenting in my interpretations and findings the territorial contestation for curricular and pedagogical legitimacy in the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2) and the confrontations Aboriginal teacher educators have with those 'enchanted' with settler colonialism's shine (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, pp. 23–24), who 'tend to resist and deny their complicity in harm' (p. 24). I return to these common themes in my final chapter where I consider what I learnt from my yarn sessions with other Aboriginal teacher



educators when I asked if ‘we are free to roam over the settled and unsettled in Australian teacher education’ (Watson 2007, p. 15).

### **Summation of Methodology and its Relationship to the Research Question**

In this chapter, I outlined how I used wayfinding (Meyer 2001) to methodologically follow (Lynch, cited in Tiesson 2007, p. 4) previously marked-out desire lines in Aboriginal research (Arbon 2008, p. 137). This research pathway acknowledges the ‘accumulated knowledge’ that is ‘captured within the terminology of Country’ (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) and how this ‘continuing Aboriginal connection’ (Watson 2007, p. 15) offers alternatives to Western research methods and explanations (Rigney 2006, p. 74). This acknowledgment places my social–ecological (Whitehouse et al. 2014) responsibilities and obligations as an Aboriginal researcher within the ‘cosmos of ideas’ (Wilson 2019, p. 47), restoring the foundations of an Aboriginal philosophical existence (Alfred 2005) that liberates my thesis from settler research paradigms and agendas (Tuck & Yang 2014).

When applied to my research focus, wayfinding these research desire lines generated Aboriginal standpoints (Nakata 2007a) that attended to the research question and subquestions that asked if Aboriginal teacher educators are free to roam over the one-nation teacher education Australian landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15). Yarning (Bessarab & Ng’andu 2010) with other Aboriginal teachers about teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) revealed the competing claims for curricular and pedagogical legitimacy at this interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2007a), where our localised sovereign rights to roam (Watson 2007) are juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with the foundational logics of the Australian university (Adams & Faulkhead 2012) organised by

settler rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014) the corpus body of knowledge about us (Nakata 2007a, p. 12).

I justified my use of yarning in relation to wayfinding my method and tools for 'data collection' (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, pp. 40–41), identifying how this research 'process' and 'exchange' is accountable to and reliant upon mutually understood 'cultural protocol[s], relationships, and expected outcomes' (Walker et al. 2014, p. 1218). As a research process, my social invitation to research topic yarn with other Aboriginal teacher educators was an opportunity to collaboratively 'journey together', therapeutically visiting 'places and topics of interest relevant to the research study' (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010, p. 38). In this research exchange, we became co-creators, storying (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) the conditions of our existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at this interface between two knowledge systems, narrating the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) of working with and against transferist logics (Veracini 2010) that program the shaping and production of Aboriginal education (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii).

Applying my yarn sessions against these operating Aboriginal population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) provided a framework for my analysis. Tracing the trajectories of our more recent Faculty of Education resettlements (Veracini 2010, p. 49) as they manifested and complexified our workplaces (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), this framework provided ways to story the juxtaposition (Donald 2012, p. 6) between the local Aboriginal way of doing teacher education and the international system of the university (Adams & Faulkhead, p. 1019). This storying of the yarns (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) maps out the territorial

contestation for curricular and pedagogical legitimacy in the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2). These stories document this collision of consciousness (Marker 2019, p. 7), making public the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' that emerge when decolonising and indigenising teaching teaching (Loughran 2010), and the confrontations Aboriginal teacher educators have with those 'enchanted' with colonialism's shine (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24), who 'tend to resist and deny their complicity in harm' (p. 24).

## **Findings and Interpretations: The End of Roaming Through Forced Change and Transformation**

In this chapter, I focus on the first set of findings from my study. I draw upon my yarn sessions to interpret and map out participants' histories, prior responsibilities and obligations in teaching, and relationships with and between the university's Aboriginal Unit and education faculties. Charting the continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) that Aboriginal teacher educators like me have with teaching, this discussion surveys the spaces we occupied before we began working inside our respective education faculties. The findings related to this chapter are distilled into three sections.

In the first section, 'Roaming, Circular Footsteps and Fast-tracked', I introduce my co-yarners, tracing how they came to be teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) in Australian teacher education programs. In this discussion, I identify how teacher education studies provide Aboriginal people with a provisional place in Australian universities, but arriving to these higher education spaces later in our lives, we are academically delayed and subsequently playing catch-up in relation to gaining postgraduate rights to work qualifications.

In the second section, 'Aboriginal Units and the Titled Space', I draw on my collaborative yarn sessions to identify the social–ecological relationships and histories Aboriginal teacher educators have with the university's Aboriginal

Unit. In this discussion, I identify how professional degree programs like teacher education code-shared Aboriginal Studies subjects offered by the Aboriginal Unit's teaching and learning programs and the continued Aboriginal connection my yarners have in teaching and learning into Australian teacher education from this centre.

In the third section, 'Ground Zero and the Neoliberal Structural Events', I trace how university-wide neoliberal restructures forced distinctions between the agendas of the university's Aboriginal Unit and its Faculty of Education, which conceptually displaced the delivery sites of Aboriginal education (Veracini 2010, p. 35), resulting in the resettlement (p. 49) of Aboriginal teacher educators.

### **Roaming, Circular Footsteps and Fast-tracked**

I introduce my co-yarners in this first section, tracing how they came to be teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) in Australian teacher education programs. When interpreting my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel, the academic lifeworld of working in Australian teacher education was not necessarily a purposefully designed and thought-out academic path. Instead, our careers appeared to be a culmination of previous work and study relationships, chance and opportunity.

In my yarn with Rata, we identified that 'our pathways have always been like this ... footprints running around all over the place':

Rata: A colleague who teaches in social work once said to me, 'There are two types of academics. There are those academics who are the career-path academic, and those who happened to find themselves as academics based on past work'. They said, 'I was the other type', and I guess that is what happens for people who are in education, or say social work, more than it does in say the

arts. I ended up working in the university because I was doing cross-cultural awareness training. I happened to be giving a presentation ... and someone from the Aboriginal Unit said, 'We've got a job going and you've got an education degree. Do you want to come and teach here? When do you want to start?'.

Mat: So, did they put you straight into the Faculty of Education or did they put you Aboriginal Unit?

Rata: In the Aboriginal Unit. All the Indigenous Studies subjects were run out of the Aboriginal Unit into faculties.

When interpreting this yarn session with Rata, the university's Aboriginal Unit provided an entry point for Aboriginal people to access university pathways (Andersen, Bunda & Walter 2008). This was especially true for students returning to study after doing other things in their lives, with 'footprints running around all over the place' (Rata). In my yarn with Jarra, they tell me they returned to study as a 'mature ager':

I was at community event, and the manager of the Aboriginal Unit was promoting their programs. I was having a yarn with them, and later, like six months, I bumped into them again at another community event and I said, 'Hey you never rang me about enrolling and I should have started by now!' and before you know it I was having an interview and they got me enrolled into my bachelor. (Jarra)

I learnt that Jarra was identified by the Aboriginal Unit as a potential tutor and was asked to teach into the Aboriginal subjects they had previously studied:

As soon as I finished my first degree I got picked up as a sessional to teach into that degree, while I was still studying for the education degree. I was picking up work off campus as well, teaching in and across lots of different communities and locations. (Jarra)

Like Jarra, Miki was a student in education studies and combined this study with work in Aboriginal student support. This work provided Miki with crossover

opportunities to engage in further study and teaching as a sessional staff member within the Faculty of Education:

Whilst in my job [in student support], I was told by an academic from within the Faculty of Education that I should have a break from study and go and teach in their elective subject that had Aboriginal themes. (Miki)

Davel, who identified as not coming from a 'teacher education' background, describes how they 'fell into teaching':

After I came back from overseas, I didn't really have a job. I was poking around and doing a few things in the university, and after some time picking up some work, the VC [vice chancellor] came to me and said, 'Look if you don't have a PhD there's not much of a career for you in the university system'. ... So I sort of gave some thought to that and eventually I took up the challenge to do my PhD and I got into it and I finished my PhD, while doing this teaching ... and from that I basically welded onto the idea of having a full-time academic career ... I couldn't say that when I was a little kid or at high school saying, 'I'm going to be an academic one day'. (Davel)

In my yarn with Yuri, they describe themselves as coming from a management background and, through ongoing studies and work in higher education, found themselves organising the delivery of teacher education subjects as part of their overall duties:

I've come into teacher education and teaching the Aboriginal content after teaching in a non-Aboriginal position. I managed general units and particularly within organisational behaviour and education management. That's what I sort of came from, and the bulk of my previous teaching areas. (Yuri)

An interpretation of my yarn sessions highlights how teacher education studies provide Aboriginal people with a place in Australian universities (Fredericks 2015). As identified in my personal factors for this thesis, Aboriginal centres are

places I have accessed as a student in various stages of my academic life and as a lecturer working in and across the centre's teaching programs (Price & Rogers 2019, p. 9). Access to initial and postgraduate studies in the fields of education, teaching and vocational training provides Aboriginal people with ways to use these circular lifeworlds of study, work and community engagement to 'up' and make more translational knowledge/s, qualifications and experiences (Andersen, Bunda & Walter 2008).

In my project, Aboriginal teacher educators were fast-tracked and/or detoured into postgraduate qualifications that gave 'rights to work' in the university sector. For example, Miki's and Jarra's undergraduate teaching degrees were used as the qualification to work in universities, not schools.

Look I had to go and do something because I wanted my family to have something to aspire to, you know. My master's supervisor said that I should go out and teach in schools. I would like to work in Aboriginal schools ... but the thought of working in a White school, with disrespectful kids. No, that's not for me. (Miki)

Similarly, Davel tells me,

I was never a teacher in high school, or primary school. I'm originally from a science background. Now, I am sort of straddling research areas of Indigenous pedagogy, science, and communities. (Davel)

The fast-tracking and detouring of Aboriginal people into teacher education faculties has meant coming to education studies from diverse backgrounds, locations and time periods, which has not necessarily included professional 'school' experience. In my yarn with Jarra, they state that after graduating from their education degree,



The education faculty wouldn't let me work in their programs, even though I was already working in the university as a lecturer. But because I'd only graduated from teacher education the year before, I had to wait a year—so it looked like I spent time teaching in schools. So, I had to do another year of sessional lecturing with the Aboriginal Unit, and then I signed up with the faculty. (Jarra)

The circular footprints (Rata) into teacher education mean care must be taken when measuring the qualifications and experiences of teaching staff from the Aboriginal Unit who have wandered (Veracini 2010, p. 36) over to faculties. In Jarra's instance, the singular currency of *school experience* excluded other professional histories, qualifications, knowledges and experiences that sit within the broad definition that is 'teaching and learning'. Similarly, Miki desired to teach, but the endpoint agenda was never to end up 'working in a White school'.

Sleeter (2017, p. 159) notes that professional pathways into teacher education 'encourages publication more than working with and in schools' (p. 159). However, Herbert (2012) rightly points out that there is 'no excuse for lecturing staff and/or professional experience and practice supervisors not being adequately prepared for the job they are employed to do' (p. 38). Herbert writes that 'previous relevant work experience in a suitable classroom setting should be an essential criterion for employing any lecturer' (p. 38), and the 'university fail their students when they employ academic staff who have limited or no classroom experience' (p. 38) and are unable to 'respond meaningfully to the professional learning needs of specific student groups' (p. 38).

In determining what constitutes a 'suitable classroom setting', Burgess (2017) notes in their own yarning with Aboriginal teachers the perception that Aboriginal teachers are ineffective and deficient in 'mainstream' teaching

skills/duties because we have chosen not to follow Whitestream (Andersen 2009) study/career pathways. In this yarning,

Two of the early career Aboriginal teachers noted that they were often questioned about the credibility of their teaching degree. John for example, recalls, 'I think it was because I came from the Koori (Aboriginal) Centre ... [that] it was [seen as] a 'Mickey Mouse' course. She thought that I was getting the easy ticket through to teaching. (Burgess, 2017, p. 747).

Aboriginal teacher educators may be fast-tracked and/or detoured into under/postgraduate studies in teacher education, but as students in these 'predominantly White teacher preparation programs' (Sleeter 2017, p. 162), they have also come to know 'curriculum and pedagogical isolation of being both the "Other" and the "Expert"', learning when they can 'speak out' and when to keep a 'low profile' (p. 162).

The pan-Aboriginal positioning occurring in classroom dialogues (Burgess 2017, p. 742), and the learnt strategies of resisting the label of 'expert Aboriginal other' informs their own teaching strategies in teaching teaching (Loughran 2010). However, the increased regulatory demands for specialisation in Aboriginal education (Herbert 2012) requires Aboriginal teacher educators to speak with authority (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026) in professionally shared language (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Loughland & Ellis 2016).

In my yarn with Yuri, we identify how this emerging one-nation (Watson, 2007, p. 15) professional language meant Australian teacher education programs could no longer borrow the generic elective Aboriginal subject and in this, 'grab any Black person off the streets' (Yuri).

It's about who I get to teach in my programs. I want somebody who can stick to the curriculum rather than having somebody from an arts base coming into an education faculty and not being able to know what an education degree is. And I think that's how we get trapped in teacher education, that there's a lot of us teach in from outside and a lot of the teaching are from arts backgrounds, arts, humanities and the social sciences. The trouble with this is you've got a group of teachers sitting there, who demand you know what the curriculum and pedagogy is and why knowing this is important. So, you need to teach these students about 'teaching' ... I think that if you're from an arts background, or nonteaching background, that these are some of the conversations that you're not even having when you're thinking through content development and doing the teaching and learning. (Yuri)

### **Postgraduate studies and delayed pathways towards a better, Whiter world**

In this discussion of findings, I consider the challenges Aboriginal teacher educators face in balancing our teaching and learning roles with further postgraduate studies and, more generally, research and engagement.

Aboriginal teacher educators' circling footprints have used previous professional and cultural experiences to access university pathways later in their lives. In my yarn with Davel, they summarise the common themes of coming to study later in life:

I think for a lot of Aboriginal staff, we have come late to the academic world—I didn't do my undergraduate degree until I was in my early thirties—so we haven't had a long and deep involvement in university and are playing catch-up, and that's going to be difficult. (Davel)

Tuck and Yang (2014) identify how Aboriginal people are caught up in these university discourses of 'progress into a better, Whiter, world' (p. 232) that are 'offered as part of some kind of path of humanisation' (p. 227). In these discourses, the 'pained body (or community or people)' are trying to 'catch up

(but never can) to the settler/unpained/abled body (or community or people or society or philosophy or knowledge system)' (p. 227).

At this cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a), this scarring and the scars that qualify and authenticate Aboriginal teacher educators make us both visible and invisible. We are 'scarred' by the embodiment and totality of Aboriginal Country (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59), qualifying this First Knowledge (West 2000) that we bring to the cultural interface and return to Australian teacher education (McKnight 2016). Nakata (2002) writes that this knowledge will vary among individuals and their communities, reflecting 'original heterogeneity of traditional contexts, the varied experiences and impact of colonisation' (p. 6) and the 'diversity of contexts in which indigenous Australians now live' (p. 6).

However, this qualification is invisible and immeasurable when inside the university's gates (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), using the university's metrics. Reflecting upon their own PhD journey, Yuri tells me that they were not 'even on the radar', and that

It was literally sink or swim through the PhD. People here don't take you seriously without it, regardless if you're Black, White or whatever. If you do not have a PhD nobody's going to listen to you. You'll just be given all the shitty jobs like everybody else. Everyone is measured against the same metrics. (Yuri)

This apprenticeship of sorts is an assimilative process (Veracini 2010, p. 38), where our 'voices' are 'captured and echoed, ricocheted, distilled' (Watson 2007, p. 15) by the guild of the academy, who will listen to us and take us seriously only after we have done the 'shitty jobs' (Yuri). In my yarn with Jarra, they describe this process as 'hitting the road running'. In this part of our yarn,

Jarra maps out their last few years of combining study, work, family and community responsibilities:

Mat: I just want to quickly shift to your studies? Where are you in that?

Jarra: I'm a bit late handing in my thesis, but it should be handed in for marking soon.

Mat: Okay so why were you late in your thesis?

Jarra: Just life. I pretty much hit the road running. Completed a double degree, went and taught straight away. Did back to back research subjects and then into thesis. I walked away from all the study subjects, and took a long breath, when I should have written my thesis. I think that's what's happened, because I hit the road running and study was really important, and I neglected a lot of things for a couple of years. Then I got a job, and now I've neglected study.

Here, I would like to rethink this idea of being set back by our graduate studies, and that we were delayed on our career paths of academic humanisation, where Aboriginal teacher educators 'have hit the road running' (Jarra) and are 'playing catch-up' (Davel) to the settler philosophy or knowledge system (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227). For Aboriginal teacher educators, our postgraduate studies are opportunities to understand more about how our 'cultural background' provides 'important potential for unique knowledge creation' (Bunda et al. 2020, p. 144). Bunda et al. write that this scholarship is situated within 'western culture/identities that are bound in western knowledge systems', competing with the university's 'contemporary enterprising values of efficiency and expediency' (p. 144).

Drawing on my yarn sessions, Aboriginal teacher educators in their becoming early career researchers are negotiating the intercultural supervision

relationship and the intrusive demands of Western study. Our negotiating of the supervision relationship occurs whilst managing also the teaching and learning through workplace transformation change and mass expulsions (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016; Veracini 2010) whilst also 'going home' and participating in family and cultural lifeworlds.

Tuck and Yang (2014, p. 231) write that early career researchers are encouraged 'to reach for low-hanging fruit' in thesis writing, using data methods and collection that require little effort':

'Just get the dissertation or thesis finished,' novice researchers are told. The theorem of low hanging fruit stands for pre-tenured faculty too: 'Just publish, just produce; research in the way you want to after tenure, later.' This is how the academy reproduces its own irrepressible irresponsibility. (p. 231)

The 'irrepressible irresponsibility' is evident in my yarn with Miki, where enterprising scholarship informs and drives the supervision relationship:

Mat: So, you said before that when you started your research 'journey' you wanted to do one thing but was pushed another way.

Miki: I followed my supervisor; I trusted my supervisor. I had a slight interest in the topic, but the topic wasn't me. I don't know what happened, but it wasn't working. It was doing my head in and my supervisor knew I was struggling. So, I stopped going to supervision visits—at the same time—things were happening in life. I was trying hard to engage with the topic and for 12 months this went on.

Mat: It just didn't fit you?

Miki: No. And in the end, I had a go at my supervisor I said, 'Well, I want to do this part-time'. But part-time wasn't an option for them.

Mat: So, you got dumped?

Miki: I got dumped, and I reckon they would be like 'See how hard I worked with Miki and how hard I mentored them, but they were just not up to the rigours of study'.

Mat: And your coming to the topic was not quick enough? And your study wasn't going to be quick enough?

Miki: I wanted to spend my time doing a PhD where my community can come in and understood what I was doing, and read it and said 'Yeah, I understand that, I know where they're going with that'.

In this yarn Miki describes how the invisible but central position of the research supervision relationship is situated within a Western model of engagement (Bunda et al. 2020, p. 144). In the more general relationship between supervisors and their students, 'scope' of the student's research problem must sit within the limits of 'time' and 'cost'. The three points marking out the 'research journey' are the practical limits that determine the 'quality' of the thesis.

In Miki's yarn, quick and cheap 'low-hanging' scholarship is presented as the preferred option (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231), where the scope of the project is not concerned with quality engagement with local Aboriginal research ideas, agendas or relationships. Miki's supervision relationship is primarily focused on research training in quickly becoming a 'White academic':

Miki: What I will say though about the whole experience was that I woke up. I woke up on the fact that they trained me to be a White academic, and that's why I hated my thesis topic. It trained me to be a White academic and researcher and that is the problem, I am not a White researcher, and I couldn't be.

Mat: So, I heard that coming to and at the end of your thesis, and the beginning of your PhD was moment where you went, 'No I'm an

Aboriginal researcher, I'm not a researcher that happens to be Aboriginal'.

Miki: Once I reconciled all of this with myself I realised it was okay to say, 'No, that's not what I want'.

In refusing the low-hanging fruit on this academic pathway (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231), Miki's need for research to be readable and meaningful for their own community contours Audra Simpson's (cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 234) desire for

her own ethnographic work with members of her nation: asking, 'Can I do this and still come home; what am I revealing here and why? Where will this get us? Who benefits from this and why?' (p. 234)

Tuck and Yang (2014) write that 'these questions force researchers to contend with the strategies of producing legitimated knowledge based on the colonisation of knowledge' (p. 234).

In this yarn with Miki, I imagine if we had Aboriginal supervision, and what indigenous and decolonising strategies we as early career researchers would learn from these research relationships:

This is the thing about the introduction of research, and Aboriginal people who are in the education faculty. If we had connections to Aboriginal supervision there's a whole set of other negotiations happening in the supervision partnership, and dialogue about engaging in our community as practice. We get introduced into a whole bunch of senior researchers and you're working alongside, in the promotion of Aboriginal methodologies, that are engaging, liberating, challenging. (Mat)

In this alternative research relationship, there would be 'a whole set of other negotiations' (Mat) happening in the supervision partnership that would position Aboriginal students to enter into authentic and meaningful dialogues as early



career researchers. These meaningful dialogues allow early career researchers opportunity to broadly explore the world using 'new old ways' (Arbon 2008, p. 137), 'where Elders and one's peers are given authority to grow knowledge through affirmation' (p. 137). This research relationship with Aboriginal scholars and scholarship introduces Aboriginal early career researchers to the First Laws of Country 'so that your brothers and sisters may be found by the Law' (West 2000, p. 36). In this interpretation, the demands for Miki to publish low-hanging fruits or perish as an early career researcher suggest Miki's supervisor did not value these 'new old ways' (Arbon 2008, p. 137) of doing research. Consequently, the quality of the research experience resulted in what West (2000) describes as the exiled 'state of the pale', where Miki's thesis died 'without spirit, without language, without the Mother' (p. 27).

In this section, I introduced my co-yarners, identifying the circle footprints of our professional careers where we had been fast-tracked and/or detoured into teacher education studies. From our yarns, I noted that we came from diverse backgrounds, locations and time periods that did not necessarily include professional 'school' experience. More generally, we had arrived *to* (Fredericks 2015) these higher education spaces later in our lives, and we were subsequently delayed, playing academic catch-up (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) in relation to gaining postgraduate qualifications. The quality of this 'big history' Aboriginal research agenda (Arbon 2008) for early career Aboriginal teacher educators like me, as an experience, cannot be centred on the state of the pale university dynamics and demands of cost and time. At this interface, where postgraduate Aboriginal research increasingly means state of the pale rights to work (Tuck & Yang 2014) low-hanging qualifications (p. 231), the demands for

fast-tracking Aboriginal people into positions on faculty compete with a slow scholarship that has sustained Aboriginal people for millennia (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59).

### **Aboriginal Units and the Titled Space**

In this second section, I draw on my yarn sessions to identify the continuing Aboriginal connection (Watson 2007) that Aboriginal teacher educators have with the university's Aboriginal Unit. Andersen et al. (2008, p. 4) write that a 'cursory glance' of Aboriginal employment in Australian universities reveals 'the majority' of Aboriginal university staff are located in 'Indigenous specific sites' like Aboriginal Units, and that very 'few Indigenous staff are employed across schools and faculties as academics, and likewise in professional services and human resources' (p. 6).

In this discussion, I identify how professional degree programs like teacher education code-shared Aboriginal Studies subjects offered by the Aboriginal Unit's teaching and learning programs. Aboriginal teacher educators' engagement in Australian teacher education has histories in this service teaching into professional degree programs, where individuals or teaching teams are organised from and/or have relationships with the Aboriginal Unit and wandered (Veracini 2010) and roamed (Watson 2007) over to faculties.

To organise my interpretations of my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel, I first discuss the social–geographical (Donald 2012) locations of these Aboriginal Units and the social–ecological (Whitehouse et al. 2014) relationships that co-yarners and I have with these places (Martin 2016). I then reflect upon the histories these Aboriginal centres have in relation to teaching

and learning, either internally, within the Aboriginal Unit's programs, or externally, across and into other university disciplines and degree programs.

Many of my co-yarners spoke of their roles and histories of working in Aboriginal Units. In my self-yarning, I identify a geography where the Faculty of Education is situated at the university's centre and the Aboriginal Unit is located on the edges of campus. I write that I chose to 'hot desk' at the Aboriginal Unit rather than just sit in my Faculty of Education office. My faculty dean explains this move to my colleagues in a Faculty of Education staff meeting as having a 'foot in both camps' (Mat).

For some months the tension in shifting my office reverberated through the faculty—I remember that a colleague asked 'back' the data projector, and that it was 'for faculty staff'; Admin telling me that I was hard to find, and that I needed to still pick up my mail from the education office. I'm sure if I asked my colleagues in the education faculty—where my office was, most would have trouble locating the Aboriginal Unit ... even though I know where each of their offices were. (Mat)

Drawing from Donald's (2012) metaphor of the fort, the social–geographical location of the Aboriginal Unit refracts the imperial architecture of the Australian university, where the history and design of my university has sought to organise Aboriginal knowledge by conceptually (dis)placing the Aboriginal Unit *inside* the university's gates (Fredericks 2015), between the 'traditional' fort structures of faculties.

Fredericks (2015), reflecting upon their own connection to place, points to how 'all that is part of what we see now within the university comes from what has been' and was 'built over time', reflecting 'a history made of people, activities and buildings ... government priorities and economic situations' (p.

79). In this context, the building of the university *over time* has placed the more recent arrival of the Aboriginal Unit beyond the university's 'boundaries of location' (Veracini 2010, p. 49), becoming a 'settlerless' space (p. 49).

Working beyond the boundaries of the Faculty of Education, but 'inside' the sovereign and diplomatic spaces of the Aboriginal Unit, I sought to physically and metaphysically restore (Alfred 2005) my teaching within the Aboriginal territories that sit beneath the imperial fort's (Donald 2012) foundational walls. Whilst my self-transfer and choosing to hot desk inside the Aboriginal Unit 'established the acceptability of population transfers' (Veracini 2010, p. 49), it also confirmed the need for 'rigorous spatial separation' that prevents settlers 'from entering indigenous areas' (p. 49).

The need for settlerless spaces is discussed in my yarn with Jarra, where they describe the Aboriginal Unit as being a safe place:

Because as an Indigenous person who's constantly having to defend who I am and the way I do things—I don't have to over there in the Unit—it's a place where we are all understood and we all understand each other. It's a good feeling place, and it's where I don't have to experience racism, they get what I do and the way I go about it. Management over there try to make it very comfortable for Aboriginal staff members. (Jarra)

In Jarra's yarn, they identify that the 'over there' space of the Aboriginal Unit is a space where they do not feel the effects of racism, nor the need to defend their professional work. Starrs (2014, p. 115) notes similar findings, where Aboriginal Units work towards redressing 'prevailing opinions among Indigenous Australian populations that Australian universities are disrespectful, racist institutions' (p. 115).

In this context, the settlerless space of the Aboriginal Unit (Veracini 2010, p. 49) provides opportunity for both Aboriginal staff and students to culturally rest in their 'roaming' (Watson 2007, p. 15) across the unsafe intellectual and teaching landscapes of the university (Bin-Sallik 2003). Andersen et al. (2008) write that Aboriginal Units fulfil important roles in 'the recruitment of highly dedicated staff' (p. 4), supporting Aboriginal students 'in their journey through higher education', from 'graduation and then onto postgraduate study' (p. 4), strengthening connections as these staff later teach 'throughout the university not just in Indigenous centres' (p. 4).

In my yarn with Rata, we reflect upon the continuing connections (Watson 2007, p. 15) we have with colleagues and students at the Aboriginal Unit and the provision of places for us to gather as Aboriginal people:

The thing though about being in the Aboriginal space is that you know the laughter and the collegiality. That keeps you going. One of my good friends said in terms of all the changes, 'At least at the [Aboriginal Unit] we knew sometimes we didn't know where we were going, but we were all going there together. You know, you are all on a mission'. (Rata)

Rata's reference to the Aboriginal Unit as being 'on a mission' speaks to the academic agendas of Aboriginal populations inside the university and the place 'reserved' for Aboriginal populations inside, but just outside, the university's 'settlement' (Donald 2012). In this interpretation, the history of Aboriginal missions and reserves is complex. These physical sites sought to warehouse (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) and then eliminate Aboriginality through a range of biocultural assimilation programs (Wolfe 2006). However, these missions and reserves are also places where Aboriginal people can connect with communities and maintain connection with others. Lloyd and Wolfe (2016) write

that the territorial 'concentration is both confining and enabling', where 'from the settlers' point of view', these missions and reserves

may have originated as holding pens for conquered peoples, but they also constitute unsundered, albeit diminished, repositories of Native sovereignty, focal points for survival and renewal. (p. 112)

It is with this complexity that I read and interpret the socio–historical and geographical framing of the Aboriginal Unit. On one hand, these reserves placed Aboriginal professional knowledge, practice and engagement in 'holding pens' that sit on the outer physical and metaphysical perimeters of the busy and industrious university (Donald 2012, p. 2). Becoming *repositories* for Aboriginal scholarship and education leadership, Aboriginal Units are also sites for survival and renewal of First Laws (West 2000) and their knowledge relationships, responsibilities and obligations to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). Separating, and separated from, the Whitestream (Andersen 2009), Aboriginal Units as sites of academic governance work with and against the architecture of the university to create intellectually sovereign autonomous spaces that *privilege* Aboriginal worldviews and standpoints (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245).

Mackinlay and Barney (2010) write that national curriculum, teacher registration and university accreditation directives increasingly have mandated formal studies in 'Aboriginal traditional and contemporary cultures' (p. 93), where responsibilities for 'implementation of the policy' (p. 93) has been left to Aboriginal centres or units.

The Aboriginal Unit negotiated this because we have a good relationship already with the faculties. They came over to us and said as a part of the degree we need a mandatory unit and so we said, 'We've already got

one'. So, their students would enrol into that also. So, we had three degrees using that one subject. (Rata)

This service teaching into university-wide programs provided a fiscal base to fund and support the Aboriginal Unit's own internal programs, building staff capacity to self-determine the everyday and long-term agendas.

We were trying to get programs up and running and negotiating with faculties and trying to build ownership of Indigenous Studies as a discipline. You know that took a lot of time and effort ... the creation of a good intellectual space. My idea is that you have people coming out of the faculties into that Indigenous intellectual space to learn stuff and they can go back. You know 'that's your hub'—not just put us all out there in faculties and then hope that we change the world. (Rata)

In Rata's yarn, they describe how Aboriginal staff situated in the officially 'titled' Aboriginal intellectual, self-governing territory would roam to and across the faculties (Watson 2007, p. 15) in the circular-like processes and practices that savage their disciplines (Nakata 2007b). This diplomatically excised space 'outside of the settler entity's population economy' (Veracini 2016, p. 45) functions as a site that 'informs a number of decolonisation processes' (p.45): creating intellectual space/s that could centralise and govern Aboriginal scholarship and practices in this service teaching *into* professional degree programs.

Working diplomatically across the settled and unsettled intellectual and governing locations of the university (Watson 2007), Aboriginal teacher educators took on a broad range of responsibilities in the governance of this service teaching because 'that's the whole thing about the Aboriginal Unit, they often asked us to do everything' (Rata). In doing 'everything', Rata describes this work as 'just getting on with the job':

Rata: Getting enjoyment out of seeing the good student feedback and outcomes. Students writing to you two years later and talking about what they're doing. Aboriginal students having these networks around them ... We probably should've advertised that more, that's the crystal ball. I'm teaching the last cohorts out now and there are some fantastic students in there, that are going to be teachers with minors and majors in Aboriginal Studies, but that won't be around in two years' time.

Mat: It's like we've just finished our Aboriginal Bachelor. You can still do some subjects, but it won't be a Bachelor of Aboriginal Studies—it will just be called a Bachelor of Arts. These students were the ones we took away for weekends on cultural and Country visits.

In this section, I described how the university has been built 'over time' (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) and how the social cartography of this architecture has placed the Aboriginal Unit beyond the university's 'boundaries of location' (Veracini 2010, p. 49). As a 'settlerless' space (p. 49), the Aboriginal Unit has situated and placed the survival and renewal (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) of Aboriginal Studies as a discipline (Rata), providing Aboriginal teacher educators refuge and rest in the service-teaching roaming across to faculties (Watson 2007, p. 15). The social–ecological (Whitehouse et al. 2014) safe space (Bin-Sallik 2003; Starrs 2014) centred Aboriginal teacher educators' footprints (Rata), playing a key role in determining 'the recruitment of highly dedicated staff' (Andersen et al. 2008, p. 4), supporting Aboriginal students 'in their journey through higher education', from 'graduation and then onto postgraduate study' (p. 4), strengthening connections as these staff later taught 'throughout the university not just in Indigenous centres' (p. 4).



## Ground Zero and the Neoliberal Structural Events

In the previous section of this first Findings and Interpretations chapter, I mapped out the histories of Aboriginal teacher educators' service teaching into professional degrees and the faculty relationships made with and within the Aboriginal Units. Emerging from this mapping are the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) that territorially concern the 'course code' relationship that faculties have with the Aboriginal Unit and the curricular and pedagogical demands, expectations and challenges of teaching Aboriginal Studies in professional degree programs like Australian teacher education.

In this section, I trace how university-wide neoliberal restructures forced distinctions between the agendas of the university's Aboriginal Unit and its Faculty of Education, conceptually displacing (Veracini 2010, p. 35) Aboriginal teacher educators and the delivery sites of Aboriginal education.

Rata: When the subject was taught from the Aboriginal Unit we negotiated that the Unit received that funding, but the university wiped off I think a certain percentage for admin. But we had mandatory units, so we had 1000s of students and so the money was great.

Mat: See I'm teaching the now mandatory subject, owned by the Faculty of Education and you know I'm getting the same number of students, but it goes straight to the faculty. This is what I'm trying to point out—I'm saying, 'Aboriginal staff, Aboriginal knowledge, Aboriginal teaching and learning, so what's wrong with Aboriginal Unit taking that money'.

In this restructure, Australian universities entered into a 'vigorous program of microeconomic reform', with the agenda 'to improve productivity and efficiency and to enable sustainable growth' (Universities Australia 2011, p.11). However,

as de Oliveira Andreotti et al. (2015) notes, 'short sighted, and often violent institutional changes' of universities in responding to 'current social, economic, environmental, and existential crises' may also 'be signs of a system resisting its own collapse' (p. 22).

The neoliberal restructure of the Australian university was imagined by its leadership as 'natural and neutral features of all political, commercial and social organisations' (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92). This new way of leadership 'retreated' (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92) from previous geo-unique relationships and agreements with the Aboriginal Unit that were 'made over time' (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) and place (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48).

So, we had finally won the argument about how Aboriginal teaching and learning should be organised, and that took over a couple of decades. Then what's happened is that with the swipe of a pen ... all this work was undone. It was *ground zero*—nothing happened before the new strategy apparently. (Rata)

Rata's description of the neoliberal retreat (Strakosch 2009b) as ground zero is useful. In claiming legitimacy, senior leadership underwrote a new time and place in the governing relationship that organised the university's teaching and learning of Aboriginal subject/s, where with 'a swipe of the pen', previous agreements the university and its faculties had with the Aboriginal Unit were executively terminated (Veracini 2010). The retreat of the university's senior leadership *replaced* the doctrine of terra nullius with what Lloyd and Wolfe (2016) describe as the '*shock doctrine of neoliberalism*' (p. 110, emphasis added). As a 'radical discontinuity' (Veracini 2010, p. 42) of the colonial doctrine of terra nullius, the ground zero structural event (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of neoliberalism separates the colonial past from its 'postcolonial present' (p. 42).

In Rata's instance, the executive 'swipe of the pen' marks the neoliberal space with a '*postcolonial status*' (Veracini 2010, p. 42), and subsequently, Aboriginal teaching staff and our 'unextinguished grievances' are seen as 'illegitimately occupying the indigenous sector of a postcolonial population system' (p. 42). The neoliberal restructure of the university marked Rata's social–ecological relationships as 'worthless' (p. 36), and because this 'labour power [was] no longer a priority' (p 37), teaching staff were expelled from the *holding pen* of the Aboriginal Unit and *transferred* to faculties.

In my yarn with Miki, we give attention to the history leading up to the ground zero structural termination (Veracini 2010, p. 42) of teaching and learning relationships with Aboriginal Units. Predicated in the practices and process of indigenising and decolonising Australian higher education, this teaching addressed both our continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) with the university that has been pegged illegally over Aboriginal territories (Donald 2012, p. 3). In Miki's witnessing of the neoliberal transformation of the Australian university, they told me,

What happened back in the 80s and things in the 80s and early 90s was us in control of us. We were no longer going to be assimilated, we had our culture and we were proud of it. What's happened is we've made so much noise, and so much distance in that short period. And the system has gone 'Oh shit!' and in the mid-90s they put the brakes on. And everything started changing, absolutely everything. And you see there was a rise in racism and a rise in discrimination and were going back, like 50 years, to the White Australia Policy and assimilation, and they were putting a lid on us. In some ways we got complacent, we got sucked in. 'Oh, okay it's all going to be fine now, we've moved ahead, we've got our rightful place'.

We got sucked in because they pulled the rug from under us, the moment we started getting too big. (Miki)

The ground zero systematic backlash put the 'brakes on' Aboriginal models of governance that used institutions to better reflect the sovereign titled position of Aboriginal people in Australian public life (Dodson 2016). This backlash included Aboriginal Units becoming deactivated and/or redirected into new agendas, resulting in individual and mass expulsions and executive terminations (Veracini 2010, p. 42), 'job losses, cuts to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education programs, and reductions in assistance to Indigenous students' (Brady 1997, p. 417).

Claiming legitimacy to 'organise' and 'embed' Aboriginal First Laws and their epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) into the new structure (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) as perspectives and understandings (McKnight 2016), senior leadership's models of governance conceptually displaced Aboriginal knowledge curricular and pedagogical relationships, responsibilities and obligations. Davel reflects that at their university, the ground zero neoliberal events (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) meant a decrease in terms of Aboriginal engagement, and that although Aboriginal staff were transferred to faculties, the overall strategy had

been an abject failure. We are at the stage now that we've got a 6% drop in Aboriginal graduations, and our student intake this year has been a lot less than what it's been. This I reckon is because last year we had almost a 70% reduction in Aboriginal staff. (Davel)

The neoliberal ground zero structural events (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) can be read across my yarn with other Aboriginal teacher educators, described in macro and micro narrations using terms like 'transitioned', 'restructured', 'recoded',

‘reaccredited’, ‘rewrote’, ‘transferred’, ‘moved’ and ‘left’. The ‘systemic transformation’ of Australian universities produces a neoliberal calibration of settler colonialism and faced with potential necropolitical futures, Aboriginal staff looked for ‘less offensive’ alternatives (Veracini 2010, p. 34).

### **Recoding Aboriginal Studies as teacher education curriculum**

In this following discussion, I draw on my yarns to identify how internal and external standardisation of Aboriginal education across teacher education curriculums and registration (ACARA 2019; AITSL 2012) contributed to the mass expulsion of teaching staff from the Aboriginal Unit whilst providing less offensive (Veracini 2010, p. 34) alternatives in the new university structure. Ending the wandering (Veracini 2010, p. 36) of the elective Aboriginal subject, faculty responsibility in teaching Aboriginal knowledge as core, compulsory teacher education curriculums enclosed Aboriginal teacher educators within new work relationships, responsibilities and obligations.

In the beginning it was an elective, it was only the non-Indigenous lecturer, an Elder would come in, and that sort of made it more authentic ... We went from having this little subject for the students to choose if they want to learn about Aboriginal education, and then ‘Closing the Gap’ had just started and the AITSL standards and the new ACARA were coming into play, and the mandatory subject inside the faculty was decided. After that, everything just changed. (Miki)

As a population transfer (Veracini 2010, p. 34), the structural event (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of writing Aboriginal Studies as teacher education curriculums reflects the previous Aboriginal scholarship in higher/education studies and our demands to educationally ‘trade’ (Donald 2012, p. 6) with those who will professionally work in our communities (Universities Australia 2011, p. 3).

In a sense, this is something our grandparents were talking about. They said, 'What we need to do is get to the teachers; if we can get to the teachers then our kids are going to get a better time'. So now, the professional standards were just slipped in, I think that was a little bit of a nice strategy, even if it took such a long time. (Miki)

The curriculum inclusion of Aboriginal perspectives and understandings (McKnight 2016) was an opportunity for Aboriginal teacher educators to 'teach teaching' students a new 'national curriculum consciousness', providing preservice teachers with a

deeper understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures, knowledge traditions and holistic world views. This knowledge and understanding of, and connection with, the world's oldest continuous living cultures will help learners to participate in the ongoing development of Australia as a nation. (ACARA 2019)

Now located between these regulatory nation-building curriculum agendas and the needs of classroom teachers (Herbert 2012, p. 43), the newly titled Aboriginal positions can be understood as moving towards a more equitable participation in the preparation of our nation's future teachers. However, in my yarning with Rata, we identify how Aboriginal scholarship (that was built over time and place) risked domestication (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 235) in its recoding as teacher education curriculum, where our continual connections and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010; Watson 2007) that embody Aboriginal Studies become enclosed within 'a well-intentioned multiculturalist agenda' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 235).

My idea is that you have people coming out of the faculties into that Indigenous intellectual space to learn stuff and they can go back. You know 'that's your hub'—not just put us all out there in faculties and then hope that we change the world. (Rata)

The multiculturalist agenda of 'changing the world' by transferring Aboriginal teaching has intentionally retained the settler normativity of faculties (Veracini 2010) by collapsing the distinctions between 'indigenous and exogenous alterities' into the category of faculty's 'exogenous other/s' (p. 43). These biopolitical faculty categories refract the formation of the White nation-state (Tuck & Yang 2014) and speak of the triad relationship between

the White settler (who is valued for his leadership and innovative mind), the disappeared Indigenous peoples (whose land is valued, so they and their claims to it must be extinguished), and the chattel slaves (whose bodies are valuable but ownable, abusable, and murderable). (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224)

In my yarning with Rata, they describe how the population transfer into the different internal faculty categories erased our continual connection and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010; Watson 2007) whilst retaining faculty normativity:

So, everything was 'hunky-dory' but now because they're restructuring ... the Aboriginal staff who were involved in and running [name of professional degree]—now need to create a new unit in that degree program, a new mandatory unit. There was confusion around some of the administrative functions, which means the other degree program is now saying that they just need their faculty staff to now teach the [now mandatory] subject because it's too hard for administration to work through ... These problems are more of a structural issue that created this situation, and the pressure of the faculty was to consolidate and reduce duplication. The perception was that the Aboriginal Unit created a burden for the faculties ... Senior leadership should have been looking at, and understanding the nuances of what was happening, and what was going to happen to the ideology around embedding and making Aboriginal Studies ... it isn't the faculty's fault as they have just been dumped with stuff also in the 'restructure'. And people keep making it up as they go along. (Rata)

In this marked postcolonial ground zero space (where the reproduction of labour is no longer an issue because Aboriginal staff await in the holding pens of the Aboriginal Unit) Rata notes that faculty engagement with the Aboriginal Unit and their systems of governance became an unnecessary 'duplication' in course management. 'Dumped' with the problem of returning an ancient system of knowledge to their teaching programs (McKnight 2016), faculties were not internally equipped (Sleeter 2017, p. 157) with the broader social and political agendas of 'making' and 'doing' Aboriginal Studies and instead were concerned with administrative consolidations and 'nuances' (Rata) of cost.

In Rata's account, the re/coding of the Aboriginal Studies as core faculty subjects collapsed the external duplicated 'categories' of Aboriginal engagement into internal faculty categories, where 'the other degree program is now saying that they just need their faculty staff to now teach the [now mandatory] subject because it's too hard for administration to work through' (Rata).

In this administrative redrawing, Yuri notes,

We have Indigenous staff members within many of the faculties, but we don't really cross over in terms of the agreements between the traditional structure of the university. We won't compete against each other, so the core business is your core business. But for example, somebody say in the faculty of arts presenting to an education conference, or teaching into Indigenous education, it would never happen. (Yuri)

Although framed through an inclusive cultural lens, this *biopolitical* faculty organisation of its population/s collapses 'spatial separation between metropole and colony' with 'the intentions of making a new home' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4). These homemaking logics are 'asserted each day of the occupation' (p. 4),



informing the ways the faculty population ‘speak to each other about history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12). Functioning as neutral and natural logics of faculty (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92), the redrawing of Aboriginal teaching speaks of the ‘conditions of our existence’ (Moreton-Robinson et al. 2015, p. xvii) when working within these administrative logics ‘that shape and produce Indigeneity’ (p. xviii), where it is now the faculty that ‘controls the new discourse’ (Brady 1997, p. 420), and their administrative functions decide ‘who, how, when, where, and what to teach in Indigenous Studies’ (p. 420).

Miki tells me that in the new system, their status as an Aboriginal teacher educator was lost amid the internal categories that made distinctions between full-time, ongoing and sessional work:

Miki: You would think they would keep someone in the faculty that is Aboriginal, done teaching and studies there, instead of only offering part-time and sessional work until I finished my PhD. Whilst you don’t expect the red carpet to be laid out, you do expect some sort of support, and encouragement, you know, ‘Oh okay they want to be here long term, what can we do?’ I was expected to teach across multiple campus where I spend half my life in the car, teaching the same subject.

Mat: So, we could just throw work at you, you don’t complain because you’re just learning the ropes?

Miki: Yeah but if I did complain, which I did quite often, it was suck it up, no understanding, no compassion, or caring.

In the place before the ground zero neoliberal restructure, Miki’s cultural lifeworld qualified and worked with their emerged, and emerging, professional identity, where they made sense of their work relationships and their own

commitments to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). Here we read that new measures are being applied, 'spending half their life in a car' (Miki), caught in repetitive cycles of teaching the same content. Miki had become locked into a new social contract, where 'although they don't expect the red carpet', they were seeking to make sense of the new relationship and the new labour realities:

Mat: Do you go to those faculty meetings to represent the Aboriginal subject?

Miki: Not anymore, because I wasn't respected. There is not much respect for the part timers and our knowledge. Especially if you don't have a PhD. We are down the bottom of the invite list. And then, when you add that you're Aboriginal, they don't want to know you unless they want to put you out on the spot.

In comparison, Jarra was given an ongoing entry-level position on faculty, where they could settle themselves beyond the professional lifeworlds of sessional work. This work contoured Miki's teaching role, in that

I'm only teaching into that one subject, and because it's a mandatory subject, the numbers fill my workloads for the year. That's good for me, because I enjoy teaching into the one unit, rather than be scattered all over the place teaching multiple subjects. (Jarra)

When interpreting Jarra's yarn, entry-level, full-time ongoing work teaching into the one subject was a less offensive alternative (Veracini 2010) to being scattered all over the semester timetable, where survival as 'sessional' was dependent on 'individual charisma and ability to charm' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 942). When comparing Miki's yarn with Jarra's, the mandatory Aboriginal education subject ends the roaming lifeworld of a sessional lecturer (Watson 2007, p. 15), and in this administrative redrawing of Aboriginal labour,

it is 'rights—not bodies—that are transferred' (Veracini 2010, p. 44). Whilst Jarra gained entitlements beyond being a sessional, Miki 'lost entitlements' that Aboriginal teacher educators 'had retained in the context of previous arrangements' (Veracini 2010, p. 44). The loss of entitlements in the biopolitical transfer to faculty are noted in Miki's yarn, where they did protest, but the response from faculty was to 'suck it up' and there was 'no understanding, no compassion, or caring' (Miki).

In this context, the recoding of Aboriginal Studies as teacher education curriculum 'draws' and 'enforces' (Veracini 2010, p. 44) administrative boundaries that 'transfer' us, but do not 'necessarily displace' us 'physically' (p. 44). Whilst this administrative redrawing of the biopolitical population had the potential to employ more Aboriginal teaching staff, this cohort were enclosed in the singular currencies of faculty that could not understand nor value the 'nuanced' (Rata) work of including Aboriginal standpoints into the 'everyday'.

Rata: In a way that's good for us because it means we can potentially employ more Indigenous staff. But the faculties did employ Aboriginal staff, and some only lasted for one year before leaving. ... We're so small now you know; we're dropping like flies around here now. We lost three staff here that lasted the transition but have since left.

Mat: Walked out?

Rata: Yep, walked out. Resigned.

In my yarning with Rata, we note the emergence of internal administrative categories and how these administrative functions determined our workloads:

Mat: What conversation have you had concerning your own workloads? Have you been *disciplined* by the Excel workload tool?

Rata: The spreadsheet with your workloads? Yes! We are in education, and our arts units are coded differently to education units. It doesn't come up either. They've only got education coding on the workloads template.

Mat: Does this become a metaphor for us, about where our knowledge sits and where our practice sits? Do we savage the workload tool, and argue that these unit coding issues are their problem to sort out, because this is the work that we are doing? Or do we just don't do the work outside the course codes?

In this yarn, I reference Nakata's (2007b) concept of *savaging* the workload tool and the need to still roam across the teaching landscapes of the university (Watson 2007, p. 15), but increasingly, this workload tool *disciplines* our continual connection and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010; Watson 2007). Although the faculty workload tool provides Aboriginal teacher educators with a conditional co-optation within the faculty, we must 'reject' the outside currencies of our 'traditional communities' (Veracini 2010) and 'individualise' our intellectual and physical 'lands' (p. 38). Here, I want to borrow from Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1967), where in this violent territorial transfer, 'sheer physical fatigue' (p. 86) can *stupefy* Aboriginal teacher educators:

Starved and ill, if they have any spirit left, fear will finish the job, guns are levelled at the peasant; civilians come to take over his land and force him by dint of flogging to till the land for them. If he shows fight, the soldiers fire and he's a dead man; if he gives in, he degrades himself and he's no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self fall to pieces. (p. 86)

Whilst my comparison is metaphorically dramatic, the point I wish to make is that the neoliberal recoding of Aboriginal knowledge as teacher education curriculum contours external colonialism, where 'fragments of Indigenous

worlds, animals, plants and human beings' are recast as 'natural resources to— and build the wealth, the privilege, or feed the appetites of—the colonisers' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4). Rata metaphorically describes this consumptive process of recasting Aboriginal knowledge as

vultures circling the carcass of the Aboriginal Unit. This is how I imagine Aboriginal education since it's been put back into the faculties. We're being kept busy ... they just threw us in there without working anything out. So, we've just been busy trying to pick up the pieces and it just becomes exhausting. (Rata)

The recasting (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4) of Aboriginal Studies into teacher education curriculums has replaced ownership of the intellectual and physical territories with new individual labours of 'tilling' (Fanon 1967, p. 86) these territorial 'pieces' for settler consumption. In my yarning with Yuri, they describe this academic production of this consumption, where

if we're talking about metrics in this faculty, we're judged by metrics in our outputs in research and writing. So, at my level I need to publish and research otherwise I'm red lighted. I think it's just one of the things within the university that we must do constantly. I have a very low administration role here. I'm a researcher, I'm an academic and this is what I have to do, because if I don't do that, I lose my job. Some people might focus on the administration side which inflates their sense of work purpose. Academics who tend to have very low outputs, focus on their administration roles to go forwards in their careers. In a faculty like mine, we're judged on our research output, and not on our student evaluations. (Yuri)

When interpreting Yuri's yarn, workloads that concerned Aboriginal governance, and in this, the cultural workload of administratively decolonising and indigenising Australian teacher education, are rendered invisible in the new metrics. In the 'post' ground zero structural internal organisation (Wolfe 2006, p. 388), the 'tilling' is replaced with reductive descriptions of 'admin' and 'service'.

Whilst not discounting the general points Yuri makes in terms of the new demands Aboriginal teacher educators face, where it is publications and not a teaching track record that advance our careers (Sleeter 2017, p. 159), Rata rightly points out in our yarn together that some of that busy 'administrative work' that was counted in our previous workloads concerned getting 'programs up and running and negotiating with faculties', building 'ownership of Indigenous Studies as a discipline' that 'took a lot of time and effort' (Rata).

Rendered invisible in the new metrics, the cultural workload of building the discipline has recast Aboriginal Studies as internal faculty resources (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231). The internalisation of these struggles has cannibalised (Watson 2007, p. 18) our continuing connection (p, 15) and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42), testing relationships with those Aboriginal Units that survived the ground zero structural reform and with Aboriginal colleagues now located throughout university faculties.

In my yarn session with Miki, I asked if they go over to the Aboriginal Unit now 'after all the changes' and faculties were now doing the teaching instead of the Aboriginal Unit:

Miki: I try to go over there at least twice a month but there's political shit going on within them and other Aboriginal Units within faculties. They're fighting over student numbers and they're fighting over personalities and it's fucked! The colonisers love that we're fighting amongst ourselves!

Mat: So, have they cannibalised us? All that effort, when we thought we were liberating ourselves, has it all just been swallowed up into the faculty? So, your tribe is not the Aboriginal Unit, but instead it's the education faculty? And your tribe is now in with the health faculty? And your tribe is now over here, and over there.

Miki: It feels like it.

In this context, the dehumanising transfer from the doctrine of terra nullius to the shock doctrine of neoliberalism (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 110) has intentionally splintered the critical Aboriginal mass whilst retaining settler normativity (Veracini 2010, p. 43), where the university—claiming territorial legitimacy to organise Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1)—insists ‘on their capacity to define who is an indigenous person and who isn’t, and this capacity constitutes a marker of their control over the population economy’ (Veracini 2016, p. 44).

### **Summation of Chapter 4 Findings and Interpretations**

In this first Findings and Interpretations chapter, I drew upon my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel to map the continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) that Aboriginal teacher educators have with teaching, and teaching in the Australian university.

Initially, I identified how teacher education studies provide Aboriginal people with a provisional place in Australian universities, but arriving to these higher education spaces later in our lives, we are playing catch-up in relation to gaining postgraduate rights to work qualifications. I note that at this interface, where postgraduate Aboriginal research increasingly means state of the pale (West 2000) low-hanging ‘right to work’ qualifications (Tuck & Yang 2014), the demands for fast-tracking Aboriginal people into faculty positions compete with a slow scholarship that has sustained Aboriginal people for millennia.

My subsequent discussion of my yarns paid attention to the social–ecological (Whitehouse et al. 2014) relationships and histories Aboriginal teacher educators have with the university’s Aboriginal Unit. The Aboriginal Unit

was framed by many of my participants as being the physical place within the Australian university where Aboriginal staff and students could gather, becoming educationally related' (Martin 2016, p. 4; Starrs 2014). I identified how the settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) of the Aboriginal Unit fulfilled important university functions (Anderson et al. 2008, p. 4.), providing opportunities for Aboriginal teacher educators to culturally rest when 'roaming' (Watson 2007, p. 15) across the unsafe intellectual and teaching landscapes of the university (Bin-Sallik 2003).

In my third discussion, I identified how university-wide neoliberal restructures (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016) forced distinctions between the agendas of the university's Aboriginal Unit and its Faculty of Education. These ground zero (Rata) structural events (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) conceptually displaced the delivery sites of Aboriginal education, displacing entitlements Aboriginal teacher educators gained through previous agreements (Veracini 2010, p. 35). I note how emerging nation-building curricular and pedagogical regulatory processes contributed to this displacement (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012), whilst offering offensive and less offensive professional alternatives (Veracini 2010, p. 34).

Through my interpretations of the yarns discussed in this chapter, neoliberalism's postcolonial epoch sought to raze the foundations of an Indigenous Studies discipline by erasing the knowledge relationships Aboriginal teacher educators have with Aboriginal Units. For those enchanted with the neoliberalism shine (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015), this 'restructure' positions Aboriginal teacher educators as changing the world inside fort walls of the education faculty (Donald 2012). However, the conditional transfers to faculty



mean Aboriginal teacher educators are faced with new individualised contracts and workload tools that retain faculty agendas whilst executively terminating the political work already done by the Aboriginal Unit in building Aboriginal Studies as a standalone discipline. Although the structural event (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of neoliberalism has sought to naturalise faculty normativity in teaching Aboriginal Studies, our unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) with the university are not neutralised (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92).

The neoliberal redrawing of the university architecture restricted Aboriginal roaming across the university's intellectual and physical landscapes (Watson 2007, p. 15), restrained by the faculty's administrative subject coding and costings. The lack of governance has created practical, harsh, lived-out realities (Land 2015, p. 86), where it has become increasingly difficult for Aboriginal people to use previous circular footprints to access university pathways and continue their work in the university. Consumed inside these faculties and their administrative organisation, Aboriginal teacher educators have been left with the busy and exhaustive work (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) of 'picking up these broken pieces' (Rata) of Aboriginal Studies and recoding these pieces as teacher education curriculum.

My analysis framework marks this place of picking up the pieces as the present, and this first Findings and Interpretations chapter traced the pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) we have to this curricular and pedagogical work. This mapping leads me into my second Findings and Interpretations chapter, where I turn to my yarn sessions with other Aboriginal teacher educators to identify the spaces we now occupy in Australian teacher education (Watson 2007, p. 15). Located between the

regulatory nation-building curriculum agendas and the needs of teacher education (Herbert 2012, p. 43), this second chapter identifies 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that Aboriginal teacher educators encounter when working between two knowledge systems (Donald 2012; Nakata 2002).

## **Findings and Interpretations: The Consumption of Aboriginal Difference Through an All-Inclusive Citizenship**

In this second Findings and Interpretations chapter, I organise my yarning with other Aboriginal teacher educators to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how inclusive logics of the Faculty of Education consume Aboriginal teacher educators into a new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37). I survey the settled and unsettled faculty spaces (Watson 2007, p. 15), locating Aboriginal teacher educators between regulatory nation-building curriculum agendas and the needs of classroom teachers (Herbert 2012, p. 43). This ‘messy and exhaustive work’ is ‘combat-deflecting insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism’ that “permeate” [from] White institutions’ (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24).

My analysis framework marks the neoliberal transfer to this educational brotherhood as the present, where nation-building regulatory forces and curriculum agendas (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012) are claimed as well-intentioned pathways of humanisation into a better, Whiter world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232). The educational permeation of race, culture and civilisation narratives (Donald 2012, p. 3) are the complexification of settler logics in Australian teacher education (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) that function in ways that distract (Morrison 1975) Aboriginal teacher educators, *transferring* (Veracini 2010) our attentions from the wider tasks of decolonising the institution and

indigenising returned and repatriated curriculum and pedagogy (Tuck & Yang 2012).

Organising our yarning in ways that shadow (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) faculty's claims of a reconciled and inclusive brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37), this second Findings and Interpretation chapter draws from my yarn sessions to describe the conditions of our existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) as Aboriginal teacher educators, working with and against these biopolitical *mantras* (Veracini 2010, p. 35; Herbert 2012, p. 40) that influence how the new faculty brotherhoods 'speak to each other about history, identity, citizenship, and the future' (Donald 2012, p. 12).

In my interpretations and discussions, I conceptually describe this complex curricular and pedagogical caring (Watson 2009a) for the totality of Country (McKnight 2016; West 2000; Whitehouse et al. 2014) as being the local Aboriginal gaze (Maoz 2006). Teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators are working with the population economies of the Faculty of Education (Veracini 2010), deploying sophisticated strategies of engagement that range from cooperation to open and veiled resistance (Maoz 2006, pp. 231–232). This localised Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) 'takes the shine out' of Australian Curriculum imperatives (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 23), showing how the 'very existence of the shiny side requires the imposition of systematic violence on others' (p. 23).

I have divided this chapter into two main sections, where I describe the agency of the local Aboriginal gaze in this settler colonial new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37), *working* with colleagues and *teaching* with students.

In my discussion of working with colleagues in the Faculty of Education, I look to my yarns to identify how Aboriginal teacher educators know the collegial gaze(s) and deploy a range of strategies that gesture cooperation. These strategies work with and against expectations that Aboriginal teacher educators will no longer ‘come across with a chip on your shoulder’ (Yuri) and to cooperate with the institutions we wish to reform by ‘changing things on the inside’ (Rata). I story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how the biopolitical organisation of faculty constructs *returning* and *repatriated* Aboriginal teacher educators (Fredericks 2015, p. 79; Tuck & Yang 2012) as being homeless (Watson 2009a), where ‘entering into the settler space at some point in time after the arrival of the settler collective’ (Veracini 2010, p. 35), Aboriginal teacher educators are ‘considered not indigenous’ (p. 35) to teacher education. I draw on my yarn sessions to interpret how Aboriginal teacher educators are working with and against critical allies’ curriculum agendas, discourses and educational imperatives that condition our existence and shape production of *indigeneity* (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii). These scripts construct the continual connection and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010; Watson 2007) that we have with faculty as imaginary (Veracini 2010, p. 42) and our savaging (Nakata 2007b) of these inclusive scripts as unnecessary (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26).

In the second section of this chapter, I describe how the population transfer (Veracini 2010, p. 34) to faculty, and teaching the core compulsory Aboriginal subject in Australian teacher education, has left Aboriginal teacher educators with the mess (Bunda & Phillips 2018) of unpacking (Jarra) nation-building curriculum imperatives, working with and against the *biopolitical* student

body. I identify how the core compulsory Aboriginal subject has allowed both Aboriginal staff and students to stay with ‘axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes’ (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that teachers have in returning an ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016) to the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016). I note how curricular and pedagogical strategies used by Aboriginal teacher educators bring ‘unacknowledged privilege into view’ (Land 2015, p. 88) as well as ways ‘to challenge it’ (p. 88). This unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to think with Country disturbs the foundational logics of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014), disturbing the ways settler, migrant and Aboriginal students talk about themselves in relation to ‘history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12). I draw on my yarn sessions to identify how the emotional needs of the Whitestream student body (Herbert 2012, p. 43) push other students into the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) of these classrooms and into the enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37). This diverse cohort of Indigenous, immigrant and Whitestream students co-exist within the thickets of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) and refuse to invade our classrooms (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) or be settled by nation-building curricular and pedagogical imperatives (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012).

### **Faculty Gaze: Returning to the Faculty as the Homeless**

In this section, I identify a grammar (Wolfe 2006) of race, culture and civilisations (Donald 2012, p. 3) that narrates the *returning* and *repatriation* (Fredericks 2015, p. 79; Tuck & Yang 2012) of Aboriginal teacher educators as being an ‘*arrival*’. This grammar of arriving to teacher education ‘at some point in time after the arrival of the settler collective’ (Veracini 2010, p. 35) frames

Aboriginal teacher educators as being homeless (Watson 2009a) and 'not indigenous' (Veracini 2010, p. 35) to Australian teacher education.

I feel that we are poorer now as we came into faculty. As staff I feel that, well ... they've given us some seeding assistance to spend on research or whatever we wanted to. That was great, but you know every staff member gets that when they start. So, they just pretended that we were all starting new. (Rata)

In Rata's yarn, the faculty pretended that they were starting new, and in this settler fantasy (Strakosch 2015, p. 106), the biopolitical organisation of the new faculty brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) positions the returning Aboriginal teacher educators as the 'Aboriginal exogenous other' (Veracini 2010, p. 35). The fantasy (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) that Aboriginal teacher educators are not already insides the gates of Australian teacher education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) erases the broad sets of academic skills, knowledges and experiences we bring to faculty.

In my yarning with Rata, they describe this previous work as 'Jack of all trades', where they were building Aboriginal Studies as a discipline within, and across, the university and were 'asked to be all things for all people' (Rata). As already insiders, Aboriginal teacher educators arrive to faculty in stages of mastering our knowledge relationships, responsibilities and obligations to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364).

This arrival into the Faculty of Education as the 'homeless Aboriginal other' disturbs the homesteading logics of the settler university (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) and its organisation of 'the corpus body of knowledge about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12).

Miki: When I arrived, they had all their books categorised with course code that had 'ABO' as its title.

Mat: And no one had ever stopped to think?

Miki: It took the only Aboriginal person to point this out.

Mat: I could imagine their response, 'But that's the Dewey System!'.

In this yarn, Miki tells how their arrival to faculty interrupted the all-consuming logic of the Dewey System, where the racist abbreviation of *Aboriginal* (or perhaps the more scientifically explicit *Aborigine*) is used to recast 'all things native' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) into an organised system that catalogues the Aboriginal world.

In my own self-yarn, I borrow from Defoe's (1793) *Robinson Crusoe* to describe this recasting process, where I arrive onto the 'Island of Australian Teacher Education' and into a Man Friday and Master Crusoe relationship:

It was the Faculty of Education who discovered my footprints, and in that meeting on the beach they introduced themselves as 'Master', naming me 'Friday'—after the day of the week Master had found me.

They told me that they were here to save myself from my own kin; and that they had rescued me from certain cannibalism. Each member of their party came to me wanting to know the names of this and of that—which they would write it down or draw, or did both—then showed me, telling me the name they decided to call it. (Mat)

In my allegory, Western knowledge in its consumptive gaze across Aboriginal territories 'organises the world according to resources and impediments to these resources' (Rose 2013, p. 10), 'killing' any difference that it 'can't consume' (p. 10). My purpose as Man Friday/'Jack of all trades' (Rata) is to openly cooperate (Maoz 2006) with this *advancing* death cult of individualism



and self-discovery (Arbon 2008, p. 140) and 'trade' (Donald 2012, p. 6) with faculty colleagues as they recast the wild native terrains into a named and ordered landscape (Strakosch 2015; Tuck & Yang 2014). The recasting of all things native as resources redraws and rewrites my colleagues as authors with authority (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) where they 'know me better' than I can speak about myself (p. 227). *Retelling* knowledge relationships to Country in ways that position colleagues as being 'the speaking subject', I am 'now at the centre of their talk' (p. 227).

Watson (cited in Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 46) explains this settler gaze as being the 'Krinkri frog' who 'keeps on drinking and the First People of spirit, Aboriginal peoples, remain thirsty for rights' (p. 46). As locals, Aboriginal teacher educators know our colleagues' thirst for Aboriginal knowledge and how as guests in unknown locations they 'want to learn everything instantly' (Maoz 2006, p. 224) and then 'try to use it for their own benefit' (p. 224). Seeing themselves as 'more developed, more human, more deserving than other groups or species' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 6), this Krinkri frog process of recasting Aboriginal knowledge as homeless (Watson 2009a) resources for faculty disciplines collapses the distance between our colleagues' 'old and new home' (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016) by expanding the distance between 'home and no longer home' for Aboriginal teacher educators.

With this interpretation, the Man Friday/Jack of all trades roles in guiding the settler/s gaze function as a *distraction* (Morrison 1975). The recasting of Aboriginal knowledge relationships into, and across, the domains of Australian teacher education (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) are consumed by collegial

desires to be authors with authority (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), becoming a conquering process of settler self-actualisation (p. 225).

In my yarn session with Yuri, we talk about the naturalised expectation (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92) colleagues have that Aboriginal teacher educators are a Man Friday/Jack of All Trades resource in their own being and becoming curricular and pedagogical conquering authors of Aboriginal education:

Mat: Somehow, we're meant to be explaining ourselves to non-Aboriginal people. I worry about that tension because we are often the only people within faculty and I'll be accosted by a lecturer who wants this, or that in their unit. And it's not that easy—and when you try and get their heads around their own implicated ideas about Aboriginal Australia, you know—those tropes—they get stropky. There's so much time and energy that goes into that.

Yuri: I'm not positioned as the sort of quick fix Black person to go to. In terms of that I cut them out, and I don't have those conversations with the teaching staff. It takes away the unnecessary and the constant, you know—like people who email me and say, 'What do you think of my lesson?'—I ignore them ... In terms of my own mental health I can't be that person. I'm a specialist in my area and that's it. So, I've actually said to the faculty, 'I'm not an expert in arts and science or English—that's not my areas as like Indigenous is not your area. You might have a passion or an understanding, but this is my research area, I'm the master of my own domain, and unless you're actually publishing or working with me then you know, I can help you get to a certain stage but that's it'.

In this section of our yarn, we describe how there is an inherent expectation that 'good' (Burgess 2017) Aboriginal teacher educators like ourselves will openly cooperate (Maoz 2006) with non-Aboriginal faculty colleagues. Yuri describes how these 'unnecessary and the constant' transactions with non-Aboriginal

colleagues consume the 'specialist area' of Aboriginal education, emerging in the disciplines like the 'arts, science, or English', self-actualising (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) in our non-Aboriginal colleagues' professional practices.

In my workplace, I'm constantly accosted by colleagues who demand to trade (Donald 2012, p. 6) with me. When I draw attentions to the 'insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism' that *permeate* (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) their demands to know the Aboriginal other, 'they get stropky' (Mat). Yuri notes that these demands weigh on our 'mental health', and that we 'can't be the quick fix Black person' (Yuri).

Whilst Yuri leaves the door open for collaboration, this relationship must be formalised with colleagues where they are publishing or working together. In Yuri's workplace, they claim authority as authors (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) in Aboriginal education and, as 'masters of their own domain' (Yuri), they refuse (Tuck & Yang 2014) to be distracted by 'passionate' and 'understanding' non-Aboriginal colleagues and their 'unnecessary but constant' (Yuri) demands to recast Aboriginal education as 'arts and science or English'.

Jarra points to how this unnecessary, but constant, workload of collegially engaging with non-Aboriginal faculty can be professionally taxing work:

Mat: So, can you tell me what makes you feel unsafe? I understand about classroom practice how that can be an unsafe space for Aboriginal people, but why would working with non-Aboriginal colleagues be unsafe?

Jarra: Not necessarily always unsafe, but sometimes their ignorance makes my toes curl. Sometimes they'll say things due to a lack of knowledge, plain ignorance, and just not knowing. They don't

realise how racist their comments are. As much as my students will ask me 'how much Aboriginal am I?' my colleagues do as well! Even though they're meant to be educated.

Mat: So, what I'm hearing then is the work that you're doing with students is also some of the work you do with colleagues.

Jarra: I argue that most of our colleagues need professional development when it comes to Aboriginal knowledge, because they've missed it in their education.

In our yarn, I describe our collegial engagement as being professionally unsafe (Bin-Sallik 2003), where the local gaze (Maoz 2006) transacts with colleagues in meetings, and other formal and informal staff everyday encounters. In this context, the professional workload of encountering collegial 'racism, stereotypes and insult' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) becomes *invisible*. In these encounters, we must surface and make public these *permeations* as they complexify and mutate (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) across the landscapes of Australian teacher education.

Burgess (2017, p. 747), in her own yarning with Aboriginal teachers, reports of similar staff dynamics, where Janaya 'repositions herself in control of the negative space created by racist comments' (p. 747),

'asking them why they are that way, who taught them to be like that, and give them a little history lesson if the moment allows'. In this way, Janaya recognises the power dynamic and addresses it in a way that disrupts an entrenched sense of privilege and superiority on behalf of the non-Aboriginal staff. (p. 747)

In this section, I explored how the Faculty of Education foundational race, culture and civilisation narratives constructs *returning* and *repatriated* Aboriginal teacher educators (Fredericks 2015, p. 79; Tuck & Yang 2012) as being

homeless to Australian teacher education (Watson 2009a). In these settled and unsettled spaces (Watson 2007), Aboriginal teaching staff are recast as faculty resources (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) and called upon by all people to be all things Aboriginal. 'Good' Aboriginal staff (Burgess 2017) are expected to cooperate (Maoz 2006, p. 224) with faculty 'rights to know' logics (Tuck & Yang 2014) that cross the personal, cultural and professional spectrums. This invisible one-way burden (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) of making settler colonialism public uses a range of covert and overt techniques (Maoz 2006) that reposition ourselves, disrupting their 'quick fix' (Yuri) demands to know 'all things native' (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227). Our agency in these collegial encounters is dependent on time and place (Burgess 2017) and whether our colleagues are open (McKnight 2016) to addressing the entrenched power dynamics that privilege settler logics. This repositioning is an invisible workload of refusing collegial emails that demand authority as authors (Yuri) and/or the challenging task of educating stropky colleagues (Mat) about their racist tropes (Jarra).

### **Faculty Gaze: The Symbolic Scripts and Imaginary Spears**

In this section, I interpret my yarn sessions to discuss how the Faculty of Education is organised by symbolic scripts of biopolitical inclusion (Veracini 2010). These scripts construct the continual Aboriginal connection and our unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010; Watson 2007) with faculty as imaginary (Veracini 2010, p. 42) and our savaging (Nakata 2007b) of these inclusive scripts unnecessary (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26).

Drawing from my collected yarns, it was identified that faculty sought to welcome, and include, Aboriginal colleagues by Acknowledging Country at the

start of important and not-so-important events, meetings and ceremonies. In my yarn with Rata, we discuss how this practice of Acknowledging Country in everyday faculty gatherings and meetings was *foreign*:

It's funny because some of the non-Aboriginal staff said to me that because I'm Aboriginal, staff has been doing an Acknowledgement of Country at every meeting. I wanted to say, 'You don't have to do it at every single tiny little meeting' but they tried really hard, and so I didn't want to be rude. But I wanted to say, 'Ok I've got it, I feel welcomed, and you can relax now'. (Rata)

In Rata's account, these sometimes unnecessary acknowledgments concerned their arrival as the 'exogenous' Aboriginal colleague (Veracini 2010, p. 35) and not the formal recognition of Aboriginal peoples' unextinguished sovereign connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) to place (Fredericks 2015). In this context, the university's Acknowledgment of Country becomes an all-inclusive 'Welcome to Faculty' performance.

In this performance of the new faculty brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 47), the homeless (Watson 2009a) Aboriginal teacher educator witnesses the meeting's host/s (McDonald 2017) read from the university's shared script, acting out a range of professional and personal passions and understandings (Yuri) that demonstrate the inclusion of the Aboriginal 'other'. This Welcome to Faculty performance (Veracini 2010, p. 47) seeks to 'unite Australians and Aborigines into a single brotherhood' and often a 'genuine attempt to involve actual indigenous peoples' (p. 47).

For Aboriginal teacher educators like Rata, the Welcome to Faculty performances are 'never entirely convincing' (Veracini 2010, p. 47). As a *guest* (McDonald 2017), Rata knows that they must sit through these repetitive and

sometimes unnecessary ceremonies where *hosts* 'play indigenous' (Veracini 2010, p 47), waiting till the ceremonial end where we must reassure the meeting's *host* that it's 'Ok, I've got it, I feel welcomed and you can relax now' (Rata).

In the bicultural compact of the new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37), the settler structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) and agendas of the faculty are retained, 'even if the divide between indigenous and settler communities is effaced and subsumed within a wider binational unit' (p. 43). This retainment requires Aboriginal teacher educators

to perform their indigeneity according to officially sanctioned protocol, ceas[ing] being indigenous per se, and end up performing a compulsory type of indigeneity for the sake of the settler state'. (p. 43)

Rata's cooperation in the formal and informal performances of the faculty's new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) is a symbolic gesture to participate (Maoz 2006). Drawing from my own self-yarning, this gesture to participate can include also the expectation to lead Acknowledgements (and even Welcomes) at important and not-so-important faculty events:

Even though we hadn't actually met, I knew the incoming dean would ask me to open their first full staff meeting because that's what new deans do. This was my fourth dean, so I started to clue-on and I sat at the back and sure enough they come up to me and quietly asked, 'Could you Welcome us to Country? It would be a great way to start us all off'. My non-Indigenous colleagues, who have also seen the same cycle of new deans, glanced awkwardly among themselves, knowing that only a few chosen people can do university Welcomes, and that I don't lead Acknowledgements for meetings I do not host. And so, in our first meeting I needed to say no to my boss in such a public way, knowing that this will not bode well. (Mat)

In my yarn, I gesture to participate in the official Acknowledgment of Country, but the dean has already marked the event as being a Welcome to Country and imagines my leading this Welcome as a symbolic display of whole-faculty indigenisation (Veracini 2010). In this narration of the Acknowledgement of Country as the new faculty brotherhood, Aboriginal 'prior occupancy' is recognised (Veracini 2010, p. 43) but

enables a type of transfer that ultimately establishes a moral equivalence between conflicting claims—while indigenous people just happened to have arrived earlier, both groups have successfully indigenised. (p. 43)

My refusal to lead this symbolic display of successful indigenisation made public the lived-out, unfinished business of settler colonialism that 'rolls on relentlessly' (Watson 2017, p. 213). I reminded the dean—by 'giving them a little history lesson as the moment allowed' (Burgess 2017, p. 747)—of the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) we still have with the faculty.

Repositioning myself in ways that obstructed the dean's recasting of Aboriginal staff as a faculty resource (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) challenged their entrenched 'sense of privilege and superiority' (Burgess 2017, p. 747) in defining how their faculty were to 'speak to each other about history, identity, citizenship, and the future' (Donald 2012, p. 12). Although I knew that it would 'not bode well' in terms of my own future relationships with the dean, I needed to make clear in our first meeting that they were not my Master (Yuri) in this relationship, and

Just because the processes of colonisation in Australia have dispossessed and displaced Indigenous peoples and may have altered Indigenous connections, access and control within and of place does not



mean that Indigenous ownership is lost in terms of belonging to Country.  
(Fredericks 2015, p. 79)

In this reminder, I repositioned myself in ways that forced the dean to acknowledge in their first whole-faculty staff meeting that 'Indigenous peoples never ceded sovereignty of Country and still name and claim Country' (Fredericks 2015, p. 79). Their public reading of the university's Acknowledgment of Country was not convincing (Veracini 2010, p. 47) and, unable to pronounce this already-named Country that sits beneath the university, the dean recasts themselves as foreign and homeless (Watson 2009a) in this terrain.

The public refusal to participate in symbolic scripts is potentially marked by faculty and its leadership as 'violent, unproductive, and uncivil' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26). Miki tells me that their non/participation in these symbolic performances has interrupted this narrative of the indigenised faculty brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37). These disruptions were opportunities for the faculty:

Miki: To learn about symbolic issues and the practical issues, but the faculty didn't want to know either. They wanted to have Aboriginal people in the faculty, they wanted to have their own 'little' Aboriginal people that they could take out and put on display. 'Look what we've got'.

Mat: 'Look at how inclusive we are, we've even got some of them with us!' So, does that make you 'them' or 'us' when you're in the faculty?

Miki: That was what I think that was one of my biggest head fucks, was that I wanted to be them, I wanted to be there and be a part of the whole faculty team. I wanted to work for a better cause, but there's so much politics, everyone looking after their own agendas.

At this interface between two knowledge societies, the new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) symbolically acknowledges prior Aboriginal ownership of Country (and importantly Elders, pastpresent and future) at the start of faculty meetings. However, as Miki points out, these acknowledgments do not necessarily 'orientate everyone present' (Martin 2016, p. 31) to the importance of thinking with Country as the meeting moves through its agendas, and nor does it ensure safety when we work with faculty 'together in that Country' (p. 31).

The symbolic indigenisation of the Faculty of Education collides with Miki's practical responsibilities and obligations in working for the 'better cause' that cares (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). The 'head fuck' (Miki) in this collision of consciousness (Marker 2019, p. 7) is the restoration of an 'independent sovereign existence' (Alfred 2005) that sits outside the biopolitical organisation of the faculty and its own internal infighting and agendas.

Rata describes how these faculty meetings could be 'dysfunctional' and 'quite toxic':

Because I've been so upset with the turnover and good staff leaving, I've kind of withdrawn myself out of that stuff, on purpose ... It's a form of resistance, even if its passive resistance. I've worn myself out trying to go to meetings and challenge what's going on. It didn't work, and I'm using up all my space for that engagement and I'm not getting anything for myself. (Rata)

In this context, the totality of Country (West 2000; Whitehouse et al. 2014) is pushed to the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) by this internal biopolitical organisation of faculty agendas. Caring for these knowledge relationships cares

(Watson 2009a) for Aboriginal teacher educators in these faculty places where our *voices* (Watson 2007) are ‘captured echoed, ricocheted, and distilled’ (p. 15). The continuing connection to this caring (Watson 2009a) makes public our unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010), *purposefully* repositioning ourselves in ways that get in the way (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of biopolitical structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) and their political realities.

However, Aboriginal teacher educators are limited in this repositioning (Burgess 2017). Rata identified that they passively resisted this incorporation into the structural realities by withdrawing from the public debate. Worn out, Rata realised that ‘challenging’ what was ‘going on didn’t work’, and this engagement distracted them from achieving other things.

Openly resisting (Maoz 2006) the biopolitical structural realities of faculty and repositioning our public dialogue risks ‘alienation and cognitive dissonance’ (Burgess 2017, p. 743) when ‘expressing views that disrupt or challenge the normative views of non-Aboriginal people’ (p. 743). In my yarn with Miki, we identify that once you deviate from the ‘script’ and refuse to be ‘put on the spot’ (Miki), you risk becoming ungrateful, ‘blamed for creating an uncomfortable atmosphere that questions both hierarchical and racial privilege’ (Burgess 2017, p. 748):

Miki: I think if you adhere to the script, they will love you, the moment you move away from that script, you’re an Adam Goodes kind of person.

Mat: Shit-stirrer, trouble-maker, throwing imaginary spears into the faculty for no reason?

Miki: Absolutely no reason at all. ‘You should be grateful that we have given you this space’, and I mean really, ‘What space?’

To contextualise this yarn, Aboriginal footballer Adam Goodes was demonised by the Australian public for throwing an ‘imaginary spear’ that spoke back to the racism he had encountered when playing Australian Rules Football (Goodes 2016). Like Goodes, Aboriginal teacher educators are expected to participate with/in inclusion discourses and be thankful for the opportunity to play on the now-level playing field and not throw ‘imaginary spears into faculty for no reasons at all’ (Miki).

Here, I would like to frame these spears as necessary, and in this interpretation, the invisible spears thrown back into faculty is a Makarrata process (Referendum Council 2017; Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13) that hacks at the symbolic ‘everything is awesome’ (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 25) space of the faculty’s new brotherhood. This faculty brotherhood promotes the grammar of ‘soft reform’ (p. 25), where ‘everyone can win once we all know rules’ (p. 25). From within this soft-reform space, ‘any problems are minor and can be addressed by expanding the existing system’ (p. 26), and

No acknowledgement is given that debate is skewed from the outset on the side of those who determine the terms of the conversation: who speaks, when, and what is intelligible, comfortable, and desirable. Efforts to disrupt these structures of power through more open conflict and alternative approaches are dismissed as violent, unproductive, and uncivil. Hence, in this space there is a strong emphasis on dialogue, consensus and entrepreneurialism, which is further emphasised in the neoliberal context. (p.26)

In this section, I drew on my collective yarning to story how the new Faculty of Education brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) is organised by symbolic scripts of biopolitical inclusion. These scripts construct Aboriginal teacher educators as being homeless (Watson 2007, 2009b) to Australian teacher education and our

unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) that we have with faculty as imaginary.

Drawing from my collaborative yarn sessions, our efforts as Aboriginal teacher educators to savagely maim (Nakata 2007b) these colonial and neoliberal discourses are capacities not valued by faculty. The decolonising and indigenising processes in this Makarrata spears the 'structural reproduction of the settler colonial triad' (Tuck & Yang 2014), but this 'structural hacking' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24) is recast as 'uncivilised' and 'unhelpful', criminalising Aboriginal standpoints (Veracini 2010, p. 45), *reclassifying* this political work of Aboriginal staff as trouble-making (p. 45) and shit-stirring (Mat).

Whilst perceived as symbolic, divisive and/or imaginary, our continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) expressed by this Makarrata provide 'alternative measures of success or modes of knowing and being' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 25), *creating*

spaces within the system, using its resources, where people can be educated about the violences of the system and have their desires re-oriented away from it. (p. 25)

These strategies require veiled and open strategies (Maoz 2008) that can play the game of institutions (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 25), and in this context, 'it can be difficult to recognise when one is "hacking" the system or "being hacked" by it' (p. 26).

### **Faculty Gaze: Self-Determining the Trading with the Other**

In this section, I draw on my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how self-determining Aboriginal work is

caught up and entangled with allies' curriculum agendas, discourses and educational imperatives that 'condition our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii).

In my yarning with Miki, we trace how in their university, the Aboriginal education subject was initially conceived, designed and managed by non-Aboriginal colleagues, and contours:

Mat: The history of Aboriginal education in Australian teacher education programs, where there was a non-Aboriginal person who was committed to the cause, and were on about inclusion and social justice. And so now we need to self-determine and own these subjects, and somewhere a battle has got to happen—an Academic *Thunderdome*—where we need to wrestle with that person, or organisation, or structures.

Miki: What I found with my non-Aboriginal colleague is that they were saying that they would move over, they will move aside when an Aboriginal person comes along. It was just me in there, so I was under the illusion that this person was mentoring me to take over, and, I think in one way they were, but their mentoring was pulling me away from the Aboriginal community.

Miki and my yarn tell of a long history where non-Aboriginal people have sought pedagogical trade (Donald 2012, p. 6), writing in and teaching about the Aboriginal 'other'. At this interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2007a), there is a 'long and bumbled history' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) where settlers made 'moves to alleviate the impacts of colonisation' (p. 3). This teacher work is conflicting, where the adoption and *metaphoring* of decolonising discourses to include other social justice and educational imperatives have attempted to 'reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity' (p. 3). At the same time, this history also tells of times and places (Strakosch &

Macoun 2012, p. 48) where non-Aboriginal teachers have trespassed and traversed through the palisades and walls that separate these two knowledge societies (Donald 2012, p. 3) and met with Aboriginal people in a *porous*, in-between place (p. 6). This meeting is a process of coming alongside Aboriginal worldviews and standpoints (Martin 2016).

In my yarn with Miki, I describe this process of coming alongside as an academic battle with the biopolitical organisation of faculty that structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) the conditions of our existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii). In my homage to the Australian dystopia *Mad Max* (Miller et al. 2016), I describe the academy as '*The Thunderdome*', where we are battling with our colleagues and their discourses of social justice (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014) that shape and produce indigeneity (Moreton-Robinson et al. 2015, p. xviii).

In this *battle*, our allies support and their conceptions of justice can 'obfuscate' (Foley, cited in Land 2015, p. i) Aboriginal capacities to self-determine professional practice and 'get in the way' (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of our caring for Country (Watson 2009a). Our unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) unsettle our colleagues' *enchantment* with these soft-reform discourses of inclusion (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 25), and in this battle with our colleagues' agendas, our critiques make public the *interplay* of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) that have *marked* their social justice and educational imperatives.

Whilst this Makarrata process is unsettling for colleagues, our hacking (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 24) at the curricular and pedagogical agendas in Australian teacher education allows for 'an ancient sovereignty to

shine through' (Referendum Council 2017). This Makarrata is an invitation to 'join us in these efforts' of decolonising and indigenising our relationships with settler colonialism (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3). However,

This joining cannot be too easy, too open, too settled. Solidarity is an uneasy, reserved, and unsettled matter that neither reconciles present grievances nor forecloses future conflict. There are parts of the decolonisation project that are not easily absorbed by human rights or civil rights-based approaches to educational equity. (p. 3)

The unsettling relationship can be read in my yarning with Miki where their capacities to self-determine the teaching and learning to better reflect their community are juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with their colleague, who assuming the mentoring role in their relationship, pulls Miki 'away from their Aboriginal community' (Miki). In my own self-yarn, I describe a similar push/pull dynamic

where an underlying assumption was a new cosmology could organise the compulsory Aboriginal subject, even though I was orbiting and felt the gravitational pull of a much bigger faculty system. (Mat)

The conceptual displacement (Veracini 2010, p. 35) of Aboriginal education into Australian teacher education programs has meant Aboriginal teacher educators' 'good' and 'bad' (Burgess 2017) capacities are situated, and placed, across the contested spaces where two knowledge systems co-exist (Nakata 2007a). At this interface, caring (Watson 2009a) for First Knowledge (West 2000) relationships within Western knowledge systems often lends

to ubiquitous representations of indigenous people as pathologically mobile and 'nomadic', constantly engaged in unpredictable and periodical migrations, 'traversing' but not occupying the land, 'roaming', 'overrunning', 'skulking', 'wandering'. (Veracini 2010, p. 36)



In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are trespassing and traversing through palisades that separate two knowledge societies that co-exist in one place (Donald 2012, p. 3). Appearing as antirace, culturally inclusive and socially just discourses, nation-building curriculum agendas and educational imperatives, these palisades determine how we ‘speak to each other about history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12).

Miki’s mentor casts the ‘good’ Aboriginal teacher educator as being someone who will demonstrate the faculty’s ‘intent and support for Reconciliation’ (Burgess 2017, p. 743), *enhancing* the ‘cultural diversity’ of faculty by being a ‘positive role model who reflects the benefits of participation and belief in the institution’ (p. 743). In these tropes, the good Aboriginal teacher educators ‘can, and should, solve perceived Aboriginal problems’ (p. 743), *fixing* what ‘other staff do not know how to handle, or have unsuccessfully attempted to rectify in the past, or are not concerned enough to tackle’ (p. 743).

As Miki identified in previous yarning, they needed to disrupt expectation that they would perform their indigeneity on demand (Veracini 2010, p. 43) and be the faculty’s ‘own little Aboriginal people that they could take out and put on display’ and say, ‘Look what we’ve got’ (Miki). For Miki, disrupting these expectations that Aboriginal teacher educators can structurally (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) Black fix (Yuri) a ‘program that gives only minimal attention to race, ethnicity, and culture’ (Sleeter 2017, p. 158) is what makes a good Aboriginal teacher educator, where they ‘use their professional power’ (Burgess 2017, p. 743) to challenge ‘mainstream teaching and learning discourses that privilege Western knowledge systems’ (p. 743).

Consequently, our obligations and responsibilities to care for First Knowledge (West 2000), and our capacities as Aboriginal teacher educators to self-determine this professional practice when at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education, risks becoming 'criminalised' (Nakata 2002, p. 284) as either 'essentialist to an Aboriginal epistemology' or taken up with the 'assimilationist' logics (p. 284) of the settler. In my yarn with Jarra, they describe to me some of the complexities of these competing capacities and being pulled between their community and work worlds. Jarra tells me that they do not 'get to talk work at home':

Jarra: I can off load, and they can listen obviously, but I can't have good conversations ... My community doesn't really understand what I do, but as soon they're having issues with their own kids in schools, I get the phone call. So, they know what I do, to some extent, when it comes to 'kids'.

Mat: But it's the school relationships stuff yeah?

Jarra: Yes. They don't understand research, nothing like that. They don't understand the bigger picture, they just think I'm a teacher.

Mat: Do they think that you've crossed over to the Dark Side?

Jarra: Yes! I always get told I'm a sell-out!

Mat: A sell-out? So, in these conversations how do you wrestle and resolve all of that?

Jarra: I don't really engage within community in those conversations because I know that the bigger picture is more important. I know the work I do.

Mat: Okay. So, there's a whole set of things that you're navigating which reads as your personal identity, but I think it sounds like it's your cultural self and your place in the community. And then you

drive the distance from to the university and somehow, you're in another community? Or is it the same Aboriginal community?

Jarra: It's the same community but it's just a smaller community. But these ones understand, the ones who have crossed over to the Dark Side with me, they get my job. They're the people that can relate to me not being able to go home and have work conversations.

In the panoramic view, the outsider Aboriginal community members—knowing the university as a racist institution (Starrs 2014, p. 115)—cannot see or hear Jarra's busy 'trading with the other' (Donald 2012, p. 6).

Obstructed by the walls of the university, Jarra's labour is rendered invisible and displaced on its Dark Side (Jarra and Mat), where an ancient sovereignty (McKnight 2016) is yet to shine through (Referendum Council 2017). This partial view of Jarra's work is understood by some who stand in the shine of this ancient sovereignty as 'selling-out' (Jarra) their First Knowledge relational responsibilities and 'trading off the other'. When Jarra gets 'the phone call' from community, it is in relation to 'kids' and issues with the schools and their schooling, and not about the work they do in Australian teacher education. Whilst Jarra may be able to provide advice and referral, they are unable to structurally address community's immediate demands or expectations they have with schools, and schooling.

Burgess (2017) notes similar complicated conversations, where the Aboriginal community thinks Aboriginal teachers/educators can 'fix all their problems' (p. 745) our community has with the school systems, even though we 'are generally powerless to address' these 'systematic barriers' (p. 745). 'Suspicious' of 'your role and agenda' (p. 745), our 'inabilities' to structurally

address community demands means we risk being and becoming 'labelled a "sell out" or a "coconut" (p. 745), *criticised* for "preferring 'Whitefellas' over 'Blackfellas'" (p. 745).

Burgess identifies that these titled and untitled responsibilities and 'positioning' of the Aboriginal teaching staff are 'not readily apparent' (p. 745) to our faculty colleagues, further 'marginalising Aboriginal teachers' (p. 745). In this context, Jarra's Faculty of Education colleagues cannot see how they are accountable to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008) when they get the distressing (phone) call from community to structurally address the assimilatory functions of the university (Marker 2019; Wolfe 2006).

When reading our yarns together, Aboriginal and settler logics push and pull Aboriginal teacher educators through the fort walls of the university (Donald 2012). In the trespassing and traversing through multiple internal and external borders, boundaries and other demarcations, our professional lifeworlds are still intimately connected to our public life. Being always inside the gates of the university even when we were not (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), Aboriginal teacher educators enter the 'same community but it's just a smaller community' (Jarra) made up of those others who have 'crossed over' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 23) to this 'Dark Side' (Mat and Jarra ), who are also able to 'relate to going home and not be able to have work conversations' (Jarra).

Martin (2016) argues that in this educational relatedness, our 'professional identity doesn't nor should it, erase that which is our personal identities' (p. 36); there 'may be an integration of both, but one does not usurp the other' (p. 36). In similar terrains, Nakata (2002) argues that we

Don't go to work or school, enter another domain, interact and leave it there when we come home again. The boundaries are simply not that clear. The fact that we go to work means we live at the interface of both, and home life is in part circumscribed by the fact that we do. Social and family organisation has to and does to varying degrees orient itself to that reality. This does not mean we passively accept the constraints of this space—to the contrary—rejection, resistance, subversiveness, pragmatism, ambivalence, accommodation, participation, cooperation—the gamut of human response is evident in Indigenous histories since European contact. It is a place of tension that requires constant negotiation. (p. 285)

As Nakata notes, Aboriginal staff who work on this dark side of settler colonialism refuse to passively accept the constraints of these palisades (Donald 2012). Positioned (Burgess 2017) as an uncivil (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26) criminal trading (Donald 2012, p. 6) at the edges where two knowledge societies co-exist (Nakata 2002), Aboriginal teacher educators like Jarra are unnecessarily distracted (Morrison 1975) by these settler colonial tropes but remain focused on 'the bigger picture' (Jarra).

## **Student Gaze: Left With the Mess of Unpacking Nation-Building**

### **Curriculum Agendas**

Having drawn on the yarns to describe the work of Aboriginal teacher educators managing the collegial gaze of faculty, I now turn my attention to teaching teaching (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) and working with the gaze of students in Australian teacher education programs. I look to how the localised Aboriginal authority (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026) in writing-in First Knowledge relationships, obligations and responsibilities has shifted the 'organisation, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning' (Tuck & Yang

2012, p. 2) away from open and veiled resistance (Maoz 2006) towards cooperative models of curricular and pedagogical engagement.

In this first section, I have storied (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel to document how the compulsory studies in Aboriginal education (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2) left Aboriginal teacher educators with the messiness of unpacking nation-building curriculum frameworks and agendas (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012). At this interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2007a), the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) meets with a much older language of Country (McKnight 2016).

I map how the convergence of these two languages invites students to think with Country, and in this mutual gaze (Maoz 2006), Aboriginal teacher educators are dialoguing with students about their emerging ‘teacher-citizen identities’ (Mat), staying with the ‘axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes’ (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) these teaching identities have in relation to Aboriginal Australia. I note how this unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to think with Country disturbs the foundational logics of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014), *disturbing* the ways teaching education students talk about themselves in relation to ‘history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12).

In my yarn with Miki, we describe how the formal inclusion of Aboriginal standpoints and perspectives shifted our curricular and pedagogical authority, providing both a ‘backbone’ and ‘buffer’ for Aboriginal teacher educators working with the student cohorts:

- Mat: So, my experience tells me that the formal writing of Aboriginal standpoints and perspectives in ACARA and AITSL provided a stronger backbone to why teacher education students needed to know about Aboriginal Australia.
- Miki: Those standards became the buffer. All the White students saying, 'Why do we have to do this?', and now we can show them why, in their language.
- Mat: It shifted my pedagogy in the way I did content because the way I needed to teach before was to convince and persuade them. Now they need to comply with ACARA and AITSL expectations, and convince me as their assessor that they are ready to work with Aboriginal curriculum and pedagogies.
- Miki: In a sense, this is something our grandparents were talking about. They said, 'What we need to do is get to the teachers; if we can get to the teachers then our kids are going to get a better time'. So now, the standards were just slipped in, I think that was a little bit of a nice strategy, even if it took such a long time.

This yarn maps the intergenerational demands of Aboriginal communities to meet with emerging teachers in the curricular and pedagogical 'middle place'. Our Elders in these communities knew that 'if we could show them how to write in' (Miki) and teach Aboriginal standpoints and perspectives—using the professionally shared language of teacher education studies (Loughland & Ellis 2016)—'our kids are going to get a better time' (Miki).

Although rendered to a curriculum celebration of Aboriginal 'perspectives' and 'understandings' (McKnight 2016), the returning (Fredericks 2015) of an ancient knowledge system to the professionally shared language of Australian teacher education (Loughland & Ellis 2016) shifted our trading (Donald 2012, p. 6) from open cooperation models (Maoz 2006) to an era of curricular and pedagogical *compliance* (Mat). This shift provided both the backbone of

mapped-out learning objectives in relation to ACARA and AITSL expectations and the buffer in terms of justifying why students need to demonstrate curricular and pedagogical capabilities.

In my yarn with Yuri, we trace how compulsory studies in Aboriginal education allowed Aboriginal teacher educators ways to formally resist student expectations that teaching staff will cooperate with their demands to learn everything about Australia instantly, and ‘for their own benefit’ (Maoz 2006, p. 224):

Mat: They come into my group and they think they’re going to get the secrets of the land and instead I’m busy holding the mirror up to them and working to expand their understanding of their roles as teachers, learners, and citizens in that teaching. They’re understanding their own self, and they get cross in the first four to five weeks because they feel it’s a waste of time. Is that the same dialogue?

Yuri: Yes. Because of the way I’ve delivered the units this year, they will. I will be talking about content and curriculum, and how to analyse it—when they’re wanting me to teach them ‘How to teach Aboriginal kids’—and they get really frustrated because I’m not doing that. And I say to them, ‘Well you’re actually doing pedagogy in practice’. So, we spend five weeks going through say, content and they’re sort of resistant because they’re not getting the ‘Black fix’ so that’s their resistance. At Week 5 I say, ‘Cut-off date. You can withdraw this week if you like’, knowing full well because it’s now a mandatory unit, that if they don’t do it now—they will still need to come back and finish it to graduate.

As curricular and pedagogical locals (Maoz 2006), Yuri and I know students arrive into the compulsory studies in Aboriginal education thinking they are going to get a ‘descriptive’ and ‘useful’ (p. 224) account of Aboriginal Australia. The ‘rights to know’ logics (Tuck & Yang 2014) of the student cohort demand ‘to



get the secrets of the land' (Mat) and want Aboriginal teacher educators 'to teach them how to teach Aboriginal kids' (Yuri).

We identify in this yarn how students expect this learning to be done in the quickest, most comfortable and painless way (Maoz 2006, p. 224) or 'they get cross in the first four to five weeks because they feel it's a waste of time' (Mat). When the subject was an elective, our work as Aboriginal teacher educators resisted this demand to openly cooperate, but our strategies needed to be sometimes more veiled (Maoz 2006) or otherwise resistant students may 'withdraw before cut-off date' (Yuri).

With the design of the compulsory Aboriginal education unit of study, Aboriginal teacher educators can more openly refuse to cooperate with student demands for the 'quick Black fix' (Yuri). However, the same energy is still needed in refracting the student gaze back upon themselves and the relationship this 'teacher-citizen' identity has with the Aboriginal other (Mat). Consequently, students still resist the directions given by Aboriginal teacher educators, creating 'pedagogical splash zones' (Jakobi 2019) in the teaching and learning relationships and transactions. The teaching and learning splash zones situate a mutual gaze (Maoz 2006), where students look to Aboriginal teacher educators to teach them 'how to teach Aboriginal kids' and get really frustrated with us because we are 'not doing that' (Yuri). Instead we are course writing in ways that refract their gaze back upon their 'teaching selves' (Mat).

Yuri and I mark 'Week 5' of the semester delivery cycle as the pedagogical turning within our dialoguing about 'teaching teaching' (Loughran 2010). The first five weeks draw attention to the mess classroom teachers have been left with, showing students how nation-building curriculum agendas are

caught up within an ever-expanding national framework (Herbert 2012, p. 43) that has created 'disjuncture between content, assessment and pedagogies' (Brennan 2011, p. 259). In being and becoming aware of this mess, Aboriginal teacher educators like Yuri, who are also located between these nation-building curriculum agendas and Australian classrooms (Herbert 2012, p. 43), open up 'debate regarding the locus of curriculum decision-making' (Brennan 2011, p. 259). Alerting students to the legitimacy of Aboriginal difference across the dimensions of teaching, learning and assessment, Yuri's local gaze upon the federalist framework provides 'practicable and well-resourced support' (Brennan 2011, p. 259).

In this context, the replacing of the elective subject with the core compulsory subject in Aboriginal education has allowed both staff and students to stay with the messiness of national-building curriculum agendas (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012). This messiness is the result of

the violences of colonisation that affect nearly every dimension of being, but also because decolonisation has multiple meanings, and the desires and investments that animate it are diverse, contested, and at times, at odds with one another's messiness. (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 22)

Attending to the integrity of this process (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28), Aboriginal teacher educators' course writing and subject teaching is dealing 'with tantrums, incontinence, anger and hopelessness, "cleaning up", and clearing the space for something new' (p. 28).

The messy and exhaustive (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) work of decolonising teachers' curricular and pedagogical relationships with settler colonialism cannot be achieved simply by *embedding* 'Aboriginal histories and

cultures' (McKnight 2016, p. 11) *across* the Australian Curriculum. As frameworks, McKnight contends that the focus is on 'knowledge' and 'understanding' and does not give attention to 'the importance of Aboriginal pedagogies and processes' (p. 11), and nor does it make use of Aboriginal knowledge 'systems, educational systems and approaches' (p. 11).

In my yarn with Jarra, we discuss how the newly included Aboriginal cross-curriculums priorities (ACARA 2019) allowed them to stay with the messiness of pedagogically 'unpacking' the connections between 'knowledge', 'understanding', and Aboriginal knowledge 'systems, educational systems and approaches' (McKnight 2016, p. 11):

I answer to the ACARA and AITSL standards, and because these directives require preservice teachers to teach across the curriculum, it requires us, the Aboriginal teaching staff to unpack those domains, and what Indigenous perspectives means in these domains. We can't do that without unpacking all the racism and bad history because obviously the real history of this Country is hidden behind the written curriculum. (Jarra)

Jarra articulates that the entire framework of Australian teaching and learning is informed by Country, but this real history of Country has been pushed to the curriculum background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) and is 'hidden behind the written curriculum' (Jarra) and pedagogical 'standards' and 'policies'.

The organisation of Aboriginal knowledge in Australian school curriculum demonstrates Jarra's observations, where the identities of 'Peoples and Cultures' are underpinned by Country/Place (ACARA 2019). In its glossary, the Australian Curriculum defines Country 'as a space mapped out by physical or intangible boundaries that individuals or groups of Aboriginal Peoples occupy and regard as their own' (para. 13) whilst "Place" is a space mapped out by

physical or intangible boundaries that individuals or groups of *Torres Strait Islander Peoples* occupy and regard as their own' (ACARA 2019, para. 13). Whilst marking a separation in how Land, Sea, and Sky are named in relationship to people's social ecological identities (Whitehouse et al. 2014), both terms are used to describe the 'varying degrees of spirituality people have with these *places* and Countries' (ACARA 2019, Glossary of Terms).



**Figure 6.** Conceptual framework for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures priority

If we use the ACARA Conceptual framework for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures priority to position 'school' or 'university' as the 'living community' (rather than just being the localised 'Aboriginal Living Community') we begin to see that the entire Australian Curriculum, and further to this Australian Education studies and practices, is pegged out over local and global Aboriginal territories (Donald 2012, p. 3). In this living teacher education community, Jarra engages locally with students as they unpack what 'Indigenous perspectives' really mean for teachers teaching across this curriculum's organisation.

In this context, Jarra returns (Fredericks 2015) Country to the curricular and pedagogical ‘foregrounds’ (Hamm & Boucher 2017), unpacking with students the relationship their cultural and emerging professional identities has with Country. Jarra’s First Knowledge informs how they go about the unpacking process in terms of challenging ‘universal’ and ‘common-sense’ ideas the student cohorts have in relation to race, culture and civilisation (Donald 2012, p. 3) and the relationships these constructs have in determining educational ‘equity, and equality of opportunity’ (Murphy 2000, p. 37). Alerting the student cohort to the legitimacy of Aboriginal differences within their ‘teacher-citizen’ narratives (Mat), Jarra’s localised gaze draws attention to the responsibilities students have in respectfully teaching this difference across the curriculum learning areas that are pegged out over Aboriginal Country and Place.

Yuri describes how placing teacher education studies in Country provides critical curricular and pedagogical context for teacher education students, modelling what they need to do in their own teaching and learning:

When I’m developing content, I’m building on their critical analysis skills. For example, students must critically evaluate resources and how they’d use those resources in the classroom. It’s not good enough to be sitting on a Sunday night googling how to make toilet roll ‘didgeridoos’ for Grade 2s. Where is your teaching prac? Whose Country is it on? You know—start from there. I get them to think about their school or where they live, who are the Traditional Owners. (Yuri)

Yuri’s foregrounding of Country disrupts the staged (Maoz 2006) curricular and pedagogical construction of Country as being just a background (McKnight 2016, p. 11). They dismiss digital teacher resources that contour the older photocopiable *Blackline Masters* that reproduce ‘objects’ like painted toilet paper rolls that ‘preserve an authenticity that never existed’ (Maoz 2006, p. 224)

and ‘was only conceived in the imaginations’ (p. 224) of teachers doing their ‘Sunday night’ lesson preparation and planning (Yuri). Refusing to accept students’ initial curriculum tropes, Yuri invites them to form a pedagogical and curricular relationship with Country, and starting ‘from there’ (Yuri), stays with students as they begin to locate the Aboriginal territories of their home and teaching and learning locations.

In this un-settling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012), students are formally engaging with the critical, political dimensions of Aboriginal Studies and are beginning to foreground their professional and cultural place in this Country and its real curriculum (Jarra). This invitation to ‘join us in the efforts’ (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) of decolonising our teaching relationship with settler colonialism ‘cannot be too easy, too open, too settled’ (p. 3). At the same time, emerging teachers must be given ‘time’ and ‘place’ (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) to think reflectively through the complexities of working at this cultural interface (Nakata 2002), where the professionally shared language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) of teacher education studies meets with the ‘text of the land’ (McKnight 2016, p. 13).

The much older language of Country provides ways to ‘step-out’ (McKnight 2016, p. 13) of the educational relationship teachers have with settler colonialism. Unpacking the race, culture and civilisation narrations (Donald 2012, p. 3) hidden behind the Australian Curriculum, this *unmapping* of settler colonialism’s complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) traces the social cartography of Australian teaching, truth-telling the pain and suffering resulting from well-intentioned acts of educational assistance (Rose 2013, p. 212). Mutually gazing upon the violent, everchanging permeations (Bunda & Phillips

2018, p. 23) of a settler colonial pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) is an invitation to think with the older text of Country 'about the violences of modernity and the complexities and paradoxes that emerge in different processes and ideals of decolonisation' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 22). Whilst unsettling, Aboriginal teacher educators' curricular and pedagogical Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) 'takes the shine out' of Australian settler colonialism (Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24) by bringing 'unacknowledged privilege into view' (Land 2015, p. 88), showing students how the 'very existence of the shiny side requires the imposition of systematic violence on others' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 23).

The purposeful juxtaposition (Donald 2012, p. 6) of the local Aboriginal gaze in unpacking the Australian Curriculum provides students with opportunities to think with Country about their own emerging teacher-citizen identities, responsibilities and obligations in this bad history of Country (Jarra). Becoming 'snapshots of crossroads' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 22) that 'highlight different choices, and open new affective, discursive, performative and existential possibilities' (p.22), the unpacking foregrounds the text of the land in ways that generate 'new vocabularies that can potentially lead to imaginaries beyond the naturalised' settler grammar (p. 22) written across the official curriculum.

In this context, Jarra's explanation of their work as the 'unpacking of racism' (Jarra) can become an inadequate metaphor (Tuck & Yang 2012) to describe the messy complexities of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), and in this our individual and collective labours in decolonising the teacher-citizen entanglement with the settler colonial pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31). The

metaphor of antiracism education *invades* decolonisation by ‘recentring Whiteness’ (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3), distracting Aboriginal teacher educators from doing our work (Morrison 1975). The distraction of race keeps Aboriginal teacher educators cataloguing the ‘insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism’ that *permeate* from settler colonial institutions (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24). The cataloguing of the unextinguished grievance (Veracini 2010, p. 42) Aboriginal people have with the settler colonial triad *empirically substantiates* ‘the oppression and pain of Native communities, urban communities, and other disenfranchised communities’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 226). Always needing to ‘prove one more thing’ (Morrison 1975), Jarra can only be seen through the painful cataloguing of this ‘damage’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 226–227).

In this section, I drew from my collaborative yarning to identify how the transition from elective study to the compulsory Aboriginal education subject has left Aboriginal teacher educators unpacking the messiness of nation-building curriculum frameworks and agendas. At this interface where two knowledge systems co-exist, the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) meets with the much older language of Country (McKnight 2016). This mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) is an unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) for students to think with Country about their emerging teacher-citizen identities (Mat), asking students to stay with the with the ‘axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes’ (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that these identities have in relation to Aboriginal Australia. Disturbing the ways teaching education students talk about themselves in relation to ‘history, identity, citizenship, and the future’ (Donald 2012, p. 12), this Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) can also function as a distraction (Morrison 1975),



where Aboriginal teacher educators are at times unnecessarily caught up in cataloguing damage that substantiates our continual connections (Watson 2007, p. 15) and the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) we have with the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014).

### **Student Gaze: Whiteness and the Mutual Gaze**

In this next discussion of findings and interpretations, I look to my yarn sessions with other Aboriginal teacher educators to illustrate how the needs of the Whitestream (Andersen 2009) student body invade the Aboriginal subject (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). Informing the conditions of our work in mainstream Australian teacher education programs (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii), Aboriginal teacher educators are distracted (Morrison 1975) by the processes of equipping the ill-equipped (Sleeter 2017, p. 157).

You know, these are White students. As much as I'd like to love to get more Black faces in teaching, I must be realistic and work with these White students. That's my job. (Yuri)

As Yuri notes, their classroom is the domain of Whitestream students, and these students occupy their professional focus. Sleeter (2017) describes that this 'job' attends to 'the emotional needs of White students' (p. 159), preparing this cohort

to teach racially and ethnically diverse students through a course or two (often a foundation course) on multicultural education, culturally responsive pedagogy, teaching English language learners, or social justice teaching. (p. 156)

On these foundational pedagogical and curricular tours of settler colonialism's shadow (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24), both teacher and learner embody the 'problem' of re/introducing Aboriginal knowledge relationships to

the Australian Curriculum (McKnight 2016). In this mutual dialogue about how curriculum informs the ways we speak about ourselves in teacher education studies (Donald 2012), Aboriginal strategies that hack at the reproduction of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014) potentially trigger White learners' innocence and fragility (DiAngelo 2019).

Embodied in the teaching and learning relationship is the colonial interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224). In my yarn with Yuri, we describe how race, culture and civilisation grammar and narratives (Donald 2012, p. 3) inform students' biopedagogical gaze upon the Aboriginal teacher educator:

Mat: ... my experience of working with teacher education students, who are challenged by my fair skin, and that they want to interrogate me and basically measure me.

Yuri: They're on their best behaviour with me, because they don't want to appear as racist. You know what I mean? There's that kind of mask.

Mat: So, on that, do you think being fair-skinned or dark-skinned in the teaching and learning relationships produces different realities?

Yuri: I would say for you it's not so easy to self-identify, because then you get the Andrew Bolt conversations of 'Oh really?' I'm completely free of that as I'm aesthetically pleasing to their ontological position of who I'm meant to be.

To give context to our yarn, journalist and commentator Bolt (2009) writes that in 'studying the faces' of Aboriginal academics, 'a modern race politics at our universities' can be identified where one may 'hear that scuffling at the trough' and the 'sound of Black people being elbowed out by White people shouting, "but I'm Aboriginal too!"' (para. 1). Putting aside Bolt's inference of an Aboriginal

humanity as being animal-like, the application of race, culture and civilisation narratives (Donald 2012, p. 3) in their account of contemporary Aboriginal scholarship seeks to contain the continual connections (Watson 2007, p 15) Aboriginal people have in the university to a particular 'trough'.

Found 'guilty in 2007 for breaching the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xii), Bolt's *study* of Aboriginal faces biopedagogically determined individual Aboriginal scholarship as 'real' or 'not real', eliminating unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) we have with the university by declaring those who are fair-skinned as occupying the trough illegally. Veracini (2010) writes that these 'repressive demands' for authenticity constructs Aboriginality 'as a frozen pre-contact essence' (p. 40), where 'historical instability' effectively 'provide[s] a formula for disqualification' (p. 40). Perceived as being from 'elsewhere' and therefore 'unauthentic', this formula

quickly establishes a situation in which a lack of recognition ensures that really existing indigenous people and their grievances are seen as illegitimately occupying the indigenous section of the population system. (Veracini, 2010, p. 41)

When using Bolt's formula to measure Aboriginal teacher educators' biopedagogical authenticity and authority, Yuri's body 'ontologically pleases' (Yuri) the student body's rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225) the authentic (Maoz 2006) Aboriginal other (Yuri). In this same student gaze, we recognise that my body will produce different sets of teaching realities and relationships, where my fair skin confuses the students—as I move through the racialised gaze that separates and organises society—'using "we" and "us" all over the place' (Mat).

Burgess (2017) reports of similar racialised language in their study, where

*Melissa* for instance, notes how this impacts significantly on fair-skinned Aboriginal students at her school who are forced into the position of 'proving' their Aboriginality, and who are also often accused of doing so for perceived benefits. Similarly, *Anne* feels under constant scrutiny and pressure to secure a specific positioning for herself. Her cogent summation of this lived dilemma is described as: 'having to say every day, you know, that I'm not Black enough and I'm not White enough'. (p. 742, emphasis in original)

Bunda and Phillips (2018, p. 23) write that this 'racialised language' and 'system of classifying' have had an 'indelible, long lasting effect on the ways of being for Aboriginal peoples'. When *crossing* 'over into White spaces' of teaching and learning, Bunda reflects how their

Aboriginality would sometimes come to be a point of fascination and sometimes fetishisation. Sometimes people were confronting to the point of violent. I remember being questioned as to the blood quantum of my Aboriginality to verify my authenticity as an Aboriginal person to the White people who asked the question. Was I half caste? Was I quarter caste? These labels were commonly used in dialogues from hurtful and hateful White peoples to many an Aboriginal person. As long as I live I will despise these labels. A politics of pigmentation, a foul vapour would come to lie on my skin in these moments, to remind me that I was less than Aboriginal, less than White, something in between—possibly a freak. (p. 23)

The effects of this racialised formula recasts (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) those Aboriginal teacher educators who do not ontologically please the settling gaze as being homeless (Watson 2009a) to Australian teaching and learning. The indelible, long-lasting marking of being 'less than Aboriginal, less than White' have constructed place-based, social–ecological binaries of being able/not able

and inferior/superior (Burgess 2017, p. 739). In my self-yarning, I note this biopedagogical othering taking place when I begin teaching outside the demarcated 'trough' (Bolt 2009) of the Aboriginal subject. Met by colleagues who I describe as being 'boundary riders' (Mat), I was questioned if I was adequately 'skilled to work outside "Aboriginal education"', and if I knew 'mainstream' theoretical tools:

I've recently begun coordinating a unit in Master of Education program that is not specifically Aboriginal content unit. Some colleagues have expressed open surprise that I'm working outside the undergraduate program and questioned whether I was adequately skilled 'using "their" theorists also?' even though 'He doesn't even have his PhD—is that even allowed?' (Mat)

Applying my self-yarning with my collaborative co-yarning points to how our individual biopedagogical, place-based locations as Aboriginal teacher educators produce different teaching realities (Mat). This same yarning also tells that we are professionally aware of how the biopolitical realities inform the conditions of our existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii) when in the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006), working with and against this White discomfort (DiAngelo 2019). Attending to a range of 'emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviours such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation' (p. 57), the localised Makarrata 'cleans up this space' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28), sitting with the Whitestream student body's 'tantrums, incontinence, anger and hopelessness' (p. 28).

The work of talking back to the student gaze and their rights to know (Tuck & Yang 2014) 'one more thing' (Morrison, 1975) about the Aboriginal other in the quickest and most comfortable ways (Maoz 2006, p. 224) impacts

greatly upon our sense of well-being (Yuri). In my yarning with Yuri, they tell me that

I did work somewhere else that formed a bit of damage in terms of my own mental health. In my position here, I asked myself 'How am I embedding myself within the fabric of a faculty, and how I do my work?' That model of fighting, taking it on all the time is detrimental if it affects my mental health, and my relationships. These days I've worked it out, and I say up front 'I don't get paid enough money to stand there and say my life story, you tell me yours. So, fuck off, you're breaching my privacy and your privacy also—so I'll teach it from the curriculum'. That's what I have to say to myself and my sessional staff who are Black that, 'No, we're not here to tell them our stories', or otherwise the students will want to know 'that' in my life, then 'this'. I say, 'No teach from the content'. (Yuri)

Tuck and Yang (2014) write that the university 'is very much about the generation and swapping of stories' (p. 229), and there are some stories promoting the 'portrayals of dysfunction and pain' as 'specific representations of power and oppression' (p. 229). In refusing to participate in the insatiable Krinkri-frog thirst (Watson, cited in Bunda & Phillips 2018) settlers have for Aboriginal stories, Yuri is not distracted by the student gaze that 'holds the wounded body as more engrossing than the body that is not wounded' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p 229), where 'pain is more compelling than privilege, scars more enthralling than the body unmarked by experience' (p. 229). Instead, Yuri tells

the students 'I don't care where you sit on your racism scale. I am here to teach you how to critically identify Aboriginal content for your class, then I will show you ways to teach it'. (Yuri)

Burgess (2017, pp. 74–75), in their own yarning with Aboriginal teachers, notes the 'persistence of [these] stereotypes and assumptions', where there is an

expectation to know and trade (Donald 2012, p. 6) only in these Aboriginal stories:

Janaya for instance, insists on asserting a professional identity not bound solely or completely by her Aboriginality. Instead, she consciously foregrounds her perceptions of professional credibility, noting that, 'initially, everyone thinks that because you look Aboriginal that everything that comes out of your mouth is going to be Aboriginal ... what you have to do is take control of that'. (p. 745)

Like Janaya, Yuri takes control of the conversation in this mutual teacher education gaze (Maoz 2006), reminding their staff and students that the purpose of the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) is not to swap stories but to 'critically identify Aboriginal content' and 'ways to teach it' (Yuri).

In my own self-yarning, I note how some students—ignorant of this Country's real history (Jarra) and/or fearful or recognising the legitimacy of Aboriginal difference in their emerging practice—refuse to engage in these dialogues as they do not wish to appear 'racist' in these debates about the 'locus of curriculum decision-making' (Brennan 2011, p. 259):

A staff member reports that in their tutorial group, a student felt that I'm expressing only 'opinions' in lectures, and that my standpoints and perspectives were mostly negative. They tell me the student finds challenging me difficult, because they don't want to 'appear racist'. We both have a bit of chuckle because we have heard all these claims before. (Mat)

The shared chuckle among colleagues speaks to a shared knowing of the student gaze that shows where they sit in the process of learning to unlearn settler colonialism (those first five weeks of subject learning). The process of learning to unlearn settler colonialism has become 'exacerbated by neoliberal educational contexts' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24), where nation-building

curriculum agendas are 'driven by the desires of educational consumers to feel good, to look good and to be affirmed as doing good' (p. 24). Refusing to openly cooperate within these unsettling *mutual* dialogues about the locus of curricular and pedagogical decision-making (Brennan 2011, p. 259), students find other ways to 'feel good'. These strategies include resisting dialogue when in the 'pedagogical splash zone', base-line assessment submission and/or anonymous student evaluations of the subject's content and my delivery.

Students' informal and formal reviews of my performance point to how I left Whitestream students (Andersen 2009) not feeling good about themselves, *criticised* for not being objective whilst teaching about the legitimacy of Aboriginal subjectivity. In my self-yarning, I share how my internal systems hacking (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 24) Makarrata is held externally accountable by powerful forces (Dodson 2016) who think 'modern Australia has no responsibility for past government policies and practice' (p. 3), and nation healing and recovery has created a 'culture of victimhood' (p. 3) that has encouraged 'historical wounds to fester' (p. 3).

Caller Peter says his daughter is doing an educational degree through a university in Melbourne. He says one of the units is Indigenous Education. He says part of the unit is to build protest signs and protest for Indigenous rights in a public place. He says the lecturer says his daughter should feel guilty for what her kind have done to Indigenous people in this country. Mitchell says that is ridiculous. He says he will speak to Peter off air. (3AW media release, Neil Mitchell Show, 3AW 2012, recorded in professional diary)

To give context, the 'protest sign' assessment task was titled 'Making a Protest/Taking a Stand' and was part assessment in the new Aboriginal education subject 'AEB2301 Rethinking Australian Studies' (Victoria University



2012). This first assessment required students to work in groups and ‘to synthesise where they have seen people using protest in Australian society’ (Victoria University 2012). This investigation demonstrated to students how protest ‘contributed to the civil and Aboriginal rights movements here in Australia’, where they made connections between their work as teachers and the political work of ‘teaching for a more just and inclusive society’ (Victoria University 2012).

My initial reaction to the panoptic on-air critique was to contain the issue and close the digital public commons libguide the father and radio station had found through a simple internet search of the subject title and code. I had purposely designed open-access for student ease, knowing that they were frustrated (as was I) with the ‘clunky’ online learning management system (LMS) the university was using at the time. Further to this, I collegially shared this libguide with other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teaching staff inside and outside my university. My pedagogical and curricular construction of the public-access libguide openly resisted (Maoz 2006) settlers’ demands to affirm ‘feel good’ (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24) nation-building curriculum agendas.

In this interpretation, my curricular and pedagogical intentions in designing the libguide were transparent, readable and public. Webb (2018), reflecting upon their own work with White students as they explored their racialised identities, writes that they ‘prioritised transparency’ in this work and made sure there were ‘no hidden agendas’:

I openly and directly positioned myself in the classroom. I spoke about the various dynamics of being the instructor, a Ph.D. student, a Black woman, able-bodied and so forth, explaining the various aspects of my identity that have historical significance and social meaning. I did this partly to model

how one might examine their own position in social settings and in society as a whole, and to dispel the myth that any position is the neutral, objective position. It was also a way to very clearly establish the fact that, in this classroom, we do see colour and all other various parts of people's identities—not to reinforce hierarchies, but to correct for them. (Webb 2018, para. 13)

Webb identifies that there is no neutral objective position in their teaching and learning, and by openly resisting the demands to be objective, they 'bring colour into the White room' (para. 10). The open, transparent teaching position provides ways to strategise 'against bias the same way we teachers strategise against boredom or a lack of prior knowledge' (para. 9).

I was strongly encouraged by the university's media advisor to participate in an on-air discussion and promote the reconciling work of the university (Burgess 2017) and to 'give my side of the story' (Mat). In this open arena, systems hacking (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 24) that 'talks back and talks up' (Moreton-Robinson 2000) is dangerous and tricky work. Wisely counselled by senior colleagues, I refused to openly trade (Donald 2012, p. 6) with the *shock-jock* and be drawn unnecessarily into their one-more-thing arguments (Morrison 1975) about the positives of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006). In this frame, I refused to engage but resisted my own desire to close the libguide and instead remained in the public commons where I went about my day as if nothing had happened.

Disturbing Whiteness whilst avoiding 'trolling' strategies are litigious daily events for Aboriginal teacher educators, where we are caught up in teaching cycles of unpacking the settler colonial grammar of race, culture and civilisation (Donald 2012, p. 3) constructs hidden (Jarra) in the background (McKnight

2016, p. 11) of the Australian Curriculum. Rata tells me that disturbing the embodiment of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014) written into the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) means working with 'insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism' that 'permeates' (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) as 'student bile':

There are the classes where you must come back and have a debrief with peers ... The other day my colleague was really heated; they said the tension was there in the air, the students were ready to spew out bile. It was horrible. And they said they ended up getting defensive and trying to talk back to it. (Rata)

Rata tells how we must debrief with peers about this tension of engaging with students who are always in cycles of resisting the directions of the local gaze (Maoz 2006) and their own coming into the mutual gaze. At the interface, where the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) meets with the ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13), the phrasing of self in relation to others—hidden behind 'the small utterances' (Burgess 2017, p. 748)—structurally (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) positions people on opposite sides of these race, culture and civilisation palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3). If not pedagogically managed, 'talking back' (Rata) in these horrible classrooms where there is 'tension in the air' and 'students are ready to spew out bile' (Rata) leads to 'cynical exploitation, mutual suspicion, and even hatred' (Maoz 2006, p. 235), reinforcing 'fixed images and gazes' that 'obstruct close relations based on trust and real encounter' (p. 235).

Herbert (2012) notes similar findings in that preservice teachers 'can become quite vehement in discussions on this issue' (p. 40), linking their own feelings of not being respected to the 'fact that so many Indigenous Australians

claim that having “respect for one another” is very important in Indigenous cultures’ (p. 40). Herbert writes, the ‘point that seems to be missed on both sides’ (p. 41), and

Respect does need to be earned and that mutual respect, the most effective means of achieving positive outcomes, is not only a highly desired state but having been established requires concerted effort and careful nurturing to be sustained. (p. 41)

In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are managing the bile (Rata) that permeates from the Whitestream student body (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) as they resist moving into the mutually respectful gaze (Maoz 2006).

Pedagogically, this Makarrata process maims the Whitestream (Andersen 2009) student body in ways that disrupt violent reproduction of the settler triad (Tuck & Yang 2014). This careful nurturing (Herbert 2012) pedagogically ‘hospices’ students’ *enchantment* with settler colonialism (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28), *sitting* with them negotiating sustainable and mutually respectful teaching and learning relationships (Herbert 2012) until ‘both parties agree to one thing so that there is no dispute or no other bad feeling’ (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13).

Burgess (2017) notes that this ‘open dialogue’ between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers about Australian teaching and learning relationships is hindered ‘by a climate of ‘political correctness’ (p. 748), and ‘teachers are sometimes cautious when speaking, so as not to offend’ (p. 748). As identified in my previous findings and interpretations discussions, Aboriginal teacher educators know the Whitestream (Andersen 2009) student body’s fragility and innocence (DiAngelo 2019). Deploying a range of covert and overt strategies (Maoz 2006), Aboriginal teacher educators are balancing the agendas of

unsettling structural Whiteness (Tuck & Yang 2014), with the provision of an open, safe learning environment (Herbert 2012).

In my yarn with Yuri, they describe how, when in the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006), the classroom needs to be the 'safe place' for students to question and risk exposure and self-entanglement within these overarching settler triad structures (Tuck & Yang 2014) like the Australian Curriculum:

I stand there in class waiting for them to ask the real racist questions they want to ask. By week three I keep saying 'You have to ask me the question, I can't answer the question until you are strong enough to ask me the question. This is a safe space'.

It's a 'safe space' because they couldn't ask me anything I haven't been asked before. But because they see me as the Aboriginal person, it plays on their own racism, and they're all on their best behaviour. As such, it's difficult for them because I need them to be openly self-reflective, and I'm trying to break down all these internal barriers, and all the tropes, and stereotypes they have, at the same time 'mother' them, making the learning 'safe' for the learner. (Yuri)

Yuri's pedagogical use of 'mothering' to describe their relationship to the learner is useful. Connell (2009) argues that *teaching* has been a 'gender-divided occupation from the start', blurring good teaching with 'family roles' and 'the idea of a good mother' (p. 3). It is worth noting that in the Australian context, this motherhood is contextualised as also birthing a new great White nation (Jacobs 2009, pp. 88–89).

In this teaching and learning relationship, students enter the Aboriginal world *tabula rasa*, and Yuri's relational responsibilities are to nurture the learner, sustaining their needs as they 'develop' and 'grow', writing knowledge onto the students' empty slates in ways that they become aware of themselves and the

world they live in. This transmissive role (Maher 2012, p. 346) requires Yuri to pedagogically mother the *emotional* risks of the White learner (Sleeter 2017) as they move from being innocent to the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014), to being and becoming aware of their own complicity (Land 2015).

In my own self-yarn, I think about my own pedagogical relationships I have with the Whitestream (Andersen 2009) student body, where I balance students' fragility in terms of their emotional innocence and intelligence whilst working with the agendas of unsettling (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) Australian teacher education:

In their written reflections, students praised the unit delivery and my teaching. I've worked long enough with teacher education students to know that they have great anxiety about 'getting it wrong' when teaching and learning about Aboriginal Australia. They are anxious teachers because they are anxious citizens, and I empathise with the students, telling them that 'this is hard stuff. That Aboriginal/Australia relationship is not resolved politically, or socially, but we as teachers are expected to have a *reconciled* and *respectful* curriculum'. A student in their 'Further Comments' reflected she 'wasn't made to feel guilty'. This challenged me greatly. A religious law speaks of balance between 'disciplining with the left hand/ loving with the right' and I wondered if I had let the students off? I wanted these learners to transform into confident teachers, and so I acknowledged that teaching 'this stuff' was difficult, but had they misheard this as a way of divorcing their own responsibilities in untangling privilege? (Mat)

In this self-yarn, I describe learners as being anxious because they have anxiety over their citizenship. By this, I mean the illegal origin of Australia as a White settler colonial nation-state is played out in their own dilemmas of respectfully reconciling their approaches to curriculum and pedagogy. In my retelling of this 'long and bumbled' curricula and pedagogical history (Tuck &

Yang 2012, p. 3), I reflect how I sought to 'alleviate the impacts of colonisation' but at the same time recognised how I 'reconciled' students' guilt and complicity, *rescuing* them and their 'settler futurity' (p. 3). Consequently, my curricular and pedagogical trading (Donald 2012, p. 6) that mothered the learner as they moved from innocence and fragility to complicity left me with a 'Black guilt' (Mat).

In my yarning with Rata, we share how critical studies of Whiteness informed our own theoretical and practical approaches to curricular and pedagogical design (Phillips 2011), but we struggled in trading in critical Whiteness currencies with our students:

Rata: I sometimes think we're not doing critical race theory well. We are doing a little bit of it ... but you know are we not doing the right thing. Our subject isn't really set up to constantly shift students through this discomfort and challenging resistance. I think the point your student made about 'enjoying the study' and that you as the tutor didn't make the student 'feel guilty'. We wondered too about getting good student reviews and feedback.

Mat: Are you asking, 'What have I done wrong?'

Rata: You start to think, 'If it's all good feedback you know we are not challenging them enough'. But you see, we've had one staff member here who is fantastic, and they don't push or provoke the students, but they bring them in with their personality. They're on about bringing them on board, and not going down that pushing for discomfort. To get them to transform in other ways, and I've sort of grappled with that in my own teaching. [Am I] glossing over things?

Rata and I describe how our individual and collective Black guilt is the result of 'glossing over' our use of Whiteness as a critical curriculum study and pedagogical tool. As noted in our yarn, we know as Aboriginal teacher

educators how the settler colonial triad *marks* the organisation of Australian teaching and learning (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) and how to use critical race theory to ‘bring unacknowledged privilege into view’ as well as ways ‘to challenge it’ (Land 2015, p. 88). As users of critical race theory, we understand ‘racism’ as ‘not an aberration but rather a fundamental way of organising society’ (Sleeter 2017, p. 157), where the reproduction of White teachers, *ill-equipped* to ‘teach racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse students’ is ‘not an aberration’ but instead ‘a product of racist systems’ that have been designed ‘to meet White needs’ (p. 157).

Open and veiled (Maoz 2006, pp. 231–232) pedagogical and curricular responses to Whiteness are purposefully written into Rata’s (and their colleagues’) work that attempts to equip the ill-equipped (Sleeter 2017). When working in the mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) with students, Rata identifies that provocation is traded off (Donald 2012, p. 6) with transforming this discomfort (DiAngelo 2019). This transformation process of equipping uses ‘charm’ and ‘charisma’ (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 942) as passive and mediated strategies of resistance (Maoz 2006). These strategies refuse to leave students stuck in this provocation and discomfort and instead ‘gets everyone on board’ (Rata).

In my own yarn, I reflect upon the challenges in balancing curricular and pedagogical tools, like critical Whiteness studies, with other self-reflective and transformational tools that ‘get people on board’ (Rata). I note

the wider challenges in crisscrossing the traditional domains of the university’s knowledge production, and not be stuck in those dangerous liaisons with settler colonialism, Whiteness and critical race, anthropology,



sociology—all which have their own colonial and classical histories, epistemological and ontological tensions and dilemmas. (Mat)

Here, I argue that my roaming as an Aboriginal teacher educator (Watson 2007, p. 15) allows me to critically draw from, and criss-cross, these knowledge domains whilst not being contained by their classical, colonial and neoliberal epistemological and ontological dilemmas and tensions.

In my yarning with Yuri, we identify a repressive (Veracini 2010, p. 44) Aboriginal pedagogy that emerges from this discourse containment, which is cast (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) as antagonistic that uses only provocation, discomfort and confrontation (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26):

Yuri: Someone said to me once that I wasn't confrontational enough in my teaching and I said, 'Well, I don't want to be confrontational'.

Mat: I worry about that too. That I'm not provoking the students enough.

Yuri: You know what I mean then—

Mat: I've got students in the first year of their education degree, and then potentially doing the job of teaching for the next 45 years of their lives. Do I go in there yelling at them for the stuff they don't know, and have not had enough time to think about? It's not possible for me teach the whole 12 weeks performing as the *angry Aboriginal*, thinking they are going to come out feeling positive and they can make change.

Yuri: Provoking students can be tiring and sometimes painful. I have tried to avoid that approach in our subjects and instead model transformative processes, where we start having a conversation about the profession, the role of a teacher, and we start changing that conversation.

Yuri and I describe how there is an expectation that 'authentic' (Veracini 2010, p. 44) Aboriginal pedagogies will provoke and confront Whitestream students. In

this repressive narration of an Aboriginal pedagogy, our teaching and learning relationships are not based on ‘trust’ nor the ‘real encounter’ (Maoz 2006, p. 235), situating the (Aboriginal) teacher educator and the (settler) teacher education students as being on opposite sides of the teaching and learning palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3). Yuri and I describe how transformative processes allow Aboriginal teacher educators and our students to meet in the middle porous place (p. 3), where together, we ‘start having conversations’ about ‘the profession, and the role of a teacher’ (Yuri).

In this interpretation, Whiteness studies and other critical race theories that inform pedagogical practice intersect with transforming the teaching and learning relationship Aboriginal teacher educators have with teacher education students. At this interface, ‘systems hacking’ that decolonise are being hacked by students and their regulatory ‘systems-needs’ (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26) to be *graduate-ready*. In this co-existence of pedagogies—where the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) meets with the ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13)—students have opportunities to reflect upon the harsh, lived-out, shared conditions of settler colonialism (Land 2015, p. 86) but are not emotionally or professionally left stuck in their dangerous liaisons (Mat) with these theoretical lenses.

In this second discussion of working with the student gaze, I storied my yarns to illustrate how the demands from the Whitestream (Andersen 2009) student body informs the curricular and pedagogical conditions of our existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii). As locals, Aboriginal teacher educators know these conditions and are working with and against this Whitestream body and their biopedagogical gaze, deploying a range of strategies (Maoz 2006) that

resist students' demands to prove pedagogical authority and curriculum authenticity (Donald 2012).

The mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) between staff and students becomes a dialoguing about the relationship the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) has with the ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13). This curricular and pedagogical Makarrata brings 'unacknowledged privilege into view' as well as providing ways 'to challenge it' (Land 2015, p. 88). Whilst the mutual gaze provokes the Whitestream student body, this discomfort is an invitation to unsettle our relationships (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) with the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), transforming how we talk about ourselves and each other (Donald 2012, p. 3) in and across nation-building curriculum agendas (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012)

The unsettling invitation draws Whitestream students' attention to their own complicity in nation-building curricular and pedagogical agendas and regulatory frameworks and the relationship they have as teachers with the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014). The localised Makarrata nurtures students' emotional and intellectual intelligence whilst maiming their desires to be affirmed as doing good (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24).

### **Student Gaze: Othered Students Lurking in the Thickets**

In this section, I story how the emotional needs of the Whitestream student body (Herbert 2012, p. 43) pushes other students to the backgrounds (McKnight 2016, p. 11) of Aboriginal teacher educators' classrooms and into the enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37). Drawing from my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel, I identify diverse cohorts of local and global First Peoples, immigrants and Whitestream settler students (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), co-

existing within the thickets of the settler colonial triad, who refuse to *invade* our classrooms (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) and be *settled* by nation-building curricular and pedagogical imperatives. Instead, in their own being and becoming passionate teachers (Rata), these ‘other’ students look to Aboriginal ways of teaching and learning to know of their own complicity into settler colonial power dynamics (Burgess 2017, p. 747) and ways to disrupt these agendas (Tuck & Yang 2014).

When I yarned with Yuri about the student populations they worked with, they told me they wanted to see ‘more Black faces in teaching’ (Yuri), but noted both that Aboriginal students are underrepresented in Australian teacher education and the absence of these faces in their tutorial group. However, this is not to say Aboriginal students are exogenous (Veracini 2010, p. 35) and homeless (Watson 2009a) to Australian teacher education programs:

Jarra: It’s hard to know who in the class is Aboriginal as we don’t get that data and so students need to self-identify. From my experience, each semester I usually get one or two students who will come up to me and say either that they are Aboriginal, or they have Aboriginal ancestry in their family tree.

Mat: Ok—so you have ones who say something like ‘On my father’s side, we think we have an Aboriginal descendant’, and that’s different to those who say, ‘I am Aboriginal’. So, for those who self-identify, when they come up to you, is this in class, or after class?

Jarra: Usually it’s after class, sometimes not even after the first class. I was the same when I went through my own teaching course. Sit quiet for the first few weeks, waiting to see if the lecturer and the other students were okay before I would really open my mouth.

Mat: So, your students who self-identify, do they open their mouths up in class eventually?

Jarra: Some engage in the class discussions, but some choose not to engage which I understand. It's not their job to teach students, that's mine. Their job is to learn how to teach, so I don't expect Aboriginal students to engage in my teaching and those battles but instead demonstrate this learning in their own assessment.

Mat: I love reading assessment from Aboriginal students—makes my work that little bit more meaningful. I feel like, I'm holding the door open, like others did for me.

Jarra: It's the same for me. I enjoy the quiet conversations I have with those students, either face to face or in their assessments. It's a different conversation when compared to the other assignments I mark.

Jarra notes how the absence of enrolment data that can help lecturing staff identify Aboriginal students erases those students who don't look 'Aboriginal'. As these spaces are invaded by Whitestream students (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) and occupied by their emotional needs, this erasure means those Aboriginal students have come to know 'curriculum and pedagogical isolation of being both the "Other" and the "Expert"' (Sleeter 2017, p. 162), learning when they can 'speak out' and when to keep a 'low profile' (p. 162).

In this context, Aboriginal students who keep a low profile cannot meet publicly with the Aboriginal teacher educator for fear of being recast by their peers as this 'expert other'. In this erasure, Aboriginal teacher and learner must 'lurk in the "thickets"' (Veracini 2010, p. 37) that surround formal learning, meeting outside classes that have been designed to serve the needs of White learners (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017).

In this enclaved meeting, both Jarra and their Aboriginal students define their own 'educational relatedness' (Martin 2016, p. 36) and the responsibilities

and obligations that stem from these relationships. For Jarra, these relational responsibilities mean that they need to give students permission to keep their low profile (Sleeter 2017, p. 162) and not feel like a 'sell out' or a 'coconut' (Burgess 2017, p. 745) for failing to educate their non-Aboriginal peers and/or defend their Aboriginal tutor. However, this is not a free pass, and as Jarra explains, they expect their Aboriginal students to have these 'different conversations' in the *quieter* spaces of assessment.

Applying Yuri's concept of educational mothering to think through the relationships made with Aboriginal students, Jarra's kinship (Grieves 2008) responsibilities, obligations and expectations nurture Aboriginal students in ways that *massage* 'them to adulthood, maturity and responsibility' (West 2000, pp. 26–27), so they, too, can 'hear the songs, the voices and the discourse of culture and growth' (p. 26). These ancient songs we sing with our Aboriginal students remind us both that these are our curricular and pedagogical ways (p. 26):

The intruder may indeed say these ways are the old ways and no good for us, but I tell you this, on my word on Law, any of you that cease to use our own ways will be exiled to the place 'between' and you all know that that is where you die without spirit, without language, without the Mother and in a state of pale. (p. 27)

This 'other' conversation about a better, *Blacker* world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) concerns our relational responsibilities to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008) and has always lurked in the thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) of formal Australian schooling. In this context, the lack of settlerless spaces in Australian teacher education (Veracini 2010, p. 49) means Aboriginal students are recast as homeless (Watson 2009a), where their needs are left formally

untended and are instead pushed to the classroom's enclaves and background (McKnight 2016, p. 11).

Lurking also in these thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) that surround the formal 'state of the pale' (West 2000, p. 27) learning are other 'othered' students. Like Aboriginal students, these others in the student population have been rendered as belonging to either the Whitestream student body (Andersen 2009) or to the exogenous cultured others (Veracini 2010). In my yarning with Jarra, they identified this biopolitical diversity of the student body, and described how acknowledging this diversity spoke across the room:

Mat: So, you're mainly working with White teacher education students, so what's that like?

Jarra: Look, I think we need to be careful, they're non-Indigenous but not all my students are 'White', which is something I had to get my head around when I first started. So, for those students who self-identify as 'White', they are sometimes very challenging, and are challenged by my teaching style and content. But because of the diversity of the student cohort, you get to see how different people think also. The way they're made up, the way their culture and who they are plays in how they learn and teach. Because I do a lot of race discussions in my classroom and unpack what racism is, a lot of people find that uncomfortable. And being in those conversations some get defensive so that makes it challenging. But the other half of the classroom really enjoy those conversations because they're not able to bring it out themselves, but they want to address what they've been experiencing, and have experienced.

From an Aboriginal standpoint, Jarra identifies the diversity of the non-Indigenous student cohort, making distinctions in this 'homogenous group' between White students and the various exogenous other(s). This localised

teaching and learning triad reflects a global interplay of ‘erasure, bodies, land, and violence’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) and ‘the enslavement and labour of bodies that have been stolen from their homelands and transported in order to labour the land stolen from Indigenous people’ (p. 224). When working with the student cohort/s, Jarra’s unpacking of all ‘the bad history’ brings into view the structural (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) Whiteness of the settler colonial nation-state (Tuck & Yang 2012) and its relationship to ‘external’ and ‘internal’ colonialism where ‘dispossessed people are brought onto seized Indigenous land through other colonial projects’ (p. 7).

Speaking also from the local and global thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37), the *enslaved* and/or *labouring* exogenous (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) student cohorts have opportunity in Jarra’s class to describe their experiences of being exiled to this settler nation-state of the pale (West 2000, p. 27). Drawing distinction between settler and migrant student cohorts, Veracini (2010, p. 3) writes that ‘settlers are founders of political orders and carry their sovereignty with them’, where migrants arrive to ‘a political order that is already constituted’ (p. 3):

Migrants can be individually co-opted within settler colonial political regimes, and indeed they often are. They do not, however, enjoy inherent rights and are characterised by a defining lack of sovereign entitlement.  
(p. 3)

In this context, both Aboriginal and the enslaved and/or labouring migrant student populations co-exist in the thickets of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), where they, too, have been recast as the expert other (Sleeter 2017, p. 162), *learning* when they, too, can ‘speak out’ in these institutions, and when to keep a ‘low profile’ (p. 162). Whilst these thicketed



enclaves are the product of the biopolitical organisation of the settler colonial triad, they are also White/settlerless spaces (Veracini 2010, p. 49), becoming sites where they, too, can nurture and sustain their cultured knowledge relationships to kin, Ancestors and their creator spirits in their own mothered tongue (West 2000, p. 27).

The cultured enclaved locations within the thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) mean both Aboriginal and the exogenous student populations share similar diaspora stories that narrate the curricular and pedagogical isolation experienced when dispossessed and exiled. Jarra invites these othered students to speak from their enclaved locations about the structural bordering of the institution we exist in (Wolfe 2006, p. 388), producing countering standpoints in the localised teaching and learning triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), where students 'can address what they've been experiencing and have experienced' (Jarra).

The collaboration between Aboriginal teacher educators and the various exogenous others describes the everchanging pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) endings of colonial and neocolonial empires and the rise of new nation-states (Mat). Tracing students' continual connections (Watson 2007, p. 15) to local and global places, this collaboration between displaced and exiled student populations not only knows their own cultured selves, but also brings to the classroom their own settler colonial experiences and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42). In my own self-yarn, I write how

I've travelled students through the history of Australian Curriculum to show how schools and teachers continue to teach the colonisers about the colonised. Those Others in the room—'the' *Asians*, 'the' *Middle*

*Eastern*, the newly emerging *African* student populations—all nod along as they know these stories already.

We talk around the Whitestream *Katies* and *Joshes* who make up the bulk of the class. In this Other conversation we know the familiar in the unfamiliar, and in our rush to share our own harsh, lived-out colonial realities, *Katie* and *Josh* struggle to keep up, and soon lose interest altogether. (Mat)

In my interpretations, the lived-out, shared conditions of structural Whiteness can situate a relationship between the exogenous student cohort/s and the exogenous Aboriginal lecturer (Veracini 2010, p. 35). In these relationships, the individual and collective experiences of being outside the race, culture and civilisation architecture (Donald 2012, p. 3) of Australian society forms a common ground in the classroom that foregrounds (Hamm & Boucher 2017) local and global experiences of internal and external colonialism (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4) and the grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) we each have with the settler colonial Australian triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224).

However, this collaboration ‘cannot be too easy, too open, too settled’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3) as ‘solidarity is an uneasy, reserved, and unsettled matter that neither reconciles present grievances nor forecloses future conflict’ (p. 3). When encountering the localised Makarrata that wounds the settler colonial triad, the exogenous others cannot take the position of being an innocent bystander (Strakosch 2015, p. 5) to the ongoing occupation resulting from the original dispossession.

As I point to in my self-yarn, the emigrational history to Australia can be read in terms of the emerged and emerging exogenous student populations that read as my class attendance list. Each of these populations takes the position

of being the *new Australians*, arriving to 'a political order that is already constituted' (Veracini 2010, p. 3). Even though the exogenous student populations are innocent bystanders (Strakosch 2015, p. 105) in this 'original dispossession' (Veracini 2010, p. 34), students from these exogenous *migrant* populations are complicit in this ongoing occupation, where they, too, are co-opted *eventually* 'within settler colonial political regimes' (Veracini 2010, p. 3).

Whilst these student populations do not 'enjoy the sovereign rights' (Veracini 2010, p. 3) that Whitestream settlers have, they do eventually become settled into this triad, where they are celebrated as the successful migrant Australian population. Offered the bit-part of innocent labouring migrants in the 'Great Australian Dream', this script tells the cultured others when they can 'speak' and when to keep a 'low profile' (Sleeter 2017, p.162) and move to the background (McKnight 2016), *erasing* these cohorts from classroom debates about the 'original dispossession' that has been prewritten as a *White Australia* having a *Black history*.

As such, the Makarrata process of wounding the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) must also wound the exogenous student's bit-parts they play in storying 'national identity, triumph, or martyrdom' (Strakosch 2010, p. 265). Tuck and Yang (2012) differentiate between settlers and immigrants, writing 'immigrants' are ' beholden to the Indigenous laws and epistemologies of the lands they migrate to', compared to settlers who 'become the law, supplanting Indigenous laws and epistemologies' (pp. 6–7). The unsettling invitation offered by Aboriginal teacher educators to the exogenous student population is an opportunity to join us (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) in our efforts of

decolonising the laws supplanted by the original dispossession (Veracini 2010, p. 34) that is reasserted each day of the occupation (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 5).

As collaborators in this Makarrata, the displaced and exiled populations not only know their own cultured selves, but also bring to the classroom their own settler colonial experiences and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010). This local embrace of the global immigrant diaspora critically draws 'from the Indigenous laws and epistemologies of the lands' as a way to find solidarity (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). This solidarity does not legitimate or excuse the exogenous complicity and collusion within the Australian settler colonial triad, nor reconcile their 'present grievances nor forecloses future conflict' (p. 3).

In this context, Rata in their yarning tells me there are *other* students also lurking in the thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) that border the formal class, who are wanting to critically engage with their Aboriginal teacher about re-introducing (McKnight 2016) these 'Indigenous laws and epistemologies' (Tuck & Yang 2012, pp. 6–7) to their own teaching and learning. Like Jarra, Rata identifies the class as 'non-Indigenous' and predominantly White; however, this 'White' group are not homogenous in terms of their own self-identities, and nor do they share singular values, attitudes and beliefs:

Rata: I am finding that things have changed in terms of the student body here. You know, there is still a group of racists and the highly resistant, but a lot of students say, 'They get it', they understand why it's important and so were starting to rethink about those units, kind of thinking about the resistant ones but not—

Mat: —but not teaching to them and be distracted? Instead think more about teaching to the good ones?

Rata: Yeah teaching to the good ones! For example, A student was doing an elective and they had to do a group presentation, and she wanted to focus on something that she was interested in. She said to her peers, 'Let's do Aboriginal attendance rates' and she said a member of the group made this complaining kind of sound and said, 'Can we do something else?' She was really upset, and she wanted to tell me about how upset she was with him. She was upset because the rest of the group didn't say anything, so it was up to her to at least say something to him, and she did. So, it's not just up to us, there are more in the room now.

In this yarn, Rata tells of Whitestream students (Andersen 2009) who refuse to be co-opted into the settler colonial triad violence (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) that erases Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1) from assessment. These 'good' students are working against the formal borders of the classroom designed for Whitestream emotional needs and fragilities (Sleeter 2017), identifying and locating their own privilege (Veracini 2010, p. 3) in the settler colonial triad and then articulating their professional responsibilities (Herbert 2012) once being 'woke' of their own complicity (Cherry-McDaniel 2017).

In my own self-yarning, I acknowledge similar diversity in my own classrooms, where a range of exogenous and White populations exist around the 'core of highly resistant' (Rata) Whitestream cohort. These students, woke to the power dynamics (McKnight 2016, p. 13) of settler colonialism playing out in the classroom are being and becoming critical allies for Aboriginal teacher educators:

One table won't be quiet when others, including myself, speak. I know they are being oppositional and are challenging me. The Others in the class are feeling frustrated by the actions of this group. The mature-agers, the excluded queers, those cultured others who know that listening is a

sign of showing respect. I want to crush the hyper-White table of Katies and the Joshes, deploy all my teaching tricks to belittling them, and brow-beat them into submission and silence. But I don't, and instead I try to work the room around them, making eye contact, calling for those others in the room to take control and action. That it is not my own singular responsibility to police the 'social contract' of the classroom. My eyes fall upon Paola—who is a bit older than me and has lived through, and is living out, the harsh realities of the Pinochet diaspora—and we have this entire conversation just with our eyes. 'Will you shut the fuck up?' Paola says to the talkative table, 'I mean, if you can't have the respect to engage in the ideas of the class, can you please shut the fuck up'. (Mat)

If I was to be honest, my localised gaze (Maoz 2006) as the Aboriginal teacher educator had initially cast Paola as a Whitestream (Andersen 2009) mature-age student. In this recasting (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231), I erased their ancestral connections to South America and their grievance they had with settler colonialism, and the rise of the *postcolonial* nation-state of Chile. However, our previous mutual dialoguing about settler colonialism, where 'we rushed to share our own harsh, lived-out colonial realities' (Mat; see also Land 2015, p. 86) meant we were educationally related (Martin 2016), being and becoming responsible and obligated to one another in our shared storying of our continual connections (Watson 2007, p. 15) and unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 49).

Tuck and Yang (2012, p. 4) write that in 'settler colonial relations',

Colonial subjects who are displaced by external colonialism, as well as racialised and minoritised by internal colonialism, still occupy and settle stolen Indigenous land. Settlers are diverse, not just of White European descent, and include people of colour, even from other colonial contexts. This tightly wound set of conditions and racialised, globalised relations exponentially complicates what is meant by decolonisation, and by solidarity, against settler colonial forces (p. 4).

Our relatedness to the powerful forces of settler colonialism meant we ‘could have a whole conversation with just our eyes’ (Mat), where in this conversation, they knew they were also obligated to disrupt the assertion of the White nation-state, emerging as the core group of resistant Whitestream learners (Rata). Whilst I gave the option for Paola to keep their low profile (Sleeter 2017, p. 162) and not publicly call upon them, Paola’s uncivil disruption (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26) brought themselves out from the thickets to the centre of the classroom (Veracini 2010, p. 37), where they could violently system hack (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 24) at their peers in ways that I could not do in my role as the class tutor.

This unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to become educationally related (Martin 2016) with the exogenous students—the ‘mature-agers, the excluded queers, those cultured others’ (Mat)—draws these populations out from their enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37). Whilst some may choose to publicly keep a low profile (Sleeter 2017), others who are critically woke (Cherry-McDaniel 2017) to the determining power dynamics in the locus of curriculum and pedagogical decision-making (Brennan 2011, p. 259) become also responsible to ‘police the “social contract” of the classroom’ (Mat). Their systems hacking (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015) of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) invites their Whitestream peers to ‘shut the fuck up’ or participate in their efforts to listen respectfully to the ‘ideas of the cosmos’ (Wilson 2019, p. 47).

In my yarning with Rata, they tell me that these *woke* students are willing to take on the responsibility and burden of decolonising and indigenising their

own professional practice and relationships. Like with my relationships with Paola, Rata recognises,

Sometimes you can let those students do the work also, because a few of them won't suffer fools ... I've got students who come talk to me a bit about their frustration with some of their peers. It wasn't about racism, it was about not being passionate about teaching. One student said, 'We've got half of the group who are just here for lifestyle choices ... You know, teaching is seen as a "good" job ... but the other half of us are passionate. We want to go out there and make a difference'. So, they said it's not like they don't care about Aboriginal people, but it's just that Aboriginal education is not the thing for them. (Rata)

In this yarn, Rata tells of those passionate students who want to engage critically in the 'ideas of the cosmos' (Wilson 2019, p. 47) and are thinking with this ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) about the professionally shared language of teaching, learning and assessment (Loughland & Ellis 2016). As *immigrants* to the Aboriginal classroom, these othered—as 'woke' students—refuse to invade (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) Rata's subject and to settle, and be settled by, nation-building curriculum and pedagogical imperatives (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012). Instead, these othered students look to 'Aboriginal epistemologies and laws' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) as potential ways to disrupt the supplanted settler frameworks and laws (pp. 6-7) that regulate their and their peers' professional practice.

From this standpoint, emerging from the thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) into the centre of classroom power dynamics (McKnight 2016, p. 13) are co-existing othered students who share similar standpoints of being displaced, dispersed and exiled into the state of the pale (West 2000, p. 27). These populations include the *erased* local and global *Indigenous* students whose



Ancestors were and/or still are connected to place, dispossessed and enslaved, immigrant populations recast as 'labourers' and 'factory fodder' in colonial nation-building projects, those who fled in great diasporas as empires violently ended and were replaced by new *postcolonial* nation-states, and those others rendered *White* but queered, gendered and/or recast (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) as mature-aged.

These 'good students' (Rata and Mat) want to engage about the locus of decision-making (Brennan 2011, p. 259) that has pushed Country to the curricular and pedagogical background (McKnight 2016). Unlike settler students who demand to feel good (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24) in their professional learning that reduces Country to dots on a toilet roll (Yuri), these passionate students challenge these nation-building curriculum agendas, asking themselves and their peers whose interest they serve and how they are implicated (Land 2015). This difficult task of foregrounding (Hamm & Boucher 2017) the laws and ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) into the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) refuses learning that is comfortable, quick and painless (Maoz 2006, p. 224). 'Not suffering fools' (Rata), these students 'use their knowledge of Indigenous education history as a critical filter in evaluating closing of the gap claims' (Herbert 2012, p. 43), reaching a 'point where they begin to question the very idea of closing the gap' (p. 40).

### **Summation of Chapter 5 Findings and Interpretations**

In this second Findings and Interpretations chapter, I drew my yarn sessions together to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how more recent nation-building regulatory forces and curriculum agendas (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009;

Herbert 2012) have left Aboriginal teacher educators with the mess and burden (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) of decolonising the relationships colleagues and students in education have with settler colonialism.

Marking this transfer to the Faculty of Education as the pastpresent (King 2012), I identified how Aboriginal teacher educators have been consumed (Rose 2013, p. 210) by a new faculty brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) that has retained the normativity of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014). The grammar of this new brotherhood has erased the continual connection yarners have to these settled and unsettled higher education spaces (Watson 2007, p. 15), imagining *returning* and *repatriated* (Fredericks 2015, p. 79; Tuck & Yang 2012) Aboriginal teacher educators to be homeless (Watson 2009a) and not indigenous to Australian teacher education (Veracini 2010, p. 35).

The settler fantasy (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) of recasting (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) Aboriginal teachers as exogenous (Veracini 2010, p. 35) *resources* (Rose 2013, p. 10) to undiscovered and unclaimed native territories (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) has marked the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 49) we have inside the gates the university (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) as imaginary (Miki). Consequently, the localised Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017) that unsettles (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) and savages (Nakata 2007b) the brotherhood's educational agendas, discourses and social justice imperatives are framed as unnecessary (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014).

Working with and against the new faculty brotherhood gaze (Maoz 2006), Aboriginal teacher educators are self-determining professional practice, inviting colleagues to unsettle their curriculum agendas, discourses and educational

imperatives (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) that obfuscate (Foley, cited in Land 2015, p. i) the conditions of our Aboriginal existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii). However, our sovereign rights to roam (Watson 2007, p. 15) across the structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) that shape and produce indigeneity (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii) have not 'translated' as clearly into the new faculty space. Whilst attempting to alleviate (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) the harsh conditions of settler colonialism (Land 2015, p. 86), the reconciling mantra (Herbert 2012, p. 40) of the new brotherhood has 'merely undergone technical adjustments to retain assimilationist practices' (Murphy 2000, p. 6), offering no radical break from its 'closing of the gap' grammar. In this context, we are still cleaning up (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) these settled and unsettled faculty spaces we occupy as Aboriginal teacher educators (Watson 2007, p. 15), getting them ready for something new (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28).

In the second section of this Findings and Interpretations chapter, I noted how compulsory studies in Aboriginal education now situate the unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to think with the text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13), disturbing the ways teaching education students talk about themselves in relation to 'history, identity, citizenship, and the future' (Donald 2012, p. 12). Drawing from my yarn sessions, I described how the biopolitical organisation of the Whitestream (Andersen 2009) student body and their emotional needs (DiAngelo 2019; Sleeter 2017) inform our conditions as Aboriginal teacher educators, working in and across the one-nation classrooms of Australian teacher education. Acknowledging this cohort's fragility and resistance as learners, Aboriginal teacher educators are proactively

transforming Whitestream students' teacher-citizen self-narratives as they move from settler colonial innocence to complicity (Strakosch 2015, p. 105).

In my discussion of yarns, I identified how teaching to the emotional needs of the Whitestream student body (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017) has pushed other students to the backgrounds of these classrooms (McKnight 2016) and into the enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010). This diverse cohort of Aboriginal, settler and immigrant (Tuck & Yang 2014) students co-exist within the power dynamics of the teaching and learning triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) but refuse to invade Aboriginal classrooms (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) and be settled by nation-building curricular and pedagogical imperatives (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012).

In their refusal to engage with the endpoint agendas of settler nation-state of the pale laws (West 2000, p. 27) and their ever-expanding federalist frameworks (Brennan 2011; Herbert 2012), local and global Indigenous, migrant and settler students come alongside (Martin 2016) Aboriginal agendas in Australian teacher education. This collaboration does not reconcile the pastpresent, and nor does it 'foreclose on future conflict' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3), but instead helps clean up the mess (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) of the settled and unsettled spaces in Australian education (Watson 2007, p. 15), staying with 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that emerge when they foreground (Hamm & Boucher 2017) the law and text of land (McKnight 2016, p. 13) with the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016).

In the third and final Findings and Interpretations chapter, I think with these First laws and epistemologies of Country (McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang

2012, 2014; Watson 2007; West 2000) about the curricular and pedagogical endpoint (Strakosch & Macoun 2012) agendas in Australian teacher education. I consider how the current localised Makarrata that *maims* the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) in ways that allow an ancient sovereignty to shine through (Referendum Council 2017) and co-exist with pastpresent and future settler colonial nation-states of the pale, nation-healing curricular imperatives (West 2000, p. 27).

In the uneasy coexistence between short- and long-term nation-building objectives (Geboe 2015, p. 10), our past and future political work that returns Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1) collides into the work of the present (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48). Distracted (Morrison 1975) by the immediate needs of mothering (Yuri; see also Connell 2009, p. 3) Whitestream learners (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017) and birthing a new national curriculum consciousness (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 225), the current political work that creates settlerless spaces (Veracini 2010, p. 49) in the one-nation Australian teacher education landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15) is pushed to the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) and enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) of time and place, where it is marked as future symbolic aspirations (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

## **Findings and Interpretations: The Pathway Towards Treaty is Obstructed by the Promise of Practical Reconciliation**

In this third Findings and Interpretations chapter, I organise my yarnning to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how the pathways towards treaty are obstructed with the promise of national reconciliation. In this future-facing discussion, I note how the current educational palimpsest of Australian Reconciliation is determined by the immediate needs (Herbert 2012, p. 43) of settlers to reconcile their dark past whilst rescuing them from an uncertain and unsettling future (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3). Distracted (Morrison 1975) by the settler's generous promise to reconcile their educational relationship with Aboriginal societies, the 'unequal problematic relationships of colonialism are allowed to continue' (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61) in Australian teacher education, 'justified in terms of preparing for the moment when colonialism can be dissolved' (p. 61).

In this chapter's discussion of findings and interpretations, I identify how Aboriginal teacher educators are working with and against the reconciling mantra (Herbert 2012, p. 40) written across the nation-building curriculum documents and regulatory frameworks (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012). Our collective and individual reading of the professional language of Australian teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) uses a much older text of Country

(McKnight 2016). This new old way (Arbon 2008, p. 137) of doing teacher education restores the foundations of a separate sovereign state (Alfred 2005) inside the Faculty of Education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), where Aboriginal teacher educators model host/guest relationships, agreement, protocols and behaviours (McDonald 2017) that care (Watson 2009a) for our knowledge relationships to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008).

The immediate distraction (Morrison 1975) that is Australian Reconciliation has pushed this older First Law of Country (West 2000) to the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) of faculty, where the political work of creating 'settlerless spaces' (Veracini 2010, p. 49) *inside* Australian teacher education (Fredericks 2015) 'recedes into the future' (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61), where it is marked as 'symbolic aspirations' (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

As much a summary of the population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) currently operating in Australian teacher education, this final discussion of my yarn sessions considers the limits and limitations of Australian Reconciliation studies as endpoint (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61) agendas for both Aboriginal teacher educators and for the settler structures we work in (Wolfe 2006, p. 388). To document the continual connection and unextinguished grievance (Veracini 2010; Watson 2007) Aboriginal teacher educators have with nation-healing curriculum agendas, I distil my discussion and interpretations into two sections.

In the first discussion, I draw from my self-yarning to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) the political work of the pastpresent (King 2012), using the metaphor of the tour guide at a genocide museum. Writing through the gaze of the affluent first-world tourist (Maoz 2006) on a dark tour that chronicles the

Cambodian genocide, I compare current truth-telling in Australian teacher education as also being dark tours of settler society's factories (Marker 2019, p. 501), where well-intentioned 'pathways towards humanisation' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) have caused much 'death, disaster and suffering' (Rose 2013, p. 211). I consider how the political work of the local guide (Sleeter 2017) inside society's dark destinations (Fredericks 2015) builds sustainable relationships with the state and its populations (Geboe 2015). However, teaching with state-endorsed pain narratives *warehouses* (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) those who work inside these industrious complexes (Donald 2012), imprisoned (Morrison 1975) by the desires of the affluent unpaid body (Tuck & Yang 2014) to 'feel good, to look good and to be affirmed as doing good' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24).

In the second discussion, I unpack (Jarra) the packaged tour of Australian Reconciliation, identifying how this nation-building curriculum imperative obfuscates (Foley, cited in Land 2015, p. i) the political work of decolonising Australian teacher education, obstructing the creation of an Aboriginal space in this organisation that is settlerless (Veracini 2010, p. 49). Located between short- and long-term (Geboe 2015, p. 10) nation-building agendas (Herbert 2012) and social justice imperatives (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014), Aboriginal participation in endpoint 'reconciling work' can be read also as informal and formal *pastpresent and future* 'collaborative agreements and development activities' (Jai, cited in Geboe 2015, p. 6) that model host and guest relationships (McDonald 2017).



## **Dark Tours in Australian Teacher Education**

Throughout this thesis, I have been drawn to dark tourism as tool to explain Aboriginal teacher educators' work in Australian teacher education. The uneasy relationship we have as 'citizens' (Geboe 2015) in the still-illegal settler colonial nation-state of the pale (West 2000, p. 27) faculty defines our localised Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017). The localised curricular and pedagogical process peace-builds sustainable relationships 'among people and groups in society' (Geboe 2015, p. 4) so 'terrible things like genocide never happen again' (Mat).

To think about the localised peace-building curricular and pedagogical Makarrata, I reflect upon my self-yarns to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) the labours of Aboriginal teacher educators as similar to the role of a tour guide who works at a genocide museum. In this comparative metaphor, I consider how pedagogical and curricular truth-telling in Australian teacher education become dark tours of society's factories (Marker 2019, p. 501) that make public the necropolitical and assimilatory population transfers (Veracini 2010) operating across Australian social and education policy and practice (Tuck & Yang 2014).

As a dark destination, the Tuol Sleng High School in suburban Phnom Penh is one of the many places that chronicle the Cambodia genocide. This physical location warehouses (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) the metaphysical race, culture and civilisation narratives (Donald 2012, p. 3) of the 'post-colonial' (Veracini 2010, p. 42) nation's short and long history (Geboe 2015, p. 10). The school as the localised contact zone between 'ideology' and 'practice' records

how state-sanctioned 'violence' and 'misery' can be claimed as well-intentioned assistance (Rose 2013, p. 212).

The terrifying labour that occurred *inside* (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) the industrious complex (Donald 2012, p. 2) is the reason 'why I'm on the tour' (Mat). As a dark tourist, I wanted to know the painful story (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229) of repurposing a suburban high school into a torture centre and then refitting this centre into a museum that recorded this history:

The tour guide moves our small group of non-Cambodian tourists around the school, providing us with an account of living through the Khmer Rouge and Year Zero. She scripts through her spiel and I think to myself that I too walk through these classrooms of terror; constructing and reliving those traumas that have deeply structured Australian society, so my own students can 'understand'. My persistent questions—that are ignorance mixed with part confession, horror, empathy, sympathy, resistance and disbelief—makes the tour guide tired. But like me, she needs to walk students through those torture chambers and small holding cells that were originally built as classrooms. I had 'done' the Killing Fields earlier that morning and had questioned the guide there, and continuing my desire to know, I bombarded the school's tour guide with more. She tries to answer my rude, and no doubt repetitive questions that good well-meaning people like myself feel that they can ask, so things like this never happen again (but of course—they do). (Mat)

In my self-yarning, I am the 'affluent First World tourist' (Maoz 2006, p. 223) who has 'projected my desires onto the less developed' (p. 223). This 'other' world that I have invaded (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) on my packaged day tour of the 'Killing Fields' became the 'playground of [my] imagination and a target to conquer and consume' (Maoz 2006, p. 223). Like students who invade my own class, I positioned myself as an innocent bystander (Strakosch 2015, p. 105) on

this dark tour that chronicled the violence that is now forever written into Cambodia's dark past.

The projection of my affluent tourist gaze expected the school's guide to explain the violence that I looked upon so I, too, could 'understand' the pained Khmer body (Tuck & Yang 2014, p 229). Like my own students, I demanded the dark tour of the suburban high school to be organised in ways that served my emotional needs (Sleeter 2017), where I could extract instantly firsthand experiences comfortably and for my own benefit (Maoz 2006, p. 224).

Serving the constant needs (Herbert 2012, p. 43) of curious visitors like me who want to 'feel good, look good and be seen as doing good' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24) leaves the 'tour guide tired' (Mat). Like Aboriginal teacher educators, the guide, too, has been left with the burden (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) of working with 'insult, prejudice, stereotypes and racism' that permeate from (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) 'persistent questions—that are ignorance mixed with part confession, horror, empathy, sympathy, resistance and disbelief' (Mat).

In my self-storying, the work of the tour guide and my own work in Australian teacher education is similar as we both construct and relive genocide and mass sociological trauma for an advancing death 'cult of consumption' (Rose 2013, p. 10) that demands authentic (Donald 2012; Maoz 2006) 'discovery and individualistic self-growth' (Arbon 2009, p. 140). With my comparison, Aboriginal teacher educators narrate the thanatological subtexts of genocidal, necropolitical (Veracini 2010, p. 35) and biocognitive assimilation (Wolfe 2006, p. 383) that has organised Australian compulsory learning (Tuck &

Yang 2012, 2014) and practised on a national scale (Sherwood 2013)—‘so things like this never happen again (but of course they do)’ (Mat).

The localised (Maoz 2006) Aboriginal truth-telling searches (LeFlouria 2018) the curricular and pedagogical ‘backgrounds’ (McKnight 2016, p. 11) and ‘thickets’ (Veracini 2010, p. 37), unpacking in this dark history of Australian teaching and learning ‘all the racism and bad history because the real history of this Country is hidden behind the written curriculum’ (Jarra). The unsettling invitation to join us (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) in the search for the real history of Country system-hacks (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26) the professional language of Australian teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) in ways that return this ancient text (McKnight 2016) to the curricular and pedagogical foregrounds (Hamm & Boucher 2017).

I note in my self-yarning how I looked to everyday dark destinations in my own community to place with students the unpacking of this ‘bad history’ (Jarra). As a nation of ‘war memorials’ (Hunter 2018), I reflect upon teaching at this local ‘monolithic, didactic monument’ (Strakosch 2010, p. 265) that was adjacent to the university. Built by ‘the settler nation state and their populations’ to mobilise ‘a memory of a glorious past’ (p. 265), these monuments erased the original dispossession (Veracini 2010, p. 34) and the ongoing illegal occupation of the continent by taking ‘complex moments of historical conflict and transform[ing] them into clear stories of national triumph or martyrdom’ (Strakosch 2010, p. 265).

When teaching on-site at this dark destination that marks both the real and still hidden (Jarra) national tragedy, my mutual gaze (Maoz 2006) with students maps the violent and everchanging global settler colonial presence

with their own cultural and linguistically diverse ‘hyphenated-bodies’ (Mat). This social cartography exercise writes into the ‘straightforward’ monolithic storying of the monument (Strakosch 2010, p. 265) students’ and their kin’s ancestral accounts of genocides, exoduses and diasporas. Providing an embodied experience in this ‘bigger picture’ history (Jarra), the dark destination of the memorial stories (Bunda & Phillips 2018) how this ever-changing global settler colonial presence ‘dispossessed and continues to dispossess people’ (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 7), expanding home for some by separating home for others (Wolfe 2006).

My self-yarning about being a dark tourist in the Cambodian school notes how the marketed (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) dark tour was not really designed for this deeper unpacking of history. I wanted to know (p. 225) how the ending of the French colonial empire foregrounded the conditions for the rise of the Khmer Rouge; however, this history of Country had been pushed to the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) of the tour:

Eventually I have that moment with the tour guide, ‘teacher to teacher’, and realise that each question that I had asked required more time than the tour ever permitted. That to undo the present meant untangling a history where empires end and nation-states rise. (Mat)

Disciplined by the endless cycle of ill-equipped (Sleeter 2017, p. 157) visitors on their packaged day tour of the Killing Fields who were not interested in this dark history, the guide turns our attention to the foregrounded, authentically-staged (Donald 2012; Maoz 2006) instruments of torture. In their explanations of the tools that had been purposely left the way they were found at the end of the Khmer Rouge’s Year Zero reign of terror, I note,

The tour guide's script is detached from her voice, perhaps as English is one of her many second languages, and things get lost in translation and the knowing of what's been said falls to the still-blood-stained floor between us. Her disconnected voice reminds me of my own teaching mask—which I pull down when I am in the mutual gaze with my own students and their constant questions—to protect me as I move through these horrors of our local 'promise of a good life', to keep myself safe from the trauma of constantly being in 'retell'. (Mat)

In my yarn, the tour guide has a range of 'teaching scripts', which talk across the languages spoken by visitors, and a 'teaching mask' (Yuri) that protects and keeps the tour guide safe when in this 'constant retell' (Mat). These teaching scripts and masks mean 'things are lost in translation' (Mat), where they remain 'hidden behind "the small utterances"' (Burgess 2017, p. 748).

Speaking of a nonpained Khmer world, these small utterances are beyond my affluent first-world imagination (Maoz 2006, p. 223). Fantasising (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) that the tour guide did not belong to my same global world and instead this pained community 'now must catch up (but never can)' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), I cast the guide as homeless (Watson 2009a), where they do not exist outside the complex that warehouse (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) the stories of the nation's dark, everchanging colonial presence.

In my recasting of the Cambodian world (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), the tour guide does not go to work, 'entering other domains where they interact and leave again to go home' (Nakata 2002, p. 285). I cannot imagine the tour guide talking 'about work when they get home' (Jarra), complaining about us ill-equipped tourists or how they might 'spend half their life ... teaching the same subject' (Miki). I choose to not know that travelling with the tour guide in their daily commute are others who have also crossed over into the Dark Side (Jarra;

Mat), who not only know themselves in this everchanging global world, but also 'know me better than I can speak about myself' (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), and together they have 'a little chuckle' (Mat) at me and my emotional needs to have this bystander voyeurism (Strakosch 2015, p. 105) *affirmed* as 'doing good' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24).

Knowing the conditions of their existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) as local guides (Maoz 2006) in the Cambodian story of martyrdom and national triumph (Strakosch 2010, p. 265), they trade (Donald 2012, p. 6) with and against the disciplining and affluent visitors who demand not to be unsettled (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015). The localised trading (Donald 2012, p. 6) shows international (Adams & Faulkhead, p. 1019) populations that there are no bystanders in the everchanging world, and hopefully something globally will be done locally next time, so terrible 'events' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) like genocide and mass sociological trauma 'never happen again' (Mat).

In this context, my needs as the fly in/fly out, affluent first-world dark tourist (Maoz 2006, p. 223) warehouses (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) the tour guide in the forever business (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011) of teaching about this local event. Like Aboriginal teacher educators, the tour guide spends their life in this erected classroom that has complexified (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) into a 'deadly prison' (Morrison 1975), 'fighting phantoms, concentrating on myths, and explaining over and over to the conqueror your language, your lifestyle, your history, your habits'.

In my self-yarn about this deadly Cambodian teaching prison that was once a school, I note how we had reached the end of the tour, where the tour guide introduces me

to some survivors who lived beyond Year Zero. They give their obligatory wave and I buy a book of their retells—used in many of the inquiries that sought truth and reconciliation with their own past—an object for me to read whilst flying to Angkor. Our guide tells us that the tour has finished and points us to the exit where I see that she has another group of tourists like me, waiting. She simultaneously waves us goodbye and gives a hello to the new tour group and off she goes again, in a circle, telling her story.

(Mat)

I describe the current work of Aboriginal teacher educators using the metaphor of the tour guide working at a dark destination. In my discussion of this self-yarning, I note how these dark tours of Australian compulsory learning make public the violence of the settler colonialism, situating ‘school’ as being also a dark factory in our societies (Marker 2019, p. 501). The localised (Maoz 2006) pedagogical and curricular tours of Australian society’s dark factories that fabricates Otherness (Marker 2019, p. 501) acknowledge how we are always standing on the edges of ‘complex moments of historical conflict’ (Strakosch 2010, p. 265) that are promise/s of a state-sanctioned good life, whether it be the school, the war memorial, the genocide museum or the torture processing centre. In similar terrain, LeFlouria (2018) contends that on dark tours of slave plantation ‘homes’ of the United States, a ‘truthful history can influence a larger public toward reconciliation’ (para. 15), but ‘the nation’s sordid past must be examined in its entirety—in the mansions, cabins, kitchens, basements, fields, and graveyards alike’ (para. 15).

In this context, Aboriginal counternarratives, perspectives and standpoints about these monolithic structures in settler colonial societies (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) can contribute ‘to human rights education’ (Dunkley 2017, p. 123), giving ‘potential for dark tourism sites to nurture compassion through their



presentation of dark events in history' (p. 123). Teaching and learning in and about dark destinations require curricular and pedagogical practices that are 'reflective [of] ongoing histories, power dynamics of place and multiple trajectories of those spaces' (p. 123) and must focus 'upon empowerment for those who visit, as well as a relationship with the communities in which these places reside—in both space and time' (p. 123).

However, as I note in my discussions of yarns, dark destinations that warehouse (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) race, culture and civilisation narratives (Donald 2012, p. 3) of martyrdom and national consciousness (Strakosch 2010, p. 265) also warehouse the people that work there. Teaching with and against state-sanctioned, nation-healing language written across nation-building curriculum imperatives, the warehousing of Aboriginal teacher educators in Australian teacher education programs is disciplined by the emotional needs (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017) of invading students who are consumed by their own desires to feel good (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24).

The professionally shared script of the Australian Curriculum means the 'hidden utterances' (Burgess 2017, p. 748) of an unpained Aboriginal body (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229) are pushed to the backgrounds (McKnight 2016, p. 11). Emotionally foregrounding the needs (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017) of non-Aboriginal visitors in their unlocking of the nation's 'locked cabinets of history' (Bradford 2013), the professionally shared language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) of Australian Reconciliation reconciles students' past whilst rescuing them from uncertain, unsettling futures (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3).

## Unpacking the Packaged Deal of Australian Reconciliation

In my previous discussion in this third Findings and Interpretations chapter, I storied through the metaphor (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) of dark tourism to describe how students are rushed through mandatory and often foundational studies designed to prepare 'the ill-equipped' (Sleeter 2017, p. 159) with culturally responsive and socially just approaches in Aboriginal education. Students on these dark tours that explore nation-building curricular and pedagogical projects (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012) visit meta/physical destinations, locales, landmarks and structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) that sit across the past/present cultural interface (Nakata 2007a) of Australian teaching and learning.

On these dark tours, where the 'histories, cultures and habits' of the 'local' (Maoz 2006, p. 223) are expected to be organised in accessible ways, Aboriginal teacher educators foreground (Hamm & Boucher 2017) the ancient text of the land (McKnight 2016) to show students how they 'directly and indirectly' *benefited* 'from the erasure and assimilation of Indigenous peoples' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9). The shared conditions of settler colonialism (Land 2015) can be 'a difficult reality' for students to accept (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9), where on these dark tours, the 'misery of guilt makes one hurry toward any reprieve' (p. 9).

I now turn to my yarning with other Aboriginal teacher educators to unpack (Jarra) the packaged deal of Australian Reconciliation. I story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how this future-facing, one-nation (Watson 2007, p. 15), professionally shared language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) 'reprieves' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9) Australian teacher education programs and their populations

from the misery of this dark everchanging settler colonial pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31). Caught up in repetitive teaching cycles of constructing and then deconstructing the dark factories in settler Australian society (Marker 2019, p. 501), Aboriginal teachers are entangled in nation-building curriculum discourses and imperatives that are 'driven by the desires of educational consumers to feel good, to look good and to be affirmed as doing good' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24).

In this chapter, I pay attention to the general absence of Australian Reconciliation as being the teaching agenda for Aboriginal teacher educators who participated in this research project. I note how we are working with and against the nation-healing curriculum agendas of the Commonwealth but are reading these frameworks with a much older text of Country (McKnight 2016) that returns Aboriginal lands and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1).

In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators' curricular and pedagogical imperatives for a settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) co-exist with the settler colonial nation's endpoint agendas (Strakosch & Macoun 2012) of reconciling Australian teacher education. However, at this interface between two knowledge societies (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators' truth-telling of Australian teacher education is contained by market forces of this teaching-training factory (Marker 2019, p. 501), the regulatory demands of a state's 'ever-expanding accountability framework' (Herbert 2012, p. 43) and the emotional needs of the 'end of the line, classroom teachers' (p. 43).

As noted in my previous yarning with Miki, the professionally shared language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) of Australian Reconciliation written across the Australian Curriculum (ACARA 2019) and the Australian Professional

Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2019) has shifted the way we teach as

Aboriginal teacher educators:

Mat: So, my experience tells me that the formal writing of Aboriginal standpoints and perspectives in ACARA and AITSL provided a stronger backbone to why teacher education students needed to know about Aboriginal Australia.

Miki: Those standards became the buffer. All the White students saying, 'Why do we have to do this?', and now we can show them why, in their language.

Mat: It shifted my pedagogy in the way I did content because the way I needed to teach before was to convince and persuade them. Now they need to comply with ACARA and AITSL expectations, and convince me as their assessor that they are ready to work with Aboriginal curriculum and pedagogies.

Miki: In a sense, this is something our grandparents were talking about. They said, 'What we need to do is get to the teachers; if we can get to the teachers then our kids are going to get a better time'. So now, the standards were just slipped in, I think that was a little bit of a nice strategy, even it took such a long time.

In this yarn, Miki describes how our kin and Ancestors' long-strategy concerned the relationship teachers have with Aboriginal learners and not with reconciling the settler colonial state's relationship with Aboriginal Australia. The curricular and pedagogical ancestral caring (Watson 2009a) for future generations knew that 'if we can get to the teachers then our kids are going to get a better time' (Miki).

The work set in motion generations ago by our kin and Ancestors has no endpoint in terms of the continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) the totality of Country has with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander learners (West 2000;

Whitehouse et al. 2014). Emerging in our current practices as Aboriginal teacher educators, our *continual connection* to this long-term strategy (Geboe 2015, p. 10) means that relationally (Martin 2016) we, too, are obligated to *nurture* our own contemporaries (West 2000) and guide future generations 'to adulthood, maturity and responsibility' so they, too, can 'hear the songs, the voices and the discourse of culture and growth' (p. 27)

The returning of Country's (McKnight 2016) First Laws and epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) nourishes a settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) inside Australian teacher education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79). The privileging (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245) of Aboriginal voices (Watson 2007, p. 15) also offers ways to mediate the locus of decision-making (Brennan 2011, p. 259) in times of cataclysmic shock, change and transformation (Greives 2008, p. 364; Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 110):

Our natural world is in crisis which makes the need for translation ever more urgent. The West has reached the end point of project progress, and does not have the solutions to the crisis. It has no other lands to invade and colonise beyond leaving our mother Earth and searching for other planets. Current regimes of recognition and protection do not work. We are on the brink of sacrificing our waters, our oceans and our lands which provide for an overpopulated planet. Recognition laws in respect of First Nations come in the form of native title laws and Aboriginal heritage protection, and they are accompanied by named environmental laws, but none of them have the capacity to protect the environments which are vital to our survival. We are on a trajectory which it appears could sacrifice all life forms, but we still have the capacity for ongoing life. Cycles do return, to begin again. Aboriginal law is an ongoing cycle; it is the law. (Watson 2017, p. 220)

The continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) we have to our 'old ways' (West 2000, p. 26) cares for all living things (Watson 2017, p. 216) and co-exists with

curriculum endpoint agendas (Strakosch & Macoun 2012) that reconcile the settler colonial relationship with Aboriginal Australia. At this interface between two knowledge societies (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators are working towards 'creation, continuity and mutuality' in the 'midst of change' (Rose 2013, p. 216), and are working 'with that too' (p. 216). However, in this uneasy co-existence between short- and long-term (Geboe 2015, p. 10) domestic and global curricular and pedagogical crises, challenges and developments (Brennan 2011, p. 259), we have been told by *settlers*—who have recast our epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships to Country as 'pre-modern, backwards, and savage' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5)—that 'these old ways are no good for us' (West 2000, p. 26).

In my yarning with Miki, they identify this uneasy co-existence of agendas, where we 'were no longer going to be assimilated, we had our culture and we were proud of it' (Miki). Miki tells me in this previously discussed yarn:

What's happened is we've made so much noise, and so much distance in that short period. And the system has gone 'Oh shit!' and in the mid-90s they put the brakes on. And everything started changing, absolutely everything. And you see there was a rise in racism and a rise in discrimination and were going back, like 50 years to the White Australia Policy and assimilation, and they were putting a lid on us. In some ways we got complacent, we got sucked in. 'Oh, okay it's all going to be fine now, we've moved ahead, and we've got our rightful place'. We got sucked in because they pulled the rug from under us, the moment we started getting too big. (Miki)

Miki truth-tells how the 'system' retreated (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92) from the agendas of recognising 'the rightful place' we have in Australia in relation to our continual connection as First Peoples (Watson 2007, p. 15). 'Putting a lid' (Miki) on our unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) the moment 'we got

too big' (Miki), these powerful systematic forces (Dodson 2016, p. 3) *reverted* to the policy needs of a '1950s White Australia' (Miki). Telling us that these First Laws and epistemologies 'were no good for us' (West 2000, p. 26), the settler nation-state 'pulled the rug' of Country out from under Aboriginal people (Miki), recasting this ancient social–ecological text (McKnight 2016; Whitehouse et al. 2014) into curriculum property (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5) that now belonged to the nation-building state of the pale (West 2000, p. 27), where

We went from having this little subject for the students to choose if they want to learn about Aboriginal education, and then 'Closing the Gap' had just started and the AITSL standards and the new ACARA were coming into play, and the mandatory subject inside the faculty was decided. After that, everything just changed. (Miki)

In my yarning with Rata, they describe how they, too, were entangled in this process of recasting the scholarship and practice of First Law into property (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5), telling me that teaching (Loughran 2010) to the discourses of Australian Reconciliation was not what they initially 'signed up to do' (Rata). Instead, Rata focused on the creation of an intellectual space, concerned with 'doing and making of Aboriginal Studies' (Rata) in new old ways (Arbon 2008, p. 137) so Aboriginal people knew our 'spirit, language and mother' (West 2000, p. 26) formally as a discipline of knowledge:

We were trying to get programs up and running and negotiating with faculties and trying to build ownership of Indigenous Studies as a discipline. You know that took a lot of time and effort ... the creation of a good intellectual space. My idea is that you have people coming out of the faculties into that Indigenous intellectual space to learn stuff and they can go back. You know 'that's your hub'—not just put us all out there in faculties and then hope that we change the world. (Rata)

Rata's continual connection to Country (Watson 2007, p. 15) returns and renews Aboriginal cosmologies inside the university's gates (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), for that it is the law. When housed at the Aboriginal Unit, the indigenist (Rigney 2006) strategy of 'changing the world' (Rata) cared (Watson 2009a) for this ancestral connection by privileging (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245) Aboriginal cosmologies in ways that attended to Country, kin and Ancestors (Watson 2007, p. 15), whilst also addressing our 'unextinguished grievances' (Veracini 2010, p. 42).

Promised as part of 'some kind of path of humanisation into a better, Whiter, world' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232), the university's recasting of subjects offered by the Aboriginal Unit as mandated faculty property 'threw' (Rata) the practices of this First Law into faculties, warehousing (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) homeless (Watson 2009a) Aboriginal teacher educators within the exogenous faculty brotherhood's thicketed (Veracini 2010, p. 37) background (McKnight 2016, p. 11).

The university's neoliberal reconciliation of its Aboriginal population as an education faculty resource has 'captured and echoed, ricocheted, distilled' our voices (Watson 2007, p. 15). No longer allowed to *roam* over from the Aboriginal territories 'with a chip on our shoulder' (Yuri), we are instead expected to change this faculty world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) 'from the inside' (Rata).

Generously expanding the perimeter of the faculty to include Aboriginal teacher educators, the homesteading interplay (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) of faculty logics has violently erased previously decolonising and indigenising gains, claims and entitlements (Veracini 2010, p. 44). The



year/ground zero executive termination (Veracini 2010, p. 42) pushed and pulled (Mat) Aboriginal teacher educators' past/present and future, decolonising and indigenising work to the thickets (p. 37) of this reconciled brotherhood (p. 35), turning our curricular and pedagogical pilgrimages that are 'constituted by its conscription of others' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 231) into a deadly teaching 'prison' (Morrison 1975):

Jarra: I'm only teaching into that one subject across the four semesters, and because it's a mandatory subject, the numbers fill my workloads for the year. That's good for me, because I enjoy teaching into the one unit, rather than be scattered all over the place teaching multiple subjects.

Mat: The tour guide moves our group ... around the school, ... She scripts through her spiel ... constructing and reliving ... so ... students can 'understand'. Persistent questions ... make the tour guide tired ... At the end of the tour ... used in many of the inquiries that sought truth and reconciliation with their own past ... Our guide ... points us to the exit and ... she has another group ... waiting for her. Simultaneously waving us goodbye and the other group a hello ... off she goes again, in a circle, telling her story.

Miki: I was expected to teach across multiple campus where I spend half my life in the car, teaching the same subject—

Mat: —So, we could just throw work at you, you don't complain because you just learning the ropes?

Miki: Yeah but if I did complain, which I did quite often, it was suck it up, no understanding, no compassion, or caring.

Held captive to the settler demands to authentically witness and then reconcile the pained body of less developed communities (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229), Aboriginal teacher educators cease using First Laws and epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to be and become Aboriginal. Instead, we are performing an

indigeneity (Veracini 2010, p. 47) that retells the authentically staged (Maoz 2006) story of Australian Reconciliation that walks settlers in circles, simultaneously waving 'goodbye/hello' (Mat) to each cohort they meet as they teach across semesters.

Aboriginal participation in the faculty's performance of new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 47) can never complete our own 'reasons for being' (Morrison 1975) Aboriginal teacher educators. As Veracini (2010) writes, discourses that seek to reconcile and close

The (socioeconomic) gap between indigenous and non-indigenous constituencies are premised on indigenous dysfunction, not sovereign entitlement. As indigenous rights become settler generosity, indigenous sovereign capabilities are transferred away. (p. 46)

In this context, our capabilities as Aboriginal teacher educators to self-determine the educational discourses are obfuscated (Foley, cited in Land 2015, p. i) by the generous imperative to reconcile the nation-state violent relationship with Aboriginal Australia. Becoming the dominant discourse that frames the 'study' of indigeneity in Australian teacher education, the Commonwealth's promise to close the gap 'ultimately represent[s] settler fantasies of easier paths to reconciliation' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 4) into this violent, 'Whiter world' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232). Co-existing with the Commonwealth's claims of closing of the gap is the localised unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to decolonise our education relationships with the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) and return to the professional language of Australian teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) a much older ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13). The unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to know the First Laws of Country by stepping towards

Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) begins by locating the Traditional Owners of Country that you are teaching on and 'starting from there' (Yuri).

In this context, the long-term ancestral pathway through time, place (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) and the cosmos of ideas (Wilson 2019, p. 47) shares converging and contouring similarities with the short-term agendas (Geboe 2015, p. 10) of Australian Reconciliation (Reconciliation Australia 2020). Aboriginal teacher educators' unsettling Makarrata invites global, international institutions like universities (Adams & Faulkhead, p. 1019) to hack (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) at its own complexification and structural integrity (Wolfe 2006, p. 402), so this ancient text of Country can [continue] to 'shine through as a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood' (Referendum Council 2017, para. 4).

The shared unsettling work (Land 2015, p. 86) between Aboriginal teacher educators and the institution must examine the settler colonial 'homestead' (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) that is Australian teacher education in its entirety (LeFlouria 2018). Critically unpacking (Jarra) the relationships settler colonialism has with Australian teaching, learning and assessment (Tuck & Yang 2012), this search interrogates the common language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016), responding to

- Race and racism
- Historical Acceptance
- Institutional Integrity
- Unity
- Equality and Equity. (Reconciliation Australia 2020)

In the uneasy co-existence between short- and long-term justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10), Aboriginal teacher educators are staying with the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that are contained within the Commonwealth's homesteading curricular and pedagogical 'mantras' (Herbert 2012, p. 40). Whilst imagined as disruptive and uncivil (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26) by those enchanted with settler colonialism's shine (p. 28), the localised (Maoz 2006) spearing of faculty's settling agendas (Miki) is a process of negotiating peace, healing and recovery (Geboe 2015), 'where both parties agree to one thing so that there is no dispute or no other bad feeling' (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13).

The 'reconciling work' that we have been left with (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) can be read also as informal and formal pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) and future 'collaborative agreements and development activities' (Jai, cited in Geboe 2015, p. 6). Working with and against the inadequate metaphors, grammar, discourses and agendas (Tuck & Yang 2012) that is Australian Reconciliation, the presentfuture Aboriginal struggles in Australian teacher education documented in my self-yarning and co-yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel concern transforming the institutional power 'relationships between settler-coloniser and colonised, based on force, into a more respectful relationship of host and guest' (McDonald 2017).

The professional practice of *treaty-doing* foregrounds (Hamm & Boucher 2017) the hidden text of Country (McKnight 2016) in ways that truth-tells White Australia's dark history. The localised Makarrata makes public Australian colonialism as it mutates and complexifies (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) into and across the one-nation Australian teacher education landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15),

advancing through this social–ecological ‘time’ and ‘place’ (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) political agreements and protocols that provide curricular and pedagogical ‘acknowledgement, apology and redress’ of past wrongs and ways to determine ‘future relationships’ (Geboe 2015, p.4).

In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are pedagogically trading (Donald 2012, p. 6), using the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016), but this cross-cultural trading models the behaviours and protocols (Maoz 2006) of host and guest sharing land and resources (McDonald 2017). As Herbert (2012) notes, the engagement with decolonising and indigenising standpoints means preservice teachers not only learn ‘about’ Indigenous education history, but also use this pastpresent knowledge to critically filter current and future claims (p. 43) made by those enchanted with settler colonialism’s shine (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28).

The institutional task of transforming the colonial relationship into a relationship between host and guest is purposely obstructed by the currencies of Australian Reconciliation, and in this confiscation, Aboriginal teacher educators ‘face a cruel short-term trade-off between reconciliation and justice’ (Geboe 2015, p. 10). In my yarn with Rata, they talk about this cruel trade-off when trading with settler structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) and their populations:

I feel like I’m basically wasting my time and being kept busy. I don’t think the university meant to keep us busy; it’s just that when the processes were put in place, and we were put into the faculty—they just threw us in there without working anything out. We’ve just been busy trying to pick up all of the pieces, all the time—and it has become exhausting—where everything’s made more difficult than what it needs to be. So, the legacy at the moment is nothing, it’s a loss of everything and that’s why colleagues are leaving. I’ll probably write to you and say this is the legacy

that we've left, maybe, but, at this rate I can't see things changing for a while; unless we get some new leadership. Maybe I'm delusional, and maybe we are just in this moment of *transportation*, where it's all going to get a good ending of the story, but I can't see that 'end' at the moment. (Rata, emphasis added)

In this present-day trade-off between reconciliation and justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10), the 'vanishing endpoint' (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61) of settler colonialism 'recedes' into Rata's future, 'as does its political work in the present' (p. 61). Living through an everchanging settler colonial global presence, Rata is always caught up within the 'moment of transportation' (Rata) that has been promised by leadership as the pathway into a better, Whiter world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232). Unable to see the good ending of theirs and the colleague's story, Rata is kept busy 'picking up the pieces' (Watson 2009a) of past work that has survived the settler colonial's neoliberal 'adjustments' (Murphy 2000, p. 6) of agreements, protocols and strategies.

The compulsory Aboriginal subject situates this 'delayed' place in time (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48), where settler desires to end the temporality of colonialism overlaps with the generous Aboriginal offer to actualise a new relationship that can determine future relationships (McDonald 2017). Functioned as an informal place marker in this compulsory place of cataclysmic shock, change and transformation, the inadequate metaphor (Tuck & Yang 2012) of Australian Reconciliation can situate a truth-telling of Australian teacher education. However, this placeholding position is conditional to the reconciling architecture that purposely frames the repatriation and returning of land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1) as future 'symbolic aspirations' (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

In my yarn with Davel, they describe working inside this reconciling architecture of the university (Donald 2012) and how they lobbied for an explicit Aboriginal cognate group before, during and after university-wide restructures and transfers. Davel's request for a settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) was a way to write into the forever-changing structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) a separate sovereign existence (Alfred 2005) that recognised Aboriginal ways of 'doing things' (Davel):

Davel: When that proposal went up under the previous dean it was knocked on the head and they said, 'If you do it for Aboriginal staff, then we have to do it for everybody else'. I flagged this with the new dean who's been in the job for few months and said to them, 'That this was identified in the transfer over, when we left [the Aboriginal Unit], that we had to have something that signified us as are entity within the faculty, that made us different'. And so, that is still up for consideration and we will see where that goes.

Mat: It's a bit like my university and trying to work with new deans as they try to manage their responsibilities in meeting the university's Aboriginal 'targets'. Like me, you have gone from one dean to the next, hoping that in each change-over you might have a different ear, and that we are building these new relationships with people always coming and going.

In this yarn, Davel notes the political retreat (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92) in governance after the ground zero neoliberal restructure (Rata). This retreat meant the Faculty of Education, and more generally the university, was in constant transition, looking towards soft-reform models of institutional inclusion (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) that did not 'require major shifts' and 'interruption of business-as-usual' (p. 26). We note these soft-reform approaches to solving complex problems in a forever-changing settler landscape, where similar high turnover of senior leadership (and the

inter/national selection process in attracting new leadership), has meant working in constant cycles of relationship-making with *guest* deans (McDonald 2017) as they made 'relationships' (Martin 2016) with Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). In each of these retreating senior leadership cycles, the recognition and representation of Aboriginal difference are at first questioned, then left unattended

because that's what new deans do. This was my fourth dean, so I started to clue-on and I sat at the back and sure enough they come up to me and quietly asked, 'Could you Welcome us to Country? It would be a great way to start us all off'. (Mat)

In Davel's account, they tell how the new dean was *hostile* 'to the possibility of positive discrimination favouring indigenous constituencies' (Blainey, cited in Veracini 2010, p. 46) and applied 'a land rights to all approach' (p. 46), where settlers 'make equal and comparative indigenous claims to *racial equity and equality*' (p. 46, emphasis in original). The dean perceives Aboriginal staff as part of the general faculty population and *empties* the 'landscape of its original inhabitants' (p. 37), refusing to 'register the actual presence' (Veracini 2010, p. 37) of an Aboriginal cohort, leaving Davel and colleagues lurking 'in thickets' (p. 37).

Davel's initiation of a 'settlerless locale beyond the boundaries' (Veracini 2010, p. 49) of the dean's location is a radical approach to reforming the structural relationship (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of the settler triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224). Providing a space that 'recognises how unequal relations of knowledge production result in severely uneven distribution of resources, labour, and symbolic value' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26), this



interruption entails transforming the way power and resources are accumulated by current beneficiaries, in order to make space for difference and for the redistribution of resources, opportunities, and symbolic value. (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26)

In Davel's yarn, the dean places little value in the collective nourishing of Aboriginal cosmologies and recognises only the currencies of individual academic personhood. Using the dean's currencies, the expansion of academic citizenship to include Aboriginal teacher educators is the endpoint agenda (Strakosch & Macoun 2012), where the institution has made 'acknowledgement, apology and redress of past wrongs' (Geboe 2015, p. 4).

Refusing to acknowledge Davel as host, the unsettling invitation to meet in the 'middle place' to structurally recognise Aboriginal ways of organising educational territories and resources (Rose 2013, p. 10) was 'knocked on the head' (Davel). This elimination (Wolfe 2006) of co-existing settlerless 'educational administrative space/s' (McKnight 2016, p. 13) is 'indicative of the colonial aspect of social justice' (p. 13), signifying a 'power relationship in which a member of the dominant culture can provide permission, retaining a separation of the 'Other' as less than' (p. 13).

Davel's request to meet with senior leadership seeks to reform the structural relationship (Referendum Council 2017), calling for a settlerless (Veracini 2010, p. 49) cognate space within faculty through formal agreements, with protocols that can recognise pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) and future claims of doing teacher education in certain Aboriginal ways (Davel).

Indigenous to Australian teacher education (Veracini 2010, p. 35), and arriving long before the always-new dean (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), Davel

cannot trouble the university's 'structural selectivity' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 942) in their choosing to not come to this meeting. Enclosed within the 'mainstream administrative structures' (Murphy 2000, p. 6), this selectivity 'forecloses' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3) upon having 'the ear of the dean' (Mat) and the 'need to learn more about, or engage in another culture's way of knowing, learning and behaving' (McKnight 2016, p. 13).

In this context, the warehousing (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) of Aboriginal teacher educators with the Faculty of Education's reconciled new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) has 'put a lid' (Miki) on our indigenist (Rigney 2006) agendas of changing the world (Rata). Positioned in the biopolitical thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37) as homeless (Watson 2009a), our political work in transforming the institutional power dynamics 'into a more respectful relationship of host and guest' (McDonald 2017) has been 'captured and echoed, ricocheted, distilled' (Watson 2007, p. 15) by a 'feel good' mantra (Herbert 2012, p. 40) that is determined to push the real history of Country to the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11).

Consequently, the immediate relief that is Australian Reconciliation offers no reprieve (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9) for Aboriginal teacher educators' political work of returning to Australian teacher education their First Laws and epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). Marked by a hostile (Blainey, cited in Veracini 2010, p. 46) and 'retreating' (Strakosch 2009, p. 92) senior leadership as future 'symbolic aspirations' (Dodson 2016, p. 2), the actualising of a settlerless space beyond the locale of reconciling discourses (Veracini 2010, p. 49) is forever delayed by the demands of an ever-expanding, everchanging nation-state of the pale (West 2000).

## Summation of Chapter 6 Findings and Interpretations

In this third chapter discussion of my findings and interpretations, I organised my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 47) how the pathways towards treaty are obstructed with the promise of Australian Reconciliation. As much a summary of the population transfers currently operating in Australian teacher education, this final discussion of my yarn sessions considered the limits and limitations of Australian Reconciliation studies as endpoint agendas for both Aboriginal teacher educators and the settler structures we work in (Wolfe 2006, p. 388).

In this future-facing discussion, I identified how Australian Reconciliation is determined by the immediate needs of settlers (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017) to reconcile their dark past whilst rescuing them from an uncertain and unsettling future (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3). Storying my self-yarning to illustrate this political *work of the present* using dark tourism (Dunkley 2017) as metaphor, I described Aboriginal teacher educators as local guides who direct the affluent, unscarred (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229) visitor's gaze (Maoz 2006) through dark destinations in Australian education, truth-telling where well-intentioned curricular and pedagogical pathways towards humanisation (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) have caused much 'death, disaster and suffering' in their wake (Rose 2013, p. 211).

Making public the genocidal and assimilatory population transfers (Veracini 2010) operating across Australian social and education policy and practice, the localised work of truth-telling Australian settler colonialism has become a 'deadly teaching prison' (Morrison 1975) for Aboriginal teacher educators, where we have been warehoused (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112) in

this dark factory of society (Marker 2019, p. 501), disciplined by the desires of affluent guests (Maoz 2006, p. 223) and their unscarred, unpaired bodies (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 229).

I unpacked (Jarra) the packaged deal of Australian Reconciliation, and in my second discussion, I drew from my yarn sessions to document how Aboriginal teacher educators are reading nation-building curriculum documents and regulatory frameworks (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012) with a much older text of Country (McKnight 2016). The localised, place-based reading restores the foundations of a separate sovereign state (Alfred 2005) inside the Faculty of Education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), renewing and nourishing the continual connection Aboriginal teacher educators (Watson 2007, p. 15) have to our kin's ancestral 'ideas of the cosmos' that have been carried through time and place.

The long-term ancestral strategies that care 'for all living things' (Watson 2017, p. 216) coexist with the settler's generous promise to reconcile (Veracini 2010, p. 46) their educational relationship with Aboriginal societies. Located at the interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators are working towards 'creation, continuity and mutuality' in the 'midst of change' (Rose 2013, p. 216) and are working 'with that too' (p. 216).

In this context, Aboriginal participation in this endpoint 'reconciling work' of the nation-state can be read as informal and formal pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) and future 'collaborative agreements and development activities' (Jai, cited in Geboe, 2015, p. 6). The localised curricular and pedagogical Makarrata rebuilds 'relationships among people and groups in society and between the

state and its citizens' (Geboe 2015, p. 4) by modelling host and guest relationships that share land and resources (McDonald 2017).

In the uneasy coexistence between short-term reconciliation and long-term justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10), our indigenist calls (Rigney 2006) for a settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) inside the programming of Australian teacher education are obstructed by reconciling discourses and social justice imperatives that allow the present-day complexification of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) to continue its *future* trajectories (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61). 'Justified' (p. 61) as a process of preparing 'for the moment when colonialism can be dissolved' (p. 61), the nonradical place marker of Australian Reconciliation offers no reprieve for Aboriginal teacher educators (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9), who are imprisoned by the repetitive teaching cycles of constructing and then deconstructing the everyday violence of settler colonialism.

The structural selectivity of this teaching prison (Morrison 1975) demands affirmation for doing good (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24) pushing our continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) and unextinguished grievance (Veracini 2010, p. 42) to the background (McKnight 2016, p. 11) and thickets of the faculty (Veracini 2010, p. 37). Contained by the new brotherhood's enchantment (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) with settler colonialism's generosity and social justice imperatives (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014), the political work of returning First Laws and their epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) has been marked by a hostile (Blainey, cited in Veracini 2010, p. 46) and retreating (Strakosch 2009, p. 92) senior leadership as future 'symbolic aspirations' (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

## **Final Considerations and Implications**

My thesis has surveyed the one-nation settler landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15) of Australian teacher education programs from the standpoints of Aboriginal teacher educators who teach teaching (Loughran 2010, p. 223) at this interface where two knowledge systems co-exist (Nakata 2007a). My co-yarning (Bessarab & Ng'Andu 2010; Walker et al. 2014) with Jarra, Miki, Yuri, Rata and Davel about these settled and unsettled spaces we occupy (Watson 2007, p. 15) in Australian teacher education asked if we were 'free to roam' (p. 15).

Speaking with localised, placed-based authority (Adams & Faulkhead 2012, p. 1026) about our continual connections to Country (Watson 2007, p. 15), our yarning revealed the individual and collective conditions of our Faculty of Education existence (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii). My collaboration with other Aboriginal teacher educators mapped the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) we encounter in these settled and unsettled spaces we occupy in Australian teacher education, cataloguing the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) we have with this illegally pegged-out (Donald 2012, p. 3) structure (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) that shapes and produces indigeneity (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii).

In this last, concluding chapter, I summarise what I have learnt from my collaborative yarning that has surveyed these settled and unsettled spaces in Australian teacher education (Watson 2007). In the final discussion of my

interpretations of yarns, I return to my three subquestions where I discuss the implications of my findings in relation to

- transforming the mutual relationships and responsibilities in Australian teacher education
- disrupting settler self-actualisation and resisting the reconciled brotherhood
- territorial justice in Australian teacher education.

Drawing key statements from this summary of the findings and interpretations, I close my thesis, considering the implications in relation to the current and future work of Aboriginal teacher educators in returning Country to Australian teacher education.

### **Transforming the Mutual Gaze in Australian Teacher Education**

In this discussion of overall outcomes and implications, I look to how the local gaze (Maoz 2006) is transforming and reforming the institution, faculty and student gaze. Throughout this thesis, I have described the local Aboriginal teacher educator's gaze as being the 'purposeful juxtaposition' (Donald 2012, p. 6) of Australian teacher education logics with localised Aboriginal curricular and pedagogical worldviews and standpoints. In this juxtaposition, Country and the relational responsibilities Aboriginal teacher educators have in caring (Watson 2009a) for our First Knowledge (West 2000) inform the processes and practices of indigenising the settled and unsettled, returning (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) and repatriated spaces within Australian teacher education (Tuck & Yang 2012).

## **The mutual gaze with institutions**

My thesis has traced how the local Aboriginal gaze in teacher education has history in the cross-code borrowing of Aboriginal subjects, housed at the university's Aboriginal Unit. The (semi)autonomous official and unofficial diplomatic spaces of the Aboriginal Unit asserted sovereign and self-determining governance in subject design and ownership that returned First Laws and their epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). This settlerless space situated beyond and between the boundaries of the university (Veracini 2010, p. 49) centred the gaze of Aboriginal teacher educators and our purposeful roaming (Watson 2007, p. 15) across to faculties to savage the disciplines (Nakata 2007b). Our connection with universities' Aboriginal Units, originally built as 'holding pens for conquered people but became powerful sites of resistance and renewal' (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 112), meant we were educationally related (Martin 2016, p. 4) and 'all on the same mission' (Rata), and even though 'sometimes we didn't know where we were going, we were all going 'there' together' (Rata).

The more recent national-building curriculum agendas of recoded 'Aboriginal Studies' as compulsory teacher education curriculums took place in an architecture that was fixing to the shock doctrine of neoliberalism (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016). In the Kuhnian shift from the doctrine of terra nullius to the 'neoliberal language of development and public policy reform' (Strakosch 2009b, p. 97), the university's senior leadership imagined itself and its cataloguing of the world according to 'resources and impediment to these resources' (Rose 2013, p. 10) as 'natural and neutral features of all political, commercial and social organisations' (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92).



Offering new opportunities to extract Aboriginal scholarship for domestic and global consumption (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 4), the totalising institutional gaze of neoliberalism claimed 'adverse possession' of the Aboriginal Unit's teaching and learning programs, enforcing a grammar that framed the Aboriginal Unit course-coding and delivery site as an 'economic burden and unnecessary duplication' (Rata).

The neoliberal complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of an everchanging settler colonial presence produced a range of 'ground zero' (Rata) offensive and less offensive, university-wide population transfers, diasporas and expulsions (Veracini 2010). Effectively, in this population transfer, the settler came and took over indigenous terrains and forced Aboriginal teacher educators 'by dint of flogging to till the land for them' (Fanon 1967, p. 86). This ground zero transfer subsequently displaced Aboriginal ownership of design and materials, locations and cohorts, and affected the decision-making about the 'who, how, when, where, and what to teach in Indigenous Studies' (Brady 1997, p. 420).

In my yarning with Miki, we summarise our witnessing of this violence to Aboriginal geographies, where

Mat: We were in new research paradigms that were growing Aboriginal knowledge and strategies to resist. ... but they ... cannibalised us, and used all that greater effort, when we thought we were liberating ourselves, and it's all just been swallowed up into the faculty ...

Miki: We've made so much noise, and so much distance in that short period. And the system has gone 'Oh shit!' ... and everything started changing ... there was a rise in racism and a rise in discrimination ... and they were putting a lid on us. In some ways we got complacent, we got sucked in. 'Oh, okay it's all going to be

fine now, we've moved ahead, we've got our rightful place'. We got sucked in because they pulled the rug from under us, the moment we started getting too big.

These violent ground zero (Rata) structural events (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) retold in my yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel revealed how the forever business of caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008) was caught up within cataclysmic change and institutional transformation (Marker 2019), and the local Aboriginal gaze also needed to work with these Kuhnian shifts (Rose 2013, p. 216).

In this context, the population transfer to faculty can be read as a returning (Fredericks 2015, p. 79) of the local Aboriginal gaze (Maoz 2006), with the intent of 'throwing us into [Australian teacher education] faculties—hoping we could change the world' (Rata). Promised as a pathway into this better, Whiter world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232), the faculty transfer left Aboriginal teacher educators with a range of structural 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that 'concerned the ideology around embedding and making Aboriginal Studies' (Rata) that were at first questioned by 'senior leadership' (Davel) and then left unattended.

Cast (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5) to the faculty thickets as the exogenous Aboriginal other (Veracini 2010, p. 37), Aboriginal teacher educators have limited capacities to openly refuse the disciplining gaze (Maoz 2006, p. 223) of senior leadership and to speak back to these institutions with authority. Instead, the local gaze must work in constant cycles of relationship-making (Mat), using 'charm' and 'charisma' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 942) as passive and mediated strategies of resistance (Maoz 2006).

In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are waiting in the 'illegal clearing' that is the Faculty of Education, institutionally trading with this settler structure (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) we wish reformed. This structural Makarrata is 'cleaning up this space for something new' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28), appealing to the institutional gaze of a revolving senior leadership whilst also appearing useful, dealing with this leadership's 'tantrums, incontinence, anger and hopelessness' (p. 28). The localised cleaning up does not automatically 'reconcile and dissolve past conflict with senior leadership, nor does it foreclose on future disputes' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3) but instead stays with tension of both as ways to mediate the political work of the present. This pragmatic form of cooperation seeks to make formal and informal settlements, emphasising in these structural encounters (Wolfe 2006, p. 388), with the locus of decision-making (Brennan 2011, p. 259), 'the rationality and connectivity' of living together in one place for a very long time (Donald 2012, p. 6).

### **The mutual gaze with faculty**

Considered by our faculty colleagues as not indigenous (Veracini 2010) to Australian teacher education, Aboriginal teacher educators *return* to the education faculty as the homeless (Watson 2009a) exogenous Aboriginal other (Veracini 2010, p. 37). Erasing Aboriginal teacher educators as being already inside the gates of Australian teacher education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), this settler fantasy (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) has also erased the broad sets of academic skills, knowledges and experiences we bring with us in our returning.

Consequently, 'Acknowledging Country' has become a symbolic and performative 'Welcome to Faculty', used to organise how staff talk about ourselves (Donald 2012, p. 12) in everyday Australian teacher education

professional practice. In the shared performance of the 'new brotherhood' (Veracini 2010, p. 37), the local Aboriginal teacher educator is a *guest* and is expected to reassure their *host* that 'It's okay, we feel welcomed, you can relax now' (Rata).

Recast as faculty recourses (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 5), Aboriginal teacher educators are 'called upon by all people to be all things Aboriginal' (Yuri). In the transactions with colleagues, we are expected to be 'good' (Burgess 2017) 'little Aborigines' (Miki) and cooperate with faculty 'rights to know' logics (Tuck & Yang 2014). The advancing settling gaze of colleagues 'want to know the names of this and of that which they write down, or draw' (Mat) and then retell it back to Aboriginal teacher educators as 'authors with authority' (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227).

Aboriginal teacher educators are using a range of covert and overt techniques (Maoz 2006) that disrupt the recasting of Aboriginal colleagues as being faculty property that quickly Black fixes faculty problems (Yuri). The localised disruptions that reposition ourselves as masters of our own domain (Yuri) are dependent on time and place (Burgess 2017) and whether our colleagues are open (McKnight 2016) to addressing 'the entrenched power dynamics' (Burgess 2017) that privilege them as authors with authority (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227).

Our collegial but unsettling invitation is a gesture to participate and join us (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) in our truth-telling that takes the 'shine' out of Australian teacher education (Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 24). Hacking (p. 24) at the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), this Makarrata (Referendum Council 2017; Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para.

13) makes visible the necropolitical and assimilationist logics (Veracini 2010, p. 35) as they mutate (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) into and across the professional language of teaching and learning (Loughland & Ellis 2016), *tracing* (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) how nation building and social justice imperatives, discourses and regulatory frameworks are foundationally informed by this everchanging settler colonial pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31). In these encounters that span the organisation and programming of Australian teacher education studies, our unsettling invitation (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) disciplines (Maoz 2006, p. 223) faculty members' claims of being innocent to the violence of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224), drawing attention to their complicity as privileged authors who have authority in this structure (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227).

Our relationship-making Makarrata takes a 'lot of time and effort' (Rata), where colleagues 'get stroppy when challenged' (Mat) or when we 'refuse to email them back' (Yuri). This collegial Makarrata does not automatically 'reconcile and dissolve past conflict with colleagues, nor does it foreclose on future disputes' (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3) but invites colleagues to stay with the tension of our past/future as ways to mediate the political work of the present. Critiquing this authority and their generosity (Veracini 2010, p. 46) in coming alongside Aboriginal worldviews and standpoints (Martin 2016), Aboriginal teacher educators are making distinctions between decolonising co-collaborators and settlers who want to conquer and know First Knowledge and use it for their own benefit (Maoz 2006).

## **The mutual gaze with students**

The long history of pedagogically trading (Donald 2012, p. 6) with teacher education students has meant Aboriginal teacher educators know the needs of the student cohort/s (Herbert 2012, p. 43) and are disciplining students and their demands for a biopedagogically authentic but comfortable 'learning journey' (Maoz 2006, p. 223).

Foregrounding (Hamm & Boucher 2017) the ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) within the professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016), Aboriginal teacher educators are deploying a range of curricular and pedagogical strategies (Maoz 2016) that unpack (Jarra) the history of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) to reveal the grammar of race, culture and civilisations (Donald 2012, p. 3) that 'has been hidden behind' (Jarra) the Australian Curriculum.

Unpacking the relationships that schools, teaching and teachers have with settler colonialism frustrates students' initial gazing upon the Aboriginal teacher educator as a resource in their own journeys of 'discovery and individualistic self-growth' (Arbon 2009, p. 140). Provocatively cooperating with students' 'fixed images and gazes' (Maoz 2006, p. 235) in their unpacking, Aboriginal teacher educators are staying with students as they stay with the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) written behind these regulatory nation-building curriculum agendas and social justice imperatives (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014).

Consequently, the compulsory and often foundational Aboriginal education subject in Australian teacher education programs is designed for a

predominantly ill-equipped (Sleeter 2017, p. 157), 'invading' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) Whitestream student population (Andersen 2009). The emotional needs (DiAngelo 2019, p. 57) of the 'Joshes' and 'Katies' (Mat) have pushed to the backgrounds of our classrooms the exogenous other/s: the 'matured-aged', 'gendered' and 'queered', the Asians, Middle Eastern, African 'migrants' and 'refugee' populations' (Mat).

'Lurking' already in these enclaved thickets are Aboriginal students (Veracini 2010, p. 37) who have been marked by the original dispossession (p. 34) as the exogenous Aboriginal other (p. 37). From these locations, the othered student cohort/s meet with the Aboriginal teacher educator, finding opportunities to informally and formally 'address what they've been experiencing and have experienced' (Jarra). In this 'other conversation' we 'all know the familiar' (Mat) harsh, lived-out (Land 2015, p. 86) power dynamics (McKnight 2016, p. 13) in this everchanging settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014).

The localised teaching and learning Makarrata provides opportunities for settler, immigrant, local and global indigenous student cohorts to decolonise our educational relationships with settler colonialism (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224). The unsettling invitation applies First Laws and their epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) to transform the colonial triad into a mutually respectful relationship between host and guest (McDonald 2017), converging the practice of critical race theories with the indigenist agenda (Rigney 2006) of decolonising (Tuck & Yang 2012) the professional language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016).

In this interpretation, critical and indigenous pedagogies are tempered by transformative pedagogies that recognise the agency students have in learning to unlearn settler colonialism. In the convergence of pedagogies, students have opportunity to reflect upon the harsh, lived-out (Land 2015, p. 86) Australian grammar of race, culture and civilisation but are not left at these palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3), feeling,

stuck in those dangerous liaisons with Whiteness, anthropology, critical sociology, history, all which have their own colonial and classical epistemological and ontological dilemmas. (Mat)

The agendas of the Commonwealth to regulate the professional standards of Australian teachers by settling state and territory curriculum has produced a common language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) in the one-nation landscape (Watson 2007, p. 15) of Australian teacher education. Located between these federalist agendas (Brennan 2011, p. 259) and the 'needs of classroom teachers' (Herbert 2012, p. 43), Aboriginal teacher educators are reading this professional language (Loughland & Ellis 2016) of teaching using a much older text of the land (McKnight 2016, p. 13) that tells of our relational responsibilities to Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008). In our shared reading of Country, colleagues and students who have an open mind (McKnight 2016) are invited to become educationally related (Martin 2016, p. 4). In this mutual gaze (Maoz 2006), we ask students and colleagues to join us in our Makarrata and to acknowledge how the ancient shine (Referendum Council 2017) of First Laws and their epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) determine their own professional behaviours in this one-nation educational landscape (Watson 2007).



In 'the bigger picture' of things (Jarra), Aboriginal teacher educators' localised Makarrata has its structural, institutional limits and limitations (Wolfe 2006, p. 388). Caught up in forced neoliberal workplace change and transformation (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016), Aboriginal teacher educators' peace-building work (Geboe 2015, p. 4), which transforms the power dynamics from coloniser/colonised towards a more respectful host/guest relationship (McDonald 2017), is waiting in the nonradical (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015), illegal but titled university architecture for both the institution and its populations to come alongside Aboriginal standpoints (Martin 2016). Enclosed within the single currencies of faculty, Aboriginal difference has been drawn into the new brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37), simultaneously attempting to complete the settler colonial project of reconciliation whilst erasing pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) and future unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010).

## **Disrupting Settler Self-Actualisation and Resisting the Reconciled**

### **Brotherhood**

The formal inclusion of Aboriginal teacher educators into the brotherhood of Australian teacher education (Veracini 2010, p. 37) provides greater opportunity to see *ourselves* in the things that we learn. As such, the curricular and pedagogical work of Aboriginal teacher educators is a process of self-actualisation (Tuck & Yang 2014) for both kin and settlers. In this discussion of outcomes and implications, I first describe the processes of disrupting students in their actualising of their professional 'teacher-citizen' (Mat) identities as *Australian* teachers. I then turn my attention to our work on faculty to discuss how Aboriginal teacher educators are disrupting collegial practices that self-

actualise their curricular and pedagogical authority (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227).

For students who are kin, Aboriginal self-actualisation concerns the pedagogical articulation of First Knowledge (West 2000) in Australian teacher education. Our continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) to this long-term ancestral strategy (Miki) realises the human, physical and spiritual relationships (Grieves 2008, p. 364) we bring to the educational institution, where we are obligated to 'nurture our own contemporaries' (West 2000, pp. 26–27), taking on the responsibility of 'massaging them to adulthood, maturity and responsibility' in ways so they, too, can 'hear the songs, the voices and the discourse of culture and growth' (p. 26).

Self-actualisation in this context is an indigenist practice (Rigney 2006) of 'populating' repatriated, returned and returning territories with Aboriginal 'voices, worldview, images, language, stories and history' (Tuhiwai Smith 2013, p. 245). This curricular and pedagogical storying of a much older ancient text of land (McKnight 2016, p. 13)

- nourishes thought, body and soul;
- claims voice in the silenced margins;
- is embodied relational meaning making;
- intersects the past and present as living oral archives;
- enacts collective ownership and authorship. (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43)

Engaging in these dialogues is a process of 'self-identifying' with curricular and pedagogical approaches and being, and becoming, 'educationally' related with

kin, Country and Ancestors (Martin 2016, p. 4). As noted in my yarn sessions with other Aboriginal teacher educators, the disproportionately low numbers of Aboriginal students enrolled in Australian teacher education programs choose either to self-identify and engage *formally* with this dialogue, or not identify (Jarra) and remain hidden in the classroom's background (McKnight 2016), meeting with their Aboriginal teacher (Jarra) *informally* in the enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010). In previous times and locations, these transactions would have also taken place in, at and with the Aboriginal Unit, where students and staff met in the settlerless space (Veracini 2010, p. 49) of being and becoming educationally related (Martin 2016).

In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are meeting with our Aboriginal learners across the settled and unsettled spaces in Australian teacher education (Watson 2007, p. 15) to speak of our obligations as kin to care for the 'cosmos of ideas' (Wilson 2019, p. 47). However, distracted by the immediate needs of equipping the ill-equipped (Sleeter 2017, p. 157), non-Indigenous student body, this cosmological meeting of kin is yet to be formally actualised and instead waits in the backgrounds of our pedagogical work, where it has been marked as future symbolic aspirations (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

You know, these are White students. As much as I'd like to love to get more Black faces in teaching, I must be realistic and work with these White students. That's my job. (Yuri)

The 'job' Aboriginal teacher educators have been left with (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012) provocatively cooperates with cohorts of settler and immigrant students (Tuck & Yang 2014; Veracini 2010) and their desires to discover 'the secrets of the land' (Mat) instantly and then claim ownership of this ancient text

(McKnight 2016), actualised as teachers with curricular and pedagogical 'authority' (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227).

Using the localised ancient text of Country (McKnight 2016, p. 13) as compass directions, Aboriginal teacher educators' dark tours of 'Indigenous education' (Herbert 2012, p. 43) stays with settlers and immigrant student populations as they unpack these conquering logics written across nation-building curriculum regulatory frameworks and agendas. These tours make public the colonial interplay of 'erasure, bodies, land, and violence' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) written across this professionally shared language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016). This foregrounding (Hamm & Boucher 2017) of this real history of Country (Jarra) reveals the emerging 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224), allowing students to critically evaluate the one-nation (Watson 2007) regulatory frameworks of curriculum and their 'closing of the gap claims' (Herbert 2012, p. 40).

My yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel tells how increasingly, Whitestream (Andersen 2009) settlers and the exogenous cultured others are willing to meet with Aboriginal teacher educators in these dark destinations. Joining us in our mapping of this everchanging global settler colonial presence, the 'unsettling invitation' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) is an opportunity to story (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43) their own experiences with settler colonialism and address the grievances they have with the power dynamics (McKnight 2016, p. 13) of the Australian settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224).

In this context, Aboriginal teacher educators are transforming the dialogues we have in teacher education, disturbing the ways teaching education students talk about themselves in relation to 'history, identity, citizenship, and

the future' (Donald 2012, p. 12). Whilst 'there are still groups of racists and those highly resistant', these other students who 'say they get it' and are not 'suffering fools' (Rata) are coming alongside (Martin 2016) Aboriginal teacher educators.

This transformation of the student body is reflected in the design of subjects, recognising the agency of students to speak beyond the fixed race, culture and civilisation palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3) in Australian teacher education. Now teaching to these 'good ones' (Mat) who have met us in the middle 'in between place', we are not distracted by the emotional needs (Herbert 2012, p. 43; Sleeter 2017) of the 'resistant ones' (Rata) and their racist one-more-thing claims (Morrison 1975) that permeate (Bunda & Phillips 2018, pp. 23–24) as student bile (Rata).

Our localised indigenist work that decolonises 'teaching teaching' (Loughran 2010) is entangled with reconciling discourses and agendas of faculty. In the uneasy co-existence between reconciliation and justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10), Aboriginal truth-telling that stays with the complexification of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) competes with faculty's desires to 'reconcile its dark past whilst being rescued from an unsettling uncertain future' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3). The conflicting short-term and long-term agendas have constructed competing social–ecological and political ideas about faculty 'time' and 'place' (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48), recasting 'Aboriginal education' across teacher education curriculum in ways where this 'study' 'means all things to all people' (Brady 1997, p. 418), 'but nothing to do with us' (Nakata 2002, p. 282).

Located at this interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators' Makarrata that transforms the violent colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) into a mutually respectful host/guest relationship (McDonald 2017) disrupts reconciling discourses that legitimate settler self-actualisation (Tuck & Yang 2014). Working with and against faculty's processes and practices of actualising a reconciled and socially just Australian society, this Makarrata treaty work refuses to describe *reconciliation* (Watson 2007, p. 20) as its curricular and pedagogical endpoint (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61). Hacking at the structural programming of teacher education (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 24), the localised Makarrata foregrounds 'this ancient text of land' (McKnight 2016, p. 13) so this sovereignty can 'shine through to fuller expression of nationhood' (Referendum Council 2017, para. 4).

For those colleagues 'enchanted with settler colonialism's shine' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28), the localised Makarrata unsettles their claims of settler generosity (Veracini 2010, p. 46), wounding their need to be affirmed as 'doing good' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., p. 24). Aboriginal teacher educators' disruptions, and 'the invitation to join us in our efforts' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) of spearing faculty logics, are narrated by authors with authority (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) as 'violent, unproductive, and uncivil' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26), and that we are 'shit-stirring trouble-makers' (Mat) who should be grateful for the space (Miki).

In this context, the titled space that has been erected *within* the reconciled architecture of faculty has turned into a 'deadly prison' (Morrison 1975), sentencing Aboriginal teacher educators to an invisible but litigious faculty workload where we are 'fighting phantoms, concentrating on myths, and

explaining over and over to the conqueror your language, your lifestyle, your history, your habits' (Morrison 1975).

In this teaching prison, the radical returning and repatriating Aboriginal land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1) run counter to the soft reform (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015) currencies of national reconciliation. On this 'uncertain timeline' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) between short-term reconciliation and long-term justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10), the pathway towards actualising Aboriginal 'ways of doing teacher education' (Davel) waits for its release from reconciliation's vanish endpoint (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 61) and still remains a symbolic future aspiration (Dodson 2016, p. 2).

### **Territorial Justice and in Australian Teacher Education**

In this discussion of overall outcomes and implications, I consider what long-term justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10) has come to mean for Aboriginal teacher educators and our First Knowledge systems (West 2000) when we are 'teaching teaching' (Loughran 2010) at the cultural interface of Australian teacher education (Nakata 2007a).

The 'irreducible element of territory' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) determines the continual connections (Watson 2007, p. 15) Aboriginal teacher educators have in our localised caring for Country when in this overlap of knowledge geographies. This same Country also frames the one-nation regulatory agendas of the Commonwealth in relation to the Australian Curriculum, the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers and the accreditation of Australian teacher education programs (Brennan 2011; Connell 2009; Herbert 2012).

Our caring for Country (Watson 2009a) applies First Laws and their epistemologies (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) in ways that decolonise this programming of Australian teacher education and indigenises returning and repatriated territories (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 2). Our localised caring for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008, p. 364) knows 'that the survival of [our] communities is dependent on [our] ability to change the ways education has historically functioned as an assimilationist and colonial enterprise' (Marker 2017, p 2).

The competing logics operating in this overlap of knowledge systems have constructed settled and unsettled faculty spaces (Watson 2007, p. 15) in Australian teacher education. These spaces that Aboriginal teacher educators have been transferred (Veracini 2010) to and now *occupy* are 'in the midst' (Rose 2013 p. 216) of transformation, part of a university-wide shift from the doctrine of terra nullius to the 'shock doctrine of neoliberalism' (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016, p. 110).

Changing the way Australian teacher education does its core business (Universities Australia 2011), the Kuhnian shift in Western consciousness has complexified Aboriginal teacher educators' caring (Watson 2009a) for the totality of Country (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59) and the 'creation, continuity and mutuality' (Rose 2013, p. 216) of our First Knowledge systems. The relational responsibilities Aboriginal teacher educators have to the totality of Country restores an 'independent sovereign existence' (Alfred 2005), getting in the way (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of this neoliberal complexification of settler colonialism (Lloyd & Wolfe 2016).



In this context, the returning of this ancient text to settler knowledge systems (McKnight 2016), illegally pegged out over Aboriginal territories (Donald 2012, p. 3), has always required Aboriginal teacher educators to 'stay at home' (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388), 'inside the gates of the university, even when we were not' (Fredericks 2015, p. 79). This 'staying at home' stays with the 'axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes' (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) that Aboriginal teacher educators encounter when disturbing the neoliberal colonial intruder's (West 2000, p. 27) re/organisation of the 'corpus body of knowledge about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12).

These current technical adjustments (Murphy 2000, p. 6) of the 'corpus body of knowledge about us' is the advancing death cult (Rose 2013, p. 10) logics of 'settler reconciliation'. Promised as 'a pathway of humanisation into a better, Whiter world' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232), Australian Reconciliation has become 'the mantra' in Australian education (Herbert 2012, p. 40). The reconciling mantra that 'closes the gap' between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations has underwritten the professional standards in teaching the Commonwealth's Australian Curriculum and the accrediting of university courses that prepare teachers for these one-nation curricular and pedagogical imperatives. Determining how the educational brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) talks about Australian educational 'history, identity, citizenship, and the future' (Donald 2012, p. 12), the faculty mantra claims to alleviate the 'conditions of colonialism' whilst reconciling faculty's own 'guilt and complicity' in this long and bumbled history (p. 3), 'rescuing' colleagues' privilege as 'authors with structural authority' (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227) from uncertain, unsettling futures (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3).

The biopolitical organisation of the educational brotherhood has pushed our continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) to this ancient text to the thickets of faculty (Veracini 2010, p. 37), where the returning of our knowledge to Country is *celebrated* as a 'colourful' (Webb 2018), 'symbolic' (Miki) faculty background (McKnight 2016). Positioned on the edges of faculty, Aboriginal teacher educators are expected to 'adhere to the script' (Miki) of its reconciling mantra and not trouble the new brotherhood about the 'spaces' their discourses and social justice imperatives have generously 'given us' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015; McKnight 2016; Tuck & Yang 2012, 2014).

In this context, the recasting of all things native as a resource (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 4) for a reconciling education brotherhood has Whitestreamed (Anderson 2009) the programming of compulsory studies in Aboriginal education. Confiscating the political work of the pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31), the brotherhood's reconciling mantra forecloses the unextinguished grievances (Veracini 2010, p. 42) Aboriginal teacher educators have in transforming the violent settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) into a mutually respectful host/guest relationship (McDonald 2017).

The pastpresent foreclosure marks the indigenist agenda (Rigney 2006) of returning the First Laws of Country as future symbolic aspirations (Dodson 2016, p. 2), effectively ending our rights to roam (Watson 2007, p. 15), casting this traversing beyond the defined limits of the settled faculty space(s) as trespass (Nakata 2002; Veracini 2014). In this teaching prison (Morrison 1975), our Makarrata that hacks at the palisades that separate humanity from nature (Arbon 2008, p. 140) is *criminalised* by the brotherhood for being 'essentialist to an Aboriginal epistemology' (Nakata 2002, p. 284).

Speaking to the legitimacy of 'Aboriginal cultural difference, justice and sovereignty' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 941) the localised Makarrata unsettles those authors who have structural authority (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), who selectively (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 945) reject our invitation to join us (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) in our hacking, labelling this peace-making spearing as primitive, savage (Tuck & Yang 2014), 'violent, unproductive, and uncivil' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26).

Consequently, the invisibilised 'cultural workload' in making the violence of the settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) mutually visible has become the 'one-way burden' (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) of Aboriginal teacher educators, adding 'greatly to workload, and work stress' (p. 946) when working with 'powerful institutional forces' (Dodson 2016, p. 3) that seek to settle faculty 'difference'.

Rata: We're dropping like flies around here now. We lost three staff here that lasted the transition but have since left.

Mat: Walked out?

Rata: Yep, walked out. Resigned.

Aboriginal teacher educators face similar accusations from the 'community' about our participation within settler structures (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) we want reformed. From this standpoint, the university is known as a racist institution (Starrs 2014, p. 115) that 'played a significant role' in 'constructing and legitimating societal values and attitudes' (Universities Australia 2011, p. 18). This long and bumbled history (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) positions Aboriginal teacher educators' curricular and pedagogical insider trading (Donald 2012, p. 6) with professionals who provide 'professional services to Indigenous peoples'

(Universities Australia 2011, p. 18) as assimilatory (Nakata 2002, p. 284), separating and separated from the struggles our communities experience each day the occupation is allowed to continue (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 5). In this context, the titled Aboriginal space on faculty is as illegal as the entire colonial structure of the university that has been pegged out over existing sovereign Aboriginal territories (Donald 2012, p. 3). These illegalities make the allocated faculty space *untitled*, where we have crossed over to the 'Dark Side' (Mat) and ceased 'trading with' and instead have sold out (Jarra), and 'trading off' the pain of others (Tuck & Yang 2014).

On opposite sides of the university's palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3), a mirror image refracts the contestations between settler and Aboriginal societies in claiming title to territory and to the resources in these territories (McDonald 2017). These claims abide to 'the principle of reciprocal exclusivity' (Fanon 1967, p. 31), where conciliation is not 'possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous' (p. 32).

Like the Cambodian school that was turned into a torture centre, then a museum that chronicled this history (Mat), Aboriginal teacher educators are caught up in complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of the *illegal clearing* that was turned into a university, then a teaching prison (Morrison 1975). If Aboriginal teacher educators 'show fight' (Fanon 1967, p. 86) in this structure (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) that has made us homeless (Watson 2009a), 'the soldiers fire and *he's* a dead man' (Fanon 1967, p. 86). If '*he* gives in, *he* degrades *himself* and *he's* no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up *his* character and make *his* inmost self-fall to pieces' (p. 86, emphasis added)—

where *he* dies in this ‘state of the pale’ (West 2000)—without ‘spirit, language or Mother’ (p. 26).

The shameful and shaming process of breaking this ancient text (McKnight 2016) and ‘embedding’ these pieces into teacher education curriculums has ‘captured, echoed, ricocheted and distilled’ (Watson 2007, p. 15) these territorial contestations as part of a ‘well-intentioned multiculturalist agenda’ (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 235). This agenda has constructed the titled Aboriginal positions on faculty as short-term *charitable* acts of reconciled inclusion rather than acts of long-term justice (Geboe 2015, p. 10). Failing to ask who in faculty was ‘controlling this new discourse’ (hooks, cited in Brady 1997, p. 417), the redrawing of study programs to include ‘reconciling’, ‘closing the gap’ discourses and social justice imperatives (Herbert 2012, p. 40) have drawn in Aboriginal knowledge geographies in ways that individualise (Veracini 2010, p. 38) the totality of our knowledge relationships to Country (Whitehouse et al. 2014, p. 59).

Erasing distinctions between Aboriginal and settler teacher educators (Strakosch & Macoun 2012)—because ‘If you do it for Aboriginal staff, then we have to do it for everybody else’ (Davel)—the faculty’s short-term agendas have domesticated our long-held unextinguished grievances that originated from the original dispossession (Veracini 2010, p. 42), ‘reappearing and complexifying’ (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) each day of the occupation (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 5).

In this interpretation, institutional recognition of administrative knowledge, practices and experiences in decolonising and indigenising have not ‘translated’ into these titled and untitled faculty positions that we occupy (Watson 2007) as Aboriginal teacher educators. Asserting how difference is lived out in the

perceived neutral and natural systems of organisation (Strakosch 2009b, p. 92) means Aboriginal teacher educators are always standing in the way of colonial and neoliberal systems, structurally hacking (de Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 24) in ways so an Aboriginal sovereignty and self-determination—that is, already waiting inside the gates of the university (Fredericks 2015, p. 79)—can ‘shine through as a fuller expression of Australia’s nationhood’ (Referendum Council 2017, para. 4).

However, this bigger picture (Jarra) long-term ancestral agenda (Miki) is obscured (Grieves 2008, p. 364) by the ‘short sighted, and often violent institutional changes’ (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 22) of a university ‘resisting its own collapse’ (p. 22). Our current hospicing (p. 28) of this dying Australian university means we cannot see the endpoint territorial agendas:

So, the legacy at the moment is nothing, it’s a loss of everything and that’s why colleagues are leaving ... Maybe I’m delusional, and maybe we are just in this moment of *transportation*, where it’s all going to get a good ending of the story, but I can’t see ‘the end’ at the moment. (Rata, emphasis added)

## Closing Remarks

Mat: Shit-stirrer, trouble-maker, throwing imaginary spears into the faculty for ...

Miki: Absolutely no reason at all. ‘You should be grateful that we have given you this space’, and I mean really, ‘What space?’.

My thesis has questioned the space Miki, Davel, Jarra, Rata, Yuri and I occupy in the one-nation landscape of Australian teacher education (Watson 2007, p. 15). Refracting the ‘generic ethnic labelling and positioning’ of ‘an assumed pan-Aboriginalism’ (Burgess 2017, p. 742) that has programmed Australian

teacher education (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xviii), our collective yarning as 'Aboriginal teacher educators' *spoke back* to this settler fantasy (Strakosch 2015, p. 106) and the limitations of such assumptions (Burgess 2017, p. 742).

Storying (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43) the 'conditions of our existence' (Moreton-Robinson 2015, p. xvii) when teaching teaching (Loughran 2010) at this cultural interface between two knowledge systems (Nakata 2002), my thesis has revealed how this small community of Aboriginal teacher educators have been left with the one-way burden (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 946) of decolonising Australian teacher education and indigenising returned and repatriated land and life (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 1). This burden has required Aboriginal teacher educators to stand in the way of advancing settler logics (Rose 2013, p. 10) that have been promised 'as pathways into a better, Whiter world' (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) as they complexify across the professionally shared one-nation language of Australian teaching and learning (Loughland & Ellis 2016).

Yarning about the complexification of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) identified the emergence of a new reconciled Faculty of Education brotherhood (Veracini 2010, p. 37) that is defined by a mantra that encloses Aboriginal difference (Herbert 2012, p. 40). The short-term social justice imperatives (Geboe 2015, p. 10) of the new brotherhood's mantra has pushed Aboriginal teacher educators to the faculty's biopolitical margins (Bunda & Phillips 2018, p. 43) and enclaved thickets (Veracini 2010, p. 37), creating both settling and unsettling (Watson 2007, p.15) times and places (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) of 'incredible social and attitudinal duress' (Franklin, Bamblett & Lewis 2011, p. 13).

My collaborative yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel about these spaces that have been ‘given to us’ (Miki) catalogued the unextinguished grievances we have with this new brotherhood’s generosity (Veracini 2010, p. 46). Our grievances story the ‘axioms, tensions, assumptions and paradoxes’ (Loughran 2010, pp. 223–224) written across the foundations of this faculty’s mantra, truth-telling what its grammar *says and doesn’t say* about ‘curricular and pedagogical justice, sovereignty, and self-determination’ (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012, p. 941).

Aboriginal teacher educators’ truth-telling refracts the current political work of systems hacking (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 26) at the discourses, grammar and mantras of transformational change into ‘a better, Whiter world’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232). The localised (Maoz 2006) savaging (Nakata 2007b) of the foundational race, culture and civilisation palisades (Donald 2012, p. 3) that separate nature from humanity (Arbon 2008, p.140) allows for an Aboriginal sovereignty to ‘shine through as a fuller expression of Australia’s nationhood’ (Referendum Council 2017, para. 4).

Purposely disturbing the invisibilised colonial interplay of ‘erasure, bodies, land, and violence’ (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224), our ‘shit-stirring’ Makarrata throws trouble-making spears into faculty, maiming its biopolitical architecture (Nakata 2007b). Penetrating those authors who have authority in this settler colonial triad (hooks, cited in Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 227), this spearing slows the reproduction of its power dynamic (McKnight 2016, p. 13) so that the advancing death cult of consumption (Rose 2013, p. 10) ‘cannot hunt anymore’ (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 11). Articulated in



my thesis as treaty-doing in the time before treaty-making, the Makarrata process is a painful 'negotiation of peace' (para. 11) that offers

palliative care, seeing oneself in that which is dying, attending to the integrity of the process, dealing with tantrums, incontinence, anger and hopelessness, 'cleaning up', and clearing the space for something new. (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28)

In the pastpresent (King 2012, p. 31) period of 'long waiting' (Kelly & Carmody 1991) for a treaty relationship that 'acknowledges an Aboriginal humanity' (Watson 2007, p. 20), the palliative care provided by Aboriginal teacher educators transforms the violent settler colonial triad (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 224) into a mutually respectful host/guest relationship (McDonald 2017). The localised transformation takes place by sitting with/in this system, 'learning from its history' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28)—so 'there is no dispute or no other bad feeling' (Ganambarr-Stubbs, cited in Pearson 2017, para. 13)—whilst assisting it's 'own decline' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28).

My yarning with Miki, Davel, Jarra, Rata and Yuri witnesses the *haemorrhaging* of this structural spearing, the 'hospicing' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) of the system's dying fantasies of a legitimate sovereignty and the 'cleaning up' of these faculty spaces so they are ready for this 'something new' treaty-making place.

The localised curricular and pedagogical work of Aboriginal teacher educators that steps out of colonisation (McKnight 2016, p. 13) towards a better, Blacker world (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) is situated on an 'uncertain timeline' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28). Located between an ever-expanding Commonwealth authority and 'the needs of classroom

teachers' (Herbert 2012, p. 43), our returning of the First Laws of Country has been purposely delayed by federalist (Brennan 2011, p. 259) nation-healing curriculum mantras (Herbert 2012, p. 40). The Commonwealth's attempts to 'reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) by resuscitating its authority to organise the 'corpus body of knowledge about us' (Nakata 2007a, p. 12) has required Aboriginal teacher educators to navigate 'many frustrations' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28).

The emerging symbolic and 'aspirational near future' (Dodson 2016, p. 2) 'event' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) of treaty-writing *currently* taking place across the Commonwealth of Australia's states and territories will add to these frustrations and further burdens. Locally, this Victorian Treaty has 'unforeseeable outcomes without guarantees' (de Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 28) and is 'not yet set' in terms of what it should or should not contain (Aboriginal Victoria n.d.) as

each treaty is shaped by the history between the parties and the social and political context in which it is made. In Victoria, there could be one statewide treaty or multiple treaties with individual Aboriginal groups.  
(Aboriginal Victoria n.d., para. 3)

Treaty-making between Aboriginal societies and the Commonwealth's states and territories will redefine of our educational relationships (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48) in terms of sharing educational territories and resources (Rose 2013). This near-future curricular and pedagogical 'event' (Wolfe 2006, p. 388) will require a rewrite of state-level policy frameworks to better reflect host and guest status, rights, obligations and responsibilities (McDonald. 2017), juxtaposed (Donald 2012, p. 6) with the Commonwealth's existing curricular and

pedagogical framework and federalist one-nation claims to know (Tuck & Yang 2014), organise and control this discourse (hooks, cited in Brady 1997, p. 417).

Returning (Fredericks 2015) and repatriated Aboriginal teacher educators (Tuck & Yang 2012) are already in this current, 'treaty-doing' curricular and pedagogical rewrite and reteach. The forever business of caring (Watson 2009a) for Country, kin and Ancestors (Grieves 2008) litigiously troubles the educational fault lines in this 'one-nation' Australia (Watson 2007), working with and against nation-building curricular and pedagogical agendas and their social justice mantras in ways that return this ancient text of the land (McKnight 2016, p. 13) to the professional language of Australian teaching and learning (Loughland & Ellis 2016).

The ancestral desire lines of this Aboriginal text step away from colonisation (McKnight 2016, p. 13) and are 'inscribed on the earth due to the passage of people' (Lynch, cited in Tiesson 2007, p. 4) who have deviated 'from the official boundaries, premeditated constructions and directional imperatives' (p. 4). This alternative pathway of humanisation (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 227, 232) that 'cares for all living things' (Watson 2017, p. 216) advances host and guest relationships (McDonald 2017) that share land and resources, negotiating informal and formal agreements and protocols that acknowledge and apologise for past wrongs (Geboe 2015, p. 4) whilst determining 'future relationships' (p. 4).

My thesis has traced this continual connection (Watson 2007, p. 15) Aboriginal teacher educators have to this long-term strategy of returning the First Laws of Country to Australian teacher education. Mapping this history has made public the territorial fault lines in this one-nation education landscape

(Watson 2007, p. 15), where differing epistemological and ontological codes and currencies have marked out (Tuck & Yang 2014, pp. 223–224) competing claims to territorial resources (Rose 2013).

Roaming across this settled and unsettled (Watson 2007, p. 15) geographical, epistemological, ontological and cosmological (Oliveira Andreotti et al. 2015, p. 23) overlap (Nakata 2007a), Aboriginal teacher educators' curricular and pedagogical trading refuses (Tuck & Yang 2014) to reconcile with this settling economy and its promised pathways of generosity. Instead, Aboriginal teacher educators like me sit in the complexification (Wolfe 2006, p. 402) of 'illegal clearing' that was turned into an Australian university and then into a teaching prison (Morrison 1975), waiting for transactional political action instead.

My yarning with Rata, Miki, Jarra, Yuri and Davel tells me that the 'present/future' work of 'treaty-doing' will be as litigious as the long-waiting (Kelly & Carmody 1991) political work of the past/present (King 2012, p. 31), offering little reprieve (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 9) for those awaiting liberation (Fanon 1967; Meyer 2001; Morrison 1975; Rigney 2006) from this enclosure.

Bunda and Phillips (2018) write,

Colonial ideological effects continue to permeate White institutions, albeit in new forms. A failure to remain vigilant to these effects places Aboriginal people in unsafe and insensitive spaces, ironically in our own country where our sovereignties should be acknowledged and respected. (pp. 23–24)

Our current claims of doing Australian teacher education (Davel) in ways that return the ancient text of the land (McKnight 2016, p. 13) to the one-nation (Watson 2007, p. 15) language of teaching (Loughland & Ellis 2016) will have

more territorial traction in post-treaty defined times and places (Strakosch & Macoun 2012, p. 48). However, the treaty pathway struck with the permeations of an everchanging settler colonial authority will continue to invade (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3) the settlerless spaces (Veracini 2010, p. 49) it creates with new forms of 'resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation' (Tuck & Yang 2012, p. 3).

In Australian teacher education, future resettlements will mean a continuation of offensive and less offensive population transfers (Veracini 2010, p. 34) that attempt to foreclose upon conflict (Tuck & Yang 2014, p. 3) relating to the resources these territories hold (Wolfe 2006, p. 388). 'Whatever settlers may say—and they generally have a lot to say' (p. 388), the population transfers created through a near-future treaty will require Aboriginal teacher educators to stay at home (Rose, cited in Wolfe 2006, p. 388) *inside* the gates of Australian teacher education (Fredericks 2015, p. 79), vigilantly (Bunda & Phillips, 2018, pp. 23–24) standing in the way of the settler colonial consumption of Aboriginal lands.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1 – Consent Form for Participants Involved in Research



### CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

#### INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:

We would like to invite you to be a part of a round table yarn that is part of a PhD project that is concerned with the professional struggles and successes of Indigenous teacher educators working in teacher education programs. The research workshop provides an international opportunity for Indigenous teacher educators to professionally reflect upon and share our individual localised understandings of justice theorised/justice practiced- specifically within teacher education, using Indigenous Standpoint Theory as its methodology.

#### CERTIFICATION BY-PARTICIPANT

I, (name) \_\_\_\_\_

of (work address or town/suburb/Nation/ Country ) \_\_\_\_\_

Email (an electronic copy of the transcript will be sent to you) \_\_\_\_\_

*certify that I am at least 18 years old\* and that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study:  
"Indigenous Teacher Educators Decolonising Australian Teacher Education"*

being conducted at Victoria University by: Mat Jakobi (doctoral student) and Lew Zipin and Marie Brennan (Supervisors)

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the research methods listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Mat Jakobi (Doctoral Student Researcher),

and that I freely consent to participate in the following research processes:

- A recorded round table yarn describing the successes and challenges in decolonising teacher education programs

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be de-identified, kept confidential and stored in a secure storage for five years. I agree that the information I provide will not identify me in published work arising, and that I may change my mind on the issue of identification once I have seen the transcript of the yarning session.

Signed:

Date:

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the research supervisors:

Lew Zipin  
Tel: 03 99195384

Marie Brennan  
Tel: 03 9919 4844

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email [Researchethics@vu.edu.au](mailto:Researchethics@vu.edu.au) or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.