Connecting through records: narratives of Koorie Victoria*

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Dr Shannon Faulkhead is a Koorie woman from Mildura, who recently completed her PhD research through Monash University, entitled 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria'. Prior to returning to study Shannon worked for nine years at the Koorie Heritage Trust Inc., an Aboriginal cultural centre in Victoria. Shannon's research focuses on the location of Indigenous peoples within the broader Australian society, the location of Indigenous knowledge within Australia's collective knowledge, through the way in which these areas are represented in narratives and records. While Shannon's research is multi-disciplinary in nature, to date it has centred on community and archival collections of records, and has been situated within the dual disciplines of Indigenous studies and archival science.

Australia is a society where governance and learning preferences text-based information and knowledge. Preferencing text allows oral knowledge to be questioned resulting in a dichotomy between text and orality – a dichotomy that can impact upon cultures and communities where oral memory is a major source of knowledge storage and transmission. The effect of this dichotomy within Australia (and more specifically Victoria) is especially obvious and damaging to communities whose governance, learning and knowledge systems co-exist within the same space, such as Indigenous Australians. The aim of

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* I would like to give thanks to and acknowledge the past and present Ancestors and Elders of this land, who have bestowed to us wonderful records and archives of our Koorie past from which we learn how to live in the present and that guide us into the future. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the participants in this research – thank-you for sharing your knowledge and time. And finally thank-you to the many minds and voices that provided discussions and self-reflection, in particular Professor Lynette Russell, Professor Sue McKemmish and Aunty Diane Singh.

this paper is to look at this co-existence in relation to how narratives of Koorie people, culture and history are accessed, interpreted and integrated from records stored within two different sources – Koorie oral tradition and archival institutions. Through this paper key related issues such as the preferencing of some sources over others, reliability issues, and the role of forgotten narratives will be explored suggesting that this co-existence is on the terms of the mainstream systems. To move forward there needs to be acknowledgement of two equal, but different worldviews reflected in the narratives and records of Australia, and that respect of another culture's knowledge system is vital for respectful cultural discourses to co-exist. Archival science and institutions are important for this social change to occur. This paper is based on a chapter of the author's PhD thesis research 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria'.

Introduction

The current relationship between Koorie[1] and non-Indigenous communities began with colonial-invasion,[2] when the cultural values of the British Empire were introduced to the Australian continent. For the most part they continue to dominate and determine mainstream Australian discourse. This situation has restricted the ability of other cultures to be heard, resulting in the co-existence of separate discourses that intersect with the mainstream and with each other in various ways. A tension arises in the research of, and creation of narratives about, Koorie people and culture, and the history of Koorie Victoria, when one type of record is preferenced over another, specifically mainstream over Koorie, or written over oral sources. This is sometimes viewed as a cultural divide caused by the non-recognition of the knowledge system of one culture which co-exists within a country being governed by socio-legal traditions underpinned by a different knowledge system. Such is the case with Indigenous Australian knowledge existing within the mainstream Western knowledge system of Australia. This is in part what my PhD thesis 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria'[3] investigated, with one of the findings being that to move forward to create a positive space there needs to be an acknowledgement that two equal, but different worldviews are reflected in the narratives and records of Australia, and that respect for another culture's knowledge system is vital for respectful cultural discourses to co-exist. Archives can play an important role in supporting this social change. A first step towards this is to understand the issues in relation to accessing, interpreting and integrating narratives contained in records from a Koorie perspective.

The aim of this paper is to present an alternative perspective on how records are accessed, interpreted, and presented - that is, integrated - into Australia's collective knowledge and narratives of Koorie Victoria. This is achieved through three sections: *background* which gives a basic outline of the thesis research from which this paper originates; *accessing records*, which presents an alternative way of viewing access to records, and discusses issues in accessing oral knowledge and records housed within archival institutions; and, *interpreting and integrating*, which investigates issues relating to the preferencing of one form of record over another, the questioning of the authenticity of some forms of records, and the concept of 'forgotten narratives'.

Background – narratives of Koorie Victoria

My PhD research question was: 'How do the methods of narrative creation and transmission of, and about, Koorie people, culture and history impact on the collective knowledge and peoples of Victoria?' My research investigated the association between Koorie and mainstream discourses in relation to narratives of and about Koorie Victoria. Historically within mainstream discourses, narratives of Koorie Victoria have been created to symbolise the superiority and achievements of non-Indigenous over Indigenous Australia (land and people), or to present a biased cultural agenda of Indigenous peoples' knowledge being made up of primitive and emotive myths and legends. These narratives are contrary to Indigenous Australian discourses that tell of their past prior to colonial-invasion, the impact of colonial-invasion upon peoples and land, and the pride in surviving within a continuously changing environment.[4] To understand how narratives of Koorie Victoria have impacted upon the collective people and memories of Victoria, authors[5] and record holders where interviewed about their experiences with the processes of creating and sharing narratives, in particular narratives by or of Koorie Victoria. The research design and method for this project proved to be challenging in that, while it explored the physical and emotional effects of the relationships between two cultural discourses – those of dominant[6] Australian culture and Koorie culture – the research was being undertaken within both these discourses. The 'dual-occupancy' of the research was an ideal context for investigating the issues, but it was also very challenging as it required constant self-reflection and negotiation.

Through being a member of, and my work with, the Victorian Koorie community, I observed three understandings regarding narratives of Koorie Victoria: the destructive power and continuing negative impact that colonial-invasion narratives have had upon the Koorie and Victorian communities; the positive power that narratives have in combatting negative stereotypes and in creating community pride; and finally, that there are certain narratives that require a shared space that acknowledge both Koorie and non-Indigenous knowledge to enable them to present a comprehensive and holistic cultural heritage in perpetuity. Based on these understandings the guiding principle for my thesis was that narratives can positively and negatively affect a community and that both Koorie and non-Indigenous sources are necessary to understand the period since colonial-invasion – to create a shared space within the Australian discourse.

While holistic views are necessary to create substantive solutions, it was not possible to present the 'whole' in relation to this area of research. This research is in many ways a snapshot. The reality is that this research is but a small part of Australia's discourse in relation to the narratives of Koorie Victoria. Koorie communities interact with other communities nationally and internationally, creating a web of interactions and narratives – my thesis was but a contribution to a larger undertaking.

The research findings and conclusions offer alternate views for a more equitable cultural existence of the relationships between Koorie and mainstream discourses. While the research is only a snapshot, it provides some fundamental insights into the issues challenging the social and political use of narratives in the interaction of Australians, especially in terms of the acceptance of Koorie voices in narratives relating to the development of Australia as a nation. While there is still much that needs to be done, change is occurring. One of the major obstacles to changing Australian discourse and collective memory is that Australia is stuck in the remembrance of an identity based on colonial superiority and imperialism.[7]

Accessing records

> Aboriginal peoples have a history of studying all things around us that we interact with and relate to such as the earth, animals, plants, water, air, and the sun. Traditionally, research has been conducted to seek, counsel and consult; to learn about medicines, plants and animals; to scout and scan the land; to educate and pass on knowledge; and to inquire into cosmology. The seeking of knowledge is usually solution-focused and has an underlying purpose of survival. Berry picking and hunting required a knowledge set of seeking skills, which sustained Indigenous families and communities for thousands of years. We understood that we are all related and that our actions affect our environment; that the mere observance of a thing changes it. Therefore, we must care for our environment in order to care for ourselves.[8]

Records relating to Koorie Victoria are often defined according to a cultural bias with text being linked to Western knowledge and orality to Indigenous. This results in a combination of the dichotomies: mainstream versus Koorie; and written versus oral. The combination of these dichotomies can induce people to makes choices about which records should be accessed, thereby limiting the information that is available to them. It is important to recognise that the form of records (oral and written) is not culturally bound; they are used by both Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. One way of recognising this is to view the methods of access within a shared context where the differences are celebrated and not presented in opposition to each other. Extending upon Absolon and Willet's Indigenous Canadian research methodology of 'berry picking and hunting',[9] accessing records can be viewed as 'hunting and gathering'. The Western concept of hunting and gathering is used to describe both Indigenous and pre-industrial Western cultures. It is an analogy that references both knowledge systems and therefore is not culturally bound to one or the other.

In a historical context 'hunting and gathering' require particular skills, with 'gathering' tending to involve the communal (groups of women, men and children) collection of plant foods and small animals, while 'hunting' involves an individual or small group of men pursuing larger animals. The similarities between this and the processes of 'gathering' oral tradition, and 'hunting' written records are shown below in table 1.

Gathering	Hunting
Questioning	Questioning
Listening	Reading
A social pursuit involving the development of trusted relationships and mutual respect	Individual pursuit
Timeframe and information controlled by the knowledge holder	Timeframe and information controlled by the knowledge seeker
Respect of knowledge ownership	For the betterment of the human race[10]
Creating understanding	Creating questions
Oral story-telling	Textual story-telling

Table 1. Gathering and hunting

A critical finding of my PhD thesis research was that oral and written records should not exist as a dichotomy, but as a continuum, as knowledge moves fluidly between the two forms, interacting, complementing and completing narratives. 'Hunting and gathering' can bypass the dichotomies outlined above by applying research methods to accessing records based on the type of record being accessed, and taking into account the cultural context later in the research process through the way in which the record is then interpreted and used. All cultures and communities rely on both orality and text. Similarly gathering and hunting actions complement each other in the process of seeking knowledge and creating new narratives; both are necessary for the survival of a community. Whether records are accessed or interpreted correctly is another issue.

There are sections of the community that do not recognise oral knowledge records as primary sources[11] in research,[12] and therefore may refuse to access them or demand that they be supported through written sources – their reliability is questioned in terms of authenticity, reliability and the possibility of exaggeration.[13] There are sections of the Australian community, such as Indigenous peoples, women, the working-class, children and migrants, for whom oral tradition is the primary source of records. As their stories are stored and transmitted through the generations orally they are often not recognised within mainstream discourses, resulting in large gaps within representative accounts of Australia's past.[14] This inability by some to recognise the value of oral knowledge has resulted in those who do recognise it having to justify their decision to use those sources. As Wendy Selby notes in her response to Paula Hamilton's claim regarding the invention of oral history as autobiography:

> I am concerned that if we spend too much of our valuable energy justifying and agonizing over the use of oral history, feminist historians might shy away from this source of evidence and stick to more conventional (and male-approved) sources. All historians must accept that the history they write is a construction, and all historians must acknowledge the limitations of their sources.[15]

Selby also makes the important point that all records have limitations. In defining what a record is, I could have used numerous specialist definitions that arise within the various disciplines intersecting in my research. In the end I decided it was important to understand what a layperson would understand as being a record. The *Macquarie Dictionary* offers twenty-two definitions for the word 'record', with the majority of these definitions being a variation on 'an account in writing or the like, preserving the memory or knowledge of facts and events';[16] a very Western-orientated definition with a strong bias towards the written word.

> Throughout time individuals and societies have communicated, captured and passed on many of their stories by selectively storing, structuring, and re-presenting them – graphically, textually, on some kind of media and

> using whatever technology is available to them – the chalk on the cave wall, the carving on the monolith, the paint on the clay pot or the mummy case, the handwriting on the scroll, the sound recording on the CD, the bits on the computer disk, the image on the film. Other stories are remembered by being told, sung, danced or performed, captured in rituals and ceremonies, recalled and retold or performed again.[17]

McKemmish's description is more inclusive and less based on Western biases which privilege 'text'. Therefore this paper suggests that a more appropriate definition of a record is any account, regardless of form, that preserves 'memory or knowledge of facts and events.'[18] A record can be a document, an individual's memory, an image, or a recording. It can also be an actual person, a community, or the land itself:

> Most importantly, the land itself is perceived as the possessor of stories. It is the land that can conjure up the stories of the Dreaming; each site is the place of an adventure or a happening, a creation, battle, or a birth. To own the land is to own the stories of the land, to possess one's history and the identity of the group to which one belongs. In this context Aboriginal oral culture can be said to be every bit as interested in the 'hard-copy' as text-based cultures. Except that here the hard copy is a product of someone else and represents the entire earth. If land and earth and sea are perceived as not just the backdrop to mythic history, but as the producer(s) of that history, then we can say that the land represents a vast and uncompromised cultural storehouse, like a huge open-air library that incorporates all the signs and patterns of the cosmos.
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> Of course, the human in the landscape is the essential referent here. It requires humans to bring the stories out, to tell them.[19]

Records exist in various forms and formats. This paper focuses on government archival records that tend to be text based, and Indigenous records (a mix of textual and oral records). The record type usually defines not only how and where it is physically stored, but also the rules and social structures regarding its management and accessibility. Policies and decisions regarding access have significant flow-through effects in relation to how records can be used and interpreted. Koorie knowledge is often stored within the community - land, people, and physical records maintained in the community - while archival records originating from government are stored within archival repositories. These two distinct types of records have been created by different sections of the wider Australian community, using various methods of creation and transmission, and are based on different perspectives, and ways of viewing past events.

The following sections further explore issues relating to accessing narratives contained in records, firstly accessing records of oral knowledge, and secondly records held in archival institutions.

Oral knowledge

There are three forms of oral knowledge or oral memory that are defined in terms of the format in which they are stored - oral tradition, oral history and oral records. The use of the term 'oral history' with reference to Indigenous Australian oral knowledge was questioned in the 1980s, with Atkinson, an Indigenous writer, and others suggesting that 'oral history' in terms of non- or pre-literate cultures, should be defined differently in an Indigenous context from the definition of oral history as applied by researchers working with mainstream communities. Atkinson[20] suggested there were two forms of oral transmission adopted by Koorie people - oral history (as in recorded narratives) and oral tradition (the transmitting of narratives from person to person, and generation to generation). According to Aleybeleye, this division was also recognised in Africa.[21] In our paper to the International Oral History Association Conference in 2006, Russell and myself suggested that there is a third form of oral knowledge that we referred to as Indigenous or Aboriginal oral records.[22]

Oral history is not a continuation of oral tradition.[23] Oral tradition refers to the method used to transmit knowledge from one generation to the next. Much of the Indigenous knowledge transmitted by oral tradition is learned by rote. The stories, songs, dances, ceremonies - the lessons

- are repeated over and over again,[24] with new knowledge added as the student develops. This led to the development of knowledge of past events that changed little over the generations. However, oral tradition is a living tradition; it not only involves unchanging narratives, but also forgets other narratives and creates new ones. This process is undertaken to ensure the survival of the people and the land to which they belong. While many Koorie narratives and knowledge were lost due to actions of the colonial-invaders,[25] it was possible that some Elders felt that other knowledge and narratives of more current events were more vital to the survival of the people at that time.

The practice of oral tradition still continues. The tradition is missing some lessons, but the post-contact generation's experiences of invasion and settlement were included. While oral tradition is important to educate the Indigenous community, it does not address the education of the wider community or those Indigenous people who are no longer linked to a specific community. This is where oral histories and oral records come into the picture.

The popularity of oral history as a qualitative method of research involving 'gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life',[26] increased with the advent of recording technology in the 1940s.[27] Usually oral history is 'structured around a particular aspect (or theme) of the past',[28] and is about creating both new and supporting records[29] through the recording of memories of individuals who have actually lived through the event or period of time.[30]

Sue Anderson wrote that despite the realisation that early oral history procedures have been linked to the exploitation and abuse of Indigenous knowledge, 'many Indigenous people believe in the strength of the spoken word; many also regard the sharing of their stories as a means of resistance to oppression, and as a form of empowerment.'[31] The experience of exploitation has led Indigenous communities to take greater control over the information they share, and how their knowledge is used, stored and destroyed. This does not mean that Indigenous people have changed the dynamics of oral history.

While oral history was an avenue for Indigenous communities to have their historical records and knowledge heard and incorporated into mainstream records, non-Indigenous people were controlling the interpretation of their knowledge. This has meant that the knowledge changed perspectives, and at times, meaning. This has led to Indigenous communities developing ways in which to record their knowledge on their own terms through the creation of Aboriginal oral records:

> 'Aboriginal Oral Records' is a method of decolonisation where cultural control is maintained by the knowledge holder(s). This maintenance is implicit in the process of recording, access and storage of their knowledge. These records can be written, audio/video taped, digitally multi-media - any of the many formats of knowledge transmission and storage available today. Initially 'Aboriginal Oral Records' were produced out of fear that knowledge was being lost due to the passing on of Aboriginal Elders before they had the opportunity to share their knowledge. Now oral records are being produced for various reasons such as: sharing and educating the Aboriginal, general Australian and international communities; storage of information for future generations that is feared to be lost; personal stories for family members; and painful stories that the knowledge holder does not want shared until after their death.[32]

When oral histories and Indigenous oral records are stored as sound, images, or in writing, access to these remains the same as accessing archival records described below. However, accessing oral tradition involves a different set of processes to accessing written, audio and visual records (see table 1 regarding the analogy of hunting and gathering above). Accessing oral tradition can involve the creation of oral histories or oral records, with the approach being similar for both. Oral tradition is also accessed as oral tradition - oral knowledge that remains in an oral form. The following discussion regarding accessing oral tradition reinforces culturally appropriate methods.

The first step is to develop a relationship of trust between the researcher and the knowledge holder. This process can take time, humour and food! Accessing oral tradition usually involves food and/or cups of tea and coffee. Refreshments make sense on a number of levels, especially for relationship building. If you are willing to take time to eat or have a 'cuppa', then you are serious about taking the time to develop the relationship and to access the records correctly. Sometimes this relationship can be easily developed, other times it will never happen. It is an emotional process to gain access to oral knowledge, as the researcher also needs to share who they are. This process is often linked to cultural differences in how records are stored and accessed within the cultural discourse.

The next process is colloquially referred to as 'yarning'. Accessing records is time-consuming. Yarning is important as it provides the context and background to the records being accessed as well as the records themselves.[33] Yarning is a conversation rather than a question and answer session that can occasionally feel like interrogation. It involves a two-way conversation where questions are asked and answered - it is important to share in order to receive, and from this respect is developed.

To maintain this relationship, trust and respect of the knowledge, and the knowledge holder, needs to be sustained. The researcher has little control over the process. While the researcher may initiate contact, it is the knowledge holder who is sharing their knowledge and therefore determines the records to be accessed. The knowledge holder determines when and where a story will be shared; they retain control of the records,[34] so it is important to be respectful at all times, and any questions should be posed as if they are being directed to an elder of your own family, and then you need to listen. This process may involve sensitivity to the potential pain and emotional trauma involved, and recognition that an inappropriate question, or the interview method itself, can increase that pain and trauma.

Accessing oral tradition does not end with the interview. Providing feedback and copies of the recording, transcript and the final format of the research to the knowledge holder, and/or to their community, may be necessary to continue the respectful relationship that has been developed. It is also important as the form of the record is changed through the recording and transcription process, so it is necessary to make sure that the new form is an authentic account - a decision that needs to be made by the knowledge holder.

While most Koorie oral narratives from Victoria are in English, language can still be an issue with narratives told in language, and through the translation of performance and visual arts.[35] There are also cultural differences that can impact on accessing Koorie oral tradition, and distrust may arise from inter-generational traumas associated with colonial-invasion and subsequent disrespectful research. Often a community member is more likely to access the complete record than a stranger, as the community member has a better understanding of the way in which the community expresses their records. This is not to say that it is always easier for a community member to access oral tradition of their community, as existing relationships can impact upon ability to access certain records. For example someone may only have a work relationship with the knowledge holder and therefore may find it difficult asking about family matters.[36]

When accessing oral tradition, there needs to be an understanding of the way in which records of oral tradition are stored and accessed. Oral traditions do not have a publicly accessible catalogue or listing. So when accessing oral knowledge, it is the knowledge holder who decides what records can or cannot be accessed. While oral histories and Indigenous oral records can be stored within archival institutions, oral tradition cannot be archived in this way. Instead, oral tradition is stored within people and communities, and access is through personal interaction. Finally, oral tradition is fundamentally different to text-based records in that the information may not always be obvious. It can be hidden or unknown until the researcher understands its purpose.[37]

Archival institutions

Accessing records within archival institutions is very different to accessing oral tradition. To begin with, it is not essentially a social encounter in that it is possible to access records without talking to anyone - it is often an impersonal and individual pursuit. The first steps here are to know what institution to go to, develop an understanding of how the records are stored and accessed, and then request the records (or series of records) required to be read (see table 1 regarding hunting and gathering above).

While most archival institution collections are generally accessible within their guidelines and regulations, some archival collections are not accessible for various reasons. These reasons can include: collections being open only to certain people; records themselves being closed for various reasons; fear or unwelcomeness of the physical building or search room; embarrassment caused by not having the skills required to access the collections; lack of cultural and/or personal sensitivity of staff; or negative associations to collections in general. The Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce (VKRT)[38] has been addressing access issues in regard to individuals of the Stolen Generations sourcing records about who they are. Even when these archives are publicly accessible, there are still difficulties concerning the conditions placed upon access, developing trust in the institutions, and the amount of effort required to access the collection (someone who is after information about their family is not necessarily interested in searching through many boxes of records).

Government archival institutions are administered by relevant Acts of parliament and adhere to legislation relating to archives, freedom of information, privacy, and copyright. This legislation, though, usually places ownership of records in the hands of the organisation or individual who created the record - not the 'subject' of the record. This is an issue for many Koorie people, as records often become accessible after a certain number of years, usually a period linked to the death of the person that is the subject of the record. This usually takes place without consultation with the family as they have no legal ownership rights in the records. While some of these records can relate to general administration and contain no personal details, there are others that contain extremely personal information that could also be inaccurate and result in distress for the family, especially when they discover that the records are in the public domain. This is not only a Koorie issue, with other families and communities also having concerns about the public accessibility of records that are perceived as family records.

The other side of this issue is that some researchers do not want to access or use records without the consent of, and consultation with, the individual, family or community concerned. However, some records are missing vital information and details needed to identify the individual (or family, or community) concerned. The dilemma is: should these records be accessed or used?

Relationships between Koorie people and archival institutions are not always comfortable. There are two very different views regarding archival records containing information about Koorie people. The first is that many Koorie people view archival records containing information about themselves, family or, on occasion, community, as being Koorie records. As such, it is felt that control and access should be vested with them as the owners. On the other hand, archival institutions, in particular government institutions, have received the records as documents of government operations and view the records as belonging to the government - they were generally[39] created as part of the day-to-day operations of a government organisation or department and therefore belonged to that department or organisation, which in turn has handed governance of those records to government archival institutions who take custody of the records on behalf of the government. In other words, the archival institutions are working within the legal frameworks of archival laws that mandate their actions, vest ownership of the records in the government, and control and custody with the archival institution. And the custody conditions are not uniform between repositories. The findings of the *Bringing them home*[40] report acknowledged archives as an important avenue for the Stolen Generations to find family and community. As a consequence, institutions have been working toward improving access to archival records. However, ownership and access are still very much controlled by the institution - this means that researchers other than the 'subjects' of the records can also access records deemed to be open.[41]

Archival institutions are changing and attempting to remove the shackles of the past by making their collections welcoming to parts of the community that in the past have not made use of archives.[42] In Victoria, changes introduced by archives have included employing Koorie liaison staff that can assist in accessing records, and provide support with material found, by acting as mediators. Liaison officers are one answer; however, this is sometimes inadequate, for example if there are not both male and female officers. Furthermore, the provision of this kind of support needs to be flexible as there is anecdotal evidence that accessing records through a liaison officer is a 'shame job', or that others would prefer a non-Indigenous archivist as they do not want the community to know their business. This perception is also supported by the findings of the Trust and Technology project.[43] Memoranda of understanding (MOUs) between institutions such as Public Record Office Victoria and National Archives of Australia, and the Koorie community, have been undertaken to improve access, and to address the negative relationship between archives and Indigenous communities. This could be taken further by institutions lodging copies of records with Koorie organisations to facilitate their accessibility to the Koorie community. Archival institutions are not only facing the need to address the concerns and needs of the Koorie community today, but also face the impact of transgenerational trauma,[44] and its effect on trust in government institutions and records. This is an issue for all records and narratives created within the dominant cultural discourse.

As my research was more concerned with the impact that access to records has on the community in terms of collective knowledge, it did not provide specific actions or solutions to some of the issues raised above. This was also due in part to this research being undertaken as doctoral research attached to the 'Trust and Technology: building an archival system for Indigenous oral memory' project (T&T project) which concentrated on the relationship of trust between archival institutions and the Koorie community.[45] The T&T project final report consists of seven outcomes with specific recommendations and actions. These outcomes include recommendations regarding changes to the law and policies to recognise Koorie rights in records as supported by various human rights statements. They also include the development of systems that allow Koorie people to annotate records to 'set the record straight', or that allow records of oral knowledge to be accessed alongside archival records, and changes in education and training that recognise cultural differences and differing understandings of archives and records. The T&T project also developed socio-technical specifications for a Koorie archiving system (KAS)[46] that uses Web 2.0 technologies to provide the ability to annotate and link Indigenous knowledge and records to digital copies of archival records. It is hoped that KAS will provide a shared space where Indigenous and archival records can co-exist and provide more complete narratives.

Interpreting and integrating narratives in records

Orality continues to be the predominant method of transmitting knowledge within Indigenous Australian communities. However, other forms of transmission are also important. While the Australian imagery of Indigenous people depicts Koorie knowledge as only being transmitted through the use of 'stories and songs and by visual things - such as rock, sand and bark engravings, and by dances and ceremonies',[47] the reality is that transmission of Indigenous knowledge employs all the methods that mainstream Australian society relies upon and uses. So, while Indigenous knowledge is contained within our people and land, it is also contained within books, records and multi-media formats - and therefore in libraries and archival institutions, and colonial archival records. Records about Indigenous people produced by the systems of the dominant culture also contain Indigenous knowledge. These records contain knowledge about, or belonging to, Indigenous people, and therefore Indigenous peoples have a form of ownership of the knowledge contained within those records, and possibly the records themselves. Although these records are often not legally viewed as Indigenous knowledge by legal frameworks and the legislation controlling many archival institutions, the 'material can become Indigenous through reclamation processes ...'.[48] Through the adoption of the written word by Indigenous communities, records were located that contained information collected about individuals and their communities. This has led to the retrieval of knowledge that was once believed to have been lost. The Indigenous communities then incorporated this written knowledge into their oral traditions. Indigenous communities are still passing on the recovered knowledge orally. The rebuilding or reconstructing of Indigenous knowledge is important to the redevelopment of Indigenous identity within Australia:

> Where traditions have been abandoned or lost, people of Aboriginal descent have had to reconstruct them. 'You build Aboriginality, boy, or you got nothing', Grandfather Koori told Kevin Gilbert. Much of what is now being incorporated as Aboriginal cultural knowledge in settled Australia is the result of historical research, acquired rather than inherited. 'Most of our knowledge', says Robert Murray who grew up on the Cowra Mission in New South Wales, 'comes from

> books, or from the screen, or from what people tell us. Not from our own people.' For many Aborigines, part of the attraction of family history is that it becomes local history, offering a route back to ancestral lands.[49]

These records are being used to create narratives of Koorie Victoria within both Indigenous and Western cultures, with many labelled as history or historical narratives. Their transmission into the future has been augmented by the rise of new technologies and formats. Reflecting on the emerging trend for story-tellers using film as their medium, Richard Frankland observes:

> We've got this whole new generation of storytellers coming through that have different techniques and different stories, and they are picking-up on the old stories, they're seeing the world through their eyes in a whole new way – it's absolutely fantastic.[50]

All records contain various levels of information that is captured not only in their content, but also in their style, method, language, form and format – as well as in their context, their creator, author, agency and purpose, all of which can be used to create narratives. Interpreting records often requires understandings about the format of the record and how to access the information that it contains. Different individuals can glean very different information from the same record. As indicated above, this is due to the individual's existing knowledge and experiences, the point in time and space that they experience a particular record or narrative, their purpose in accessing the record, their emotional being, and the method learnt to understand and interpret the record.[51] Bruner suggests that the methods of using memory and for gaining knowledge are culturally bound, and has labelled these as 'cultural tool kits':

> The attraction of this view is, of course, that it links man and his knowledge-gaining and knowledge-using capabilities to the culture of which he and his ancestors were active members. But it brings profoundly into question not only the universal translatability of knowledge from one culture to another. For in this dispensation, knowledge is never 'point-of-viewless.'[52]

The reading or listening of records, and their interpretation, are determined by the context provided by the researcher '... because you bring to it your own "why", your own cultural context.'[53]

Many records existing in archival institutions contain Koorie knowledge. While culture changes over time, drawing on the past for inspiration and understanding is still required for the continuation of culture, narratives and practices. Through interpretation and integration, information and knowledge contained within records and existing narratives can be used to create new narratives. The narratives and records we have today are based on the knowledge of the past, whether that past be two minutes or sixty thousand years ago. There is no such thing as a narrative of now or the future. What I am reinforcing here is a concept that the past, present and future are connected, forming a continuum that cannot be separated from each other. The past assists us in our present and future. Based on this concept, records and narratives are interpreted in terms of the needs of the individual and community in the present, and integrated with current understandings. Some records and narratives are continuous and contain lessons and morals that are timeless; they rarely change. Other narratives need to be forgotten in order for new narratives to be remembered. Interpreting, integrating and forgetting are important aspects of narrative creation.

Forgotten narratives

> 'White people', say the Yarralin of northern Australia, 'don't know what to remember and what to forget, what to let go of and what to preserve. They don't know how to link the past with the present; they fail to recognise their own stories.'[54]

Memory 'is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings.'[55] Narratives are incorporated into our knowing, and allow previous knowledge to be reinterpreted through reflection. This may allow our minds to make sense of what has happened, or is happening, in our lives.[56] Memories 'enable us to place value on our individual and our social experiences, and they enable us to inhabit our own country.'[57]

Part of the active process of remembering also involves forgetting. Events can be forgotten because they are considered unimportant in the scheme of making sense of one's world, or forgotten, changed or repressed in an attempt to provide protection from bad events.[58] Thinking of oral knowledge in terms of these general rules of memory, could it be possible that narratives and records were 'forgotten' in order for the people and culture to survive? Anecdotally a number of Indigenous Australian people have stated that their Elders have refused to tell them their stories as they believe that they do not apply today, and that the next generation needs to survive in this world. Is this an active action of forgetting? In *A little bird told me,* Russell recounts her Nanna saying: 'The time for secrets is over, but the truth can still hurt, you know.'[59] Yet Nanna was never able to tell Russell her secrets, hinting that it is necessary to forget some memories to avoid the pain they hold. This is not to deny the effect of the actions of colonial-invasion upon the loss of Koorie oral tradition. What I am suggesting is that some of the Elders made an active decision to forget some stories in order to remember the stories that would help in the survival of Koorie people – stories of resistance, atrocities inflicted, and the people lost who may return one day.

Forgetting is not limited to oral cultures. Derrida describes archiving as a deliberate act of forgetting, of setting aside, while knowing that it is possible to remember in the future because of the application of archival methods and processes to ensure the preservation of the record for future use. However, forgetting can also involve the deliberate destruction of memory in ways that ensure that it can never be recovered, as McKemmish explains:

> The urge to witness, to memorialise, has its dark counterpart in 'killing the memory', the acts of 'memoricide' that have occurred throughout history, such as the targeting of museums, archives and cultural institutions which accompanied ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and elsewhere. Derrida has reflected extensively on the notion of the death drive in archiving in *Archive Fever.* He has also explored how it is at work in two ways in the shaping of the archive of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

> in South Africa – in the drive by the former apartheid regime on the one hand to destroy memory in a way that no archive, no trace of the murder and violence is left, and, on the other, in the Commission's desire to witness, to record the testimony, to accumulate the archive and keep it safe. For Derrida archiving in the sense of inscribing a trace in some location, external to living memory, is an act of forgetting that carries with it the possibility of deferred remembering. And it is because the radical drive to destroy memory without trace is always also in play that 'the desire for archive is a burning one'.[60]

Forgetting is an important process in memory, remembering and interpreting. It allows time for the action of surviving. Once this has been achieved, then the process of reclamation and recognition of past actions to reorder the present can be undertaken through remembering.

The colonial-invaders recreated Koorie people in the image that helped the colonial-invaders to accept their own past actions, and place them in terms that were comfortable within their Western sensibilities of how White Australia should be. Brown labels this type of forgetting as 'refracted knowledge':[61]

> That is, rather than having to address 'black' political issues, the colonisers surround themselves with 'comfortable and familiar' images of the colonised. For colonisers, Aboriginality has become essentialised in a series of 'familiar' metaphors – postcards, teatowels, Aboriginal gnomes and, more recently in television commercials, as 'ochred, spiritual, and playing the didgeridoo behind the heroic travels of a black land cruiser'. As Brown so eloquently states, 'it is as if a camera has been pushed through a gap in the Mission fence'.[62]

Remembering what has been forgotten does not erase the past, or stop racist or discriminatory views of Koorie people. Remembering is a process of recovery – a process in which both parties should be active. While it seems in many cases that Koorie people are educating the rest of the world about the past, and the actions that occurred and that are still occurring within Australia, it is the rest of the population's responsibility to understand and work towards a more equitable world without fearing the loss of the benefits gained from the actions of colonial-invaders. The processes of 'reconciliation', 'saying sorry', 'treaties', 'native title' and a range of others, though viewed as examples of efforts attempting to address past actions, these are little more than smoke screens. All of these processes are based within the dominant structure, and therefore created within a frame of reference that prevents the loss of power or control gained at the point of colonial-invasion; Koorie people are still suffering through new methods of colonial control:

> It is the telling of our history that enables political self-recovery. In contemporary society, white and black people alike believe that racism no longer exists. This erasure, however mythic, diffuses the representation of whiteness as terror in the black imagination. It allows for assimilation and forgetfulness. The eagerness with which contemporary society does away with racism, replacing this recognition with evocations of pluralism and diversity that further mask reality, is a response to the terror. It has also become a way to perpetuate the terror by providing a cover, a hiding place. Black people still feel the terror, still associate it with whiteness, but are rarely able to articulate the varied ways we are terrorized because it is easy to silence by accusations of reverse racism or by suggesting that black folks who talk about the ways we are terrorized by whites are merely evoking victimization to demand special treatment.[63]

Reliability

Decisions regarding the accuracy or authenticity of a record (reliability) are influenced by cultural methods of interpreting records. This process can be problematic when using various records and sources, as it requires comparison and decisions as to which provides a more accurate or 'true' telling of the event. The difficulty is that, depending on cultural biases, a preference of one form may result in an account being dismissed simply because it is in a form that the individual does not relate to or does not consider reliable, whether they be records that are written as text or kept as oral memory.

There are various reasons why a researcher will preference one record form over another, ranging from the method they were taught, to the types of records that are available. It is, however, often difficult to decide which record is more reliable as Koorie and colonial-invader records do not always correlate, and therefore are not able to verify or support each other. The differences in the choice of form and/or contents of Koorie and dominant culture records can result in a clash with the preferencing of one source over another or the dismissal of one source. These decisions of preference are not always culturally bound. As there are gaps within some Koorie knowledge, some Koorie people have been accessing archival records to understand, complete or support Koorie records. Some Koorie researchers, however, will preference these archival records over Koorie oral memory, resulting in difficulties within Koorie communities. The questioning and dismissal of Koorie records based on Western notions of authenticity and reliability has been occurring since colonial-invasion, producing silences where Koorie narratives are excluded from the public arena.[64] The ability to create written records was also circumvented through government policies and actions that stopped or limited the level of education for Indigenous Australians.[65]

Through the interpretation of records and narratives, various versions of a narrative can occur. Koorie oral narratives relating to land and animals often have more than one version. This is not to say one group's story is the 'true' or more 'accurate' story. The variety of stories can show the beauty and diversity of the country and people, but can cause problems when research is being undertaken on large tracts of land where a generalised narrative is being produced without a cultural understanding of the context and background of the land. In this situation, which story is used?

Conclusion

Records are not simply pieces of paper, recordings, images, or multi-media material. They are important sources of knowledge that interact with individuals and communities on various levels through time and space. While this can be seeking knowledge vital to the well-being of the individual, family or community, we also access and engage with records on a day-to-day basis, sometimes without even leaving the house, such as when we read a newspaper. In this paper I refer to this as hunting (written records) and gathering (oral tradition records). Referencing access in these terms removes the biases of one being predominantly Indigenous and the other non-Indigenous or Western, and moves the cultural bias from the gathering of records to the interpretation of records.

There are ongoing concerns regarding access and interpretation of records, but equally there are people who are willing to work towards improved systems of access and ownership of records. There are records that due to their format cannot be stored within archival institutions, and are instead stored by, and accessed from, individuals and communities that themselves can be defined as archives. Finally, while this paper examines records according to their form (oral and text) and the cultural perspective of their creator (Indigenous and non-Indigenous), it is important to acknowledge these records flow from one form and cultural perspective to another as they are interpreted and integrated into narratives of Koorie Victoria. In other words, the relationship between people, communities and records is a lot more messy than it is represented within archival processes. Through the inclusion of human interaction, what is provided is an emotional context to the knowledge contained within records.

Endnotes

[1] 'Koorie' is a term of self-identification used by some Australian Indigenous people from Victoria and southern parts of New South Wales, meaning 'our people', 'man' or 'person'. While I use this term, I recognise that it is not one that is adopted by all Australian Indigenous people from this region. Many prefer their own clan, nation, or state title, or the generic terms 'Indigenous Australian' or 'Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander'. When referring to Australia as a whole, I will use the term Indigenous Australian.

[2] One person's colonisation is another's invasion. This is the situation within Australia. Although the term 'colonisation' is the more commonly used term, I do not feel that it is the correct term in reference to what occurred in Australia, especially as there were no treaties made in recognition of the nations of people already in possession of the land now known as Australia. Some may view this as an attempt to wring guilt or remorse, however I use it in an attempt to reflect an Indigenous perspective of the past. Also, I am not convinced that all people who came to Australia can be defined as invaders – a suggested division is by Conner: '"Invasion" conveys the fact that the British arrived on Aboriginal land uninvited and then took it for their own use, while the term "settlement"

is needed ... to convey the fact that once the land had been taken, the British settled the land with their farms and towns.' John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars 1788–1838*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2002, p. xi.

[3] The relationship between Koorie and Australia's dominant culture resulting in narratives of Koorie Victoria being represented as 'other' is discussed in more detail in Shannon Faulkhead, 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria', PhD thesis, Monash University, 2008.

[4] 'Although cultural agendas and bias are increasingly well recognised, the effects of cultural domination are still being unravelled within Australia with great difficulty. The domination of the white Australian cultural structure is so ingrained within Australia that authorship from within this structure is still seen as culturally neutral whereas Indigenous authorship is labelled biased and emotive if it does not adhere to these structures.' Faulkhead, 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria', p. 32. The location of Indigenous Australians and their narratives within mainstream narratives of Australia is discussed in detail in chapter 4, 'Social Structures of Colonisation', ibid., pp. 67–96.

[5] The term 'author' is being used here to refer to someone who is creating a narrative, and not necessarily someone who is writing.

[6] 'Dominant' culture refers to the culture that dominates a community's systems of communication, law, governance and social structure. Within Australia, this culture originated in Britain and is based on the Anglo-Saxon male. This dominant culture is based within a Western knowledge system.

[7] The illusion of colonial superiority was created through colonial-invasion by the creation of an illusion that one group of people was inferior to another based upon colour or perceived industrial and agricultural development: 'Colonialism has never employed only physical force to achieve its ends: it has always depended on cultural and educational instruments to fortify its own troops, administrators, merchants, and settlers and to induce the colonized to accept and internalise the illusion of their own inferiority.' Marie Battiste, Lynne Bell, and LM Findlay, 'Decolonizing Education in Canadian Universities: An Interdisciplinary, International, Indigenous Research Project', *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2002, p. 90. And as according to Said: 'Thus the status of colonized people has been fixed in zones of dependency and peripherality, stigmatized in the designation of underdeveloped, less-developed, developing states, ruled by a superior, developed, or metropolitan colonizer who was theoretically posited as a categorically antithetical overlord. In other words, the world was still divided into betters and lessers, and if the category of lesser beings had widened to include a lot of new people as well as a new era, then so much the worse for them. Thus to be one of the colonized is potentially to be a great many different, but inferior, things, in many different places at many different times'. Edward W Said, 'Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 15, no. 2, Winter 1989, p. 207. The paradigm where colonial imperialism is still dominant within Australia is discussed in chapter 2 of Faulkhead, 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria', pp. 25–43.

[8] Kathy Absolon and Cam Willet, 'Aboriginal Research: Berry Picking and Hunting in the 21st Century', *First Peoples Child and Family Review: A Journal on Innovation and Best Practices in Aboriginal Child Welfare*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 7–8.

[9] ibid.

[10] This phrase refers to research that will improve the collective knowledge and understanding of everyone, even though it is sometimes used to justify ethically questionable research.

[11] A primary source is a record of an event by a witness or person of authority, while a secondary source has been produced later usually referencing primary sources.

[12] This is extensively discussed within the literature relating to the debate regarding the use of oral history or narratives created from oral histories being labelled as 'history' despite their lack of historical rigour as summed up by Portelli: 'The expression "oral history" is open to criticism, in that it may be taken to imply the historical research may be based entirely upon oral sources. A more correct expression would be "the use of oral sources in history".' See Alessandro Portelli, 'Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 12, 1981, p. 96.

[13] B Aleybeleye, 'Oral Archives in Africa: Their Nature, Value and Accessibility', *International Library Review*, no. 17, 1985, p. 420.

[14] The use of oral history is discussed within the literature, for example: Annette Hamilton, 'Skeletons of Empire: Australians and the Burma-Thailand Railway', in Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p. 128; Sara Mallinson et al, 'Historical Data for Health Inequalities Research: A Research Note', *Sociology*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2003, pp. 774–5; Portelli, 'Peculiarities of Oral History', p. 100.

[15] Wendy Selby, 'Reply to Paula Hamilton', *Hecate*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1991, pp. 136-7, a reply to Paula Hamilton's article, 'Inventing the Self: Oral History as Autobiography', *Hecate*, vol. 16, nos 1–2, 1990. pp. 128–33.

[16] John Bernard and Arthur Delbridge (eds), *The Macquarie Concise Dictionary*, third edition, Macquarie, Sydney, 1998, p. 969.

[17] Sue McKemmish, 'Traces: Document, Record, Archive, Archives', in Sue McKemmish et al (eds), *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*, Charles Sturt University, Wagga Wagga, 2005, p. 2.

[18] Bernard and Delbridge (eds), *The Macquarie Concise Dictionary*, p. 969.

[19] Greg Gardiner, *Orality, Myth and Performance in Traditional Indigenous Cultures*, discussion paper, Koorie Research Centre, Monash University, Clayton, 1996, pp. 13–14.

[20] Wayne Atkinson, 'Oral History and Cultural Heritage', conference paper delivered at Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Seminar, Aborigines Advancement League, 1984, pp. 2–3.

[21] Aleybeleye, 'Oral Archives in Africa', pp. 419–20.

[22] Shannon Faulkhead and Lynette Russell, 'What Is Australian Indigenous Oral History?', unpublished conference paper, International Oral History Association Conference, Sydney, 2006, p. 6.

[23] This has been suggested by oral historians and researchers working with Indigenous Australian people and communities, such as in Sue Anderson, 'Australian Indigenous Oral History Today: What's the Story?', *Crossings*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2002.

[24] Aleybeleye, 'Oral Archives in Africa', p. 421.

[25] This included the banning of practicing language, songs, dance, and so on. The banning occurred through government policy and was enforced by government officials and employees, legal representatives and settlers. Within the short period of invasion that took place in the territory that is now called Victoria, large numbers of Koorie people were quickly removed from their homelands onto missions and reserves where these bans were enforced with greater ease. Because of these bans much of Koorie life prior to colonial-invasion was lost, including languages and cultural practices and narratives linked to land - this led to the belief that all traditional knowledge within Victoria was lost forever.

[26] Oral History Association (USA) website, available at *<http://www.oralhistory.org/>*, accessed 16 November 2009.

[27] See Oral History Association (USA) website.

[28] L McCarthy, P Ashton, and H Graham, 'Culture and Heritage: Oral History', Environment Australia, Department of the Environment, Canberra, 1997, p. 8.

[29] Oral History Association of Australia Inc. homepage, available at *<http://www.ohaa.net.au/>*, accessed 16 Novembe 2009.

[30] Oral History Association of Australia (Victorian branch) website, available at *<http://home.vicnet.net.au/~oralhist/>*, accessed 16 November 2009.

[31] Anderson, 'Australian Indigenous Oral History Today', p. 1.

[32] Faulkhead and Russell, 'What Is Australian Indigenous Oral History?'

[33] Larry Walsh, transcript of Shannon Faulkhead interview with Uncle Larry Walsh for thesis research 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria', part one, 20 October 2006, CAIS, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, p. 1.

[34] ibid., p. 5.

[35] ibid., p. 7.

[36] ibid., p. 15.

[37] ibid., p. 6.

[38] 'Since its inception, the VKRT has been working to foster co-operation between record-holders and record-searchers and to address the obstacles facing Indigenous people wishing to access records relating to themselves and their families. The VKRT meets regularly, and has embarked on several initiatives designed to address the needs of Indigenous people in Victoria seeking access to personal records', see Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce, *wilam naling ... knowing who you are ... Improving Access to Records of the Stolen Generations: A Report to the Victorian Government from the Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce*, Department for Victorian Communities, Melbourne, 2006, p. 18. The VKRT was established by the Victorian Government in 2001, in response to recommendation 23 of the 1997 report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families (the *Bringing Them Home* report). Since then, Public Record Office Victoria has auspiced the work of the taskforce, which comprises representatives from a range of government agencies, community services organisations and service providers to the Stolen Generations. See National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families (Australia), Ronald Darling Wilson, and Australia. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Bringing them home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families,* Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney, 1997.

[39] 'Generally' in that there are exceptions to this, such as letters sent to the organisation or department, in which case ownership is in the author of that document.

[40] See recommendations 21–29, *Bringing them home* report, pp. 295–304.

[41] Most personal records, such as welfare, war, and staff records have restrictions placed on when they can be publicly accessible - usually these include a period of closure that ensures the release of the records will only take place once the person to which they relate has passed away. These 'closed' records can only be accessed through a freedom of information request to the originating agency or department.

[42] Shannon Faulkhead (ed.), transcript of Public Record Office Victoria focus group discussion for thesis research 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria', 19 July 2006, CAIS, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, p. 2.

[43] Fiona Ross, Sue McKemmish and Shannon Faulkhead, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Archives: Designing Trusted Archival Systems for Koorie Communities', *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol. 34, no. 2, November 2006, pp. 112–51. This article was based in part on a paper delivered at the joint ARANZ–ASA–PARBICA conference, *Archives and Communities*, Wellington, 2005.

[44] J Atkinson, *Trauma Trails, Recreating Song Lines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia*, Spinifex Press, North Melbourne, 2002.

[45] More information on the 'Trust and Technology: building an archival system for Indigenous oral memory' project (T&T project) can be found on the Monash University Information Technology website, available at <*http://www.infotech.monash.edu.au/research/centres/cosi/projects/trust/*>, accessed 16 November 2009.

[46] The T&T project developed socio-technical specifications for KAS. The project partners are currently seeking funds to develop a working system using Web 2.0 Wiki technology.

[47] Atkinson, 'Oral History and Cultural Heritage', p. 2.

[48] Lynette Russell, 'Indigenous Knowledge and Archives: Accessing Hidden History and Understandings', in Martin Nakata and Marcia Langton (eds), *Australian Indigenous Knowledge and Libraries*, Australian Academic and Research Libraries, Canberra, 2005, p. 170.

[49] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 232.

[50] Richard Frankland in David Rector, 'Talking Stick: Film', *Message Stick*, broadcast 30 March 2008, ABC TV, Australia.

[51] Jerome Bruner, 'The Narrative Construction of Reality', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1991, pp. 2–3.

[52] ibid., p. 3.

[53] Ian Clark, transcript of Shannon Faulkhead interview with Ian Clark for thesis research 'Narratives of Koorie Victoria', 3 October 2006, CAIS, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, p. 20.

[54] Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, p. 226.

[55] Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge, London, 1998, p. 69.

[56] Alistair Thomson, 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia', in Perks and Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge, London, 1998.

[57] Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p. 1.

[58] Thomson, 'Anzac Memories', pp. 300–301.

[59] Lynette Russell, *A little bird told me: family secrets, necessary lies*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2002, p. 4.

[60] McKemmish, 'Traces: Document, Record, Archive, Archives', p. 2. For further reading on this topic see Jacques Derrida, *Archive fever: a Freudian impression*, University of Chicago Press, 1996.

[61] Denise Groves, 'To what extent is contemporary Aboriginal identity political?', in Anne Brewster, Rosemary Van den Berg and Angeline O'Neill (eds), *Those who remain will always remember: an anthology of Aboriginal writing,* Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, WA, 2000, p. 137.

[62] ibid.

[63] bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation,* South End Press, Boston, MA, 1992, p. 176.

[64] Eve Mumewa D Fesl, 'The Road Ahead', *Australian Literary Studies,* vol. 16, no. 4, 1994, p. 142.

[65] ibid.