University of Southern Queensland

Constructing history: Selective representations of Indigenous Australians and British heritages in Queensland History curriculum

A Dissertation submitted by

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Abstract

History curriculum has in recent years been the topic of much public interest, from debates framed within the context of the recent history/culture wars to issues related to content and pedagogical approaches within the proposed national curriculum. Framed by this sustained public, media and government interest in school curriculum; this project analyses Australian content present in textbooks and syllabus documents within the History curriculum in Queensland schools from three selected 20th century time periods. Historical periods were selected to demonstrate the connection between public discourses and school History curriculum content, and illuminated through British heritages and Indigenous representations. The historical periods are characterised by two features: first, when major historical or social events occurred within a short timeframe creating an identifiable shift in public discourses, and second, when a new or revised syllabus was implemented in Queensland government schools. Three specific areas of focus that meet the two characteristics listed above are: the period just prior to and just after World War I (WWI); the Australian Black Movement 1964-1975; and the 1988 Bicentennial era. Each era is significant for quite divergent reasons, but with the common factor that they have each made a significant contribution to Australia's history, and in terms of constructions of national identity, continue to do so, they find place in this thesis. They have each been examined through a selected exemplar topic dominant to the era. The ideas of British heritages were in the case of the WWI era; Indigenous representations in the 1964-1975 era; and both British heritages and Indigenous representations in the 1988 Bicentennial era.

The methodological approach, in consideration of Michael Apple's (1993, 2000) concept of official knowledge draws analysis from a selection of school texts using a bricolage approach encompassing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), visual analysis strategies and historical methodology approaches. After an analysis of the school texts through a five stage process, this project concludes that textbook research is an important component in considering the direction of History as a school subject, particularly in the current neo-conservative educational environment, including the construction and implementation of the proposed national curriculum. As Davis writes, "I firmly believe that increased knowledge about textbooks can and will facilitate understanding of the actual school curriculum in practice" (2006, p. xi). This project, then offers a timely analysis of History curriculum from past eras through British heritages and Indigenous representations.

Certification of Dissertation

I certify that the ideas, results, analyses and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

______________________________ _______________

Signature of Candidate: Heather Sharp Date

Endorsement

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Signature of Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Jon Austin Date

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Signature of Supervisor: Dr Andrew Hickey Date

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

History is highly political, as both a discipline and the experience people have of it, especially collective remembering of past and public events. This has been demonstrated in recent years through the (so called) history/culture wars; debates that have proliferated both in Australia and internationally. The purposes of teaching national history in schools and the content selected to do so, has been at the forefront of many of these public debates. As observed by Slater, "history is an often unsettling and sometimes uncomfortable subject. It is controversial and often very sensitive. There is some consensus about its importance in the school curriculum but much less agreement about what it is for" (as cited in Lévesque, 2007, p. 349). How content of history is actualized in school curriculum is the focus of this project, in particular how it relates to dominant socio-political contexts.

A 'flashpoint' of the connection between these public debates and schooling in the Australian state of Queensland hit a peak in 2000-2001. The sole state-based newspaper, *The Courier Mail*, initiated what has become a long running debate between its journalists, columnists, academics, teachers, parents, education department officials and the general public about the purposes of a new school subject—Study of Society and its Environment (SOSE)—and, specifically the underlying philosophies that influenced its construction and the core content selected for school students to learn. *The Courier Mail* went so far as taking the unusual step of publishing the entire SOSE syllabus and quoting extensive sections from it in articles throughout 2000 in order to persuade readers to adopt an oppositional perspective to the new Syllabus. The perspective was, in part, that the Syllabus was far too progressive to be used in schools to teach students important topics such as Australian history (see Hoepper et al., 2000, for a response to reporting of the syllabus in *The Courier Mail*, including claims of alleged political prejudice). These debates were also carried out in other states and by *The Australian*, the newspaper with the largest readership in Australia. SOSE encompasses, amongst other subjects, History, Geography, and Citizenship Education. It is commonly viewed as a replacement for Social Studies in primary school and specialist subjects (such as History, Geography and Economics) in junior secondary school. Of interest, this dissertation is being written almost a decade since that syllabus was introduced—and despite public campaigns calling for it to be replaced—it remains part of the core curriculum for students in years 1-10. My personal experiences of the highly public aspects of the debates facilitated

through *The Courier Mail*, as well as my professional experience of being a high school History and English teacher at the time, were used as motivating factors in conducting the research for this project. The important role of the debates in influencing public opinion of schooling and raising awareness of, and interest in national history cannot be downplayed (finer points of this debate are taken up in *Appendix A: Contexts*).

In addition to the Queensland-specific context briefly described here, this topic is of a timely nature to research. In recent times History curriculum and the way in which it finds voice within the various school curriculum frameworks in operation throughout Australia has come to the attention and scrutiny of media, public opinion and commentary. Furthermore, it has attracted government and parliamentary interest, on a nation-wide scale. The then Prime Minister John Howard, particularly around the time of the Centenary of Federation in 2001, expressed personal and governmental concerns about his perception of the teaching of Australian history. His 2006 Australia Day Address called for a "…root and branch renewal of the teaching of Australian history in our schools, both in terms of the numbers learning and the way it is taught" (Howard, 2006, n.p.). Federal government influencing of school curriculum continued with (now former) Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, who stated his support for a national curriculum while Opposition Leader ("Rudd proposes national school curriculum", 2007); and continued support when elected to government in 2007, support that has continued with the Labor government. This is also evidenced through continued Federal government projects set up to address claimed deficits identified in the teaching of history and associated subjects, and committees established to write a History syllabus for nation-wide implementation. This study presents as an important opportunity to contribute to the national debates currently in progress, particularly connecting the history/culture wars with the (proposed) national curriculum.[1]

It is apparent that many people—as evidenced, for example, through letters to the editor—struggle with the concept that history is a contested area of learning, one where multiple realities are presented, with one, ultimate *truthful* answer to a question in history not always apparent, appropriate or even possible to find. This struggle appears to be compounded by the simplified conservative binary perspectives taken by popular news media. See, for example, Andrew Bolt's (2000) *Class Revolution*, criticizing the then-new SOSE syllabus with claims

[1] At the time of writing, March 2010, the first draft of this national curriculum in History was released for public comment.

the curriculum presents information with overt bias, such as through claims of teaching students about historical figures like Hoh Chi Minh, at the expense of early Australian explorers. This dissertation rejects neo conservative viewpoints of a single truth being paramount for students to learn. The position taken in this study is that it is important for students, in studying narrative constructions of history, to also understand that history is both a contested area of study and a study of contested social memory and remembering.

This dissertation, then, is based on an acknowledgement that there are connections between official curriculum content and core and dominant socio-political values, even if they are not always explicitly articulated. It is argued that contemporary debates surrounding the teaching of Australian history in school classrooms are fuelled by a major readjustment of dominant socio-political ideologies, presently linked directly to neo-patriotic notions of national values and to changing perceptions of the role and function of history in forging the contemporary, post-September 11 Western nation state. *Appendix A: Contexts* outlines the debates which fall under the broad umbrella of the history/culture wars. These debates are linked to the impact they have had in the classroom context, especially regarding the identity of History teaching linked to the declining number of students studying History in senior high school (Taylor et al., 2000).

1.1.2 Working definitions.

To explain the use of specific terms and their spelling, the following is offered as a clarification. Terms related to the conceptual literature and the methodology that frame this project, are defined in depth in their relevant chapters.

History/history: Throughout this dissertation, when discussed as a school subject, 'History' is capitalised. When used to describe the broader field of history studies and the discipline of history, lowercase is used. This is done in order to follow the usual school conventions of naming subjects.

Syllabus/syllabus: Likewise, 'Syllabus' is capitalised when referring to a specific published curriculum document by an official government Education Department; and lowercase 'syllabus' is used to describe this type of curriculum document more generally. In addition, the increasingly accepted term *syllabuses* is used as the plural form, rather than the more awkward, but traditionally acceptable, *syllabi*.

A syllabus in the Queensland schooling context refers to a document, usually in booklet form, that directly informs and influences the teaching of school subjects. Luke and Weir, writing for a Queensland context, define the syllabus "as a map and descriptive overview of the curriculum, as a structured summary and outline of what should be taught and learned" (2008, p. 11). They also go on to write,

> ***We define the syllabus as an official map of a school subject.*** That is, it provides teachers with a rationale and outline of the school subject in question, an overview and specification of preferred expected 'stuff' to be taught and learned, and description of operational ways of appraising standards for gauging student performance. The expected learnings can be stated in various forms (e.g., as knowledge, skills, competences, processes and experiences). (Luke and Weir, 2008, p. 14-15, emphasis in original)

During the construction stages of a syllabus in Queensland, consultation occurs with a variety of stakeholders including Department of Education employees, university academics, teachers, parent groups, teacher professional associations and community groups. Completed syllabuses are endorsed, published and distributed by the Department of Education. It is mandated through legislation (currently through the Education (Queensland Studies Authority) Act 2002) that government schools adhere to the syllabus curriculum content, and unit plans for each school term are generally derived directly from the syllabus content. Syllabuses cover one subject each (except in the early 20th century when they were usually combined) and set the structure and content of curriculum, including suggested assessment practices (although depending on the syllabus and era it was produced, there are some mandatory rather than suggested assessment practices for teachers to follow). Content is divided into school years and is sometimes further explicitly divided into term by term curriculum requirements particularly in past eras such as those covered in this research. Each syllabus also contains an explicit statement of its aims and educational philosophy that informs the teaching and learning, and pedagogical approaches generally, of the subject it covers.

Curriculum, for the purposes of this study, takes on a narrow meaning, due in part to the research only investigating the *content* of History curriculum, rather than pedagogical processes of teaching. Here, then curriculum refers to the range of content-based materials

commonly used in classrooms, and by teachers in their lesson planning, such as textbooks, school based literary texts, such as *School Readers* (in the absence of History textbooks), government endorsed teaching materials (such as *sourcebooks*) and school magazines.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

> *We can't be selective about the history we embrace or the history we ignore. –Chris Sarra* (Brockie, 2006)

The practicality of school curriculum and teaching means that the content and perspectives of Australian history *is* selective. As an embodiment of collective memory, included in order to value certain historical facts over others, the selection of content is a deeply political enterprise. The historical narratives included and those omitted directly impact the education received by school students. What these selections *are* is the area of interest for this dissertation. In particular, the ideological underpinnings which inform curriculum content, such as syllabuses and textbooks, are critically deconstructed. This enables curriculum content to be considered in its political and social context, rather than being viewed as a benign, natural, or 'common sense' selection. When mapping the Australian history content taught in Queensland schools over an extended time period, the ideologies that emerge through the curriculum become crucial to gaining a deeper understanding of the groups and events considered to be important for students to learn. A mapping of school curriculum can then take place against the relevant dominant socio political discourses of the time.

This research maps the History curriculum[2] in Queensland schools throughout selected 20th century time periods. Three specific historical periods are explored to expose the connection between public discourses and the content of Australian history within school History curriculum through two selected exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations. The historical periods are characterised by two features. First, when major political or social events occurred within a short timeframe creating an identifiable shift in public discourses; and second, when a new syllabus was implemented in Queensland schools. Three specific areas of focus that meet the two characteristics listed above are: prior to and

[2] When a History curriculum is not available, as is often the case for primary school grades, the broader Social Science or Social Studies curriculum is used in its place.

after World War I (WWI); the Australian Black Movement 1964-1975; and the 1988 Bicentennial[3] era.

Influenced by Apple's (1993, 2000) concept of official knowledge, a selection of school-based texts was analysed using primarily a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. School-based texts include the relevant syllabus, Education Department approved textbooks, other approved school texts such as *Queensland Readers*, school textbooks published in Queensland, textbooks used in schools, and school literary texts. From each era, a minimum of ten (10) school texts, from primary and high school grades, were selected for data analysis. This number of texts has enabled a representative sample of information to be gathered from a variety of sources. In addition, where available, a resistant text published at the time has also been examined in order to demonstrate *against the grain* texts published in the same era. The narratives of such resistant examples provide opportunities for the illumination of the ways in which the dominant discourse of an era effectively marginalise (and at times, demonise) alternative readings of history or nationhood; even though such marginalised texts might in later eras assume legitimate status. The selection of all texts used in this project is guided by a set of criteria, explained in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct.*

1.3 Motivation to Conduct the Research

The motivation to conduct this research came from being a History, SOSE and English teacher[4] during the time that the Queensland SOSE debates were featuring in public discourses, and the broader history/culture wars were featuring on national and international levels. The impact these debates had on classroom teaching, in terms of students, parents and other people I met on a social basis, questioning and criticizing the content taught, was quite significant and at times confronting. Keeping informed of the debates surrounding this issue then led to an interest in finding out which perspectives of Australian history had been privileged in Queensland school curriculum of previous eras, what the unstated ideological underpinnings of school syllabuses and textbooks were, and the connections to their own historical contexts. In a way, there was a motivation to engage in research that would enable a "…searching for new and interconnected ways of understanding power and oppression and

[3] The year 1988 is an important one in Australia's national history, being the 200 year anniversary of the arrival of the First Fleet from England to Port Jackson, Sydney. *Chapter 9: 1988 Bicentennial era* details the significance of Great Britain's act of colonisation to Australian national history.
[4] A thorough disclosure of researcher is included in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct.*

the ways they shape everyday life and human experience" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 306).

Although heightened in recent years through the history/culture wars, the explicit politicization of history is not new (Curthoys & Docker, 2006). The context within which it is taught in schools can be viewed as a reflection of discourses of core or dominant socio-political values operating in society at the time. As such, this research draws on media articles and similar expressions of dominant public discourses[5] in order to portray the content of the History curriculum in Queensland schools during selected time periods of the 20th century. This research then attempts to provide an interpretation, analysis and commentary of the dominant ideologies that have influenced the teaching of Australian history in Queensland schools, particularly in view of the continuing Federal government policy encroachment on State government education through, for example, the proposed national History curriculum.

1.4 Purpose and Relevance of the Research

The two exemplar topics, representations of Indigenous Australian and British heritages were selected as topics of focus for a number of reasons. First, in terms of colonial discourses, these two groups have often been set up in opposition to each other. Binaries have been created for example, through government legislation, policies and public discourses. Larbalestier highlights the binary relationships that have been constructed between British colonialism and Indigenous people, writing "Indigenous Australians were abjectly interpellated [*sic*] in Western discourses and interpretations of British colonialism were entirely one-sided" (2004, para 15). Second, both groups have been at the centre of periods of rapid social change, three of which are highlighted in this research. At times the groups have intersected, for example during the 1988 Australian Bicentennial, making comparison of the exemplar topics during the same time period possible, enriching the analysis of their respective representations. Third, after a preliminary survey of Queensland textbooks from 1900-2000 these were two topics which were consistently included in school books, with their occasional omission noteworthy for this exclusion, particularly that of Indigenous Australians in earlier periods and British heritages in later periods. Fourth, and more as a side note, the two exemplar topics acting as binaries is reinforced by the early 20th century novel,

[5] For the purposes of this study, dominant values and discourses are those which are usually accepted and, more importantly perhaps, practiced by the majority of members of a community as "normal", "just" or "right". Gramsci's (1988) notion of hegemony is central here, and is expanded on in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*.

Settler and Savage: One hundred years ago in Australia (De Boos, 1906), whereby 'settler' is code for European, usually from Great Britain and 'savage' is code for Indigenous Australian living in a traditional tribal environment.

1.5 The Epistemological Domain of Research

This dissertation encompasses aspects of a variety of research fields (with education and history as the most prominent), and methodological approaches (with Critical Discourse Analysis as the lead methodology, and incorporating contributions from visual analysis, and historical methodology). Methodological approaches have been selected that complement each other so that the research method, data collection and analysis are strengthened. A strengthened methodology has been achieved by framing the research within a broad bricolage approach. The deployment of a hotchpotch methodology (a criticism that could potentially be made of a bricolage approach when not grounded with a strong theoretical base) is avoided by ensuring that the selected approaches epistemologically complement each other.

In considering the current direction of qualitative research in the broad discipline area of education, the work of researchers such as Kincheloe, Denzin and Lincoln (2006) is drawn on in this project. A focus to introduce contexts of qualitative research approaches comes from Kincheloe and Tobin who write:

> In the epistemological domain we begin to realize that knowledge is stripped of its meaning when it stands alone. This holds profound implications in education and research because more positivistic forms of educational science have studied the world in a way that isolates the object of study, abstracts it from the contexts and interrelationships that give it meaning. Thus, to be a critical researcher that takes the complexity of the lived world into account, we have to study the world 'in context.' (2006, p. 5)

Adopting Kincheloe and Tobin's approach of investigating the complexity of the lived world in which this project is positioned means placing it within a number of contexts. This dissertation is clear about framing the research—from conceptualisation to data gathering to analysis—in a range of contexts, appropriately matched between stage of research and underpinning theories. Contexts are thus enacted as detailed below.

- First, the context known as 'disclosure of researcher'.

    - In order to thoroughly contextualise the research undertaken, and in particular, to go some way towards accounting for the specific theoretical framing and approaches taken in this dissertation, a thorough disclosure of researcher is included.
- Second, historical context.
    - The focus of the research takes an historical approach, with the data crossing several historical eras. In particular, a discursive historical method approach is taken as a component of the lead methodology, CDA.
- Third, educational context.
    - This research is situated within the Queensland State (government) education system. Nation-wide education policies and issues are considered when there is a direct impact on History curriculum in Queensland. Within this context, different historical eras are investigated in the education area of *curriculum*, as distinct from *pedagogy* as the focus.
- Fourth, bricolage as-a-whole.
    - By merging different research methodologies and framing them within identified theoretical frameworks of ideologies, a strengthened methodology results. This ensures that the best approaches for data gathering, analysis and reporting are able to be combined into one, coherent methodology.

1.6 Central Research Problem

School curriculum, as a necessarily selective process, can be seen as a partial representation of all possible content. Therefore, the central research problem underpinning this project is as follows:

> *What understanding regarding the representation of British heritages and Indigenous Australians in History curriculum in Queensland schools can be drawn from an analysis of key syllabus documents and textbooks across select historical periods between 1900-2000?*

1.6.1 Research questions.

The central research problem is addressed through the following research questions—

1. How has Australian history been represented in official curriculum documents, such as syllabuses and textbooks?
2. In what ways do school textbooks reflect official knowledge (as represented through syllabuses)?

3. What discourses of British Heritages and Indigenous Australians are legitimised in official education syllabus documents, texts and curriculum support materials?

1.7 Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation is structured as eight chapters, each contributing to develop the discussion surrounding the central research problem and research questions. Subsequent to the concerns detailed in this chapter, an overview of the following chapters' specific content is summarised as follows:

Chapter Two: Literature Review, locates the research conducted within this dissertation with the published literature in the field of history and education. This chapter contains five sections that provide the conceptual focus of this project, including: official knowledge as encapsulated by Apple (1993, 2000); defining textbooks, including their use as a pedagogical device, especially to maintain ideological dominance; hegemony, dominant discourses and resistant discourses relevant to this project; constructions of national identity through school curriculum; and curriculum approaches in Humanities disciplines.

Chapter Three: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct presents an in-depth discussion of the methodological approach that guided the research, data collection, analysis and reporting of findings. Specifically, this includes an articulation of how *bricolage* is deployed and how a variety of methodological and theoretical approaches guide this approach including: CDA, visual analysis techniques, historical methodologies, disclosure of researcher, and ideological assumptions underpinning the project such as Gramsci's (1957, 1971; Forgacs, 1988) and Althusser's (1971, 1984) understandings of hegemony. It also includes a practical explanation of the enactment of the methodology to the data selection, analysis and reporting of findings through five distinct stages. In particular, the specific CDA approach taken to data analysis is detailed. Importantly, this chapter also sets out the explicit criteria used to select school curriculum materials for analysis; and the strategies undertaken to collect this data.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis Introduction frames the data analysis reported in chapters 5, 6, and 7—providing an historical and situated reading of the background to the analysis within a Queensland specific context.

Chapter 5: Before and Immediately After WWI. For the analysis of relevant school curriculum documents for the first era, the focus is on British heritages as this was a period of rapid social and political change, noteworthy particularly by Australia becoming increasingly independent from Great Britain, the ANZAC legends created by CEW Bean, and the symbolism of Gallipoli.

Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975. The focus of this chapter is on representations of Indigenous Australians. Significant topics are the 1967 referendum, William McMahon's Australia Day Address in 1972, and the subsequent establishment of the Tent Embassy. How school curriculum responded to and constructed these events during this period of rapid change, in view of changes to the dominant discourse, is the focus of this section.

Chapter 7: 1988 Bicentennial Era. The decade leading to Australia's 1988 Bicentennial provides an opportunity to view the representations of exemplar topics, British Heritages and Indigenous Australians alongside each other. A type of *celebratory history* characterises the dominant socio political discourses of this era as evidenced through popular national history publications and government campaigns. How, or if, this celebratory history is transposed into school curriculum forms the focus of this era.

Chapter 8: Conclusion provides a CDA final stage analysis to conclude the dissertation noting the connection between school curriculum documents and their historical context, linking the findings with the history/culture wars and current education contexts.

In order to contextualise the research undertaken for this dissertation and to provide a comprehensive background to the Australian cultural and history wars, especially for those unfamiliar with these debates, *Appendix A: Contexts* is included. Here, the current and continuing history/cultural wars are investigated with specific focus on their connection to school curriculum, particularly the subject area of History and SOSE. The contemporary debates are mapped from historian Geoffrey Blainey's 1993 Latham Memorial Lecture calling for a 'balanced' view of history to replace both the so-called 'Black armband' and 'Three Cheers' representations of the nation's past (although Blainey is widely recognized as belonging to the latter); and concludes with the election defeat of Prime Minister John

Howard in 2007; arguably a point in time when the vehement nature of the debates subsided, and their high media profile ceased.

The importance of this research is that it intends to make a significant contribution to the current debates about the direction of the History curriculum in schools, particularly in relation to the proposed national curriculum by proffering an historical perspective on curriculum content. Furthermore, the study provides an insight into Queensland schooling through an investigation of History curriculum across various historical eras. Knowledge of the construction of past events, as represented in curriculum, is essential to understanding reasons for the current structure and content taught, and to move forward in the future in order to ensure best possible education experiences for students. The outcomes of the research is valuable to both pre-service and qualified teachers as it provides access to knowledge regarding past constructions of curriculum, so a clearer understanding of current issues and potentially future changes can be gained. This project will also be of interest to education historians, history educators broadly, and historians of textbooks.

Finally, there is an interest in the broader national and international community on the topic of textbooks and teaching of History in schools, both separately and combined. There is currently an increased interest in carrying out research related to these topics in several countries, including Japan, Great Britain, Germany and the United States (see, for example, Wodak, 2001; Tampke, 2006; Moughrabi, 2001; Issitt, 2004; Osborne, 2003; Cope 1987; Brawley, 1997; an overview of the broader arguments in the United States in Wineburg, 2001; and an overview of a number of national contexts in Ahonen, 2001). This research aims to contribute to the knowledge that contributes to national histories and school texts by focusing on the Australian context. In doing so, this research aims to further develop comparative studies on a transnational level.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Structured as five sections, this literature review develops a position for this research within the larger body of existing knowledge on History curriculum. It does so by surveying the conceptual literature relevant to a textbook based research project covering a variety of topics relating to the social constructions of History teaching. This review precedes *Chapter 3: Methodology, Design and Conduct* which establishes the schooling, educational and curriculum contexts framing the analysis of the data collated for this particular project.

This chapter is formed according to five sections:

1. "Official knowledge" as described by Apple (1993, 2000);
2. Defining textbooks, including their use as a pedagogical device, especially to maintain ideological dominance;
3. Defining hegemony, dominant discourses and resistant discourses relevant to this project;
4. Constructions of national identity through school curriculum; and
5. Curriculum approaches in Humanities disciplines.

Investigating content of school curriculum is an area of sustained interest for education researchers interested in studying the ideological power and dominance in school curriculum documents and classroom practices. The current interest in this research is arguably due to the global growth of neo-conservative government policies, resulting in increasingly conservative schooling practices. This has led to increased research on the representations of History, particularly national history, which students learn at school. Furthermore, general public interest in the history/culture wars, as examined in *Appendix A: Contexts,* has meant that these types of topics enter general community consciousness. Where this research differs from other Australian school curriculum research (see, for example, A. Clark, 2006; Parkes, 2006, 2007; Halbert, 2006) is that it positions school History curriculum *across* selected historical eras outside of a contemporary school context and locates the analysis within the historical context relevant to the era. In addition, it differs from research investigating neo-conservative approaches evident in *public discourses* (see, for example, Luke, 1997) by locating these contexts (and their variances through historical eras) within the *school curriculum.*

2.1.2 Key concepts and terms.

As with any area of study, a particular lexicon surrounds this topic, and specific key concepts and terms need to be defined to establish a common understanding between author and readers. While other terms will appear at particular points as the project unfolds, the terms and accompanying definitions provided in this section form the core of the key terminology used throughout the dissertation. Key terms related specifically to the methodological approaches used in this dissertation, for example Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), bricolage and hegemony are included in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*. The terms listed here are included as an introduction, and therefore act only as a tool to establish definitions that are then expanded where relevant.

Official knowledge is taken from Apple's work on education to mean school or education department approved curriculum and support materials for delivery and instruction in schools (Apple, 2000). That is, curriculum content that is officially sanctioned by curriculum decision makers (for example Department of Education officials or syllabus committees) to be taught in schools.

Discourse in this project is taken to mean a form of language that is related to particular social institutions and practices. Discourses play a role in structuring the attitudes, behaviours and power relations of the people who use them. Cherryholmes writes of this concept "dominant discourses determine what counts as true, important, relevant, and what gets spoken. Discourses are generated and governed by rules and power" (1987, p. 301). This term is explored in greater depth, in relation to its use as part of a CDA approach in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*.

Resistant discourse in this project is taken to mean examples of texts that provide a counter or oppositional reading to the dominant discourses evident in school curriculum texts, or parts of texts, relevant to their specific era. That is, the reader is provided with an *alternative* representation of national history through one, or both, of the exemplar topics British heritages and Indigenous representations. The presence of a resistant discourse, to varying degrees, limits the power of the prevailing discourse to sustain a mono-perspective of topics to students, and links with Aronowitz and Giroux's idea of resistance that "…rightly portrays domination as a process that is neither static or complete" (1993, p. 9).

Ideology in a simple form, is taken to mean, "...the 'system' of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality" (Apple, 2004, p. 18) and "...represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 1984, p. 36). This is applied to the relationship between how official knowledge in school curriculum is established and maintained and the broader issues that influence what is included and excluded, such as social, political and economical. Furthermore, by seeing ideology as "a system of beliefs by which we make sense of the world" (Stephens as cited in Pinsent, 1997, p. 1), the sense-making that History textbooks communicate to students can be located for analysis. In particular, when the term is used as part of the methodology, the work of Althusser (1984, 1971) and Gramsci (1957, 1971; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) plays a significant role in informing the application of this term specifically in connection with notions of hegemony in school curriculum and public discourses. The following extract provides a definition of ideology, in relation to discourse analysis, that this project takes:

> Ideologies are constructions of practices from particular perspectives (and in that sense 'one-sided') which 'iron out' the contradictions, dilemmas and antagonisms of practices in ways which accord with the interests and projects of domination. The effect of ideologies in 'ironing out' (i.e., suppressing) aspects of practices is what links ideologies to 'mystification' (Barrett 1991, p. 167) and 'misrecognition' (Althusser 1972; Bourdieu 1991). Ideologies are discursive constructions, so the question of ideology is part of the question of how discourse relates to other moments of social practices… (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 26)

Hidden curriculum, a term coined by Jackson was originally defined as:

> …the crowds, the praise, and the power that combine to give a distinctive flavor to classroom life collectively form a hidden curriculum where each student (and teacher) must master if he [sic] is to make his way satisfactorily through the school. The demands created by these features of classroom life may be contrasted with the academic demands—the "official" curriculum, so to speak—to which educators traditionally have paid the most attention. As might be expected, the two curriculums are related to each other… (Jackson, 1968, pp. 33-34)

Since this initial definition, its use and understanding has expanded significantly (see, for example, Hansen, Driscoll, & Arcilla, 2007; Giroux, 2006; Apple, 2000; McCarthy, 1990,

Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Whitty, 1985). For the purposes of this research, the *hidden curriculum* focuses on curriculum content, rather than pedagogical practices, discipline, praise, or other aspects of everyday schooling experiences. In more recent times, Zumwalt explains this concept as "…lessons students learn that are not necessarily part of the planned or even the enacted curriculum…The hidden curriculum involves learned outcomes that are not openly acknowledged to the learners and sometimes not even known by the teacher" (2007, p. 128). It is the mitigated meta-discourses present in textbooks—the unstated content—that is a focus of the final stage analysis for this project, that become apparent through the application of CDA.

Textbook is taken to mean "a focused educational programme in text allied to a scheme of work" (Issitt, 2004, p. 685), and for this project, published for and used in school classrooms.

2.2 Introduction to Official Knowledge

This section addresses the topic of *what* constitutes the official knowledge in school curriculum and *how* this official knowledge is generally determined. Within this topic, issues of content selection in textbooks and other curriculum resources are considered as an influencing factor in the teaching of History. It is important to recognise that there are many contentious issues and arguments associated with 'the school' as an institution and that the socially constructed economic and political values it reinforces to students is not a "neutral enterprise" (Apple, 2004, p. 7). The concept of official knowledge theorises the way dominant values are communicated to students as a type of non-overt way of inculcating students to view the world in particular ways. It is argued that dominant values are those usually viewed in society as being 'normal', 'just' or 'right' and broadly accepted to be 'true'. In a sense they have been repeated so many times, they become naturalized as a way of understanding the way the world is, becoming part of the hegemonic practice of schooling students (see, for example, Luke's, 1995-1996 understanding of hegemony). Hall explains how this concept is practiced:

> The social distribution of knowledge *is* skewed. And since the social institutions most directly implicated in its formation and transmission—the family/school/media triplet—are grounded in and structured by the class relations that surround them, the distribution of the available codes with which to decode or unscramble the meaning of events in the world, and the languages we use to construct interests, are bound to reflect the unequal relations of power that obtain in the area of symbolic production

> as in other spheres...the circle of dominant ideas *does* accumulate the symbolic power to map or classify the world for others...It becomes the horizon of the taken-for-granted: what the world is and how it works, for all practical purposes. (1988, p. 44)

Furthermore, rather than culture and ideology as a naturally occurring or evolving form or process, Apple asserts the explicit operation of ideologies writing, "the conventional approach…assumes by and large that ideology is 'inscribed in' people..." (2000, p. 15). For the context of this dissertation, the term *official knowledge* refers to that which is legitimately included in school curriculum. It also encompasses what and whose knowledge is determined to be of most worth for students to learn (Apple, 2004). Curriculum, especially as represented through the syllabus and textbooks, then is the translation of official knowledge intended to be "…what counts as valid knowledge…" (Bernstein, 1974, p. 203). There are various factors, such as economic and political, which determine what is included as official knowledge. For example, those who have access to the political systems are in a better placed situation to greatly influence the content of what is included in official knowledge. Karier, Violas and Spring also identify the influence and power that business values have historically had in schools, by writing that through economics, "…schools…have been used as instruments to teach the norms necessary to adjust the young to the changing patterns of the economic system as well as to the society's more permanent values" (Karier, Violas & Spring, 1973, p. 7). Thus, they can see that dominant societal values, whether economic or otherwise, impact directly on the content of curriculum. An example is the public uproar that resulted from the term 'invasion' used to describe the act of British colonisation of the Australian continent in Queensland school curriculum documents in 1994. See *Appendix A: Contexts* for an overview and A. Clark (2006, 2002b) and Ferrari and Wilson (2007) for deeper analyses of this issue.

The construction and implementation of the curriculum is impacted by a number of factors, with influence emerging from the accepted cultural values of the given era. Jerome Bruner describes school curriculum as reflecting "...inarticulate cultural values as well as explicit plans; and these values are never far removed from considerations of social class, gender, and the prerogatives of social power" (1996, p. 27). This notion of social power influencing the curriculum is supported by others (such as Apple, 2000; Karier et al., 1973; Hall, 1988) who see the relationship between schooling and broader society closely linked. The cultural values

that Bruner mentions are prepositioned by the word, *inarticulate*. In this context, the term refers to the larger social values, discourses and public pedagogy that operate and influence the curriculum. It is referred to as *inarticulate* as specific values are not generally explicitly stated, but can be understood through a reading of the texts that shape society, including the gaps and silences present in political discourses, those which are held to be 'true'.

Textbooks are one of many sources (and selected to form the focus of analysis for this dissertation) that are regarded as forming the official knowledge which constitutes the whole curriculum. Of their value in the curriculum, Issitt writes, "once created, they assume a position within the spectrum of genres and they achieve a temporary status as a legitimate form of knowledge" (2004, p. 685). This temporary status is then forged into a more permanent one as the textbook becomes accepted and used in the classroom, a point reinforced by Apple (2000) asserting that textbooks are a part of forming the official knowledge present in schools. Issitt who writes extensively on the study of textbooks in schools is aware of the generally negative reception textbooks garner, claiming this representation of textbooks impacts on their use as part of "certified 'official' knowledge" (2004, p. 684). Issitt acknowledges there are many issues associated with the use of textbooks and that they are often viewed as or used when "the need arises, to be regurgitated at examination time and to be negotiated in learning exercises" (2004, p. 684). This dissertation concurs with Apple and Issitt in claiming that textbooks are an integral aspect of the propagating and promoting of official knowledge. This dissertation also includes additional texts such as syllabus documents and Department of Education sanctioned school literary texts, on equal footing with textbooks as school texts which translate the official knowledge intended for students to use.

On the topic of the selection and transmission of educational knowledge, Bernstein writes that "…the educational knowledge it [society] considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control" (1974, p. 202). Leading on from Bernstein's views of educational knowledge, Apple asserts that the unequal distribution of power in society is also reflected in educational institutions, such as schools (2004, p. vii). In drawing extensively on the areas of power in society connected with what is specifically taught in classrooms, Apple argues that this is used not only to represent established dominance but also the ability an individual or a group has to "*create* the social conditions…that make life more fulfilling" (1993, p. 144). Apple advocates that the power

relations present in society have direct ramifications within schooling and specifically what is taught in classrooms, including pedagogical practices related to curriculum content.

2.2.1 Establishing and communicating official knowledge through curriculum.

Apple asserts that schools are a constant "site of conflict" (2004, p. vii) about what constitutes the official knowledge. Young's perspectives are also aligned with this, writing, "...those in positions of power will attempt to define what is taken as knowledge, how accessible to different groups any knowledge is, and what are accepted relationships between different knowledge areas and between those who have access to them and make them available" (as cited in Apple, 2004, p. 35). This statement can be considered directly applicable to the contentious issue of how official knowledge is established in the curriculum that is taught in schools. Young also states, "...school curriculum becomes just one of the mechanisms through which knowledge is 'socially distributed'" (1971, p. 27). Apple affirms that there can be a struggle involved when establishing and negotiating the curriculum and other aspects of schooling such as policies. He writes that policy and practice "...are the results of struggles by powerful groups and social movements to make their knowledge legitimate, to defend or increase their patterns of social mobility, and to increase their power in the larger social arena" (2000, p. 9). This links to the ideas of hegemony that Althusser (1984, 1971) and Gramsci (1957, 1971) discuss in relation to maintaining ideological control of education, a topic broached in greater depth in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*.

Education, and in particular, curriculum is never impartial, and as Young explains, are "socially produced" (1988, p. 24) and furthermore presents itself as a type of "...conception of 'curriculum as fact', with its underlying view of knowledge as external to knowers, both teachers and students, and embodied in syllabi and textbooks..." (1988, p. 25). This view of *curriculum as fact* sees curriculum being handed to teachers by an external authority, or at least one not at-the-coalface, to teach students a knowledge which is *regarded* as complete. In discussing the tenuous nature of curriculum, and its likelihood to change over time, Young writes that education is "…a selection and organization from the available knowledge at a particular time which involves conscious and unconscious choices" (1971, p 24). For interest, this is in contrast to Young's other categorization of *curriculum as practice* which "…involves a radically different concept of knowledge…no longer is knowledge viewed as a

kind of private property handed down from the academic ‘discoverers’ for the teacher to distribute or ‘transmit’” (1988, p. 28).

2.2.2 Reproduction of social values and norms through official knowledge as a form of social control.

What is accepted as social norms is not a result of organic growth as argued by, for example, Apple (2000), Fiske (1991), Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987), Karier et al., (1973), and Young (1971, 1988). Rather, culture is “a producer and reproducer of value systems and power relations…” (Fiske et al., 1987, p. x). Young, drawing on Williams, “...suggests that curricula changes have reflected the relative power of the different groups over the last hundred years” (1971, p. 29). The hidden curriculum is sometimes referred to as the reproduction of the social values and norms that are expected of citizens in the wider community and society generally. In more recent times, the term has been “reformulated as ‘curricular substructure’” (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 2002, p. 248). This hidden curriculum generally does not refer to the explicit content of the curriculum in particular subject areas, but rather the (usually) unspoken expectations of behaviour and processes that are acceptable and expected for students to adopt. By highlighting the omissions, discourses that emerge from analysis of History textbooks will determine the unstated ideologies present in the curriculum. The hidden curriculum, then, is made visible.

An example of governments using schools as sites for the reproduction of social values can be viewed through the interest of the Australian Federal Government in school education during World War II. Although in Australia education is the responsibility of state governments, the Commonwealth Department of Information was established which, amongst other activities, provided government endorsed teaching materials (Spaull, 1982). David Spaull describes the reason for its establishment and subsequent influence on schooling was, “…to act as an important, indirect source of ideas and material for the creation and maintenance of a war ideology in the schools…” (pp. 38-39). Some of the efforts of this Department were thwarted however by state education authorities due to their own curriculum requirements; especially as they were at times inconsistent with materials supplied by the Department of Information; and to maintain their control of the state-based curriculum. The interest the federal government had in schools in guiding ideologies continued even after the end of World War II. Therefore it can be seen that education departments have long been aware of the influence curriculum content has on the learning of

students and thus use its position to reproduce the social values it considers should be adopted by students in schools.

Further evidence to show that the dominant socio-political values have had a long association with the official knowledge of schools is the support 19th century Whig politician, Horace Mann gave to the establishment of government funded schools in the United States. The dominant values present then were the need, based on a perceived threat from immigrants and Indigenous American peoples, for self-protection and a way to ensure that this occurred. Mann, in wanting to establish common schools, argued that "…would not the payment of a sufficient tax to make such education and training universal, be the cheapest means of self-protection and insurance?" (as cited in Karier, 1973, p. 12). In essence, his argument was "the state would use public education as a vehicle for social control and order" (Karier, 1973, p. 12). Even with the changing nature of schools and the increase in students accessing education in Australia especially in the years post World War II, the dominant values of society continue to be pursued through the curriculum, often for political and economic means. Even the *Education Act 1875* (QLD) enacted to provide free and compulsory education, and then the extension of compulsory schooling to encompass high school post World War II, can be seen as a response to the dominant societal values in the general public calling for education to be provided for children and young people.

2.2.3 Curriculum as 'commonsense'.

In recent times, there has been a call by governments to teach students one set of clearly articulated values through content that is often referred to as an all encompassing 'our' culture and heritage. Apple explains this by writing, that there is a "…call to 'return' to a 'common culture' in which all students are given the values of a specific group—usually the dominant group…" (2004, p. xxiv), and as a consequence, "they imply certain presuppositions, which many people see as 'common sense beliefs' or 'shared truth'" (Wodak, 2004, p. 208). More often, this call and expectation originates from conservative governments, especially those that promote a mono-cultural set of values for their citizens to embody. In relation to the teaching of History and associated subjects, this can be seen in the reproducing of the dominant historical values—whether accurate or imagined—part of historical mythology. This reinforcement of the dominant culture as Raymond William states "...is always passed off as 'the tradition,' *the* significant past" (as cited in Apple, 2004, p. 5).

The information presented thus far in this chapter clearly demonstrates a connection between ideology and curriculum, in accordance with how it is established and then maintained. It is therefore a falsity to indicate that any curriculum *is* (or even, *can be*) neutral. Furthermore, as Apple claims, assertions that have been made in terms of the construction of curriculum content has, and in many cases still does, promote an "....underlying position was apolitical and bore no relationship to how power and resources were distributed in society" (2004, p. 16). In an Australian schooling context, this 'common sense', sometimes articulated as a 'back to basics' approach has filtered into curriculum debates, especially by supporters of a national curriculum. Former Prime Minister, John Howard was one such proponent of an ideological neutral, 'common sense' approach to History teaching, as expressed in his 2006 Australia Day address:

> Quite apart from a strong focus on Australian values, I believe the time has also come for root and branch renewal of the teaching of Australian history in our schools…Too often history has fallen victim in an ever more crowded curriculum to subjects deemed more 'relevant' to today…too often, *history, along with other subjects in the humanities, has succumbed to a postmodern culture of relativism where any objective record of achievement is questioned or repudiated.*
>
> …
>
> Part of preparing young Australians to be informed and active citizens is to teach them the central currents of our nation's development…In the end, young people are at risk of being disinherited from their community if that community lacks the courage and confidence to teach its history. (Howard, 2006, n.p., emphasis added)

Language used by Howard throughout his prime ministership draws on discourses of common sense, an attempt to enunciate a common culture amongst Australians, arguably as a way to stifle or limit debate on topics, particularly those connected in some way with the contestation of Australia's past history. This is pointed out, for example, in Luke's (1997) analysis of the speech made by Howard at *The Australian Reconciliation Convention* in 1997. Promoting common (and generally, base level) Australian citizenship values based on national history remained a frequent topic for Howard as seen in the following extract from Hansard of 1996 discussing bi-partisan support for a parliamentary racial tolerance statement:

> It contains commitments to the kind of Australian society that I believe in and have always believed in. *It contains a commitment to some common Australian values which are held by Australians*, irrespective of whether their ancestors came from the British Isles, Europe, the Middle East or Asia. Whatever the rights and wrongs and the contributions of different people and different attitudes in the Australian community, *it comes at a time when it is appropriate and in the national interest to send a clear and unambiguous signal, particularly to the nations of our region but not only to the nations of our region, of the kind of society we are*. It is put forward to this parliament by the government and I trust also by the opposition not in any sense of apology, not in any self-conscious sense, but as a *simple, direct and unambiguous statement of certain values and principles*. (Howard, 1996a, p. 6156, emphasis added)

Returning now to again focus more specifically on school curriculum as 'common sense', Young provides a succinct summary of Gramsci's work on commonsense and education, writing:

> Examples such as 'theory' and 'practice', creation and propagation of knowledge (or in contemporary terms 'teaching' and 'research'), and what he [Gramsci] calls the 'laws of scholarship' and the 'limits of scientific research' are all unexamined parts of the framework within which most formal education takes place. The second aspect relates to his distinction between 'common sense' and 'philosophy' in which he sees that some people's common sense becomes formally recognised as philosophy, and other people's does not, depending on their access to certain institutional contexts....sociologists should raise the wider question of the relation between school knowledge and commonsense knowledge, of how, as Gramsci suggests, knowledge available to certain groups becomes 'school knowledge' or 'educational' and that available to others does not. (1971, p. 28)

Commonsense in education is understood by Gitlin as being "…a catchall phrase that refers to dominant discourses, the broad-based circulating value systems that often move across multiple contexts and local discourse, the specific contextual normative systems found in a particular locale" (2006, p. 171). This is a topic that has also been covered by educators from discipline areas outside of History in contemporary Australia. As broached in *Appendix A: Contexts* Wayne Sawyer, then President of the Australian Association for the Teaching of

English (AATE) used an editorial of the Association's journal, *English in Australia*, to promote his personal political views related to the attempt by conservative politicians to create a binary of 'common sense' and 'ideological' curriculum. Specifically, he wrote:

> Our current students face a relentless barrage of shock-jocks, media barons, advertising and corporate greed masquerading as common sense. *Of course the overtly critical-ethical from teachers will be labeled 'ideological', while the overtly political from the media barons, the corporate and the Liberals in 'neutral'*. Does this mean becoming smarter in representing ourselves? Does it mean having to have a deliberate and conscious ethical and critical agenda? (2004, p. 8, emphasis added)

Other educators and education researchers link the appeal of 'common sense', 'back to basic' and 'ideological neutral' education to neo-conservatives (from all major political parties, not solely the traditionally conservative), and identify instances of this discourse operating in school curriculum. This is particularly the case when discussing the proposed Australian national curriculum, as an editorial from *The Australian* asserted:

> …while the proposal may put the teachers unions offside, *it represents a dose of common sense on an issue of long-term national importance*. There is no good reason for a country of 20 million people to host eight separate state and territory educational systems, each developing their own syllabuses…Giving the federal government central control of the nation's curriculum would also serve to increase accountability and transparency… (Editorial: The advantages of a national approach, 2007, para. 1)

In the context of the history/culture wars, Parkes identifies discourses of *commonsense* in History curriculum as being almost like an ideology in and of itself, advocated by neo-conservatives such as Blainey, Donnelly and Howard. Parkes writes, in a similar view to that expressed by Sawyer, "what is common…is the accusation that new historiography is politically motivated and ideologically laden, while the critic's own version of history is 'just the facts'" (2007, p. 389). The impact of the neo-conservative agenda in pushing a 'commonsense' approach to curriculum cannot be underestimated and fits with aims to reproduce conservative dominant discourses in schooling. Hodge and Kress write of this type of politicking representation as:

> In short, this set of semiotic features, of representational resources, suggests and implies, and I would wish to say, over the longer period produces a particular disposition, a particular habitus and, in so doing, plays its part in the production of a certain kind of subjectivity, a subjectivity with certain orientations to 'rationality.' (as cited in Widdowson, 1998, p. 139)

Language use within curriculum documents has also been identified as a way the curriculum attempts to communicate implicit *common sense* understandings, which depending on the teacher will vary significantly with no *common* term existing for certain terms (see, for example the link of common sense to global education in Dyer, 2005; and the link between common sense to social education in Gilbert, 2003). An example is identified by Halbert in her analysis of the 2004 Modern History syllabus for senior years in Queensland and writes of the citizenship aims:

> Specific aims listed in the rationale...are imbedded with key terms that are used without definition, and thus, effectively draw on *assumed commonsense meanings*. Thus, for instance the opening phrase includes the term 'society's citizens' (QSA, 2004, p. 1). It offers no definition of either 'society' or 'citizen'. Such terms are richly complex... (2006, p. 4)

Disagreeing with the notion of a firm *common sense* is also identified by British historian Arthur Marwick in the general theory of historical research, whereby he writes:

> ...history is based on the primary sources, and the primary sources left by past societies can reveal beliefs and actions which totally defy what would today be considered 'common sense'. *Commons sense might tell us that when misery, and oppression, and injustice are heaped on subordinate peoples, they will rise up in revolt; but this is by no means necessarily the case*...Human beings in the past have not always, or even usually, behaved completely rationally...so *common sense is a poor guide to how, and why, people behaved in the past*. (2001, p. 249, emphasis added)

In this statement, Marwick clearly articulates practical examples to support his perspective that *common sense* cannot be used by historians to explain the behaviours and actions of people. This links broadly with the topic of this section, being that *common sense* as a term used in historical study and research is problematic.

2.3 Defining Textbooks

One important way official knowledge of school curriculum is communicated in classrooms is through the use of textbooks. In discussing how official knowledge is constructed, Luke raises the point of the influence and impact particular constructions have, and how this is influenced by "…curriculum texts prepared by academics and teachers, and corporate publishers…" (1995-1996, p. 28). Textbooks are written from the perspective that the content contained within them is "*what counts* as knowledge…and, by default, alternative claims on the same knowledge arena or alternative lines of exploration are cast as irrelevant" (Issitt, 2004, p. 689). Traditionally in Queensland textbooks have been written by school teachers, Queensland-based academics (usually former classroom teachers, such as H.R. Cowie), school and district inspectors, or compiled by anonymous Department of Education/Public Instruction public servants (especially in the case of Queensland Readers). In more recent times, there has been an increase in the education market of textbooks published by non-Queensland authors. This is arguably a result of the increasing nationalisation of curriculum that can be traced from about the mid-1990s onwards, with the advent of closer curriculum ties between Australian states, through the 1989 *Hobart Declaration of Schooling* and the updated 1999 *Adelaide Declaration on National Goals of Schooling in the Twenty-first Century* (as detailed in *Appendix A: Contexts*). For the purposes of this project, the authorship of textbooks remains with the former usual practices as the period of analysis ceases in 1988. Additionally, textbooks published for Queensland schools closely follow the requirements of each school year level as outlined in the relevant syllabus. For the Queensland context, how the curriculum is realised through History textbooks including their publication is detailed in greater depth in *Chapter 4: Data Analysis Introduction*.

Whilst there are many different ways to categorise and define exactly which types of written academic texts should be catalogued as textbooks, as explored by Issitt (2004), for the purposes of this dissertation, undertaking such a task is irrelevant. Instead, the textbooks selected for analysis are those that are marketed as being textbooks by publishing companies, such as Jacaranda and William Brooks, and those published by relevant Queensland government departments, The Department of Public Instruction later to become The Department of Education. They are automatically considered textbooks due to the purpose of their publication (selection criteria for specific textbooks used for analysis is outlined in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*). It is, however useful to look at the

way textbooks are defined by their genre, and one offered by Hoskin states, "…two driving principles that distinguish books as a form of textuality: normalization and expansionism. Textbooks as a genre are driven by normalization, as they shape their message according to normalizing constraints" (1990, p. 2). The normalising processes that take place through their use will be explored in depth during the data analysis stages. Building on the statements of textbooks purposes, Hamilton considers that "…textbooks visibly reflect pedagogic considerations. That is, a textbook is not just a book used in schools. Rather, it is a book that has been consciously designed and organised to serve…schooling" (1990, p. 1).

By and large, textbooks structure content and treat the reader (in this case, school students) as "textual subjects" rather than "agents" (Pink, 2001, p. 5), promoting a passive, accepting reading of the knowledge, as opposed to active engagement and critiquing of the information presented. This then influences the style of writing and structure of textbooks as generally passive and authoritative, and as Giroux claims a "...'reified view of knowledge', meaning a form of knowledge that is beyond question, that erases the fact that it was produced by humans operating in a particular context with a specific set of values" (as cited in Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1998, p. 5). Regarding the tone of textbooks, Issitt writes:

> In general, the particular voice of the textbooks author is subsumed within a monotone of expositionary clarity. It is this authorial monotone that underlines the claim to objectivity and political neutrality inherent in textbooks. In removing, or possibly camouflaging the author's particularities and personal agendas, the textbook fits the genre and invites a learning engagement already ring-fenced by cultural markers and rules. (2004, p. 688).

To what degree this is reflected in the textbooks selected for this project is analysed and included for discussion in each of the data analysis chapters.

2.3.1 Use and importance of textbooks.

Textbooks are often viewed in a negative light, with many people perceiving them to be difficult to comprehend, boring and presented as an uninteresting way to learn (see, for example, Osborne's, 2003 study of Canadian History curriculum). However, as they are used extensively in schools, particularly in secondary teaching, they are therefore important to consider when discussing what constitutes the official knowledge present in the school curriculum. As John Daniel, former Assistant General Director, UNESCO writes: "...school

textbooks are...a very important vehicle for shaping their [students'] understanding of the world, not least because they perceive that textbooks represent the 'official' point of view of grown-ups" (2006, p. ix). Even if students themselves do not use specific textbooks regularly, often teachers draw teaching material from them resulting in the widespread use and endorsement of the content contained within textbooks (see, for example, Gray's note to teachers in the preface of *Essentials of history*). Issitt identifies some of the negative connotations associated with the term 'textbook', but also states that even with the negativity they attract, textbooks "as a teaching aid and as part of the learning experience, they are practically ubiquitous…on the one hand textbooks are derided, but…the reality of their universal use cannot be denied" (2004, p. 683). Issitt further explains that textbooks can be seen as the internal underpinnings of a particular subject area and that the textbooks "function to create, trace and maintain the boundaries of a discipline by inclusion or exclusion of subjects and by expressing a disciplinary discourse that lays claims to a particular terrain of ideas" (p. 688). Luke, de Castell and Luke emphasise the importance of textbooks as a pedagogical tool, writing:

> The significant role of textbooks in education...is a function of their ability to 'make meanings more explicit' in a manner which places those meanings 'above criticism'...Since schooling aims to transmit...'culturally significant knowledge'...textbooks are an ideal format. (1989, p. 246)

The importance of textbooks cannot be ignored, in terms of shaping and informing the official knowledge of the school curriculum (see Apple, 1988 for an early discussion regarding economics and textbooks), with Gilbert stating: "...textbooks are an important...factor influencing the questions, issues and topics discussed in classrooms. In influencing the agendas of classroom discussion they are important discursive frameworks" (1989, p. 70). Furthermore, Davis writes:

> Textbooks derive their power not from their ubiquitous presence in classrooms.
>
> If they did although they do not, chalkboards and pencils and paper would share textbooks' potency. Textbooks are powerful not because of the nature of the texts that they include. Simply, textbooks are powerful because they contain the information that society expects students to know...As Michael Apple has so aptly noted, the knowledge in almost all textbooks, however written, compiled and published, properly may be classified as "official knowledge". (2006, p. xiii)

The study and analysis of textbooks is an area that can become more difficult when the textbook examined is a recent publication. This is due to the theory that there are "unexamined assumptions" (Pinsent, 1997, p. 2) on the behalf of authors; and perhaps also the teachers who select the textbooks for use. Issitt asserts that a textbook, for example published in the late 19th or early 20th century can be a simpler exercise to deconstruct in order to identify discourses operating within, as it is easier to be retrospective about ideologies evident in the content of textbooks than to accurately consider the textbooks of our own times. Issitt writes, "our vision tends to become more obscured as we approach the contemporary mindset and as we confusedly try to unpack the world with intellectual tools, some of which bear little resemblance to the philosophical perspectives informing its construction" (2004, p. 690). This idea is endorsed by Althusser who explains that contemporary texts "...are so integrated into our everyday 'consciousness' that it is extremely hard, not to say almost impossible, to raise oneself to the *point of view of reproduction*" (1971, p. 123). This project avoids this by analysing textbooks from previous eras and by establishing and adhering to a rigorous process of analysis, enabling findings to emerge from the data, as set out in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*.

2.3.2 Maintaining (ideological) dominance through textbook content.

Textbooks generally present themselves as ideologically neutral; an idea of schooling which is supported by those who make statements such as "keep ideology out of school" (Akerman, 2008, n.p.). This type of statement ignores that, as this project establishes, "…no use of language is ideologically neutral, that every text, from a political tract to a tram ticket, is expressive of a particular discourse, and bears evidence of some hegemonic intent" (Widdowson, 1998, p. 146). This notion of hegemony is further explored in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*. Regarding the role textbooks play in legitimizing dominant perspectives, Issitt writes:

> Textbooks as a teaching vehicle are legitimized in the business of education by the assumption of political neutrality. Subjected to close scrutiny, however, their status as ideologically neutral is rarely sustainable and their apolitical veneer easily stripped off. The most obvious way to expose the political dimension of their knowledge status is to think of where they are generally used—in that culturally sanctioned site of human engagement, the classroom. It does not take long to show that not only is this important site of learning policed by professionals and educational policies to

> which the learner is subject, but that the key mechanism which reproduces the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the discipline, the curriculum and state educational policy, is the textbook. (2004, p. 688)

It is very unusual for a textbook to declare its ideological or theoretical base, especially one published for a school audience, where the contestation of knowledge does not feature explicitly. Indeed, this is identified in textbooks analysed for this research, with no authors of the school textbooks selected for analysis openly declaring their ideological perspectives or being open about disclosures, apart from simplistic facts such as employment affiliation. CDA plays an important role, then, in deconstructing the power relations that exist in textbooks maintaining ideological dominance through content including both written text and visual images. Although covered in greater depth in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*, the following quote provides a succinct explanation of the links between the power that texts have in maintaining this dominance, sometimes referred to as 'common sense' by those who resist any change, as Fairclough and Wodak describe:

> Since discourse is so socially influential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discourse practice may have major ideological effects: that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. So discourse may, for example, be racist, or sexist, and try to pass off assumptions (often falsifying ones) about any aspect of social life as mere common sense. Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people. CDA aims to make more visible these opaque aspects of discourse. (1997, p. 258)

There are many mediums and systems which work to maintain ideological dominance. The textbook is only one of many "…apparatuses which generate and circulate ideologies" (Hall, 2006, p. 398). However, as it is the textbook that is of primary concern in this project, this will form the focus of relating ideological dominance to a specific curriculum context. The notion of textbooks replicating dominant socio-political discourses is not uncommon. In a textbook aimed at pre-service teachers, Marsh asserts that "school materials, especially textbooks can exhibit cultural bias" (2008, p. 226). Teachers are then advised to intercept this information in order to "…help students identify bias and to seek information from a wide

variety of sources so that many different viewpoints can be considered" (Marsh, 2008, p. 226). Issitt claims that a strength of textbooks is the "...mix of sources including the configuration of dominant ideas and social values" (2004, p. 685) that forms their content. Apple who does not always consider that this is a strength, reports that what is included in textbooks endorsed either officially or unofficially can be related to the power relations which constructed them, writing:

> It is important to realize, then, that controversies over "official knowledge" that usually center around what is included and excluded in textbooks really signify more profound political, economic and cultural relations and histories. Conflicts over texts are often proxies for wider questions of power and relations (2000, p. 46).

Seeing ideology as "a system of beliefs by which we make sense of the world" (Stephens as cited in Pinsent, 1997, p. 1) textbooks portray specific ideological understandings through their content, which although cannot always be viewed as negative need nevertheless to be critiqued and understood. Three types of ideologies are defined by Hollindale as being present in school textbooks being: overt, implicit and inherent are defined below.

> The writer's ideology may appear overtly in the text, revealing what he or she believes; this is often the case in books published in earlier periods. More frequently today, ideology is implicit, in the form of unexamined assumptions; if readers share these assumptions, they may find this kind of ideology almost imperceptible. Hollindale also identifies ideology as being inherent within language itself. (Pinsent, 1997, p. 1)

Although textbooks are not, per se, generally considered literary texts, their widespread and consistent use in classrooms lead them to be considered as such for the purposes of this project. Aimed at school students, who are generally in their formative and highly impressionable years, they can be viewed in similar ways to the perspective of children's picture books, expressed by Nodelman as: "…expressions of the values and assumptions of a culture and a significant way of embedding readers in those values and assumptions—persuading them that they are in fact the reader that the texts imply" (as cited in Manuel, 2009, p. 95). How these ideologies are evident in Queensland textbooks are explored throughout the data analysis chapters.

Although Issitt (2004) contends that textbooks are an avenue to promote certain viewpoints and dominant discourses, and that this may be a conscious act, he writes in the case of non-dominant content and views that are included, that this is an inadvertent inclusion. Other researchers, such as Apple (1993, 2000, 2004) and Whitty (1985) see the inclusion and exclusion of content as a conscious act to determine the official knowledge present in school curriculum through textbooks, with Whitty stating, "the texts, then, serve to emphasize and legitimate the existence and activities of some groups at the expense of others" (1985, p. 41). Issitt surmises this part of the argument with the following statement "in its role as an essential site of learning, the textbook is a key mechanism for the production and reproduction of ideas" (2004, p. 688). Both Apple (1993, 2000, 2004) and Issitt (2004) agree that textbooks are not politically neutral, although they may appear to be, and are usually promoted as natural publications, with Issitt writing "…their status as ideologically neutral is rarely sustainable and their apolitical veneer easily stripped off" (2004, p. 688).

Within attempts to maintain specific ideological views through textbook content, the subject of national identity formation through national history is important to critique and understand for the ways it is covered through school texts. For example, Patrick Brindle comments that of textbooks published in the UK during the inter-war period, they were "particularly…concerned with strong narrative and their…affinity towards a mainstream, national heritage based upon a canon of recurring stories about figures and events from the past…" (1997, p. 1). The same can be applied in the Queensland context, in the period of the early to mid 20th century, whereby nationalist discourses were starting to emerge and a canon of stories linked to Australia's emerging nationhood began to be sustained (see, for example, Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a analysed in *Chapter 5: Before and Immediately After WWI*). Through these examples, the notion of creating a hegemonic sense of national identity is apparent. It is also evident that one purpose textbooks aim to serve is the promotion of national pride through select events and people deemed important in the nation's development and history (a topic discussed in greater depth in *Constructions of national identity through school curriculum* section of this chapter).

2.3.3 Hidden curriculum within textbooks.

The focus of Jackson's (1968) initial conceptualisation of the hidden curriculum is towards pedagogical and behavioural practices, for example as seen through the following statement

that appeared as part of his definition (and extends on the definition provided earlier in this chapter):

> As has already been suggested in the discussion of praise in the classroom, the reward system of the school is linked to success in both curriculums. Indeed, many of the rewards and punishments that sound as if they are being dispensed on the basis of academic success and failure are really more closely related to the mastery of the hidden curriculum...
>
> It is difficult to imagine any of today's teachers, particularly those in elementary schools, failing a student who tries, even though his mastery of course content is slight...Although it offends our sensibilities to admit it, no doubt that bright-eyed little girl who stands trembling before the principal on graduation day arrived there at least in part because she typed her weekly themes neatly and handed her homework in on time. (1968, p. 34)

This emphasis on pedagogy and schooling practices also remains the centre point for most research on the concept of hidden curriculum. See, for example, the edited work of Hansen et al. (2007); its application to pedagogical practices in Giroux (2006); its role in the processes of schooling in Giroux and Purpel (1983); locating the hidden curriculum within existing practices (Martin, 1983); its relevance within educational policy (Whitty & Power, 2002); and theorising its application in sociology of education (Hickey & Austin, 2006). However, the focus that this project adopts is its application to the official knowledge of the school curriculum (as an explicit component of classroom academic learning), and more specifically, to textbooks. This is seen for example, in research on American history textbooks by Carlson that "...serve to legitimate a dominant Cold War ideological interpretation of the world consistent with the assumptions and interests of elite economic groups" (1989, p. 50); an overview of research conducted primarily in the USA on this topic (Pinar et al., 2002); and Cope's study of New South Wales social science texts, explaining it as: "...there is meaning ascribed to ethnicity, if not explicitly, then in a hidden curriculum of cultural contents" (1987, p. 78). Given the focus on curriculum, the following statement by Smith and Lovat is therefore more readily applicable to this project.

> ...the 'hidden curriculum' may be thought of as **outcomes from**...**learning activities that are not part of the explicit intentions of those responsible for the planning of those activities**. Among the outcomes that can result from a non-explicitly

> intended set of learnings are information and skills, and, more importantly, **beliefs, norms, perceptions, meanings and feelings**. In summary, many of these constitute the **common-sense knowledge and understandings**...which are so powerful in shaping ideologies that reflect the views and values of the dominant culture... (2003, pp. 34-35)

The original conceptualisation of the hidden curriculum by Jackson (1968) links with the view of *incidental learning* put forth by Dewey; which is the proposition that "...education was not only purposeful but also inadvertent, and not only explicit but also implicit in its dynamics" (Sosniak, 2007, p. 112). This incidental learning relates to the hidden curriculum as it demonstrates a contrast between what is *explicitly intended* for students to learn and what students learn *as a by product* of the expectations of schooling, including ideologies within the curriculum itself. As Jane Martin explains:

> Implicit in hidden curriculum talk, moreover, is a contrast between hidden curriculum and what for want of a better name I will call *curriculum proper*—that thing, difficult as it is to define, about which philosophers and educational theorists have long debated and which curriculum specialists have long tried to plan and develop. The contrast is between what it is openly intended that students learn and what, although not openly intended, they do, in fact, learn. (1983, p. 122)

Knowledge constructed and presented as objective in social studies textbooks, as Giroux and Penna claim "...often represents a one-sided and theoretically distorted view of the subject under study. Knowledge is often accepted as truth legitimizing a specific view of the world that is either questionable or patently false" (1983, p. 109). Even though the knowledge presented in textbooks *is* often one sided (as the data analysis chapters in this dissertation demonstrate), it is, nevertheless important to point out as Smith and Lovat (2003); Martin (1983); and Jackson (1968) do, that what constitutes the hidden curriculum is not necessarily negative, it can also be positive, with Smith and Lovat writing "...the messages of the hidden curriculum are not, by definition, necessarily negative. They may be positive. It is the value stance of the observer that will decide this" (2003, p. 35). The application of the hidden curriculum to this project is to demonstrate, through identifying the various discourses that emerge from History curriculum content, the silenced messages that emerge, that are not part of the explicit learning outcomes, but when viewed across an historical era begin to emerge

as a clear representation of how students are *expected* to view Australia's national history through the exemplar topics of British heritages and Indigenous representations.

2.3.4 Inclusion of 'on the fringe' content.

Often in textbooks, content which does not fit into the pre-existing agenda of the curriculum, which then informs textbook content, is included as a way to pacify others. This is especially the case for those who are on the fringe of society or who belong to minority groups, but have made (explicit and noticed) moves to have their perspectives and experiences included as part of the official knowledge in the school curriculum. This information is often included as a tokenistic gesture, and does not usually cover topics with any real substance or encourage depth of understanding. This is what Apple refers to as *mentioning*, writing:

> Dominance is partly maintained here through compromise and the process of 'mentioning'. Here, limited and isolated elements of the history and culture of less powerful groups are included in the texts. Thus, for example, a small and often separate section is included on 'the contribution of women' and 'minority groups', but without any substantive elaboration of the view of the world as seen from their perspectives. (2000, p. 53)

An explicit and dynamic example of this occurring is told by Billig, who writes "when Estonia was part of the USSR, an official history, which was taught in schools and which told of Russian liberators, was popularly opposed by an unofficial history of Russian oppressors; this unofficial story has now become official..." (1995, p. 71). In the textbooks analysed for this project, this has occurred a number of times; most noticeably for the exemplar topic Indigenous representations in the 1964-1975 era. This is reported on extensively in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*. As an introduction, there are numerous examples of Indigenous Australians represented on the periphery of history. Indigenous Australians are sometimes included in narratives of Australia's history as add-ons to the 'real' history taking place, for example, as companions to explorers; or at the end of a chapter within the last paragraph so that the topic of Indigenous Australians is at least included in some way, even if not part of the main content (see, for example, Sparkes, Logue, Pearson & McLay, 1964). Doing so maintains the practice of seeing Indigenous Australians as outside of the mainstream, relegated to the peripheral, included for classroom learning *if there is time*.

Moving to focus on those who hold responsibility for curriculum construction, Apple (200), who with a tendency to be generally negative about the dominant discourses that operate in schools, especially those in United States schools, admits that when investigating texts used in schools, which then form the official knowledge, "…power is not only a negative concept" (p. 5); a view also shared by van Dijk (2001b). Apple goes on to further explain that whilst it can be used to subject groups with less power and ability to influence policy, it can also be a sign that institutions are responding to "…our more democratic needs and hopes" (2000, p. 5). Of the maintenance of hegemonic control, even with inclusions of 'fringe' content Hall, drawing on the work of Gramsci, writes:

> Hegemony is *constructed*, through a complex series of process of struggle. It is not given either in the existing structure of society or in the given class structure of a mode of production. It cannot be constructed once and for all, since the balance of social forces on which it rests is subject to continuing evolution and development, depending on how a variety of struggles are conducted. Hegemony, once achieved, must be constantly and ceaselessly renewed, re-enacted. This implies a conception of the process of social reproduction as continuous and contradictory—the very opposite of a functional achievement. (1988, pp. 53-54)

To conclude, Apple reminds us that texts have multiple readings contained within them and there cannot be one way to interpret those meanings, even in curriculum documents that purport to tell 'the truth'. Therefore it is important to "…be willing to 'read' our own meanings of a text, to interpret our own interpretations…" (Apple, 2000, p. 58). This is a particularly important factor to consider when analysing textbook content, or any other text, that form parts of the official knowledge of a school curriculum.

2.4 Defining hegemony as ideological power.

The analysis of hegemonic power defined by Gramsci and as exercised by those who have access to decision making processes, such as determining schools' official knowledge, is relevant to this project. Supporting this approach, Luke contends that "like many other forms of contemporary social theory, the generational basis of CDA can be traced to the political events of 1968. This would include neoMarxist theories of interpellation and hegemony, as in…*interpretations of Gramsci and Althusser*…" (2002, p. 98, emphasis added; see also Wodak & De Cillia, 2006). The definition of hegemony used here derives from Gramsci's latter work, the period of his imprisonment and published in his posthumous texts, known

widely and most commonly as the *Prison Notebooks* (or, *Quaderni del carcere*). It is during this period that Gramsci extrapolated and refined his understanding of hegemony (Bellamy, 1994). Hegemony is taken to mean, "…'cultural, moral and ideological' leadership over allied and subordinate groups" (Forgacs, 2000, p. 423). Added to this, hegemony also means "…the process of transaction, negotiation and compromise that takes place between ruling and subaltern groups…" (S. Jones, 2006, p.10). It is also "…used to explain what happens when one group of people or one way of thinking is so powerful that it is considered 'natural' and 'normal' and what others may do or think that is contrary or different is considered 'unnatural' or 'abnormal', if it is even recognized at all" (Thayer-Bacon & Moyer, 2006, p. 140). This links with the view of curriculum as 'common sense' detailed earlier. To bring together the definitions provided thus far of *hegemony*, the following from Fairclough provides a clear understanding of this concept as it relates to CDA, writing:

> 'Hegemony' is a term used by Gramsci (Forgacs, 1988) and others for talking about power and struggles over power. It emphasizes forms of power which depend upon consent rather than coercion. The hegemony of the dominant social class or class-alliance depends upon winning the consent (or at least acquiescence) of the majority to existing social arrangements (2001, p. 232).

A broader definition of this term, which is not in conflict with the one by Fairclough, can be understood as:

> Hegemony is a concept that helps to explain, on the one hand, how state apparatuses, or political society—supported by and supporting a specific economic group—can coerce, via its institutions of law, police, army and prisons, the various strata of society into consenting to the status quo. On the other hand, and more importantly, hegemony is a concept that helps us to understand not only the state apparatuses of political society in the preservation of the status quo, but also how and where political society, and, above all, civil society, within its institutions ranging from education, religion and the family to the microstructures of the practices of everyday life, contribute to the production of meaning and values which in turn produce, direct and maintain the 'spontaneous' consent of the various strata to that same status quo. (Holub, 1992, p. 6)

Within a schooling context, and specifically applicable to curriculum, Apple writes, "the key to winning, to establishing hegemony, is usually that group which can establish the

parameters of the terms of the debate…which can incorporate the competing claims of other groups under its own discourse about education and social goals" (1988, pp. 26-27). A simple but important aspect of the work of Gramsci on hegemony is his point that texts do not operate in isolation from each other. Therefore, when investigating texts in an historical context, they cannot be discussed in isolation from events, values and institutions which define historical periods, so rather than a "…preoccupation with the text alone…" (S. Jones, 2006, p. 5) when applying Gramsci, it is important to have an "…understanding that texts are bound up with the agencies involved in cultural production…" (S. Jones, 2006, p.5). A further significant aspect of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, is that he intended for it to be applied to "…the mechanisms of ideological consensus within a *developed political system*" (Bellamy, 1994, p. xxvii, emphasis added), making it appropriate for application in an Australian context.

The decision to apply this concept to curriculum research in this project, is supported by S. Jones, who reports that "Gramsci's work…is also a tool for historical and cultural analysis, enabling us to evaluate those strategies by which different groups attempted to form hegemonic blocs in the past" (2006, p. 44). Dominant discourses can also be described in terms of sociopolitical discourses operating explained by Gee as:

> One way in which we can define *politics* is to say that it *involves any social relationships in which things like status, solidarity, or other social goods are potentially at stake*. In this sense of politics, social practices are inherently and inextricably political because by their very nature they involve social roles …Because critical discourse analysis argues that language in use is always part and parcel of, and partially constitutive of, one or more specific social practices, *language in use is inherently and inextricably political*. (Gee, 2004, pp. 33-34, emphasis added)

Aligned with the view of Gramsci that texts do not operate in isolation, are the links Althusser makes between ideology and conditions of production, asserting, "…every social formation must reproduce the conditions of its production at the same time as it produces, and in order to be able to produce" (1984, p. 2). Although this statement discusses the machinations of economic capital and employment, the underlying principle of reproducing conditions can be applied to school curriculum documents, such as syllabuses and textbooks, especially those created or officially endorsed by a Department of Education. In this way,

through the selection of content and the ideological perspective of the content published, education can been seen as a social production, with textbooks as one means of communicating the selected ideologies. Even when school curriculum is not set directly by the Education Department, such as the devolved system implemented in Queensland in the last few decades, a direct link between hegemonic ideological powers exists.

The system in Queensland sees the school curriculum documents, such as syllabuses, written and approved by a statutory body (known currently as the Queensland Studies Authority or QSA) independent of, though funded by, the government of the day. Of this, Gramsci writes of associations, organisations and institutions which are not *directly* part of the government, "…are all part of civil society…the sphere in which a dominant social group organizes consent and hegemony…[and] where the dominated social groups may organize their opposition and where an alternative hegemony may be constructed" (Forgacs, 1988, p. 420). The latter part of this statement reinforces the view that particular dominant ideological perspectives are not static and can change, depending on the views and actions of stakeholders already involved in the political process of decision making. Additionally, the move away from seeing power as only physical or overtly intimidating or threatening, is reinforced with the summary of Forgacs, "hegemony is thus linked by Gramsci in a chain of associations and oppositions to 'civil society' as against 'political society', to consent as against coercion, to 'direction' as against 'domination' " (1988, p. 423). Gramsci understood hegemony as operating in two areas; first as physical force or coercion and second as non-physical consent, "…a process of domination whereby the ruling class is said to exercise political control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes" (Pinar et al., 2002, p. 250). To reiterate, it is the second understanding—the non-physical aspect of hegemony—that is of interest in this project. See, for example, Chouliaraki and Fairclough who write:

> Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' is helpful in analysing relations of power as domination. Hegemony is relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices, as matters of common sense – hence the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of domination… (1999, p. 24)

Similarly, Woodfin asserts "in essence, it describes the process whereby one social group achieves and maintains power over subordinate groups primarily through the latter's consent, secured through ideological process rather than through direct coercion" (2006, pp. 133-134). Furthermore, this understanding of hegemony in its non-physical context can be recognized in the context of contemporary society as:

> Gramsci understood that dominant power in the 20th century was not always exercised simply by physical force but also was expressed through social psychological attempts to win people's consent to domination through cultural institutions such as the media, the schools, the family, and the church. (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 309)

Finally, the work of Althusser on symbolic domination via schooling practices contributes to this project through the textbook as one (of many) mediums that official schooling practices and knowledges is provided to students. Of this, McCarthy writes:

> …it is the institution of schooling, as Althusser (1971) reminds us, that is principally organized around the production of knowledge and the production of meanings. It is schooling, via its instrumental (rules and bureaucratic organization) and expressive (rituals, etc.) orders, that generates and regenerates representations of the social world. (1990, p. 7)

To summarise, this section has outlined the specific aspects of hegemony relevant to this project emphasising non-physical acts of power exercised in curriculum contexts.

2.5 Dominant discourses.

In providing an explanation of dominant discourses, Rogers writes:

> Discourses are intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society, which is why they are always and everywhere ideological. Control over certain Discourses can lead to the acquisition of social goods (money, power, status) in a society. These Discourses empower those groups that have the least conflicts with their other Discourses when they use them. Let us call Discourses that lead to social goods in a society *dominant Discourses*, and let us refer to those groups that have the fewest conflicts when using them as *dominant groups*." (2004, p. 6)

This project analyses dominant socio-political discourses present in specific historical eras, reproduced within official school knowledge. What these dominant discourses are and their changing nature over time are explored throughout the data analysis stages. These discourses, made evident through language selection communicate "…particular social and cultural contexts, contexts in which ideological forms and social inequalities abound" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 123). Furthermore, as Woods states, in support of history studies that incorporate the use of discourse, "…discourse is not merely a lapse into a textual generality, a world of text and nothing but text, but an assertion of the particular and specific" (2004, p. 164), and Roberts' statement that deconstructing texts is "…the critical procedure evolved by poststructuralists to unpick the illusory unity of a text to reveal what its composition suppressed or displaced" (2004, p. 228).

The research findings of this project demonstrate that the content of Australian history in school curriculum shifts over time, due to changes in what is considered acceptable and 'true'. Gramsci's and Althusser's understandings of hegemony and maintaining the status quo are useful in examining and providing a grounding of how dominant sociopolitical discourses are maintained. The findings also show how school curriculum is directly influenced by government policies and attitudes towards specific issues, especially those that are taught in schools. For example, it is asserted that attitudes, government policies towards and events related to immigration are represented in certain ways, depending on the era of Australia's history, and as a reflection of textbook content, which is brought about as a result of the relevant syllabus. This assertion is aligned with researchers who apply CDA, such as Price, who in describing discourse acquisition, draws on the understanding that in any given text, attention is given to an "…engagement in the processes that sustain and transform discourses…transitory stability of any discourse is a function of the privileging and marginalising of different heterogeneous elements that contribute to that discourse at any given moment" (1999, p. 582). This relates to Kincehloe's understanding of power and discourse which works "…through a shared culture and language…as those with the most power to shape our consciousnesses…it works best when everything seems normal and comfortable" (2004, p. 7). Luke too discusses the concept of 'truth' in his own work framed within CDA research, linking education with broader society and describes this as being "…the construction of 'truths' about the social and natural world, truths that become the taken-for-granted definitions and categories by which governments rule and monitor their populations and by which members of communities define themselves and others" (1995-

1996, pp. 8-9). Luke further discusses the power discourses operating in texts which are positioned as containing these naturalised 'truths', within a CDA context, by writing:

> …discourse in institutional life can be viewed as a means for the naturalization and disguise of power relations that are tied to inequalities in the social production and distribution of symbolic and material resources. This means that dominant discourses in contemporary cultures tend to represent those social formations and power relations that are the products of history, social formation, and culture (e.g. …patterns of school achievement by minority groups…) as if they were the product of organic, biological, and essential necessity. By this account, critical discourse analysis is a political act itself, an intervention…that attempts to "interrupt" everyday common sense. (1995-1996, p. 12)

The de-basing of power discourses and investigating how, through content, textbooks naturalise representations of groups through language (textual and visual) use is achieved by tracking changes of textbooks through syllabuses (as reflections of sociopolitical discourses), and identifying the perspectives, events and other activities attributed to British heritages and Indigenous representations, that are both privileged and/or marginalised in any given era. This tracking of changes enables attention to variation to take place, meaning that the investigation of the same categories, and the subsequent discourses that emerge, across texts in different time periods assists to "identify features of construction" (Potter and Wetherell, 1994, p. 55). This can provide deeper understandings of the perspectives of the authors of school texts in previous eras.

2.6 Resistant discourses.

Whilst it is far too broad reaching and inaccurate to claim that all dominant discourses are negative uses of power by those who have access to informing the curriculum and that this power is used irresponsibly to the detriment of a rigorous education, it is important to consider resistant discourses which have operated in different eras as alternatives to the official school curriculum. The methodological approach taken in this project enables and encourages data gathering and analysis which present resistant views. By considering alternatives, this does not mean that all curriculum content is necessarily troubled. In writing of dominant and resistance discourses, van Dijk explains that this "…does not mean that we see power and dominance merely as unilaterally 'imposed' on others" (2001b, p. 300). This is, however, argued by some as being the case, such as Manuel who writes "we see literature,

all literature, as a means of enmeshing children in repressive ideology…children's literature is best understood as a means by which adults claim power over children and force them to accept our repressive versions of who they really are" (2009, p. 99). Added to this is the understanding that some assertions of power, in the case below relating to a racist discourse, are not always conscious of operating within a negative framework. Hall explains,

> If the media function in a systematically racist manner, it is not because they are run and organized exclusively by active racists; this is a category mistake. This would be equivalent to saying that you could change the character of the capitalist state by replacing its personnel. Whereas the media, like the state, have a *structure,* a set of *practices* which are *not* reducible to the individuals...What is significant is not that they produce a racist ideology, from some single-minded and unified conception of the world, but that they are so powerfully constrained – 'spoken by' – a particular set of ideological discourses. (2006, p. 405)

Whilst a minimum of one resistant text (where available) will be analysed for each historical era, the main focus will be on the dominant sociopolitical discourses operating within school curriculum, with van Dijk supporting the concentration of attention on dominant discourses, by writing,

> Thus, although an analysis of strategies of resistance and challenge is crucial for our understanding of actual power and dominance relations in society, and although such an analysis needs to be included in a broader theory of power, counter-power and discourse, our critical approach prefers to focus on the elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality. (2001b, p. 300)

Although there may not be an intentional or cynical attempt to subjugate or marginalize certain groups, through inclusion or omission of particular curriculum content, it is likely (in view of current and past curriculum structures) that a subordinate group is created, and from the perspectives of that group, the content could legitimately be seen as a negative operation of power. This is the case, even if the group being subjugated is unaware of this, or has adopted the perspectives of the dominant group through the acculturation of messages received about themselves from both dominant sociopolitical discourses in society and the school curriculum. Tyrwhitt-Drake (1999) explains this as dominant groups being able to garner the general consent of otherwise subordinate groups to enact their will. Furthermore, regarding exercising power, van Dijk writes "…when present as participants, members of less

powerful groups may also otherwise be more or less dominated in discourse. At virtually each level of the structures of text and talk, therefore, their freedom of choice may be restricted by dominant participants" (2001b, p. 304). This makes accessing resistant texts important so that an analysis which incorporates a variety of perspectives can occur. This can then be linked with practices of subjugated groups taking on the persona expected by the 'coloniser' as a way of being acculturated. Price explains, practices that "…suggest a determinism in which the subject takes up and acts out the role prescribed for it by a discourse" (1999, p. 583). Therefore, the resistant text/s selected for each era acts as way to explicitly demonstrate alternative perspectives made available (albeit usually marginally) to students.

In considering the inclusion of fringe content within school curriculum documents, the work of Gramsci again becomes relevant in terms of looking at hegemonic power discourses operating within these texts through his theory of limited hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; Hall 1988; S. Jones, 2006). Related to his work on government leadership in its original context, it is applied to this research as a way to explain that the inclusion of fringe content in textbooks is determined by those who control curriculum content. Where Gramsci's theory of limited hegemony fits is when fringe content is included only to silence or coerce certain groups to believe that their views are taken seriously and incorporated into the school curriculum. However, as S. Jones points out where limited hegemony is concerned, "…the hegemonic class fail[s] to genuinely adopt the interests of the popular classes and simply neutralize[s]…them" (p. 52). In addition Gandlin, drawing directly on the work of Apple sees the continual activity of maintaining hegemony once established as:

> In order to form a bloc, an alliance, the dominant classes constantly build bridges between the different, and sometimes conflicting, interests. So, the process of guaranteeing hegemony is not just a matter of conquering (and maintaining) ideological leadership over the social formation where the bloc operates, but also keeping the bloc together.
>
> Therefore, hegemony is neither guaranteed from the start nor everlasting once it is achieved. (2006, p. 195)

Examples of where fringe or resistant content takes place in History curriculum are explored in the data analysis stages of the research.

2.7 Constructions of National Identity through School Curriculum

Given the focus of this project on the analysis of British heritages and Indigenous representations within textbooks, it is relevant to explore the literature on national identity within school discourses. The aim of this section therefore is to first, provide an overview of theories of national identity; and second to identify examples of research that looks at constructions of nationhood and national identity in school History curriculum. Doing so enables this project to be situated within the body of literature that seeks to analyse History curriculum in schools. This will be addressed by reviewing theories of national identity; constructions of the 'nation' within national history, linking national identity with collective and cultural identities, and citizenship—particularly as relevant to curriculum content, and the relevance of *the nation* in postindustrial societies; and focused textbook studies of national history and identity in school curriculum. This section develops from the review of history curriculum studies connected with the history/culture wars in Australian and transnational contexts described in *Appendix A: Contexts*. Here, there is a greater theoretical focus, and where linked to studies of school curriculum, literature has been selected for its connection to national history and related topics, rather than for its relevance to specific and contemporary political debates.

National identity and the nation-state are explicitly covered in this section due to national history being the focus of how the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations are constructed in textbooks. Therefore, it becomes important to provide an overview of how this concept is being used throughout this project. As a note of explanation, given the historical binary of the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations, a study could potentially encompass discourses of racism in school textbooks. However, this is not the approach taken here. Instead, the focus remains on identifying discourses of how Australia's national history is *represented* to school students through these exemplars, constructed as case studies across multiple historical eras. To look at evidence of racism in school curriculum across the three time periods that encompass the analysis of this project, there would be an obvious need to include additional exemplars, for example, the experiences of migrants, Pacific Islander labourers of the 19th century, use of the White Australia Policy, issues of assimilation, and the emergence of multiculturalism as official government policy.

2.7.1 Theories of national identity.

A definition of national identity provided by Giroux and contextualised within what he refers to as a mythic national identity subsumed within "…the politics of remembering and forgetting" (1998, pp. 181), is encapsulated in the following:

> …national identity…is a social construction that is built upon a series of inclusions and exclusions regarding history, citizenship and national belonging. As the social historian Benedict Anderson has pointed out, the nation is an 'imagined political community' that can only be understood within the intersecting dynamics of history, language, ideology and power. In other words, nationalism and national identity are neither necessarily reactionary nor necessarily progressive politically; thus, they give rise to communities which, as Anderson points out, are 'to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. (1998, pp. 181-182)

Furthermore, Giroux writes of the fluidity of national identity, that it "…is always a shifting, unsettled complex of historical struggles and experiences that are cross-fertilised, produced and translated through a variety of cultures" (1998, p. 188). How these shifts play out in school curriculum documents, through the two exemplar topics, will be identified by analyzing texts across three distinct historical eras.

'National identity' as a concept is complex and potentially covers the range of political and philosophical perspectives. The complexity of the issue is one raised by Whitty and Power (2002); Billig (1995); Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart (1999); and Giroux (1998). In asserting that issues of national identity and nationalism is still relevant in a world that is increasingly transnational and globalised (an issue also raised by Curthoys, 2002, 2003 further in this section), Giroux writes,

> What I am resisting is the claim that nationalism can be associated only with ethnic conflict, that nationalism is witnessing its death knell, or that the relationship between nationalism and national identity can be framed only within a transnational discourse…as important as the discourse of globalization might be, it cannot be used to overlook how national identity reasserts itself within new discourses and sites of learning…rather than dismissing the politics of identity as another essentialist discourse, progressives need to address how the politics of difference and identity are being constructed around new right-wing discourses and policies. (1998, p. 179)

Billig concurs with this, stating:

> There is a growing body of opinion that nation-states are declining. Nationalism, or so it is said, is no longer a major force: globalization is the order of the day. But a reminder is necessary. Nationhood is still being reproduced: it can still call for ultimate sacrifices; and, daily, its symbols and assumptions are flagged. (1995, p. 8)

A view of nationhood is outlined by Wodak et al. as belonging to "…two conceptions of the nation…the political 'national by an act of will' (the German *Willensnation*) and the nation defined by culture (*Kulturnation*) which is often linguistically defined and ethnically based" (1999, p. 18). Their work can be consulted for a more detailed investigation of the myriad definitions and understandings that exist regarding the concept of 'nation' and 'national identity'. The role history has, and continues to play, in representing the nation-state cannot be underestimated, as Evans writes, "history is important…in constructing national identity" (2002, p. 12). Identity, when discussing the symbolic relationship citizens have to the nation state, can be couched in terms of a *collective*, rather than *individual*, identity. It is relevant to note, that by asserting the existence of a collective identity this is not to say that people do not hold their own individual identity. Instead, what it refers to, for the purposes of this project, is a "…framework of the theoretical interpretations within which it… [is]…located" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 175). The representations of British heritages and Indigenous representations in History curriculum documents invariably construct these exemplars as part of a *collective* identity.

2.7.2 Linking national identity with cultural identity and citizenship in school curriculum.

Building on the collectiveness of individuals identifying as part of a broad nationalism, this research takes the view as held by, amongst others, Ireland (2000), Giroux (1998), Wodak et al. (1999), and Billig (1995) that nationalism and national identity is seen as part of a broader 'cultural identity' and debates in schooling contexts are concerned with "…the nature of national 'culture' and 'civilization' (Husbands, 1996, p. 130). Giroux, in writing of the importance of identifying and acknowledging nationalism, states:

> At stake here is the need to acknowledge the existence of the nation-state and nationalism as primary forces in shaping collective identities while simultaneously addressing how the relationship between national identity and culture can be

> understood as part of a broader struggle around developing national and postnational forms of democracy. The relationship between culture and nationalism always bears the traces of those historical, ethical and political forces that constitute the often shifting and contradictory elements of national identity. (1998, pp. 179-180)

Locating national identity within discourses of citizenship and acknowledging its *collectiveness*, Keane writes:

> …national identity is a particular form of collective identity in which, despite their routine lack of physical contact, people consider themselves bound together because they speak a language or a dialect of a common language, inhabit or are closely familiar with a defined territory, and experience its ecosystem with some affection; and because they share a variety of customs, including a measure of memories of the historical past, which is consequently experiences in the present tense as pride in the nation's achievements and, where necessary, an obligation to feel ashamed of the nation's failings. (1995, p. 186)

Explicitly linking national identity to citizenship within a republican ideology, Giroux, writing in a study of multiculturalism in the United States: "…national identity is structured through a notion of citizenship and patriotism that subordinates ethnic, racial and cultural differences to the assimilating logic of a common culture, or, more brutally, the 'melting pot'" (1998, p. 181). In an essay review, Ahonen links preparation for active citizenship to school History curriculum, writing:

> …authors…advocate history as a preparation for citizenship: through training in multiperspectival explanation and through the critical handling of evidence. The massive flood of information through the media requires the same critical literacy as an encounter with a historical source… (2001, p. 750)

This connection between citizenship and national identity relates to the History curriculum analysed in this project, as it is through curriculum content that selections of "memories of the historical past" (Keane, 1995, p. 186) represent to students discourses of their national history. Whether these are through celebratory discourses or otherwise will emerge in the data analysis stages, enabling conclusions to be made about the underpinning theories of national history that have been taught to school students in Queensland over an extended period of time. Furthermore, understanding nationalism as part of cultural identity is

important for this project as it demonstrates the close link people have between self-identity and the 'nation' as a political construct.

In an example of a large-scale textbook study that identified racism within Australian history and linking this to discourses of national identity, Bill Cope commends the use of school textbooks as the basis for analysis as their impact is wide reaching and significant, writing:

> They [school texts] are both indicative of broader shifts and very significant elements in the making of popular culture in their own right. Most of these texts achieved mass circulation, much greater that the more noteworthy contributions in high social science and historiography. They were used on the compulsory site of enculturation that is institutionalised education. School curriculum, moreover, is highly responsive to the changing cultural policies of the state, given its institutional role. Changes in historical interpretation are cruder and more clearer in school textbooks; even the big-name historians such as Russel Ward and A.G.L. Shaw, when they write for school students, use large generalisations, simplifications, condensations and interpretive homilies, which are revealing caricatures of their more guarded academic works. (1987, p. 1)

Montgomery also highlights the influence textbooks have on students, arguing:

> Notwithstanding the potential for students to dislocate such discursive structures of dominance in their responses to the textbooks, the powerful hold of these narratives of the nation is secured by the fact that students are inducted en masse to such representations, since in order to pass the course and to graduate from high school they must prove their knowledge of their particular history… (2005, p. 439)

Discussing how History is constructed and written, especially in relation to narratives presented to school students through textbooks, but also to other published histories, Coffin writes:

> The view that the narrative 'far from being a neutral medium for the representation of historical events and processes, is the very stuff of a mythical view of reality' (White, 1989: ix) challenges its role as a value-free discursive form and questions the role of the historian as an objective recorder of an indisputable past…since the events of a historical narrative are selected, ordered and attributed with historical

> significance (either implicitly or explicitly), the narrative genres are clearly more than an objective record of the past. (2000, p. 200)

The following statement of the complexity of learning national identity through the school curriculum is made by Barnard:

> In a sense, history is a school subject that is set apart from other subjects…First, teaching the succeeding generations history is an important part of the process by which the officially recognized narratives of the nations are passed on down the ages to succeeding generation, and by which these generations define themselves with reference to the nation state; learning one's history is part of the process by which citizens learn to position their country and the values that their country espouses within the wider international society. Learning the story of our country and seeking to understand the actions of our ancestors is an important part of growing up and becoming a new and responsible citizen of the state. This reason, while not an intrinsic part of the subject of history per se, for many people would nevertheless seem to be rather a natural one. The second reason why history as a school subject is set apart is an extension of the first reason—and is more controversial. History is not only seen as a matter of learning the narratives of the nation, but it is often taken for granted that one of the aims of the school subject of history is to inculcate in pupils patriotism and pride in the nation state. (2003a, p. 9)

Concluding this sub section, this statement by Barnard provides insight on the philosophical structure of History as a school subject. This sees content as having a very real ideological background and political consequences for the messages it provides students to learn. Often these are implicit rather than explicit, and over time can be placed within distinct discourses, as explored in the data analysis chapters of this dissertation.

2.7.3 Constructions of the 'nation': Competing perspectives.

As described, topics of the nation, citizenship and national identity are often combined, especially in literature that looks at the teaching of History. Identified here are examples of the sustained interest in and concern for the teaching of national history across nation states. 'The nation' as a construct is a relatively recent addition to how people identify themselves, emerging to replace prior identity markers (and not always completely replacing these) such as family, tribal, village, trade or religious affiliation (see, for example, Billig, 1995; Keane,

1995; Thompson, 1990) and often draws on common cultural, language and ethnic features (Hobsbawm, 1992; Wodak et al., 1999) as well as explicit attempts to construct a cohesive 'nation' (see, for example, Harrison, Jones & Lambert, 2004a), or to establish a nation of the previous empire, and as explained by Lambert in the German context "to this end, the elites whipped up aggressive, expansionist nationalism" (2004, p. 101). The development of the term *nation*, as a political construct used to include some and exclude others (see, for example, Lambert, 2004) highlighted by Keane who writes:

> From the fifteenth century onwards, the term 'nation' was employed increasingly for political purposes…Here 'nation' described a people who shared certain common laws and political institutions of a given territory. This political conception of 'the nation' defined and included the *societas civilis*—those citizens who were entitled to participate in politics and to share in the exercise of sovereignty…Struggles for participation in the state assumed the form of confrontations between the monarch and the privileged classes, which were often organized in a parliament. These classes frequently designated themselves as advocates of 'the nation' in the political sense of the term…
>
> During the eighteenth century, the struggle for national identity was broadened and deepened to include the non-privileged classes…From here on, in principle, the nation included everybody, not just the privileged classes; 'the people' and 'the nation' were supposed to be identical. (1995, pp. 182-183)

Through analysis of the textbooks selected for this research, ways in which British heritages and Indigenous representations are included and excluded through Australian national history, and how these inclusions and exclusions are temporally located, are identified. Billig differentiates between instances of heightened nationalism that occurs, for example, in times of conflict, as "hot" (1995, p. 43) and "exotic and passionate exemplars" (1995, p. 8) and the everyday instances of nationalism, for example in national icons, "the routine and familiar" (1995, p. 8) that he calls *banal nationalism*. Billig expands on this, writing:

> These assumptions [of national identity] were not created during the moment of crisis. Nor do they disappear in between crises. But on ordinary days, they can be seen bobbing about, brought home daily on the familiar tides of banal nationalism…

> …in the established nations, there is a continual 'flagging', or reminding, of nationhood. The established nations are those states that have confidence in their own continuity, and that, particularly, are part of what is conventionally described as 'the West'. The political leaders of such nations—whether France, the USA, the United Kingdom or New Zealand—are not typically termed 'nationalists'. However, as will be suggested, nationhood provides a continual background for their political discourses…In so many little ways, the citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations. However, this reminding is so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding. The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building. (1995, p. 8).

This statement connects with the analysis of textbooks conducted for this dissertation, highlighting British heritages and Indigenous representations as an outward demonstration of the implicit nationalism and expected 'take up' of nation identity that is taught to students. In a way textbooks include multiple types of nationalism: instances of the 'exotic' arise in historical narratives of the battle of Gallipoli in WWI for British Heritages and violent clashes between explorers and Indigenous Australians for Indigenous representations; and instances of the 'banal' are communicated through impersonal narratives about, for example, prime ministers and elections; and kinship or moiety systems. However, each type is powerful in communicating specific ideologies of how nationalism and national identity is viewed by the textbook authors and the curriculum writers, gatekeepers of the official knowledge.

Turning now to look at the competing perspectives of the construction of the 'nation', particularly its relevance in contemporary contexts; Luke acknowledges the rapid acceleration of an increasingly global society, discussing the complexities of dealing with national identity and citizenship in schooling in the postindustrial world, by asserting:

> …postindustrial and rapidly industrialising nation states alike are engaged in ongoing, often acrimonious debates about whether and how schooling might respond to new forms of national identity and citizenship, and changing practices and divisions of labor generated by economic globalization and new technologies (Kellner, 1997). In spite of fears that the domination of the new public sphere by multinational media corporations would silence diasporic communities, there is

> vigorous and sustained public debate over whose and which version of history, morality and ethics should count, in whose interests, and to what ends. (1997, p. 343)

As a practical example of how this plays out in a lived-context, Kofman (2005), in research comparing the experience of European Jewish people in the early to mid 20th century with the current population of Muslims living in Europe, considers ideas of national identity through the lens of what she calls *cosmopolitanism*. In viewing this concept as transnational, Kofman also identifies the dangers in ignoring completely issues of national identity, writing:

> Others (Tarrow, 2001; Calhoun, 2003; Tennant, 2003) have *counseled against downplaying the continuing salience of local solidarities and communitarian approaches in underpinning cosmopolitan democracies*. They argue that cosmopolitanism needs an account of social solidarity and a thicker conception of social life, commitment and belonging. *Cosmopolitanism tends to dismiss the nation,* and for the most part models political life on a fairly abstract liberal notion of the person as bearer of rights and obligations…in the present period an often unacknowledged ambiguity continues towards cosmopolitan dispositions, in part *reflecting the contradictions and tensions between national belonging and processes of globalization*. (2005, pp. 83-84, emphasis added)

Whist the focus of this project is on Australia's national history, and many historians (as outlined briefly above) consider the 'nation' an important aspect of historical research (however flawed and artificial the concept of *nation* is), Curthoys asserts that "in the context of globalization – economically, culturally, and even politically – the nation matters less, or at least in a very different way, than it once did" (2003, p. 22). Rather, Curthoys looks towards a transnational approach to history explaining this as "…the idea of historians looking at historical *processes*, at networks of influence and power which transcend the nation. The point of the exercise becomes not comparison, but the study of influence and interconnection" (2003, p. 29, emphasis in original). In addition, she writes "…national history generally is under question...Influenced by…globalization and the need for more holistic world and transnational histories, there are strong signs…of a turning away from the nation as the basic organizing category…" (p. 142). Through a concrete example of this, Curthoys links Japanese and Australian history to the history/culture wars context, writing provocatively:

> The 'history wars' in Australia and Japan of the late 1990s and continuing today have some remarkable similarities, and both indicate a deep ambivalence about their status as perpetrators and victims, powerful and powerless, colonizer and colonized. (2003, p. 31)

Even if there is a trend towards transnational and comparative histories, this is not replicated in school curriculum, which maintains a firm focus on the history of individual nation states, particularly in the earlier part of the twentieth century, but also extending to the latter years of the century, with the Senior Modern History topic of race relations being the only significant departure from this (see, for example, Cowie, 1982). Histories of nations are commonly presented to students as distinctly compartmentalized (see, for example, Andrews, Hagan, Lampert & Rich, 1973; and MacKenzie, 1968). It is only in more recent times that different perspectives are starting to emerge, although this remains firmly on the fringe of curriculum content and underpinning philosophies of the study of History.

2.7.4 Studies of History curriculum, especially textbooks

Analyses of History curriculum, especially textbooks, is an area of increasing study, with researchers seeking to explore the hidden assumptions contained within and the ideological underpinnings of this school subject. The methodologies used to conduct analyses vary in approach, with common examples including Critical Discourse Analysis (Luke, 1995-1996), Discourse Historical Method (Wodak, 2001a; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), systemic functional linguistics (Cullip, 2007; Coffin, 2000), analysis drawing on the work of Foucault (Montgomery, 2005; Nicholls, 2005; Parkes, 2006), and poststructuralist discourse analysis (Halbert, 2006). Research by Cullip, for example, on Malaysian textbooks focuses on identifying how specific grammatical functions work to construct historical events, in particular "...to explore how the discourse of history 'works' in the Malaysian context" (2007, p. 195).

It can be seen from the available literature, that many individual nations are concerned with how national identity is communicated and taught to students through school History (and related disciplines) curriculum. What follows is a brief overview of some of these studies.

2.7.4.1 Australian contexts.

As an emerging field of interest in more contemporary times; deeply influenced and buoyed by the history/culture wars (as covered extensively in *Appendix A: Contexts*), researching History curriculum, particularly a focus on national history, in various Australian contexts is starting to form a sustained aspect of study by education researchers. For example, see the work of Parkes (2006, 2007); A. Clark (2002b, 2006); Halbert (2006); Taylor (2008b); and earlier, Cope (1987). In particular, more recent research focuses on explicitly identifying the political discourses surrounding the construction of curriculum, pedagogy and schooling. Halbert's work analyses constructions of 'nation' and 'citizen' and how this is presented to school students through the formal curriculum and in particular draws on "...Foucault's theories of subjectivity, governmentality, and technologies of self [to] deconstruct taken-for-granted meanings..." (2006, p. 3). Halbert does this through analysis of the syllabus itself, rather than the classroom pedagogical practices that may result. In this way, Halbert's work is similar to that conducted for this dissertation, which looks at the school *curriculum documents*, such as textbooks, rather than the *teacher pedagogical practices* that may accompany them. In addition, and as becomes relevant to this research, particularly in the analysis of textbooks and syllabuses, Halbert focuses on the contradictions that sometimes exists within the same curriculum documents, writing, "given the demands on history evident in the literature, it is not surprising that there are tensions in the syllabus. Within the syllabus, multiple discourses construct the student not only as a national citizen but as a social subject more broadly" (2006, p. 3). The contradictions, if any, that exist in curriculum documents throughout the three eras investigated for this project will be examined and included in the final analysis.

Various state and federal governments have also focused an increased amount of attention on History curriculum, with a number of reports and studies commissioned over the past two decades. For example, the *National Inquiry into School History* (2000) led by Taylor highlights the wide interest governments have in influencing this KLA. Hoepper and Quanchi, both former History teachers in Queensland schools, discuss the contentious nature in which the discipline of History has become known both in the general community and in schools by emphasising the popularity of what they term "anything vaguely historical" (2000, p. 2). In particular, of the connection between the popularity of topics of the past, void of features of scholarly historical study infiltrating school curriculum Hoepper and Quanchi write:

> In academia, the move is away from an objective, descriptive narrative and a past which can be known towards histories which are reflective, socially critical and self-interrogating. In the public domain, it is paralleled by a surge of interest in anything vaguely historical. The Australian community continues to demonstrate a popular interest in the past, not in History as a discipline, but History as an entertaining window on the past...
>
> In primary and secondary schools, both trends are discernible. History is widely seen as a curriculum content area which promotes knowledge about the past – a selection of truths, insights, facts and collective memories about important events and people. This engagement with the past is enjoyed through reading, excursions, role play, dress-ups, debates, posters and projects. But there is also a trend towards a concept of the past as a contested space and a record of events that needs interrogation...Was Caroline Chisholm really a friend of female immigrants? Was Ned Kelly really struggling against the injustice suffered by poor rural farmers? Was Breaker Morant really a victim of British military capitalism? Chisholm, Kelly and Morant are fascinating characters from our past and their lives are worth studying and proclaiming – but the stories we have told about them – at the time and since - also need scrutinising. (2000, p. 2)

2.7.4.2 Studies of constructions of citizenship in History curriculum.

Curriculum studies in the Social Studies or History area often incorporate aspects of citizenship. This is seen, for example, in Pike's (2007) study of moral and citizenship education in England (Pike, 2007); Halbert's (2006) investigations of the construction of the 'citizen'; the Crick (1998) report on citizenship as part of Social Sciences in the UK; and Pinar et al.'s (2002) overview of history textbook studies and controversies (particularly politically right wing criticisms) from a USA citizenship context. The incorporation of citizenship education has now been made an explicit component of the school curriculum in England. Arthur, Davies, Wrenn, Haydn and Kerr (2001) investigate the historical context that led to this decision, and in particular focus on the place of the school subject, History, addressed to teachers as "…in pursuing work that focuses on citizenship and that there are important, useful and straightforward ways in which the legitimate development of citizenship can take place within the 'home' department" (2001, p. xxiv). This is due to History generally being the only school curriculum area *explicitly seen* to cover issues of

citizenship and its content area has long been a point of debate, controversy and interest. However, this project does not cover the topic of citizenship as a distinct area of the curriculum. Where this study diverges from other such published studies, is that it covers a longer time period, concentrates on Queensland schooling contexts, and examines the History curriculum through two particular exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations, which act as case studies to illustrate the ideological constructions of knowledge. In addition, rather than a focus solely on literary-theory based analysis that does not necessarily contextualize the curriculum outside of the school setting, this project extends existing knowledge by linking directly to the historical context of each era, incorporating historical methodology approaches to the data collection, analysis and reporting of findings.

2.7.4.3 Studies of constructions of identity and myth making through national history in History curriculum.

Just as citizenship is an area of interest for education researchers, so too is the impact of national history in constructing students' national identity. Four examples of the disparate nature of History curriculum studies include Eggins, Wignell and Martin's summary of how history narrative is used to teach students, writing "through our study of junior high school history textbooks we have tried to develop a description of the 'discourse of history': i.e. how language is used to represent and teach 'the story of people'" (1993, p. 75). Second, Gilbert, draws on social studies textbooks from England that "…traces developments in ideological critique through analysis of curricular texts" (1989, p. 61). Third, Lévesque (2005) reviews school history research that highlights instances of dominant and celebratory perspectives of school history curriculum. Fourth, studying the socialization processes of History teaching and learning, Coffin analyses pedagogical practices in senior high school History classrooms, that seek to engage students in learning processes of *becoming* an historian, or as Coffin describes, "…how learning to mean like a historian is a process of socialization whereby a particular subject position is constructed" (2000, p. 197).

Studying the explicit way the 'nation' is constructed in History textbooks published for Canadian school students (and not dissimilar to an Australian context), Montgomery writes:

> …textbooks help to constitute the imagined community of the nation by, first, positioning the nation as a subject with a narrative to be told and as an organizational device for the study of the past, and, second, by representing the nation, its citizens,

> and its internal and external others in essentialist or reductive terms within this grand narrative. (2005, pp. 427-428)

Regarding what perspective of national history and the resulting nation identity, provided to students through History curriculum, this summary from Billig is also relevant:

> Different factions, whether classes, religions, regions, genders or ethnicities, always struggle for the power to speak for the whole, defining the history of other sub-sections accordingly. 'The voice of the nation' is a fiction; it tends to overlook the factional struggles and the deaths of unsuccessful nations, which make such a fiction possible. Thus, national histories are continually being re-written, and the re-writing reflects current balances of hegemony. As Walter Benjamin argued, history is always the tale of victors, celebrating their triumphs: 'Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostate' (1970, p. 258)." (1995, p. 71)

The outcome of a study of textbooks by Carlson found that in legitimating knowledge related to a nation's history (in this case the United States' and its relationship with the now-former USSR),

> …issues tend to be treated merely as technical matters, and the only debate normally recognized is over the most effective means of achieving an unquestioned national foreign policy. This also implies a focus on a detailed, surface-level description of historical events rather than a more comprehensive treatment which explores their interconnections, social implications and underlying assumptions…If mistakes are recognized, they are generally construed as strategic in nature" (1989, p. 48)

Whether this is evident, and if so to what degree, in textbooks selected for this study is a topic for discussion in the final stage analysis of the textbooks, particularly in cases where the same discourses emerge across multiple historical time periods.

Contextualised within the current environment of history/culture wars across various nations, Osborne in his study of Canadian national history taught in Canadian schools, writes, "issues of identity, heritage and citizenship, all rooted in competing conceptions of the past, have become the stuff of politics" (2003, p. 585). This is a point made in earlier studies too, with Carlson pointing out in response to social studies textbooks, "evidence of some legitimation

‘problem’ is to be found, first of all, in the reaction of politically conservative and rightist groups in America to what they perceive to be an anti-American bias in history textbooks” (1989, p. 51). This public interest is also reflected in Japanese history textbooks, particularly when new editions are published (see, for example, Barnard, 2003a, 2003b); and the emotional status that national history topics and national identity generally hold in the minds of the general public. For example, Keith Crawford (2008) analyses the Japanese public interest in national history as an example of sustaining a traditional national identity. It is through manga comic magazines that millions of Japanese citizens express this interest in their nation’s past, and this is due, in Crawford’s view, to “…manga offer[s] a far more accessible and populist medium through which to help shape a sense of Japan’s past” (2008, p. 61). In linking to the school curriculum, it is argued that for “…an issue that finds little space within Japanese secondary history textbooks…” (Crawford, 2008, p. 62), popular and accessible publications extend beyond what is available in the school curriculum, encompassing deeper aspects of national identity through a nation’s history.

Arguably, one of the most well known recent studies of ideology within national identity comes from Barnard’s (2003a) research of Japanese History textbooks. Published in 2003, a CDA approach is applied to extrapolate the underpinning ideologies in Japanese textbooks post-WWII. In particular, he focuses on events of WWII that have been commonly deemed controversial, partly due to “…claims that Japan has never ‘apologized properly’ for its actions between 1931 and 1945…There are frequent protests, both from within Japan and from overseas, that a biased, nationalistic history is taught in Japanese schools” (Barnard, 2003a, n.p.). The research and analysis conducted for this project is aligned with the description applied by Barnard of his use of CDA, citing “…critical discourse analysts… have been interested in pointing out ideologies that form part of seemingly neutral, disinterested, and objective discourses” (Barnard, 2003a, pp. 20-21). Regarding mythologies of national identity that can be presented to school students through the History curriculum, Barnard draws on the example of pre-WWII Japanese school curriculum, writing:

> When Japanese schoolchildren before and during the war *were taught not history, but a racially based mytho-history* centering on the divine descent of the imperial family and foundation myths of the Japanese people, together with anti-scientific views on the unique nature of the Japanese race and the sacred nature of their land (Brownlee 1997; Wray 1983), *the people who were deriving benefit from this were certainly not the ordinary Japanese* people themselves. (2003a, p. 21, emphasis added)

Whilst this may be an extreme example (so far as its relevance to Australian context is concerned), Barnard also summarises Anyon's (1979) seminal study that investigated textbooks of United States history, highlighting dominant ideologies present in the History curriculum, and what this revealed about the 'hidden' lessons being taught students. Of this, Barnard writes:

> Her [Anyon's] findings reveal that textbooks contain ideologies, the presence of which is advantageous to particular groups within society. For example, she writes that the socialist movement at the turn of the century is either not mentioned, or downplayed or disparaged; and labour history is almost totally ignored, together with class conflict and social struggle, while the story of successful capitalists is used as an object lesson for workers: if you work hard and save money, you too can become rich. (2003a, pp. 18-19)

An issue that has arisen in recent times and one that clearly demonstrates the contested nature of History curriculum is the furor that erupted in Israel over the use of the term *Nakba* which translates to *catastrophe,* "an Arabic term used to describe the creation of Israel as a 'catastrophe'…" (Israel to ban 1948 'catastrophe references in Arab Israeli school books, 2009, para. 1). In this, a very contentious issue, the Education Minister, Gideon Saar is reported as stating "the decision to integrate this idea into teaching for Arab Israeli several years ago constitutes an error that will be corrected in the next school books currently being prepared" (Israel to ban 1948 'catastrophe references in Arab Israeli school books, 2009, para. 3). This sparked emotional responses to this particular construction of national identity, in particular accusations of bias (see, for example, Shulman, 2009). What this and the other studies briefly outlined in this subsection demonstrate is the widespread contestation of national identity across individual nation states; and the emotional responses that come about as a result, especially when connected with the education of each nation's young citizens.

In addition to the assertion of a mytho-history being presented to school students through representations of national history made by Barnard (2003a), other studies, such as Hearn (2005) identify and survey the history of mythmaking in history of Australia as a nation-state. Smith also refers to myth-making in constructing a national identity, writing:

> …generations of a particular community are formed in their collective life through the memories, myths and traditions of the community into which they are born and

> educated…the communal past defines to a large extent our identity, which in turn helps to determine collective goals and destinies…Traditions, myths, history and symbols must all grow out of the existing, living memories and beliefs of the people who are to compose the nation. (1993, p. 16)

In concluding this section, analysing representations of British heritages and Indigenous representations within school curriculum, as this project does, invariably raises questions of nationalism and how it is being constructed; an issue that needs to be contextualized to the era it was produced. As Giroux writes "as a social construction, nationalism does not rest upon a particular politics, but takes its form within rather than outside of specific, historical, social and cultural contexts" (1998, p. 180). The importance of locating an analysis of school curriculum, for example as demonstrated through textbooks, in their historical context (as this research does by identifying three distinct eras for the analysis to be situated in), is explained by Gilbert as:

> In constructing and interpreting images of text content, we should remember that theoretical images are abstracted from a process which draws on multiple sources of meaning produced in particular situations. Text contents themselves are the product and retain the traces of competing discourses. Readings given to texts vary with the discursive practices of different social sites…a more frequent cause for concern…has been the reliance of such research on the analysis of texts removed from their context of use. (1989, p. 68)

Given the emotions associated with establishing, identifying and teaching national history and thereby creating a national identity that is often unable to be clearly articulated across a range of citizens, reflected in the school History curriculum, "history textbooks, therefore, are not likely to straightforwardly, unproblematically relate the 'facts' of history, just as they are" (Barnard, 2003b, p. 247).

2.8 Curriculum Approaches in Humanities Disciplines

Various approaches to curriculum knowledges have been offered as ways to deconstruct the theoretical underpinnings of what is taught in schools. For example, approaches specifically related to History curriculum analysis, described by Cullip (2007) include: historical biographical narrative; historical explanatory recount; descriptive historical report; forecast report; and factual explanation. These approaches are not appropriate for the analysis

conducted for this project due to their focus on relatively small amounts of text within this same textbook, rather than across multiple textbooks and eras so that the meta-discourses can be considered. Emerging curriculum approaches such as *ethical inquiry* which seeks to engage students in "....fostering the skills of *rational ethical justification*...[through] ...a dialogue-based, ethical inquiry approach for teaching....Society & Environment curriculum area" (Collins & Knight, 2006, p. 2) is also not used due to its emergence only in more recent times, and its placement still on the fringe of the majority of curriculum content taught in schools, used more as part of pilot research than an integral part of the curriculum, *at this point in time*. Instead a categorisation of three approaches to curriculum: traditional approach, progressivist approach and entitlement approach are used in the conclusion chapter to categorise the overarching dominant discourses present in school History curriculum across each of the three eras. The following table of approaches, encapsulated by Gilbert, draws first on Cope and Kalantzis (1990) who describe *traditional* and *progressivist* curriculum approaches, and moves to suggest a third approach, which Gilbert calls the *entitlement approach*. Here, each of the approaches and their relationship to various aspects of the school curriculum are described. Combined, the three approaches provide a framework to categorise the discourses that emerge from the analysis (see Table 2.1 for details). A point that needs to be made is that the approaches described here, whilst not exhaustive, do offer a clear way to categorise the dominant discourses presented in History curriculum throughout the selected eras. Furthermore, these approaches are explicitly *curriculum*, rather than *pedagogical* approaches. For an overview of pedagogical approaches that are generally aligned with the curriculum approaches listed in the table below, consult Kemmis, Cole, and Suggett (1983); and for an overview of more complex approaches to curriculum within textbooks categorized into distinct orientations, consult Pinar et al. (2002).

Table 2.1
Three Approaches to the Social Science Curriculum.

Curriculum dimension	Traditional approach	Progressivist approach	Entitlement approach
Major substantive emphasis	curriculum as presented social content	curriculum as open process	curriculum as discursive empowerment
Criteria for selection	prescribed curriculum	curriculum relevant to contemporary issues	curriculum of expanding significance and alternative futures
Source of social values	universalistic curriculum	relativist curriculum	culturally immanent curriculum
Epistemological emphasis	a curriculum of fixed social truths	inquiry process curriculum	critical reconstruction of knowledge for just, democratic and sustainable futures

Note: This table taken from Gilbert (2003, pp. 6-7).

A summary of two of the approaches, as described by Gilbert, reads:

> ...the *traditional approach* where the essential core of the curriculum is the declarative knowledge it contains, its social content; the curriculum is centrally prescribed; social values are seen to be universal and absolute and derived from perennial ideals; and knowledge is seen to comprise a series of fixed social truths...the *progressive view of curriculum*, where the substantive essence is not predetermined but arises from an open inquiry process; the key content is based on contemporary issues; the approach to social values is relativist; and knowledge is seen to be the result of this open process of inquiry. (2003, p. 6, emphasis added)

In a reading of the differences between traditional and progressivist approaches, Dewey is drawn on, who writes:

> Those concerned with progress, who are striving to change received beliefs, emphasize the individual factor in knowing; those whose chief business it is to withstand change and conserve received truth emphasize the universal and the fixed... (1916/2004, p. 330)

In their book, *Understanding history teaching*, Husbands, Kitson and Pendry (2003) summarise what has been called in this section the *traditional* and *progressivist* approaches as the *'great tradition'* and the *'alternative tradition'* respectively. With no discernible differences between the definitions of the two approaches, Table 3.2 from Husbands et al. (2003) is offered as an additional tool to complement the explanation of the approaches outlined by Gilbert. In particular, it is the third row, *content*, that relates to the context of this research.

Table 2.2

The Two Traditions of History Teaching.

	The 'great tradition'	***The alternative tradition***
Learners and pedagogy	• Emphasizes the didactically active role of the teacher. • Assumes a high level of teacher subject knowledge. • Learner's role is largely passive.	• Emphasizes constructivist models of learner engagement with the past. • Places a premium on teacher's ability to manage student learning activities.
Content	• Characterized by a concern with national history. Focuses on the understanding of the present through engagement with the past.	• Characterized by a variety of content reflecting world history and the experiences of a variety of groups. • Stresses the importance of learning about a variety of historical situations and contexts.
Purpose of learning history	• Defined through the content of the subject. • Focuses substantially on the cultural capital of historical content.	• Defined through the contribution of the subject to wider general education. • Focuses substantially on the preparation for working life and the acquisition of skills.

Note: This table taken from Husbands et al. (2003, p. 12).

The traditional and progressivist approaches are often discussed as being diametrically opposed (as indeed the epistemological emphases of the two are markedly different). Cope and Kalantzis in their seminal work, *Literacy in the social sciences* contextualises these differences to a general schooling context in the following way:

> ...primary school social studies has moved from learning social facts and contents to 'enquiry' learning in which students are active makers of their own social knowledge, relevant to themselves and their particular sociocultural circumstances. In secondary school history, there has been a move from students have to imbibe 'facts' of various kinds, and from of a view of history itself as singular, uncontroversial and universalistic. Instead new emphases are placed on students learning to be historians, by engaging in the 'processes' of behaving like historians—working with documentary evidence which raises problems, investigating local history, and so on...As a shorthand...the old concept-laden and authoritative curriculum [is called] 'traditional' and the new 'process' child-centred curriculum 'progressivist'... (1990, p. 118)

Of interest, Cope and Kalantzis (1990) promote neither the traditional or progressivist approach as the preferred method of History or Social Science pedagogy or curriculum construction.

2.8.1 Traditional approach.

In particular, it is the *predetermined outcomes* of the curriculum that typifies the traditional approach, explained by Gilbert as "while discussion may be encouraged, its purpose is to lead students to predetermined conclusions. Since students are largely passive in this process, the means for applying the dominant understandings and values will be compliance" (2003, p. 7). In addition, this approach to curriculum can also be viewed as *inculcation* being "...uncritical instruction that a particular view or way of acting is the right one, and must be followed" (Gilbert, 2004, p. 10). This traditional approach, values a universalistic curriculum, as evident in studies of History curriculum in various countries from a variety of eras as encapsulated by Cullip, "...is concerned largely with presenting a picture of the way things were and how they came to be—a 'grand-narrative' view of history" (2007, p. 203).

Whig constructions of history, that is history that views the past as stories of 'great' achievements is allied with the traditional approach to curriculum, in particular the seeking of grand narratives as 'truths' of the past. These are usually militaristic and focusing on the deeds of 'great men', presenting the past as a series of linear progressions towards societal enlightenment, achieved only by men, demonstrating an explicit sexist view of history and one that marginalises achievements by women. In national histories, this can be seen, for example in the emergence of democracy (see, for example, a discussion on Whig history in American national history in Harrison, Jones and Lambert, 2004b).

Drawing on the sentiments of a traditional approach to curriculum, Halbert aligns the original purposes for establishing government funded and organised schooling to "...the construction of desirable citizens has been a fundamental aim of nations (Curtis, 1988). Traditionally, the teaching of history sought to foster pride in the nation and develop a sense of belonging" (2006, p. 1). Her work then goes on to concentrate specifically on concepts of 'the nation' as a symbolic entity. Teaching national history through a traditional curriculum approach is a common characteristic of school History curriculum in the United States, asserts Lévesque who, in drawing on previous studies, describes this as a *heritage* approach to curriculum, writing: "...the dominant 'heritage' approach to US history in the curriculum, which overtly

puts emphasis on the celebration of selected memories of independence...” (2005, p. 351). Looking towards the United Kingdom context, Husbands et al. (2003) identify the traditional approach to curriculum as the *great tradition*, which began to shift to a more progressivist approach or *alternative tradition* in the 1960s and 1970s.

In an Australian context, Hoepper and Quanchi (2000) discuss the traditional approach to curriculum by drawing on ways in which it has been formerly constructed, writing: “the old History with its description of progress, order, authority, great men and great events, cause and effect, chronology, enduring traditions and admiration for antiquity is now challenged by a different History” (p. 3). Hoepper and Quanchi then go on to describe traditional curriculum approaches as used in schools for the teaching of History and Social Studies. Their statements, as well as those made by Issitt (2004), regarding the pedagogical use of textbooks including student reading of set texts, affirms the decision made in this project to analyse textbooks as accurate representations of the content students engaged with in the classroom. Locating a shift in curriculum in Australia around the same time as Husbands et al. (2003) identify for the United Kingdom, Hoepper and Quanchi write:

> Until the 1970s, the ‘Old History’ had dominated schools. History was presented as a straightforward and undebated chronicle of the past. It was often the story of heroic men and their wondrous achievements. The ‘Old History’ celebrated the achievements of nationalism, imperialism, militarism and industrialism. In Australian schools, History had a strong Eurocentric emphasis. Much of what was taught focused on events and developments in Britain and continental Europe, and on the expansion of European influence in the rest of the world.
>
> These ‘Old History’ approaches dominated the historical elements of Social Studies courses in primary schools and the subject of History in secondary schools. *Students spent much time reading the set textbook, listening to the teacher embellish and explain the stories in the text,* and memorising key information about historical personalities, events and developments. *When undertaking projects, students often copied extracts from encyclopaedia and texts*, and dressed them up with illustrations and colourful headings. (2000, p. 5, emphasis added)

(Whether, and to what degree, the *Eurocentric* emphasis existed in Australian History curriculum in Queensland schools until the 1970s is the topic for analysis in *Chapter 6: Black*

Movement in Australia 1964-1975 in relation to the exemplar topic, Indigenous representations.)

Similarly on the topic of textbook use, Issitt writes that even though there is significant "...negativity surrounding textbooks in terms of use and status as both literary objects and vehicles for pedagogy..." (2004, p. 683), the use and subsequent impact of these texts cannot be underestimated. Issitt then goes on to say:

> Any visitor to the classrooms of mainstream secondary schools in the UK will discover piles of textbooks in various dog-eared states arranged around the sides of rooms. As a teaching aid and as part of the learning experience, they are practically ubiquitous. So, on the one hand textbooks are derided, but on the other the reality of their universal use cannot be denied. (2004, p. 683)

2.8.2 Progressivist approach.

The focus on the *individual* as the starting point for structuring curriculum forms the central ideas of the progressivist approach, which "...sees knowledge as constructed through individual experience and driven by individual need and interest...curriculum...is determined by contemporary issues which become the occasion for exploring personal feelings and values" (Gilbert, 2003, p. 7). Using Gilbert's definitions, an *inquiry approach* is sufficiently incorporated within the progressivist approach. The epistemological underpinnings of the inquiry approach, encompasses constructivist beliefs of how knowledge is attained, particularly that students learn best 'by doing'. Bruner, and Dewey before him, are both commonly accredited with developing this approach for schooling contexts. Of the foundations of such an approach, Bruner writes:

> There appear to be...a series of activities and attitudes, some directly related to a particular subject and some of them fairly generalized, that go with inquiry and research. These have to do with the *process* of trying to find out something and while they provide no guarantee that the *product* will be any *great* discovery, their absence is likely to lead to awkwardness or aridity or confusion. (2006, p. 63)

In a practical (classroom context) sense, inquiry processes incorporate or involve:

> ...commitment of the learner to continuous reflection and re-evaluation of the direction and purposes of the inquiry...[and]...Productive inquiry cannot be conducted in a strictly linear fashion with the questions that guide the inquiry

remaining the same throughout. Students and teachers need to adopt flexible approaches so that in the light of information gathered, knowledge being constructed, and skills and processes being enhanced, additional or different questions and/or hypotheses can be adopted. (Naylor, 2000, p. 8)

Commonly considered a proponent of progressive approaches to curriculum, Dewey focused on developing teaching practices that prepare students for a *future society*, rather than one that seeks to only recreate the past. Of this, which can be seen as a clear rejection of traditional approaches, Dewey writes:

> In static societies, societies which make the maintenance of established custom their measure of value, this conception applies in the main. But not in progressive communities. They endeavour to shape the experiences of the young so that instead of reproducing current habits, better habits shall be formed, and this the future adult society be an improvement on their own. (1916/2004, p. 79)

A criticism, however, of the progressive approach is that even though it reacts against rote learning,

> ...this approach was not in itself able to determine which questions were worth asking. When it did, the questions were often those derived from the disciplines' intellectual or technical concerns, rather than from their value in everyday life or from important social and environmental issues. (Gilbert, 2004, p. 11)

Making reference to the epistemological emphasis of progressivist curriculum, being an inquiry process of learning and discuss it as *New History,* Hoepper and Quanchi write:

> …these new approaches encourage young people to see that histories are interpretations of the past, and that they are constructed using the available sources of evidence. Thus, histories are partial in two senses – they are incomplete (because no-one can have all the evidence, and tell the whole story) and they reflect the backgrounds and beliefs of the people who produce them (because it's impossible to tell the objective story of the past). Students are therefore encouraged to read histories more critically – to discern perspectives, standpoints and biases. (2000, p. 5)

To what degree the definitions of a progressivist curriculum as included in this section are actualised in school curriculum (rather than only as a theoretical concept) is reported in *Chapter 8: Conclusion*.

2.8.3 Entitlement approach.

Given the recent emergence of the entitlement approach, it is not anticipated that it will feature significantly (if at all) in the analysis of school curriculum for this project. The entitlement curriculum, as applied in this research, does not refer to general access to education for disadvantages or low SES students, as is sometimes the case (see, for example an analysis by Barber of the Union's response to Thatcher's education plans in the UK). Although Barber's statement that an entitlement approach "...emphasizes not only skills, but also confidence, motivation and the love of learning" (Barber, 1992, p. 452) is allied with the way it is used by Gilbert. To be clear, although the entitlement approach to curriculum is not necessarily in opposition or contradiction to the following statement, its purpose in terms of its applicability to Humanities curriculum is not used in the case of this research, as described by Cox:

> If we do not put a positive developmental model of early childhood education in the place of the formal model we may find that we have created a generation of children among whom many have not received their entitlement to educational opportunities because what was offered was not accessible to them. (1996, p. 766)

The entitlement approach, then (which is still in its early years of development), takes on a more futures perspectives, and as applicable to this research is described by Gilbert in the following way:

> ...an entitlement approach to social education (Gilbert, 2003), where students are given the technical mastery and the best available knowledge of concepts and values as resources for building a desirable society. Students are *entitled* to be provided with the concepts, processes and skills associated with contemporary institutions and practices, and required for effective participation in society. However, students are also *entitled* to apply and develop these learnings critically in ways which respect their cultural origins, and which enable them to construct lives according to their developing identities and commitments. (2005, p. 4)

As one of few (current) educators in the Humanities disciplines that has written on these three approaches and explained them in-depth and in a way that applies to the practicalities of *curriculum* construction in schooling, especially in an Australian context, Gilbert (2003, 2004, 2005) has been drawn on in this section extensively. How the History curriculum in Queensland schools, as analysed across the three eras selected, is situated within the approaches outlined above forms part of the final reporting in *Chapter 8: Research Conclusion*.

2.9 Conclusion

Although the five sections that comprise this literature review are quite disparate, they combine to form a cohesive overview of the conceptual focus of this dissertation. They have positioned this project within the relatively large field of educational research; clearly articulating the various areas that influence this project. To recap, the sections include: official knowledge as encapsulated by Apple (1993, 2000); defining textbooks, including their use as a pedagogical device, especially to maintain ideological dominance; defining hegemony, dominant discourses and resistant discourses relevant to this project; constructions of national identity through school curriculum; and curriculum approaches in Humanities disciplines.

The topics within these sections were framed by the overall purpose of the dissertation which, as stated in *Chapter 1* is to investigate: *What understanding regarding the representation of British heritages and Indigenous Australians in History curriculum in Queensland schools can be drawn from an analysis of key syllabus documents and textbooks across select historical periods between 1900-2000?*

The literature discussed in this chapter, is drawn on in the analysis of data and the conclusions made on textbook and curriculum research. This chapter has provided an overview of the conceptual literature that has guided, informed and influenced this project and the next chapter, *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct* looks at explaining the structure of the research within an explicit methodological frame.

Chapter Three: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct

3.1 Introduction: Bricolage as Methodology

To form the combination of interdisciplinary methodologies and theoretical underpinnings across a variety of complementary fields into a coherent research methodology a bricolage approach has been adopted for this project. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), itself an interdisciplinary approach, is privileged as the lead methodology. For this project, the methodology incorporates visual analysis techniques; combined with an historical methodological approach and framed by Gramsci's (1957, 1971) and Althusser's (1971, 1984) notions of hegemony, ideology and power. This enables within a rigorous approach, a "…research eclecticism, allowing circumstances to shape the methods employed…" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 3). Bricolage methodology encompasses more than intended in the literal French translation of the word—and a common starting place for descriptions of bricolage—being a Jack (or Jill)-of-all-trades using the materials at hand in construction. A *bricoleur* the name given to a researcher engaging in this type of research is defined by Lévi-Strauss as a "Jack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person" (1966, p. 17). More than this, "(T)he *bricoleur* produces a bricolage, that is, a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation…that changes and takes new forms as different tools, methods, and techniques are added to the puzzle" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 3).

From a foundation of CDA as the lead methodology and combining other approaches to build a rigorous, context-specific methodology this project develops CDA for specific time and content contexts. Other researchers who use CDA (see, for example, Luke, 1997) also develop it in divergent ways for the specific purposes for their research, ensuring a strengthened approach. Van Dijk presents a view of CDA that can be interpreted as supporting its incorporation into other methodologies, such as bricolage as occurs for this project, by stating CDA:

> …is not a method, nor a theory that simply can be applied to social problems. CDA can be conducted in, and combined with any approach and subdiscipline in the humanities and the social sciences.
>
> Rather, CDA is a – critical – perspective on doing scholarship: it is, so to speak, discourse analysis 'with an attitude'. (2001a, p. 96)

A researcher bricoleur carefully selects the most appropriate methodology available that will strengthen the research being conducted. This approach "…involves the process of rigorously rethinking and reconceptualizing multidisciplinary research…Employing these multiperspectival (Kellner, 1995) dynamics, bricoleurs…open new windows onto the world of research and knowledge production" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 4). More than a traditional mixed methodology approach to research, bricolage applies the most appropriate research methodology to different sections of the same research, "…employing…strategies when the need arises in fluid research situations" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 4) with the researcher overtly explicit about the social and political perspectives they take in constructing and applying a methodology.

Contemporary understandings of bricolage can be traced to Lévi-Strauss' (1966) work contained within his seminal publication, *The Savage Mind*. It is here that Denzin and Lincoln (1994, 2000), Kincheloe (2001, 2005) and Kincheloe and Berry (2004) begin articulating their own understanding of this concept as an important component for reconceptualising understandings of qualitative research. Reflecting on the work of Denzin and Lincoln, Kincheloe who draws extensively on these researchers in many of his publications, writes "…bricolage is typically understood to involve the process of employing these methodological strategies as they are needed in the unfolding context of the research situation" (2004, p. 2). This first way that Kincheloe sees bricolage is the way it is applied in this research, viewing rigorous methodologies in terms of moving from a "monological knowledge" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 23) base and view of seeing research, to being able to construct a variety of approaches into one, coherent methodology, suited to a specific research project. Given that a feature of bricolage is that bricoleurs select from a range of methodologies, philosophies and theories to construct one, rigorous approach to a specific research project, it is reasonable, then to expect that each time a bricoleur conducts research, a different combination of approaches may be adopted.

This project does not engage with later understandings of bricolage as a reconceptualisation of qualitative research, such as, for example, developing new or experimental methodological approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2000, 2005; Telles, 2000; Hammersley, 2004; McKenzie, 2005). Instead it takes a more conservative approach and is used as a way to combine existing, established methodological approaches in order to arrive at the strongest,

most rigorous methodology possible for the research undertaken. Therefore, this research is not concerned with the 'second' way as Kincheloe sees it applied:

> Appreciating research as a power-driven act, the researcher-as-bricoleur abandons the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social locations of other researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge. (2005, p. 324)

Rather, the use of bricolage is seen as occurring on a continuum of application; with its purpose in this project being to articulate an overt awareness of the interconnectedness of research methodology, methods, broader historical contexts, and analysis of findings so that a valid research project can be conducted that connects the research to current and historical socio-political environments.

However, even though the more radical understanding of bricolage is not incorporated in this research, one aspect is considered seriously; the background of the researcher. This is not to say that bricolage is the only methodological approach to encourage the disclosure of researcher in a way that moves beyond a tokenistic statement of background relationship between the researched and researcher. It is recognized that researcher disclosure has a long history and is standard practice in post graduate research. Renowned 20th century historian E.H. Carr emphasizes the importance for readers to study the background of the researcher, through his well-known Trevelyan lectures, and recorded in *What is History?*

> When we attempt to answer the question, What is history?, our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question, what view we take of the society in which we live. (1961 p. 5)

E.H. Carr however, stops short of advising researchers themselves to offer this information in a self critique to readers, but rather presents it more as an opportunity for *readers* of history to engage in further research about historians, their backgrounds and lived environment contexts. British historian Arthur Marwick, develops on from this perspective, stating that "…writers and teachers should always state their fundamental assumptions, and readers and students should always seek to find out what these are" (2001, p. 2). Historians have been selected to emphasise this point, as one of the approaches selected for this project is historical research, providing a demonstration of the interconnectedness between the methodological

approaches. What bricolage does offer in the discussion of disclosure of researcher is a structured and theoretical base to provide this information in meaningful ways, embedded within the research methodology, rather than as a tack-on or afterthought. As Denzin and Lincoln explain, "the *bricoleur* understands that research is an interactive process shaped by…personal history, biography, gender, social class, and ethnicity…" (1994, p. 3). Berry too emphasizes the need for researchers to position themselves within the context of their research, stating:

> For contemporary research content and processes such as bricolage, identifying how and why the researcher is positioned in the study is a must. Shifting positionalities (based on place, time, gender, race, class, sexuality etc.) from which a researcher reads, writes, analyzes, indicate a recognition of the part played by the socializing texts of scholarly discourses, academic expectations and contexts throughout time and space. (2006, p. 90)

The importance of this topic, as applied to this project, is evidenced through its application and detailed description in the *Disclosure of Researcher* section, where other theories, from other disciplines, concerning the disclosure of researcher, such as Gee's (2004) *frame problem* from a literacy discipline and Hexter's (1971) *second record* from a history discipline are discussed.

A number of researchers (see, for example, McKenzie, 2005; Berry 2006; Steinberg, 2006) position bricolage within a poststructuralist framework due to, amongst other aspects, its commitment to multiple readings of texts and interest in multiple perspectives. Relevant to this research, a poststructuralist framework is also considered appropriate to inform a CDA approach (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Importantly, bricolage does not search for one truth as positivist research does, which "…assumes there is a single, objective world of facts and universal laws that can be captured without bias if the researcher uses the proper scientific methods and techniques (control groups, randomization etc.)" (Lemesianou & Grinberg, 2006, p. 213), but rather seeks a multitude of viewpoints. Bricoleurs, as claimed by Kincheloe "…work to avoid pronouncements of final truth. Because of the changing and impermanent nature of the world, bricoleurs propose compelling insights into their engagement with reality and the unresolved contradictions that characterize such interactions" (2004, p. 24). Although in the statement Kincheloe was discussing bricolage, rather than post structuralism, this statement, nevertheless is aligned with a poststructuralist

perspective as it concentrates on avoiding the generating of monological knowledge. Berry develops this further and identifies a direct link between bricolage and poststructuralism,

> …poststructuralists, feminist perspectives, and researchers working with other post-multiple discourses, and a host of various narrative structures, create and borrow features from multiple sites befitting bricolage; in a manner similar to *intertexuality*. Bricoleurs struggle to avoid a monological, single path or method. (2006, p. 89)

Steinberg also connects bricoleurs' reporting of research findings with poststructuralism, dismissing scientific research as being inherently trustworthy, claiming:

> Because scientific research has traditionally offered only a partial vision to the reality it seeks to explore, pedagogical bricoleurs attempt to widen their perspectives through methodological diversity. In no way, however do they claim that as the result of the multiperspective bricolage they have gained "the grand view"—from their poststructuralist perspective they understand that all inquiry is limited and incomplete. (2006, p. 120)

From the connections between poststructuralism and bricolage described in various ways above, it is clear that poststructuralist discourses inform new incarnations of bricolage. As a result, poststructuralism forms part of the theoretical framing of the research, as part of the five dimensions of bricolage (explored in depth further in this section).

3.1.1 Bricolage as interdisciplinary.

Taking the view that a sole research methodology would not provide a sufficiently rigorous approach to enable an effective data analysis to occur, the following sentiments of Kellner, as summarised by Kincheloe holds true *for this particular research*, being: "…that any single research perspective is laden with assumptions, blindnesses, and limitations. To avoid one-sided reductionism…researchers must learn a variety of ways of seeing and interpreting in the pursuit of knowledge" (2004, p. 52). The use of bricolage enables a variety of approaches, theories and philosophies to be drawn on in the process of constructing a strong methodology tailored to suit the requirements of specific research projects. Considering bricolage in this way, demonstrates that it "…views research methods actively rather than passively, meaning that we actively construct our research methods…" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 2). In discussing the use of a variety of methodological approaches in his work, van Leeuwen asserts that "every good 'applied' project challenges the theory. No 'toolkit' can ever be used without adaptation

and modification” (Reitstaetter, Rheindorf & van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 9). Just as importantly, Berry points out that in selecting a variety of methodological approaches, “…you don’t use all the parts” (2006, p. 88), instead selecting aspects of each methodology in ways to ensure the research process maintains strong investigation principles. The commonality that the methodological approaches selected to form the bricolage approach in this project have, is that they raise a “critical consciousness about…language practices” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 259).

Just as cultural studies emerged as “…the product of a critical reflect based on dissatisfaction in which philosophy, linguistics, literary criticism, sociology, anthropology, psychology, history and the like, were leading institutionally separated lives of their own” (Verschueren, 2001, 65), bricolage can be seen to have emerged as a way to bring together methodological silos, to ensure that appropriate approaches can be combined when one, distinct methodology does not best serve the purposes of research. Additionally, just as cultural studies, in the view of Verschueren, looks beyond “…disciplinary boundaries, constraints and vested interests” (2001, p. 66), the same can be said for bricolage in terms of taking a *methodological*, rather than a *disciplinary* approach to research. Wodak too, recognises the way CDA lends itself to be used in interdisciplinary contexts, writing CDA “…entails different dimensions of interdisciplinarity: the theories draw on neighbouring disciplines and try to integrate these theories…the methodologies are adapted to the data under investigation” (Wodak, 2004, p. 199).

Using a form of bricolage in this project, enables a more rigorous methodology to emerge than would otherwise be possible by *only* using CDA or *only* using historical research and ignoring important theoretical understandings related to power, ideology, discourse construction and knowledge acquisition. By stepping beyond imposed disciplinary boundaries, a combination methodology is used that prevents “rationalistic fragmentation…[that]…undermines our ability to derive the benefits of multiple perspectives” (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 41). Doing so strengthens data analysis and findings and can result in “…providing new knowledge, insights, ideas, practices, structures that move towards social justice, inclusiveness, diversity, plurality and so forth” (Berry, 2006, p. 90)

Bricolage, as used in this research, departs significantly from one of the understandings Kincheloe and Berry have of this approach, asserting that a strength of bricolage is that it is

so inter or multi disciplinary, that it does not privilege one form of discipline, methodology or view of the world over another, writing “any discipline that refuses to move outside its borders privileges its own narratives and regimes of truth. Research emerging from such a disciplinary context produces one-dimensional knowledge about multi-dimensional phenomena” (2004, p. 41). They also go on to write of bricolage, “…the complexity…is like a marriage of modern research with research in the postmodern where conflicting discourses remain but where no one area becomes restrained by conceptual borders and where *no one area becomes dominant over another*” (2004, p. 106, emphasis added). This project however is clear about privileging CDA as the lead methodology and draws from it components appropriate for this research. Historical methodology is also used, with the lynchpin between the two methodologies being the historical-discursive approach that Wodak uses (see for example, Wodak, 2004; Wodak et al., 1999). This is not considered to be in conflict with bricolage, as a variety of approaches are brought together, combined and constructed to form one, coherent, theoretically aligned methodology, which investigates the relationship between historical contexts and official knowledge of the school curriculum, as manifested in textbooks. Regarding incorporating different approaches within CDA, although van Dijk does not specifically endorse a bricolage methodology, he does state, “…good scholarship, and especially good CDA, should integrate the best work of many people…from different disciplines, countries, cultures and directions of research. In other words, CDA should be essentially diverse and multidisciplinary” (2001a, p. 96).

In taking the view that bricolage is an extension of multi-method research and triangulation, this research draws partly on the work of Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and partly on the work of Kincheloe (2005). Denzin and Lincoln explain that “qualitative research is inherently multimethod in focus….The combination of multiple methods, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation” (2005, p. 2). In the case of this research, the rigor, breadth and depth that is mentioned by Denzin and Lincoln is achieved through a bricolage approach that creates links between the various methodological approaches adapted for this research, enabling a “…focusing on webs of relationships instead of simply things-in-themselves” (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 323). The focus on connections between methodologies is evident through the five dimensions of bricolage. These five dimensions, conceptualised by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) are used by Berry (2006) and Kincheloe (2005) who extend and more finely articulate them. The five dimensions, “methodological bricolage, theoretical

bricolage, interpretive bricolage, political bricolage, and narrative bricolage" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 335) are applied in this project as depicted in Table 3.1. Berry succinctly describes the five dimensions as, "…bricoleurs need to access multiple theories (theoretical bricolage), research genres and conventions (methodological bricolage), ways to interpret (interpretive bricolage) and ways of reporting/telling the story (narrative bricolage)" (2006, p. 96). Combined, they provide a specific philosophical research approach used for this bricolage.

Table 3.1

Five Dimensions of Bricolage

Approach	Application in this research
Methodological bricolage	Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Visual analysis (incorporating a CDA approach to analysing images) Historical methodology
Theoretical bricolage	Poststructuralist analysis of texts Gramsci and Althusser: notions of ideological power and hegemony
Interpretive bricolage	Disclosure of researcher, incorporating aspects of personal "lived context" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 336) Appendix A: Contexts: situating the research within its historical time period
Political bricolage	Gramsci and Althusser through curriculum hegemony Apple: Official Knowledge Issues of national identity through school curriculum
Narrative bricolage	An historical narrative is constructed aligned within a qualitative approach to report data findings

3.1.2 Contentions with bricolage as methodology.

Investigating the criticisms and contentions lodged at bricolage research reveals a limitation in the quantity of published research regarding this methodology. One reason for the relative paucity of published literature available that presents criticisms of bricolage could be that it is still in relatively infant stages of its development as an accepted, mainstream research methodology; residing on the fringes of qualitative research. Bricolage is still mainly critiqued by those who use it, for example Wagner (1990) and Kincheloe (2001, 2004, 2008). The relatively small amount of published literature available on criticisms of bricolage will be seen as a contrast to that of the criticisms of CDA, which is detailed later in this chapter. A general criticism of interdisciplinary and disciplinary approaches is responded to by Kincheloe. He describes the debate surrounding rigor in research, in relation to this methodology in the following way, "…a consistent division between disciplinarians and interdisciplinarians: disciplinarians maintain that interdisciplinary approaches to analysis and research result in superficiality; interdisciplinary proponents argue that disciplinarity produces naïve overspecialization" (2004, p. 53).

Through a critique of a bricolage project undertaken on teaching, Wagner criticizes taking a narrow approach as being a “loose thread” (1990, p. 78), and instead considers that if bricolage is to be rigorous, it must incorporate more facets, including recognising the abstract in different forms of knowledge. Certainly, this project could potentially be regarded as narrow by those who take a more avant-garde approach to bricolage. However, given that it is steeped in both practical methodologies (CDA, visual analysis and historical research) and abstract theories (for example, Gramsci’s and Althusser’s notions of hegemony and ideological power), it can be seen to be making a concerted effort to construct a broad encompassing methodology, thereby incorporating concrete and abstract forms of knowledge.

3.1.3 Bricolage and this project.

An important reason for adopting a bricolage approach to this research (even with CDA being the leading and dominant methodology), is because of a concerted effort to overcome potential criticisms of methodological weaknesses that could be lodged at using only a CDA approach (see, for example, Schegloff, 1997, 1998, 1999). In this way, bricolage is being used to strengthen the variety of approaches selected for this project. Ensuring that the bricolage approach used in this research is grounded in theoretical understanding avoids a potential hotchpotch of methodological ideas, with no links to each other, and sees that “the methods…serve the aims of the research, not the research serve the aims of the method” (as cited in Pink, 2001, p. 4).

In many ways, bricolage is still an experimental methodology. Drawing on a variety of methodologies, theories and philosophies, the way it is being applied in qualitative research is emerging as a new frontier of knowledge construction, with increasing moves against research embedded only in positivist paradigms. Bricoleurs are thus able to undertake research “…freed from reductionistic conventions in ways that facilitate their moves not to an anything-goes model of research but to genuinely rigorous, informed multiperspectival ways of exploring the lived world” (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 337). At this point in its history, however, bricolage remains on the fringe of accepted norms of research. With increased use and adaptation it will potentially become more accepted across a number of research fields, including as already seen in social sciences, environmental studies, education, and business studies. This project therefore, presents as a modest attempt at bricolage. There is further ground to be made in order to start to integrate reconceptualisations of methodologies and improvisation into this type of research. However, by combining only a small number of

approaches, processes of further engagement and experimentation begin, and, as explained by Lévi-Strauss, aspects of different methodological approaches are integrated, not so that "…each have of them…have only one definite and determinate use… [but rather]…They each represent a set of actual and possible relations; they are 'operators' but they can be used for any operations of the same type" (1966, p. 18).

A potential criticism of the use of bricolage in this project is that due to its conservative application, it could be argued that this methodology does not fit within or align with the research approach taken in this project. This is especially the case as, aligned with historical research methods, I do not engage in the use of metaphors, and take a more *constructivist* rather than *critical* approach to knowledge. For example, Kincheloe and McLaren do write that:

> Some connotations of the term (bricolage) involve trickery and cunning and remind me (Kincheloe) of the chicanery of Hermes, in particular his ambiguity concerning the messages of the gods…bricolage can also imply the fictive and imaginative elements of the presentation of all formal research. (2005, p. 316)

To be clear, the use of 'cunning' and 'fictive' presentation of knowledge is not an aspect of research selected for this project. Doing so would make it in opposition to and contradict the scholarship of history methodology and CDA. However, to argue against potential criticism of the conservative application of bricolage for this project, it can been seen more as a methodological approach, used in a way that remains considerate to the research paradigms of CDA (written and visual text analysis) and history methodology; and cognizant of the need to align with the approaches incorporated in the methodology of this project. In particular, Denzin and Lincoln in discussing qualitative research and bricolage as a type of multi-methods research affirm:

> Qualitative research is inherently multi-method in focus (Flick, 2002, pp. 226-227)…The combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry (see Flick, 2002, p. 229). (2005, p. 5)

Bricolage, then, is used as a way to enrich the findings that emerge from the data by enabling a variety of methodological, theoretical and philosophical approaches to be adopted and

adapted to suit the requirements of the research, whilst still "…maintain[ing] theoretical coherence and epistemological innovation" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 316). Doing so frees the research from conforming uncomfortably to one, set, methodological tool which could potentially compromise the data gathering and analysis, thus avoiding "…a reductionistic form of knowledge that impoverishes our understanding of everything connected to it…" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 5); and as Kincheloe and McLaren write: "in the first decade of the 21st century, bricolage typically is understood to involve the process of employing these methodological strategies as they are needed in the unfolding context of the research situation" (2005, p. 316). Hence, at times CDA is deployed, at other times the visual analysis of CDA, and still at other times historical research methods are deployed, often in the same area of research. These sentiments by Kincheloe (2004) and Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) are also supported by Kincheloe and Berry who write:

> A bricoleur would argue that the empiricism of using one methodology or even one single theory presents only a partial answer to the original research question. Also there exists the potential of linearity of monological research to reproduce the political, economic, societal, historical, and intellectual issues and problems that led to the study in the first place. (2004, p. 105)

Bricolage then can be viewed as an organizer of the methodological approaches used in the various stages of this project. This approach was not determined at the beginning of the research process, but rather developed out of preliminary investigations. This preliminary work led to engaging in a variety of methodological and theoretical approaches, which led to the decision to incorporate the methodology within an overall bricolage framework. The remainder of this chapter outlines these approaches, identifying how they are incorporated throughout this project.

3.2 Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis.

CDA is loosely defined as seeing "…discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Its purpose is to "…investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use…" (Wodak, 2001b, p. 2). Whilst originally predominately used in literary criticism, this approach is now commonly used in a range of fields. As Martin and Wodak (2003) and Hammersley (1996) point out, methodologies influenced by linguistic theories are emerging across a range of disciplines, including social sciences, education,

historical studies and more (see, for example, Luke, 1997; Wetherell, 2001; and Threadgold 2003). CDA can be seen as part of a larger trend in qualitative research over the past couple of decades that has seen a significant rise in cross-disciplinary research, as Denzin and Lincoln point out:

> …a blurring of disciplinary boundaries is taking place. The social and policy sciences and the humanities are drawing closer together in a mutual focus on an interpretive, qualitative approach to research and theory. (2005, p. ix)

Specifically referring to CDA, Chouliaraki and Fairclough point out "…the contemporary field of critical analysis of discourse is quite diverse…some analysis of text…without drawing on any linguistic theory" (1999, pp. 6-7). Where the methodology used for this project differs significantly from its application in purely linguistic studies is that it is applied on a macro level, as an overarching tool for the variety of primary and secondary sources gathered and analysed, rather than looking at the specific and grammatical functions of language (Martin & Wodak, 2003; van Dijk, 2001a, 2001b, 1997; Potter & Wetherell, 1994; and discussed by Threadgold, 2003, p. 20 as a "no theory of grammar" approach). Instead, language is analysed within its broader education and social context, specifically in the area of History curriculum. By doing this, the focus of analysis is on the categories and discourses that emerge through the texts explored. To clarify, although specific words, sentences and paragraphs are closely analysed, a critique of the minutiae of grammar rules and linguistic features does not form the approach taken in this project.

This attention to the macro level enables an analysis of discourses related to "…group or institutional power and dominance, as well as social inequality…" (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 301) to take place, and acknowledges that "…language is more than a sentence-level phenomenon" (as cited in Pennycook, 1994, p. 116). This is an important point to outline for, as Jaworski and Coupland point out, linguistics has traditionally been "…particularly narrow, focusing on providing good descriptions of the grammar and pronunciation of utterances at the level of the sentence" (2006, pp. 3-4). The expansion of the uses of this methodology is explained by van Dijk as, "…discourse analysis has come of age, and is now much like the other disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences, although a cross-disciplinary nature guarantees continuous renewal and inspiration at the borders of existing domains of knowledge" (1997, p. 32). More recently on this topic, van Dijk has discussed the unnecessary need to analyse the genre structures, writing "…other structures, such as the

form of words and many structures of sentences are grammatically obligatory and contextually invariant and hence usually not subject to speaker control, and hence irrelevant for a study of social power" (2001a, p. 99). Threadgold reports that CDA has started to develop "…towards CDA as itself *theory*, but it is claimed now to provide a methodology which is *replicable, systematic and verifiable"* (2003, p. 10).

CDA is aligned with document analysis in an historical framework due to its focus on the broader social and political locations and contexts, across historical eras, identifying the power discourses in language used in primary source documents. The practical application, in this project, is the study of school History textbooks. As CDA views documents as social practice, this methodology seeks to explore and explain through content how these texts communicate to school students. Framing this within an historical approach can therefore use CDA as "a toolkit" (Widdowson, 1998, p. 137), rather than an entirely prescriptive model. In aligning CDA within a variety of frameworks, van Dijk refers to its connection with social sciences and scientists as, "…discourse analysis stresses that social and political institutions, organizations, group relations, structures, processes, routines…need to be studied at the level of their actual manifestations, expressions or enactment in discourse as language use…and interaction" (1997, p. 32). In the case of this project, those manifestations of discourse are evidenced through textbook content and its relationship or interactions with their historical context, thus reinforcing the validity of using CDA across a range of disciplines, including, in this case, historical methodology. Contextualising textbooks to the specific era they were published in forms an important aspect of the research for this project. Consequently, textbooks are viewed as a controlled medium, as they are published with a very specific audience in mind (school students and teachers) and all content has been included for very specific reasons, usually aligned with a government sanctioned syllabus, as detailed in the data analysis chapters. To this end, the following statement made by Verschueren is linked with the analysis, that is "…it is impossible to interpret any piece of communication without taking full account of the action or activity type it belongs to with all the contextual ramifications this involves" (2001, p. 61).

To introduce some common contentions with CDA that are expanded in greater detail later in this chapter, a variety of criticisms related to CDA and specifically the analysis components have commonly been lodged at CDA. In particular this includes noting aspects of integrity in analysis, framing methodological approaches in theory and predicting outcomes of research.

A criticism made by Blommaert that "power relations are often predefined and then confirmed by features of discourse (sometimes in very questionable ways…)" (2001, p. 15) has been minimised by ensuring integrity in analysis is maintained by not predicting outcomes of the data, but rather enabling findings to emerge from a thorough, structured and explicitly articulated data analysis. The selection of primary and secondary sources analysed are through "research conducted with a broad commitment to exploring the social and political implications of findings" (Wetherell, 2001, p. 385). Doing so avoids the claim Schegloff (who is a conversation analyst) makes of some critical discourse analysts having "endogenous interpretations" (Wetherell, 2001, p. 386), or as Verschueren colourfully describes of some analysts "…playing fast and loose with the observable facts in order to support preconceived claims" (2001, p. 60); and in a direct criticism of an aspect of the work of Fairclough and Chouliaraki, "…what seems to be transpiring through the interpretative-explanatory and evaluative conclusions is likely to be the product of *conviction* rather than the result of *careful* step-by-step analysis that *reflexively questions* its owns observations and conclusions" (2001, p. 65, emphasis added). Similar criticisms are lodged at historians when working with primary source documents, as Evans points out in his criticisms of another historian who engaged in less-than-scholarly reporting of research findings, claiming: "Abraham, it seems, had merely scoured the archives for 'evidence' that would back it up" (2000, p. 119). How this type of sloppy work is avoided is outlined both in the historical methodology section of this chapter, and more specifically in the research design and conduct section, and continued albeit to a lesser degree in *Chapter 4: Data Analysis Introduction*.

To move now to define more closely CDA, Luke succinctly writes it is:

> …a contemporary approach to the study of language and discourses in social institutions. Drawing on poststructuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics, it focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools and classrooms. (n.d., p. 1)

Drawing on this definition provided by Luke, this project closely examines the power and social relations contained within official documents such as textbooks, policy documents and syllabuses to expose how these types of texts have been, and continue to be, used by various individuals and groups to exert power through their use within schools. CDA is so concerned with how the broader societal discourses influences the data it analyses, that van Dijk refers to it as a "sociopolitical discourse analysis" (2001b, p. 300). One aspect considered important

in the analysis of data, is that it has a distinct *critical* component that enables power relationships within representations of groups to emerge as part of the process of investigation. It does not suffice to simply report data, or even analyse data, isolated from the criticality of power; although this is a point that Schegloff does not seem to consider important, given his comment "…the inadequacies of past work will not be alleviated by turning to critical theory for their repair" (1998, p. 414). Power, as described by Wodak, is interwoven with ideology and "…does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power…Language provides a…vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures" (2004, p. 1999). Related to the understanding of power embedded within texts, is the issue of whether one, definitive truth needs to be extrapolated from the data. This topic, described partially by Flowerdew as "one needs to accept that there are multiple perspectives and that there are limits to objectivist impartiality" (1999, p. 1093), is explored in further depth later in this chapter.

3.2.1 Description of Critical Discourse Analysis as the lead methodology.

While originally developed as an analytical tool for linguistic studies, the specific CDA approaches that this project adopts draw on aspects of both socio cognitive studies (van Dijk, 1997) and the discursive historical method (Wodak, 2004; Wodak et al., 1999). This is underpinned by the developmental work of Fairclough in terms of a sociocultural approach, and framed by the theories espoused by Althusser (1971, 1984) and Gramsci (1957, 1971) on hegemony and Apple (2000) on official knowledge in curriculum. Combined, these approaches demonstrate that "…discourses work in ideological interests…" (Luke, 2002, p. 96) in the communication, interpretation and analysis of texts. Luke also attributes significant achievement and great responsibilities to this research approach, writing:

> …critical discourse analysis has, for a moment, melded post-1968 social theories, political standpoints and research practice. It has succeeded in bringing to the table various readings, voices and texts that historically had been at the sidelines, while at the same time providing a forum for the deconstruction and critique of canonical texts. (1997, p. 348)

And also:

> …to use critical discourse analysis as an analytical and political strategy for talking back to public discourse, for disrupting its speech acts, breaking its narrative chains and questioning its constructions of power and agency. (Luke, 1997, p. 265)

The lens of CDA is used to gain insights into how language is used to promote certain perspectives and to marginalise others. CDA methodology was selected, in part, due to its ability to be used to mediate between texts to expose the power relations which exist, and in doing so, "…addressing the ideological dimension of discourse" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 121). As Fairclough points out, CDA is in part "an element of social practices, which constitutes other elements as well as being shaped by them" (as cited in Wodak et al., 1999, p. vii). An important premise to identify is that CDA, along with other qualitative methodologies, recognises that all language "is expressive of a particular discourse, and bears evidence of some hegemonic intent" (Widdowson, 1998, p. 146). Tyrwhitt-Drake's understanding of this methodology is gleaned from Fairclough, when he writes that the purpose of CDA is for "…exposing hegemony, demonstrating 'hidden' ideological processes, and equipping people in critical language awareness, the educational application of critical discourse analysis" (1999, p. 1082) and critique which makes "visible the interconnectedness of things" (as cited in Wodak, 2004, p. 199). Threadgold discusses the connectedness of texts with a CDA approach, writing of Fairclough's approach that "…a new interest in understanding not just the workings of individual texts, but the ways in which they…enter into networks of, other texts and discourses to form part of the hegemonic discursive structures which form social realities, subjectivities and bodies" (Threadgold, 2003, p. 19).

3.2.2 Defining 'critical' and 'discourse'.

Critical, for the purposes of CDA at least, "…is often associated with studying power relations" (Rogers, 2004, p. 3). Although not specifically using the term 'power', Fairclough's intent is clear, writing "'Critical' implies showing connections and causes which are hidden…" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 9). Fairclough also situates his work within an historical context, writing: "…a method for historical analysis…relationships among and boundaries between discourse practices in an institution or the wider society are progressively shifted in ways which accord with directions of social change" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 9). The definition provided by Wodak is also adopted for this project, being "…'critical' is to be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research…application of the results is important" (2001b, p. 9). This links with Meyer's description of CDA, being "…CDA follows a different and a critical approach to problems, since its endeavours to make explicit

power relationships which are frequently hidden, and thereby to derive results which are of practical relevance" (2001, p. 15).

In an article that broadly criticizes CDA, Tyrwhitt-Drake, using critiques of Flowerdew as its foundation, writes that the critical component is "…faced with the sometimes unpalatable fact that a text is typically open to multiple interpretations, [and] that judgement needs to be exercised when deciding which interpretation to make" (1999, p. 1083). This project is strengthened by having a variety of data sources from the same era to cross reference. Flowerdew, in response to Tyrwhitt-Drake's criticism of his work, claims that when multiple interpretations are possible, "judgement does…need to be exercised" (1999, p. 1091). This dispute between Tyrwhitt-Drake and Flowerdew points to the need to ensure that the critical component of analysis is clearly articulated, with underpinning ideologies made explicit.

In addition, Schegloff writes that, "what gets addressed under the rubric 'discourse' is so varied…" (1997, p. 167). Therefore, identifying a common definition for discourse is important, due to the potentially conflicting understandings held of it, depending on the context of its use, the perspective of the researcher using it and the purposes of a particular study. This varied use of the term of discourse, is exacerbated by Foucault's describing of it as:

> Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualized group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements. (as cited in Jaworski and Coupland, 2006, p. 2)

Discourse, in terms of its meaning within CDA looks at social aspects of language use, seeing discourse "…as a communicative event, including conversational interaction, written texts, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other 'semiotic' or multimedia dimension of signification" (Meyer, 2001, p. 20) Furthermore, discourse "…start[s] with the assumption that language use is always social and the analyses of language occur above the unit of a sentence or clause…" (Rogers, 2004, p. 5). Regarding the interconnectedness the term *discourse* has with embedded or even 'hidden' aspects of power, Kincheloe writes, "discourse cannot be removed from power relations and the struggle to create particular meanings and legitimate specific voices" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 7). Combined

with the bricolage approach adapted for this research, this will result in power relationships exposed within and between texts.

Combining the individual terms to form *critical discourse analysis*, two overarching definitions of the methodology apply to this project. First is van Leeuwen's statement, "critical discourse analysis is, or should be, concerned with…discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality" (as cited in Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, p.28). Second, as defined by Jaworski and Coupland, this approach:

> …offers a means of exposing or deconstructing the social practices that constitute 'social structure' and what we might call the conventional meaning structures of social life…The motivation for doing discourse analysis is very often a concern about social inequality and the perpetuation of power relationships, either between individuals or between social groups… (2006, p. 5)

An important aspect of CDA in education and historical studies, and particularly for this project which deconstructs the representations of Indigenous peoples and British heritages in History curriculum, is that it "…offers an alternative approach to the analysis of educational disenfranchisement, enabling us to track governmental, institutional and professional construction of deficit, disadvantage and deviance…" (Luke, 1997, p. 347). In addition the four concepts that Wodak and de Cillia assert is integral to any CDA project "…the concepts of critique, power; history; and ideology" (2006, p. 713) are integrated throughout this project.

3.3 Description of Critical Discourse Analysis Approaches

As stated CDA is increasingly used as a cross-disciplinary methodological approach, with "…many established disciplines" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 11) using this method. As the potential of CDA as a tool of analysis across a range of fields has become apparent, it has experienced wider application across a growing number of studies (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Parker & Burman, 1993; Potter & Wetherell, 1994; Luke, 1995-1996; Luke, 1997). This wide application has also increased its susceptibility to come under attack by those who prefer a more 'pure' or narrow linguistic theory (Tyrwhitt-Drake, 1999). CDA for textbook analysis has been applied, for example, in a study of Japanese textbooks by Christopher Barnard's (2001, 2003a); and earlier in de Castell, Luke and Luke's (1989) *Language, authority and criticism*. Although Barnard's (2001, 2003a) study investigates the

teaching of Japanese history from a view of 1995 textbooks and their interpretation of the Rape of Nanking in 1937 and 1938, it has similarities with the research undertaken for this dissertation in terms of using CDA to analyse the representation of a nation's history through textbooks. Like Barnard's study, the analysis of texts for this project investigates the language of textbooks in creating certain historic 'truths' about specific events in a nation's history (Japan in Barnard's case and Australia in the case here), and in doing so maintaining a reporting of events that aims to sustain the dominant socio-political views, or in the views of the curriculum writers, the status quo (Barnard, 2001). Identifying strategies for maintaining a status quo was also the focus of analysis of an earlier UK-based study conducted by Whitty who found that

> …pupils were taught a particular view of the world in school and that, because there was no examination of the presuppositions upon which that view was based or of the social processes through which such a view developed, pupils were like to accept as an immutable 'fact' what was but one ideological version of the world…by concentrating on the activities of Crowns, Lords and Commons, they served to 'naturalize' the existing British constitution…what was taught in schools acted as a means of social control and served to sustain the status quo. (1985, pp. 19-20)

For this project then, the application of CDA has the capacity to begin to challenge the status quo presented in school textbooks. As Wodak points out "for CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it *gains power by the use powerful people make of it*" (2001b, p. 10, emphasis added). Similarly, but regarding the naturalizing of discourses rather than directly discussing a status quo, Rogers writes, "the goal of CDA is to *denaturalize ideologies* that have been naturalized…work across disciplines has demonstrated that linguistic interactions (process) and linguistic realizations (meaning) are structured in ways that *reproduce dominant ideologies* (2004, p. 252, emphasis added).

The relevance of CDA as a tool of analysis is explained by Barnard as residing in "…the range of meaning-making potential possessed by a language and, by seeking to identify the specific choices made in any particular communicative situation, question why such choices have been made…" (2001, p. 519). In relating this to textbook analysis, the following statement on the study of US textbooks provides an overview which highlights a similar direction that the analysis of documents this research takes.

> In his examination of American history textbooks, Loewen (1995) found that the political economy, the political climate, pressure groups, regional interests, and racial considerations all influence what is included in these textbooks, what is omitted, and how material is presented. Loewen demonstrates that the pervasive ideology of the textbooks is one of 'progress', such that facts and interpretations are made to fit in with this ideology—even when, far from there being progress, there is an actual worsening of the state of affairs.
>
> Loewen argues that, in the US, one of the aims of history teaching is to instill patriotism, national unity, and pride in the nation. Thus, a mythic version of history is inevitably taught. Such mythic versions of history tend to serve the group interests of particular sections or classes of society. Loewen's (1995, 1999) work is interesting, in that he lays stress on how language is used to create meaning, and the ideological significance of this. (Barnard, 2001, p. 520)

CDA enables an investigation of the discourses of progress which may exist in textbooks, as Loewen found, and the effects this has, especially of maintaining the hegemonic discourse present in society in any given time. CDA is used in this research primarily to provide a framework for analysis, more so than following an exact replication of a version of CDA applied in other research. Given the large corpora or body of data available for this project, a detailed investigation of each text is not possible; therefore the macro approach selected for analysis is the most appropriate, whilst still maintaining integrity and validity in research.

3.3.1 Establishing contexts as part of CDA.

Emphasizing the importance of data being situated by the researcher in its proper context van Dijk writes, "discourses should preferably be studied as a constitutive part of its local and global, social and cultural contexts" (1997, p. 29). This view is applied in this project, particularly in the ideological considerations and the contextualising of selected textbook content. In addition, the incorporation of historical methodology ensures that context is rigorously framed within education and socio-political contexts, thus avoiding a concern raised by van Dijk that "despite the general recognition of the importance of contextual analysis, this principle is unfortunately more preached than actually practiced (1997, p. 29).

Just as the data itself consists of a potentially myriad of power discourses, so does the context of their construction. To avoid the criticism lodged at CDA by Blommaert (in this case criticizing the work of Wodak but could very likely be applied to other research), that "…context is offered as an unquestionable, untheorized set of 'facts'" (2001, p. 16); setting up the context of the environment is important. This is made possible in this project in part due to the cross-referencing that occurs with data sources and situated within an established historical era, a context analysis is established. This is important, so that analysis can begin to take place, thereby avoiding, "…focusing…upon…singular relationships between individual instances of text/discourse and context[s]" (Blommaert, 2001, p. 20). In the case of this project, this does not occur, as strong contexts are created through the analysis of a variety of texts, to demonstrate the representations of national history through the two exemplar topics, and linking these to their relevant historical socio-political context, thus ensuring that "…social structure serves as a critical context…" (Blommaert, 2001, p. 20).

3.4 Contentions with CDA Methodology

Incorporating criticisms of CDA is viewed as an important process in developing a strengthened methodology for this project, providing opportunities to actively critique and respond to criticisms of this project within a bricolage framework. Wodak categorises the areas of criticisms lodged at CDA into the following broad topics, "…the hermeneutic approach to text analysis; the broad context which is used to interpret the texts' often very large theoretical framework which does not always fit the data; and mostly, the political stance taken explicitly by the researchers…" (2001b, pp. 4-5).

When examining the criticisms of discourse analysis, whether CDA or otherwise, the work of researchers who use this method can, arguably, be more useful to use than those who do not adopt this research approach. Their experiences using discourse analysis, combined with their generally positive position towards the approach, can result in problems or gaps being identified that are more meaningful and constructive. Often strategies to avoid or combat these problems are included—which have had their own practical applications—borne from realised, rather than merely a theorised view of the methodological approach. Therefore, whilst considering the perspectives of researchers who do not use CDA or other forms of discourse analysis, this section will nevertheless generally focus on researchers who do use this approach (see for example, Antaki, Billig, Edwards & Potter, 2003). There are several common elements of CDA that has led to it being criticized. How these criticisms are

considered and, where relevant, overcome for the purposes of this project, will be explained. This research avoids the criticism lodged (whether accurate or not is open to interpretation) at some qualitative researchers that "in many discussions of qualitative research there is a reluctance of many (if not most) authors to lay bare the procedures associated with the analysis of data" (Bryman & Burgess, 1994, p. 216) by being open about the procedures undertaken in the analysis of data. This openness extends to other areas of the methodology, as already explored in depth, such as disclosure of the researcher, and in the explicit stages of analysis.

3.4.1 General criticisms relevant to this project.

A common criticism of CDA is that the findings of the research are predetermined and thus the questions pursued and methodology used by researchers is flawed. This project avoids predetermining findings by framing open-ended research questions to enable rigor to be maintained. Rogers frames this recurring criticism of CDA as "…political and social ideologies are projected onto the data rather than being revealed through the data" (2004, p. 14). This common criticism is identified and reported by, amongst others, Widdowson (1998, 1996), Price (1999), Parker and Burman (1993), Tyrwhitt-Drake (1999), Blommaert (2001) and supported by Schegloff (1998) in his discussion of omitting information from the findings in a related field, conversation analysis. Widdowson writes in relation to Fairclough, and as part of the larger evidence of his suspicion of critical discourse analysts "…they do this by the careful selection and partial interpretation of whatever linguistic features suit their own ideological position and disregarding the rest" (1998, p. 146). Additionally, Tyrwhitt-Drake, in criticising the process of analysis and demonstrating a suspicion of CDA writes, "for some writers, the temptation to work backwards from their conclusion, seeking the evidence that makes it inevitable, rather than forward to it, from objectively examined data, is one they find themselves unable to resist" (1999, p. 1083). This is a sentiment echoed by Verschueren, who finds poor analysis can occur despite rigorous theory and good text selection, and explains "…theory being preconceived, it is not surprising, therefore, that 'findings' tend to be predictable and that a gap emerges between textual analysis and conclusions…Texts are simply made into carriers…of what one already assumes to be the case" (2001, p. 69).

A way these broad criticisms are avoided is the disclosure of the researcher's perspectives; by being open and explicit about what is brought, ideologically, to the data analysis. Doing this

ensures that the ideological understandings that inform the research are declared, thus avoiding potential for accusation of bias in not only reporting of findings but also of conducting analysis of data. This ensures that ideologies inherent in texts emerge *from* the data, not imposed *into* it. In addition, through carefully planned, articulated and executed stages of analysis, a gap between analysis and conclusion should not occur. Questions to respond to for both preliminary and intermediate data analysis stages of the research are explicitly outlined in the research design and conduct section of this chapter, a further measure to avoid shaping conclusions through the lens of personal preconceived notions of what the research data should reveal. Furthermore, the historian Marwick's caution that researchers must develop a strategy is adhered to in this project, both in the collection and analysis of sources. According to Marwick,

> …it cannot be stressed too much that before embarking on primary research, historians have to develop a *strategy*. A strategy is essential for ensuring that research is systematic, and that time is not wasted on random investigation…Having a strategy is very different from having a predetermined thesis, or some *a priori* theory or ideology. We all have preconceptions and preliminary ideas – and these may, indeed, have come from our readings in the secondary source. Most historians are familiar with that point in the archives, or perhaps when one is reflecting later on what one has discovered in the archives, when early misconceptions begin to be replaced and new and more convincing interpretations begin to take their place. (2001, p. 163)

In addition, there is also a need to establish a clear and focused analysis that avoids relying on established rhetoric and simplified understandings of power relationships and struggles that exist in social structures. Blommaert criticizes this aspect of CDA, and although this criticism is potentially unfair as it treats CDA researchers as having a juvenile approach to social discourses, it is nevertheless important to respond to so that a clear case can be established for how this project avoids falling into a trap of rhetoric. By claiming, "in CDA, discourse is accompanied by a narrative on power and institutions, large portions of which are just copied from rank-and-file sources or inspired by received wisdom" (2001, p. 15), Blommaert makes the assumption that CDA merely uses data to communicate pre-established understandings of power discourses; therefore viewing the world as a set of binaries, rather than understanding that discourses of power are much more intricate and also contain hidden elements of power. His assumptions in this regard, can clearly be understood through his endnote addition of "in

the…analysis of political discourse (one of the main preoccupations of CDA), often also highly simplistic and strongly biased *historical* narratives are given....In such historical accounts, historical roles (aggressor, victim, winner, loser) can be prescribed in ways that are hardly 'neutral'" (Blommaert, 2001, p. 29). In making these criticisms Blommaert not only stakes a claim that researchers who use CDA see the world through binaries, but a veiled slight is raised that CDA is unable to sustain rigor, an issue outlined below.

3.4.2 Data analysis issues and considerations.

A criticism directed at conducting an analysis either only through a linguistic approach; or only through a macro textual analysis, as this research does, is that an "unequal balance" (Rogers, 2004, p. 14) results in the analysis of data. For example, Antaki, Billig, Edwards, and Potter (2003) identify that an aspect of discourse analysis (not limited to CDA) often not being properly addressed is the analysis. With the increasing use of discourse analysis as a research methodology, a concern is expressed regarding whether the level of analysis undertaken by researchers is sufficiently rigorous, devoid of bias or taking data out of context. Antaki et al. identify a gap in the literature addressing the conduct of analysis, writing "…they leave implicit what is not analysis" (Antaki et al., 2003, p. 3). This gap appears to be common in the analysis component across a range of qualitative methodologies, as also pointed out by Burns in discussing case study research analysis, "the *analysis* of case study evidence is the *most difficult* and *least developed* aspect of the case study methodology" (2000, p. 472, emphasis added). With the analysis of discourse being an area identified as commonly not meeting scholarly standards (Antaki et al., 2003), this project takes steps to avoid this error, in order to apply the analysis component of CDA in an academically rigorous manner. The problem of inadequate analysis is overcome in a number of ways. For example, by ensuring potential conflict of issue matters are disclosed, such as through the disclosure of the researcher section and by being open and clear about the perspectives and 'lens' in which historical research is viewed.

Paraphrasing of data, as a sign of under-analysis, is an error avoided by being conscious of the need to include primary source information, as it appears in its original context, and to draw on a number of different sources in order to construct an analysis. Weaving multiple sources by discussing them together can assist in avoiding falling into a trap of completing a separate summary of each source. A danger that can occur in under-analysis is to take a sentence from a textbook and to use it out of the context of the information around it, by

creating a glossed-over and incomplete understanding for the reader of the discursive formations of the particular text section being analysed. Doing so potentially also ignores the complexities of categories and discourses that emerge from thorough analysis. With a variety of texts selected from each era investigated, this provides less opportunity for separating text from its context and *original* purpose.

Bias in reporting data in some ways can be linked with under-analysis. Under-analysing data can occur by only selecting an isolated segment of text, rather than being analysed within its larger context. This isolated text, then, could be selected as it fits within a particular perspective a researcher has, or fits within an argument a researcher is trying to make relating to the data. Therefore, it is important to put measures in place to both avoid taking sides in the analysis of data and to avoid being seen to take sides. This is a difficult aspect of analysis to overcome, because just as no text is neutral, the perspective of the researcher analysing the text can never be neutral either. Conscious of this and one way to avoid accusations of bias is for the analyst to be explicit about their perspectives. What is particularly difficult is to avoid taking sides when discussing issues or events where a particular group has been discriminated unfairly against (Antaki et al., 2003), partly because it is easy for readers to also have sympathy for the oppressed group and quality of analysis can be overshadowed as a result of this sympathy (Widdowson, 1998; Blommaert, 2001). As part of a larger criticism of CDA, Widdowson writes,

> If you can persuade people by an appeal to moral conscience, you do not *need* good arguments. But such persuasion deflects attention from questions of validity. It thus inhibits intellectual enquiry and ultimately undermines its integrity… (1998, p. 150).

This is especially the case, if the discrimination represented in the text being analysed is part of a larger discrimination in society.

Steps taken to avoid this, other than through disclosures, are to ensure that multiple data sources are used to support claims made in the analysis of representations of groups. As explained by Antaki et al., taking sides is a form of under-analysis and "…can produce a flattening of discursive complexity, as the analyst selects quotations for the rhetorical effect of appealing to the readers as co-sympathisers or co-scolders. The result is enlistment, not analysis" (2003, p. 10). This sentiment is aligned with historical research practices, as it

avoids the ‘Bad King John/Good Queen Bess’ approach to historical analysis and reporting of data.

Building on the criticisms lodged at discourse analysts of having pre-empted outcomes and using data to prove this, rather than enabling the data to ‘speak for itself’, is the mistake of over quoting data or quoting data out of context or without proper explanation of context. This is a potential fault that is avoided through the ways outlined here. The potential to select phrases from the data and to not make the reader aware of their context is avoided as this research agrees that it is important to let the reader understand the wider context of the content. Antaki et al. describe this as failing as “…it leaves the text behind” (2003, p. 11), and Widdowson as “…disregard(ing) the information that is inconvenient” (1998, p. 147). This does, however present some difficulties, given the large volume of text available for analysis. If the focus of the research was a conversation analysis, it would be easier to present the transcript of the conversation, and then to carry out the analysis required. However, with so much data, it is unreasonable to expect all of it to be included in the research, or to even form an Appendix. It is agreed that it is important to let the reader view the text in its entirety and to explicitly draw on it; however doing this every time is not realistic, given the large volume of data. Instead, this project avoids the criticism of quoting and subsequently analysing out of context by including a selection of full raw data material as a sampling of the analysis that then takes place, so that common principles of analysis that have been used, in adherence to the approaches established, which also then maintains the integrity of the research (see Appendix D). In this way, the data can be seen within its discursive context, made explicit. This openness is, as Chenail points out an important step in establishing trustworthiness and reliability of data, as it “allow[s] the reader to see what they can see in the data. It is a way to ‘share the wealth’ and to invite another to continue the inquiry and conversation…” (1995, p. 2). Furthermore, this sampling of primary source (or raw) data, enables the reader to determine that a significant criticism of analysts, that “…tell-tale signs of Under-Analysis through Over-Quotation would be the small amount of analyst’s writing in proportion to the large amount of quotation…” (Antaki et al., 2003, p.11) has been avoided.

False survey is another potential area that limits the integrity of analysis. As described by Antaki et al., it results in analysis that makes it easier to “…fatally…slip into treating one’s findings as if they were true of all members of the category in which one has cast one’s respondents” (2003, p. 15). False survey refers to quantifying the data analysis in ways that

the original source or data would not have intended. Aligned closely with this, is what Fairclough claims is important when analysing and extracting ideologies from multiple texts, that is he "…argues that ideologies can be understood only by looking at the 'patterns and variations in the social distribution, consumption and interpretations of texts' (p. 50), not in individual texts and the specific readings of them" (Price, 1999, p. 584). Texts need to be examined for their combined effect, not individually and/or out of context.

By including concerns from those who disagree with using CDA as a rigorous research, as well as the identification of common problems faced by researchers who regularly use this approach, this section has strengthened the reasons for using of CDA within a bricolage approach which could otherwise have inadvertently led to a non-rigorous or inadequate analysis. The work of Slembrouck (2001); O'Halloran (2005); Bucholtz (2001); Toolan (1997); and Pennycook (2001) are recommended for consultation for more specific arguments for, against and in responses to criticisms about the rigorous use of this approach in research, and can be applied to educational research.

3.5 Introduction and Theoretical Framing of Visual Analysis

As a wide range of approaches are used in the field of visual analysis, establishing a contextualised definition for how the term is used in this project forms this section. In particular, visual analysis is applied directly to the CDA approach taken in this project, ensuring a consistent analysis framework between written and visual analyses. To begin, the type of visual analysis conducted in this research, "…is qualitative and…focuses on each text…" (Bell, 2001, p. 15), and aligned with visual culture perspectives, framed by Mitchell (2002, p. 87) as a preferred option as "…it is less neutral than 'visual studies,' and commits one at the outset to a set of hypotheses that need to be tested – for example, that vision is (as we say) a 'cultural construction,' that is learned and cultivated, not simply given by nature…" This approach differs to other types of visual analysis, aligned with quantitative approaches, such as a purely content analysis approach. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and Wodak (2004, 2001b) clearly designate visual analysis as an approach to CDA, and this research also adopts this perspective, with the understanding that visual representations of information are no less important than words in conveying information and meaning. Van Leeuwen describes the relationship between visual analysis and CDA as being able to "…contribute some tools for the critically analysis of the ideological dimensions of visual texts…" (Reitstaetter et al.,

2005, p. 5). Due to placing visual analysis within a CDA approach, the theoretical framework already described is transferable here.

In addition to focusing on individual texts, as a feature of visual analysis, images are analysed within their historical context. This project acknowledges that images in textbooks are just as ideologically-laden as words; therefore a critical analysis of these must also take place. Drawing on van Leeuwen (and specifically his more recent work of social semiotics, rather than a systemic-function approach), images are analysed to investigate the representations of the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations, within History curriculum in order to enquire about the "…'hidden meanings' of images (what ideas and values do the people, places and things represented in images stand for?)" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 92). This links directly with the approach to CDA used in this project, that is, an analysis of discourses related to "…group or institutional power and dominance, as well as social inequality…" (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 301).

The analysis of images draws on van Leeuwen and Kress' work "…on the interaction between the verbal and visual in texts and discourse…" (Wodak, 2001b, p. 8) at one time termed pansemiotic theory (Reitstaetter et al., 2005). This applies a general principle of analysis to images, regardless of the visual, or semiotic, mode used. Whilst this has attracted some criticisms for its umbrella approach, especially as it is seen as not effectively covering the type of moving images found in film, it nevertheless presents as a thorough analytical tool to use in the context of images found in texts produced for school students. One of the critics of this type of over-arching approach, is Banks who writes "…I do not wish to suggest that there is a 'language' of images or image components that follows some kind of quasi-grammatical rules, either universally or in more socially specific contexts" (2001, p. 10). Van Leeuwen however, defends his use of a general theory, explaining that "…it makes it possible to see that *meanings belong to culture* rather than to one semiotic mode or another" (Reitstaetter et al., 2005, p. 3 emphasis added). A further strong link between CDA and visual analysis is provided by van Dijk, who indicates that it is imperative that visual analysis is taken seriously by writing:

> Also because of this bias of traditional linguistics for spoken language, the *visual* aspect of discourse was (and still is) often ignored in discourse studies. However, within the sister discipline of semiotics (the study of signs), it is made clear that especially in these times of multi-media communication, such an analysis of the

visual dimensions of discourse is indispensable. Studies of advertising, textbooks or television programs obviously need such cross-media or *multi-modal* analysis. (1997, p. 6)

3.5.1 Using images.

A survey of textbooks used in Queensland schools indicates that visual representations that connect with the text, either through photographs, drawings or maps, as the most commonly used in school textbooks, have not always featured prominently. It is not unusual for whole textbooks to have pictures only at the beginning of a chapter (and sometimes not even that), and the written text for the remainder (see, for example, F.J. Gould, 1909; and Cramp, 1927). This starts to change around the middle of the 20th century, and it can be evidenced that visual cues for learning become more important as they feature in greater quantity throughout textbooks (see, for example, MacKenzie, 1968; Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966; and Stewart, 1986), particularly in the latter part of the 20th century (and is quite possibly linked with cheaper printing and distribution costs). Nevertheless, even in the earlier years of the 20th century visuals are used, with the *Queensland School Readers* being a noted example, containing many colour plates and drawings. Therefore the need to analyse visual material is important in conducting a thorough analysis. Van Leeuwen draws on the different purposes for including visuals in official school texts, ranging from aesthetic to technical and ranging in quantity from earlier years of schooling where there are many images to high school where they become fewer. In relation to this, van Leeuwen writes,

> …texts produced for the early years of schooling were richly illustrated, but towards the later years of primary school images began to give way to a greater and greater proportion of written text. In as much as images continued, they had become representations with a technical function, maps, diagrams or photographs illustrating a particular landform…for instance. (2006, p. 16)

The observation earlier, of the increase in use of visuals in the latter part of the 20th century is also made by Kress, Leite-García and van Leeuwen who write, "…it is simply the case that the communicational and representational landscape, the *semiotic landscape,* has changed in far-reaching ways over the last 40 years of so…The visual is now much more prominent as a form of communication…" (1997, p. 257). This point is affirmed by Luke who writes that the importance placed on written texts and images in conveying discourses, "…has also succeeded in making texts and images the new battlegrounds for a politics of representation"

(1995-1996, p. 5). Increasingly, students (as readers of school textbooks) read both the words and visual images contained within textbooks and combine the two modes to form an understanding or interpretation of the content being presented. As a result, students "…bring the meanings of the visual text into conjunction with the written text, and produce for themselves a single, relatively coherent reading, even if that activity does not come into full consciousness for them" (Kress et al., 1997, p. 272). This notion of seeing images and written text as a sequence, rather than as separate entities is affirmed by other CDA and visual researchers, such Rogoff who writes:

> In the arena of visual culture the scrap of an image connects with a sequence of film and with the corner of a billboard or the window display of a shop we have passed by, to produce a new narrative…Images do not stay within discrete disciplinary fields such as 'documentary film' or 'Renaissance painting', since neither the eye not the psyche operates along or recognizes such divisions. (2002, p. 26).

3.5.2 Reading and analysing images.

As CDA is the theoretical basis for the visual analysis conducted for this project, readings of images take place in a similar way to the reading of written texts; a significant factor in deciding to use van Leeuwen and Kress' work on pansemiotic theory and linking directly to CDA. Even so, there are aspects of visual approaches to reading that need to be explicated. Two approaches of visual analysis are incorporated in this methodology; they are "…looking through…and looking behind…" (Banks, 2001, p. 10). Looking through, explores the *content* of images, describing what is seen in an image. This is the first step in the reading of an image. Looking behind, explores the *context* of images, interrogating the reasons for production, and as relevant to this project, within their historical context. Combining these two approaches, means that an external narrative view takes place, summarised by Banks as meaning "…the social context that produced the image, and the social relations within which the image is embedded at any moment of viewing" which provides "information about the nature of the world beyond (images)" (2001, p. 11).

Analysing images within their context is important for a deep understanding of their inclusion (for this project, in school texts) to be obtained (Pink, 2001; Banks, 2001). Categorisation of images noted by van Leeuwen (2001), such as identifying attributes, noting if images are of groups or individuals, at what distance images are portrayed (for example, background or foreground) and captions associated with images are analysed according to the power

discourses or ideologies they convey. Furthermore, captions attributed to images are an important component for analysis, as Hall drawing on Barthes, states: "…frequently it is the caption which selects one out of the many possible meaning from the image, and *anchors* it with words" (2001, p. 326).

The following explanation of an understanding that images provide a context for the written content contained within History textbooks draws on and follows Harper's description of analysing visual data, contextualised to textbooks, writing "visual documentation becomes a part of research triangulation, confirming theories using different forms of data" (2005, p. 748). A focus in the analysis of visual data, then is what the images contained within textbooks communicate, and whether they are aligned closely with written text, or treated superficially, used as a way to break-up the density of the narrative. As Harper explains, at times:

> The visual dimension is not integrated into the research; the images are added by an editor who has the challenging job of securing photos from a variety of sources. The result is that useful photos are often found and published, but so are images that fall short of their mandate to visually tell a sociological story. (2005, p. 749)

Tying in with representations of power that CDA attempts to uncover, the following statement by Kress et al. guides the preliminary analysis of images in school texts:

> …indications of social distance may be coded by the size of the element represented, or by its coded distance from the viewer: attitudinal relations may be coded by the viewer's lateral position in relation to an element (such as 'front on', 'to the side of', 'from the margin'). Relations of power are coded by the position of the viewer in vertical relation to the object: if the object is more powerful we look up to it; if we are more powerful, we look down on it; and so on. Forms of 'factuality' may be coded by kinds of realism, so that in relation to our main example we might say that the mode of representation is in a hyper-realist form (perhaps a surrealist form) of everyday realism. (1997, p. 276)

3.5.3 Visual analysis and this project.

The impact of visual images in school curriculum cannot be underestimated, as critical pedagogue, bell hooks (1994) explains. Although a vivid description of remembering, the following statement nevertheless exemplifies the impact images can have on students' long

term memories, and the power national history has in creating and subverting student identities:

> In truth, I can close my eyes and vividly call to mind those images of Columbus and his men sketched in history books. I can see the crazed and savage looks that were on the faces of indigenous men, just as I remember the drawings of sparsely clothed, shackled African slaves. I want to forget them even as they linger against my will in memory...When I recall the shame I felt seeing those images, of the Indian and the 'great' white men, I recognize that there is also a rage there. I was not only angry at these images, which did not feel right in my heart, I felt that being forced to look at them was like being forced to witness the symbolic re-enactment of a colonizing ritual, a drama of white supremacy. The shame was feeling powerless to protest or intervene. (1994, p. 205)

In drawing this discussion of visual analysis to a close, a criticism that has been lodged in particular towards van Leeuwen is his 'text-centred' approach to analysing texts. In an interview conducted by Reitstaetter and Rheindorf, van Leeuwen was asked to comment to the following question, on how he justifies this method:

> …insofar as it analyzes preferred meanings of texts rather than actual meanings derived by recipients. How do you respond to criticism that maintains that, in fixing a "reading" for a text – without doing audience research – you are ignoring/reducing the multiplicity of possible meanings for any given text? (Reitstaetter et al., 2005, p. 2)

The response van Leeuwen gave fits well with how this project views the data, particularly within its place as an historical study, whereby in some cases it is impractical and other cases impossible to gauge how any particular student engaged with the texts on the level of emotion (other than the occasional scribble or note written to deface a textbook). The part of van Leeuwen's response that is relevant to this research, is his answer that his work concentrates on

> …attempts to describe these resources and their meaning *potential*. As for the 'multiplicity' of meanings…from a social semiotic point of view, it is not possible to make categorical statements about whether meanings are multiple or not. How multiple they are depends on the way their use is regulated in a given domain. (Reitstaetter et al., 2005, p. 2-3)

He also states, “there is no point in creating some kind of theoretical opposition between ‘meanings made by the text’ and ‘meanings made by the user of the text’ ” (Reitstaetter et al., 2005, p. 3). This is an interesting point that refutes the sometimes perceived necessity (as evidenced in Fairclough’s work) of understanding through analysis the relationship a reader has to a text. Given the positioning of this project as an investigation of discourses of British heritages and Indigenous representations in Queensland school History textbooks across historical eras, participating in an argument of the importance of understanding the reader’s engagement with the text is not relevant. However, it is important for this project to be aware of such criticisms, and being concerned about the meaning a reader gives to a text (in this case, students and teachers to textbooks) demonstrates potential for a future study which broadens the scope of this project. The criticism (above) made towards a text-centred approach is not in isolation to other researchers of CDA, and Verschueren writes, “the big issue for any critical approach to language use is the fact that in this world of communication almost nothing is ever exactly what it looks like…communication is basically about ‘meaning’, and meaning is an intangible phenomenon” (2001, p. 61).

Finally, in accepting that visual representations feature in increasing quantity, it can also be accepted that with different modes of communicating, “…it has become impossible to read texts reliably by paying attention to written language alone…” (Kress et al., 1997, p. 257). Visual analysis provides the tool for deconstructing images and in this way aligns CDA and visual analysis.

3.6 Introduction to Historical Methodology

The history methodology presented here, builds on the review of constructions of national history and identities begun in *Appendix A: Contexts* which situated the project within its contemporary historical context; and continued in *Chapter 2: Literature Review* where a review of the use of history methodologies in existing literature of studies on textbooks took place. Here, its methodological use in this project is detailed, contextualised within a broader bricolage approach. The seemingly perennial question, *what is history?* is addressed in this research by first consulting the seminal work of E.H. Carr who views history as belonging within a temporal knowledge of the construction of the past, writing:

> When we attempt to answer the question 'What is history?' our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question what view we take of the society in which we live. (1990, p. 8)

E.H. Carr then goes on to answer the question he poses by stating: "…it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his [*sic*] facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (1990, p. 30). This statement can really be viewed as the beginning of multiple realities being present (and increasingly accepted) in historical research.

'History' as a discipline is viewed by Marwick[6] as distinct from 'the past', writing "…I make a firm distinction between 'history' (what historians *do*) and 'the past' (everything in its near infinitude that happened in the past, entirely regardless of any activities by historians)" (2001, p. 9). Husbands extends this somewhat, and offers a generally less conservative view of the discipline of history, asserting:

> …accounts of the past are always interpretive and always open to dispute and question. The discipline of history is both less than the past (because not all of the past can be understood) and more than the past (because our accounts of the part are overlaid by our assumptions and presuppositions). (1996, p. 5)

Aligned with a personal enthusiasm for learning history, the following understanding of why history matters in a way that resonates with this project (particularly in relation to learning it as a school subject), is asserted by Chapman as "learning history is also a vital and vitalizing process: everything has a history and our subject is endlessly intriguing, mind-opening and educative – to be bored with history, is, as it were, to be bored with life" (2009, p.1). Continuing the schooling context of *history*, the multiple meanings this term has is broached by Hoepper—who connects this term to classroom teaching—by writing:

> In popular discourse, 'history' is synonymous with 'the past'. Generally, when someone refers to 'the history of Australia' or 'Australia's history' they really mean 'what happened in the past'. So, in classrooms, it's probably valuable to discourage

[6] Marwick's text *The New Nature of History* (2004), what can be considered as more or less a fourth edition of the previous three editions of his publication *The nature of history* is drawn on in this section for his extensive work in defining and explaining processes of research within the discipline of history. Whilst certain perspectives of his are *not* adapted, and his opposition towards integrating other research approaches criticised in this project, his work on research processes is used.

that usage and to encourage students to use the term ‘the past’ instead, keeping the term ‘history’ for other uses.

‘History’ is better used to mean a constructed, interpretive, explanatory depiction of the past. Usually it’s capitalized as ‘History’. Used this way, ‘the History of Australia’ means ‘what an historian has constructed as a rigorous, defensible version of elements of Australia’s past’.

…the term ‘History’ (or ‘history’!) is also used to describe what historians do – the process of producing histories. So ‘History’ can mean ‘the past’, the ‘constructed descriptions and explanations of the past’ and ‘what historians do to investigate the past’. (2007, p. 33)

Drawing on the definition by E.H. Carr and the explanation provided by Hoepper, for this project, the term *history* takes on three understandings. The first encapsulated in the school curriculum, as a school subject and communicated through syllabuses and other curriculum materials, primarily textbooks. The second is the methodological approach of the discipline, the active process of researching primary and secondary sources and other historical research processes. The third is the producing of the research—connected with the final stage data analysis. The evaluation of primary sources are analysed according to CDA with questions posed to make explicit the use of language for each text is outlined in the research design and conduct section of this chapter. These three approaches can be viewed within the larger methodological focus of this project, knitted within the articulated bricolage approach. The decision to incorporate history methodology within other approaches can be seen as part of recent trends which have seen a move away from traditional historical studies to those that incorporate a range of approaches (see, for example, Black & MacRaild, 2000; and Hoepper & Quanchi, 2000 for an overview of this transformation and its impact on school curriculum).

Although traditional historical studies still exist; and it is asserted that purely traditional historical studies are important as one component of the canon of historical knowledge and understanding available; the move towards a de-centering of the privileged historical narrative in other studies also make valuable and insightful contributions to how the world is constructed in the present, based on events from the past. This directional change in history is described by Hoepper and Quanchi as:

> In academia, the move is away from an objective, descriptive narrative and a past which can be known towards histories which are reflective, socially critical and self-interrogating. In the public domain, it is paralleled by a surge of interest in anything vaguely historical. The Australian community continues to demonstrate a popular interest in the past, not in History as a discipline, but History as an entertaining window on the past. National competitions, commemorations of special events, historic homes, heritage walks, antiques, vintage cars, History theme parks, historical drama, television documentaries and historical movies are increasingly entertaining and informing Australians about what it was like in the old days. (2000, p. 2)

The move away from traditional approaches to history methodology has attracted criticism and vehement debate, (see, for example, Windschuttle, 1996; Marwick, 2001) which is not without its valid points. However, it is asserted that for the purposes of this project, the incorporation of a variety of methodologies strengthens the analysis, especially as the two exemplar topics—British heritages and Indigenous representations—are analysed for their positioning *within* History curriculum and are intimately connected with an identified relevant historical era. The general substance of the criticism of a move from a traditional approach to history studies is, briefly, that cultural, sociological and literary criticism has infiltrated history studies to such a degree that it has become a type of sophistry. Furthermore, opposition to integrating other methodological approaches to historical studies seems grounded in a resistance to allow a perceived dilution of the purity of the discipline. For example, Marwick, generally scathing of the emergence of literary studies or the "linguistic turn" (2001, p. 13) in history methodology asserts that historians must use different language to that of novelists, poets and other creative writers, and that to state "…history is simply a branch of literature, in which the 'narratives' of historians do not significantly differ from the novels of novelists…" (2001, p. 12) is to contribute to "confusion and obfuscation" (2001, p. 12) especially where creative metaphors, rather than clear and explicit language is used; a feature as Marwick states is from literary disciplines (see Curthoys & Docker, 2006 for a discussion of this view generally). Marwick clearly states his view as "history is a specialist discipline, with methods of its own. It is *not* simply based on common sense, and it is not a branch of literature" (2001, pp. 271-271). Windschuttle, in a view not dissimilar from that expressed by Marwick, writes in *The killing of history*:

> History is an intellectual discipline more than 2400 years old. It ranks with philosophy and mathematics as among the most profound and enduring contributions

> that ancient Greece made…to the human species as a whole…For most of the last 2400 years, the essence of history has continued to be that it should try to tell the truth, to describe as best as possible what really happened. (1996, p. ix)

E.H. Carr takes a view of this type of positivist history, one that seeks to *show how it really was,* as unobtainable, writing:

> The empirical theory of knowledge presupposes a complete separation between subject and object. Facts, like sense-impressions, impinge on the observer from outside and are independent of his consciousness. The process of reception is passive: having received the data, he (sic) then acts on them…*This is what may be called the commonsense view of history.* History consists of a corpus of ascertained facts. The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish on the fishmonger's slab. (1990, p. 9, emphasis added)

This view of *commonsense* is evident across a variety of constructs and concepts covered in this project, ranging from content of school curriculum, philosophies and ideological approaches to education to research more broadly and, as seen above, to discipline-specific methodological approaches. At all times, a *commonsense* view is attributed to a Whig-like conservative perspective that seeks to establish and maintain a positivist view of knowledge, a call for the general populace to agree with this perspective as it is presented as being *natural* and the 'right thing', "implicit and self-evident" (E.H. Carr, 1990, p. 20). Furthermore, as E.H. Carr succinctly describes of this approach, "…get your facts straight, then plunge at your peril into the shifting sands of interpretation – that is the ultimate wisdom of the empirical, commonsense school of history" (1990, p. 10). Not following this so-named *commonsense* approach to the discipline; history, then, *for this project* is viewed as a methodological approach to research, contextualised within its own historical context of the direction the discipline has taken over the past two to three decades. Furthermore, as appropriate for a bricolage approach:

> …critical historians often start their research with a basic question: what groups and individuals are advantaged and what groups and individuals are disadvantaged by particular historical educational plans and organizations? Here critical historians begin to identify the power relations that shape educational issues. In this context a literacy of power becomes especially important. Such a literacy involves a complex understanding of a variety of the ways power operates to marginalize and oppress…

Historians operating in the critical sense outlined here struggle for accuracy even when events elude their initial expectations. Many of us operating in this critical historical domain have often heard conservative critics argue that social theory informed history allows particular worldviews to dictate their interpretation and their narrative. This is the case only if one is an inept historian. Social theory in the critical sense of the term helps historians formulate questions, rethink what counts as a source, develop unique narrative styles (Parker, 1997; Gale 1999). (Villaverde, Kincheloe, & Helyar, 2006, p. 321)

3.6.1 Use of primary sources.

This project is mindful that the primary sources selected constitute a partial range of available curriculum materials for any one era. Partial for two reasons in particular; first, as surviving sources of evidence available for selection and analysis. Given the research covers an almost one hundred year time period, textbooks and syllabuses from the early 20th century, especially pre-1930, are difficult to locate due to being destroyed. This is not through any wanton act of destruction, but due to school curriculum materials not being viewed as valuable to keep. Second, there is a limit to how many textbooks can be analysed in this project. Thus, especially in the mid to late part of the 20th century, careful selection has been made of which textbooks to include and exclude. Given that a process of selection has been made of what to include and exclude for analysis, the evaluation or analysis of the sources becomes significant. This is a point raised by E.H. Carr, which this project aims to address in the ways described here:

…every journalist knows today that the most effective way to influence opinion is by the selection and arrangement of the appropriate facts. It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context…The historian is necessarily selective. The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of this historian is a preposterous fallacy… (1990, pp. 11- 12)

And, continuing with his fishmonger metaphor from earlier, Carr writes:

The facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian

> catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use – these two factors being, of course, determined by the kinds of fish he wants to catch. (1990, p. 23)

This is a point where historical methodology and CDA as a combined approach becomes important, for its capacity to enunciate and follow an explicit criteria and follow a framework that locates the power discourses in texts, but still mindful and respectful of the historical era and context they were published.

3.6.2 Use of secondary sources.

In discussing the use of sources generally, Hoepper states:

> Students should learn about the categorization of sources into 'primary' and 'secondary' and discuss the relative merits of each…Hopefully they'll also be comfortable if the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' becomes blurred for example, a 2007 history textbook about Ned Kelly may be a secondary source about Kelly but a primary source of evidence about printing techniques in 2007. (2007, p. 35)

The textbooks are secondary sources in that they provide an account of Australian history to students *that is not an original source*, but rather an interpretation based on a selection of (often unreferenced) primary sources. However, they are primary sources for the purposes of this project as each textbook is an historical artefact, an example of the content of Australian history taught to school students in time periods of the past; or as Venezky describes a "*cultural artifact"* (as cited in Pinar et al, 2000, p. 775). The use of what would commonly be considered secondary sources as primary sources is an accepted use of sources (see Black & MacRaild, 2000) for this project.

3.6.3 Defending the use of history methodology in this project.

It is not the intent of this project to be dismissive, neglectful of or otherwise willfully disregard the role traditional historical methodology has to play in researching 'the past'. This is a criticism Marwick (2001) and others assert of history projects that do not follow the time-honoured tradition of historical research in order—as Black and MacRaild write of the Whig historian Acton—"…to pursue 'ultimate' (meaning universal) history - history requiring no subsequent revision on account of its perfectibility…" (2000, p. 89). However,

for the purposes of this project, it is appropriate to incorporate a variety of approaches—both methodological and theoretical. Given that this project essentially takes textbooks, as secondary sources, and makes them the object of a primary source analysis, then it is appropriate to include an explicit analysis. CDA enables that to occur, primarily by enabling the power discourses evident in written and visual language to be brought to the fore for analysis. Therefore the 'frame of reference' in the first instance is the textbook, used by school students and teachers in classrooms.

If this project took a more holistic or wider approach to the history of schooling in Queensland, or broader still to Australia, then a different approach, or a different set of approaches and methodologies, would invariably have been selected. What has been selected for this project is appropriate for this topic specifically, which is, simply, to investigate discourses emerging from representations of British heritages and Indigenous Australians as they have appeared in History textbooks throughout select periods of the 20th century. To be clear, *the* history or "…an all embracing '*histoire totale*' ('total history')…" (Black & MacRaild, 2000, p. 74) of History curriculum is not researched for this project. Rather a small but focused aspect of History curriculum is investigated.

Criticizing historical research which incorporates other approaches as being theoretically weak, Marwick states of research that asserts knowledge is constructed as "…a mindless statement…*Who* is doing the 'constructing' is never explicitly stated, but one can only assume that the guilty party is the usual suspect, the bourgeois power structure. What we have is an assertion, not an explanation" (2001, p. 11). Using the term 'constructing' or 'construction' when discussing the content of History curriculum is in keeping with the inquiry approach taken towards this discipline, particularly in relation to its teaching. History is viewed as an active process of 'doing' research, a position shared by Chapman, who states "the discipline of history *is* a process of enquiry and an effort to ask and answer questions about the past through critical engagement with the traces of the past that remain in the present in the form of relics and reports" (2009, p. 3). Furthermore, constructing history is seen as "constructing interpretations of the past through selecting, interpreting and combining sources is central to history at an academic level" (Cooper & Chapman, 2009, p. 15).

Despite the type of criticism lodged by Marwick, it is asserted that for this project, placing historical methodology within a bricolage approach is not necessarily in conflict with

historical research. Other researchers incorporate historical studies within a bricolage approach, demonstrating that combining approaches rigorously produces legitimate research outcomes. To justify this, Villaverde, Kincheloe and Helyar write, “the sole adherence to any one philosophy can also provide limitations and blindspots in understanding historical phenomena. On the other hand, the integration of several philosophies may address the conceptual restrictions of any one set of tenets” (2006, p. 314)

To further respond to the criticism made by Marwick regarding the constructing of history, published textbook research has its own history of investigating constructions of curriculum. In particular, Foster and Crawford in introducing a collection of research essays on constructions of national identity in school History curriculum across a number of nation states write (and it is worth quoting them at length as their ability to articulate the use of social constructions is relevant to this project):

> …school history textbooks are examples of preactive curriculum documents that are socially constructed. The view of social constructionism adopted…is based upon the notion that social action is the product of the manner in which individuals and groups create and sustain their social world. From this viewpoint, the setting, the participants, their motives and intentions and the socioeconomic, cultural and historical context are important variables in shaping meaning and behavior…Studying the construction of history textbooks and their use in school from a social constructionist viewpoint allows for the exploration of the views, values and interests involved in the making of curriculum, of the political maintenance of power and knowledge and, crucially, of the sociohistorical context within which curriculum is constructed. (2006, pp. 4-5)

3.6.4 Use of language in history methodology.

Careful selection of language—specific words used—to describe past events, actions and situations is an important consideration when embarking on historical research, to avoid amongst other things a ‘tone-deaf’ approach to analysing primary sources. Through the use of CDA as the lead methodology the dynamics of language is able to be made explicit. Aware of this, Cullip (2007) highlights the grammatical functions of History textbooks as a way to bring out the unstated meaning of values attributed to historical narratives, writing “in the case of history, the demand is for a range of genres, from narrative to exposition, which can

get the job done to the satisfaction of historians" (p. 196). E.H. Carr, also aware of the power of language, writes:

> The historian is of his [*sic*] own age, and is bound to it by the conditions of human existence. The very words he uses – words like democracy, empire, war, revolution – have current connotations from which he cannot divorce them…*the historian is obliged to choose: the use of language forbids him to be neutral.* Nor is it a matter of words alone…The historian belongs not to the past but to the present (1990, pp. 24-25, emphasis added)

Regarding the power of language selection, Cohen writes:

> Philosophers have long since drawn our attention to the capacity of language to express attitude as well as to denote object. In Cranston's examples, words such as 'freedom' and 'democracy' do not merely describe forms of government and legal status. They also tell us how to regard these forms. They are 'hurrah' words, as opposed to 'boo' words (Cranston, 1954). (2004, p. 14)

Marwick also concedes that language selection is important, although initially stating, "…historians should not play with words, but should deploy them in the most straightforward and unambiguous way possible" (2001, p. 16); he also goes on to write "…one of the most important lessons to be learnt from academic study is that most of the really important words have several meanings, so that it is always important to be absolutely clear about how *we* are using such words" (2001, p. 25). An example of the use of clichés and generalisations is provided by Husbands who writes:

> …historians frequently use language in ways which are far from literal or immediately straightforward, or in ways which create difficulties for learners…The word 'Victorian' is an important, and problematic example. At its simplest, it refers to a historical period in the United Kingdom between 1837 and 1901. But historians use the words with both a narrower and wider meaning, and it has popular currency too: Victorian terraced housing, Victorian 'style'…or, most contentious of all, perhaps, 'Victorian values'…So the development of understanding the ideas which underpin the language becomes extremely difficult because the 'historical' language is being used in a particularly flexible way. (1996, p. 34)

The incorporation of CDA within this project enables the language of the primary source documents to be critically analysed, particularly locating the power and marginalization that occurs in the representations of groups in History curriculum. The remark by Husbands points to the need to be aware of the use of tired clichés, labels and generalizations and explain their application if applied, and to be avoided wherever possible so that unambiguous, clear language is used. Therefore, the application of a CDA approach with its ability to enable hidden discourses of power within language selection to be 'uncovered' or made explicit. As Curthoys and Docker, drawing on their understanding of Hayden White write, "…literary qualities and literary forms and genres are not something decorative or merely added to an account or analysis, but help *explain* what the historian in the present takes to be the meaning of past events and occurrences" (2006, p. 11).

To conclude this historical methodology section, a statement that resonates with the type of research conducted for this project—within the *dimly lit library* as well as in other places and spaces for field work, all greatly enjoyed at the various stages of this project—of history as an active approach to research, reads:

> History is a very *active* study, hobby or, in some cases, obsession. The historian does not merely sit in some dimly lit library poring over manuscripts and taking notes. This is only a small part of the research process. There are other exciting sources of evidence that need to be explored outside the library, in the community—at the newspaper office, historical society, in cemeteries, on farms, at museums, in shops, besides roadways, at football grounds, on the sites of ghost towns, in art, tapestries, people and landscapes. The work of the historian is endless and the joys of discovery numerous.
>
> …
>
> And history is a community subject—it provides us with our origins, our understandings of the present and with some of the skills and insights necessary to enable us to lead active lives in society. (Gurry, 1987, n.p.)

3.7 Disclosure of Researcher

There are a variety of terms used by researchers to express the subjectivities that are brought forth when conducting research, each with their own particular ideological stance and reason for inclusion; including the levels to which disclosure occurs. The term 'disclosure of researcher' has been selected to describe, analyse, and conceptualize subjectivities brought to

the project, enabled through a reflexivity process of identifying and communicating personal assumptions and ideologies. This term is selected largely for pragmatic reasons, as it is most commonly used in a postgraduate research thesis (and forms part of the structure provided by the institution where this dissertation was conducted). It is also selected as an umbrella term to describe the variety of disclosure of researcher theories and understandings drawn on, including practices such as *reflexivity* (Mulkay, 1985, Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999); and terms such as *frame problem* (Gee, 2004); in history described by Hexter as the *second record* (1971); and aspects of *bricolage* such as injecting a personal voice through an interpretive approach. More than a disclosure of researcher, injecting the personal voice into this project aligns with the 'spirit' of doing bricolage. Hexter describes the second record as

> …it embraces his [*sic*] skills, the range of his knowledge, the set of his mind, the substance, quality, and character of his experience – his total consciousness. Since no historian is identical with any other historian, what each historian brings, his second record, differs in some measure from the second record of every other historian. (1971, p. 104)

In relating disclosure to a history methodology context, E.H. Carr asserts "…when we take up a work of history, our first concern should be not with the facts which it contains but with the historian who wrote it" (1990, p. 22). In order to present a thorough disclosure of researcher, this section is divided into two parts. First, theories informing the development of a disclosure of researcher are outlined aligned with the methodological approaches this dissertation takes. Second, the ways these theories are practically applied in this project are demonstrated. This is done so the reader can "…better understand the relationship between [my] ways of seeing and the social location of [my] personal history" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 5).

3.7.1 Theories informing disclosure.

Bricolage, with its interest in pluralities and disaffection with positivist research, looks to poststructuralism to provide a theoretical framework which enables a multiplicity of perspectives to be articulated, and to avoid a reliance on research which seeks to *uncover* grand narratives. Within the approaches of bricolage that this project adopts, disclosures of the researcher feature as an important aspect in the research process. This link between poststructuralist research and disclosure of the researcher is made clear by McKenzie who writes:

> Previously, positivistic and post-positivistic understandings of reality as more or less knowable reigned over the social sciences, resulting in research which expected its methods to reveal, or at least approximate, truths about the subjects of the research. Despite good intentions, the conceptions of knowledge inherent in these still-prevalent genres of research tended to promulgate research methods that assumed the researcher as more or less unbiased however, and the researched as the 'Other' to be known (Fine & Weis, 1996). However, for those grappling with what it means to do research after the introduction of poststructuralist perspectives, it had become critical to attend to how our inquiry affects and (mis)represents the researcher and researched, how we understand legitimized knowledge, and how social science research is necessarily a political act. (2005, pp. 401-2)

Rather than being seen as an unconditionally negative component of research, subjectivities views the explication of potential prejudices and research subjectivities as an opportunity to position the *researcher* (in this case, rather than *research*) within a clearly articulated framework. Doing so provides opportunities for subjectivities and other potential conflicts of interest to be openly discussed and made known to the reader, and in a sense, as Lather describes a "…de-centering of the author" (as cited in McKenzie, 2005, p. 403) takes place. A further subjectivity to consider is what Derrida terms a researcher's "textual heritage" (Berry, 2006, p. 87) in relation to research methodologies. Applied to a bricolage approach, the following statement from Derrida demonstrates the importance of the researcher to clearly frame disclosures, "the activity of borrowing from one's own textual heritage whatever is needed to produce new and different texts, with an emphasis on intertextual borrowing for the purposes of textual construction" (as cited in Berry, 2006, p. 87). The textual heritage, of myself as a researcher, comes primarily from the discipline of history and critical literacy in the discipline of English. In order to construct a strong methodological bricolage for this dissertation, I am stepping outside of a singular textual heritage in order to ensure a strengthened reliability and validity of data analysis. This has resulted in a variety of theories and philosophies being explicitly incorporated within this research, aligned within a bricolage approach. These approaches take into consideration the following statement by Telles:

> My past as a student, teacher, and artist was linked to my focus of interest in the subject-matter of the thesis – teacher education and critical language awareness. Intuitively, I sensed that many links existed. Making them explicit was the

challenging task of the reflection through which I went during the research process. (2000, p. 252)

Telles critiques his researcher subjectivities as a way to strengthen his qualitative researcher approach. Berry discusses the disclosure of researcher as a contextualisation that "…requires a situating and decentering on the part of the researcher" and is clear that this extends beyond "…isolating one's biases…but identifying what the socializing texts of the bricoleurs life are that locates her/him in the research in a particular way…" (2006, p. 107).

Disclosing potential conflicts of interest attached to the perspective, experiences and similar factors of the researcher, enables a more located reading of the findings so that integrity and validity of findings is maintained. This is referred to by Gee as the "frame problem" (2004, p. 30). Gee describes this in relation to both analyses of the parts of data collected through research and by researchers disclosing information about themselves as relevant to the research. It is the latter context that is most applicable in this section, to demonstrate that researcher contexts and subjectivities have been considered. A bricolage approach also considers disclosures of the researcher as an important part of ensuring rigor is maintained, and discusses this within a philosophical framework of researchers understanding and being explicit about their social world, and as historian E.H. Carr (1961) describes, the environmental factors of the researcher's (in this context, historian's) background, thus assisting "…bricoleurs [to] bracket their own subjectivity as researchers…" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 8). Building on this, van Dijk encourages researchers to reflect on their subjectivities, particularly their socio-political subjectivities, in a critical fashion, writing

> …critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit socio-political stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large… (as cited in Wetherell, 2001, p. 383)

Taking the issue of the politics of the researcher, Verschueren explains the importance of adequate disclosure, asserting that by not consciously considering and communicating disclosures, researchers open themselves to legitimate criticism regarding their approach, writing:

> …the delicate balance between scientific and social values requires that, though a pre-existent perspective, point of view or ideology cannot – and should not – be abstracted when engaging in research activities, specific social and political

> commitments should be linked to scientific authority only if they follow from, not guide, the research. In order to safeguard the relevance of anchoring research in social and political reality, it must be possible for the research and its conclusions to receive the epithet ‘critical’ without their necessarily being conducted and formulated – as often seems to be the case now – by scholars with professed and well-defined political commitments. (2001, p. 66)

Furthermore, Flowerdew’s assertion that “…analysis is the result of an individual. Inevitably it will be marked by the individual sensibilities and style of the author” (1999, p. 1097), and “…susceptible to multiple interpretations” (1999, p. 1096) are kept in mind in the construction of this project. Also mindful and related to a public conflict between Tyrwhitt-Drake and Flowerdew (as played out in a number of *Journal of Pragmatics* articles during 1999) is the importance to make clear and obvious personal interactions or background information that the researcher has about data that has been collected and analysed. Described as ‘invisible to the reader’, this information should be made clear and obvious, to ensure that integrity is retained and disclosures of the researcher are evident. This is echoed through and aligned with the work of researchers such as Blommaert (2001), who asserts that the contextualising of texts used for data collection is vital for a comprehensive analysis to take place, writing:

> This is the ‘context’ for the rest of the analysis, and this context is offered as an unquestionable, untheorized set of ‘facts’. The source of such contextual accounts is often obliquely referred to as on-site observation… (again, untheorized and without discussing any explicit procedures). Their function, however, is crucial: they are central contextualising features that allow for claims about an ‘insiders’ perspective’ (Wodak, 1997, p. 178) on the communication patterns studies in CDA. (2001, p. 16)

Blommaert emphasizes this, as he considers that many researchers do not adequately (if at all) offer a critical contextual explanation of how or where data emerges from, and claims that such information is kept from the reader, made known to the researcher only, to the detriment of the research validity.

3.7.2 Practical disclosure of researcher.

A significant component of the research which makes up this project is the analysis of textbooks that have been used in Queensland schools. Nicholls asserts it is important to

understand the relationship the researcher has with the textbooks undergoing analysis in any research project; as this will impact both the way the textbook is researched and the approach taken to research (Nicholls, 2005). When I began my PhD study, I was a high school classroom teacher of the curriculum areas History (including other Humanities subjects) and English; and am now a tertiary educator. However, the relationship between textbook and researcher is somewhat removed, as the majority of the texts investigated and analysed were not ever personally used in the classroom and the selection of what constitutes 'history' textbooks has been predetermined by the teachers who used them in the classroom, the publishers, and curriculum developers. In addition, the relationship is further removed as the textbooks were used in the past, ranging in publication years from 1906 to 1988. Therefore, there is no personal investment based on school experience of using the selected textbooks used. The exception to this is *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence, Eshuys, & Guest, 1986) which I used as a high school student for one year in the mid 1990s, and the film *Babakiueria* (Featherstone, 1986) which was viewed once in the mid 1990s; both at different public schools. This avoids some of the reflexivity issues that Rogers raises about educational researchers working within familiar settings which may "...bring with us histories of participation within these institutions as students, teachers…" (2004b, p. 250).

Being a former History and English teacher, I am cognisant of the power language has to inform and persuade readers, through selection of words, positioning of phrases, omissions and inclusion of content; particularly within the educational curriculum context. This makes it even more important to ensure that the theoretical groundings of the methodology are clearly outlined. Doing so, will avoid what Parker and Burman describe as researchers "…who already have some political sense and can recognize its relevance and scope…know already that language contains and reinforces ideology…simply generated the analysis that makes sense to them in a fairly atheoretical, but politically informed, way" (1993, p. 161). Instead analysis is conducted using a strong theoretical understanding, and political perspectives on the conduct of historical research substantially disclosed.

There are a variety of terms, used by researchers, to describe what could be referred to as an insider's perspective. Wagner refers to this as "the science of the concrete" as opposed to "abstract powers of explanation" (1990, p. 79). Fairclough (2001) discusses this term as 'members resources' and Gee (2004) as 'cultural models'. In consideration of this, and as applicable to this research, I am able to interpret curriculum documents and other official

Department of Education documents as well as textbooks from a specialist perspective, as someone who has used this genre of text extensively, and as a result can see some implicit, or unstated, meanings embedded within curriculum texts, which may not be visible to those who have not taught in or had experience in the school context. Where this is relevant, is pointed out in the data analysis.

My commitment to History teaching in Queensland can be linked to my active involvement in the Queensland History Teachers' Association (QHTA) as a former executive committee member and editor of the annual journal, *Q*History, for three years. In addition, I have been a key note speaker at the Association's annual conference and have contributed to written submissions to the Federal government regarding the proposed national History curriculum. Disclosures contained here are constructed as an attempt to avoid a perceived neutralizing of data, a matter of importance, as van Dijk writes, "critical scholars make their social and political position explicit; they…actively participate in order to uncover, demystify or otherwise challenge dominance with their discourse analyses" (1997, p. 22). Furthermore, issues of potential hidden power by way of meanings given to data through analysis are exposed, so that the reader gains a firm understanding of my experience. Finally, one of the problems facing discourse analysts, "that of the position of the reader as researcher" as described by Parker and Burman (1993, p. 158) is avoided, as "imposed meanings" (Parker & Burman, 1993, p. 159), that the researcher may intentionally or otherwise give through the selection of data and analysis are made transparent through the declarations asserted here.

3.8 Data Collection and Selection

So far, this chapter has detailed the *theoretical* methodological framework used. It will now explore the *practical* conduct of the research, in other words the *how* of the research. Processes involved in collecting and selecting data, including explication of the criteria used will be outlined. In addition, the model and stages of analysis, based on CDA as the point of entry and lead methodology will be illustrated with a description of how the reporting of data analysis took place. Being explicit about the strategies and actions in collecting, selecting and analysing data is done in a:

> ...spirit of openness that trust is built between the researcher and the reader. It is not a matter of the researcher simply telling the reader that a study is valid or reliable for that qualitative research study to be valid or reliable. Rather, the process of

> establishing the trustworthiness of any study comes down to the quality of the relationship built between the researcher and the community of readers and critics who examine the study... (Chenail, 1995, pp. 1-2)

Due to the anticipated difficulty in finding textbooks and other school documents that are no longer used in classrooms, collecting textbooks (which make up the bulk of the data) was planned through a variety of ways. Generally speaking, once a textbook is superseded by a new edition or new publication, it is thrown away, a point made by Issitt writing “very few people and organizations have had the foresight to keep their collections” (2004, p. 692). This creates a potential difficulty locating the required documents. It was therefore necessary to collect textbooks from a variety of sources, over a prolonged collection period. Throughout this process, historical research processes were followed, and in particular mindful of the following statement by Marwick:

> Primary sources, numbingly copious in some areas, are scarce and fragmentary in others. Much has to be garnered indirectly and by inference. Historians do not rely on single sources, but are always seeking corroboration, qualification, correction; the production of history is very much a matter of accumulating details, refining nuances. The technical skills of the historian lie in sorting these matters out, in understanding how and why a particular source came into existence, how relevant it is to the topic under investigation, and, obviously, the particular codes or language in accordance with which the particular source came into being as a concrete artefact. (2001, p. 27)

The gathering and acquisition of textbooks and other school curriculum documents, was achieved through:

- The Education Queensland Library at Coorparoo, Queensland which has a special collection of school historical documents;
- Personal collections borrowed for the purposes of this research;
- Purchasing books at second hand book shops, second hand book dealers, second hand book fairs and online auction sites;
- Advertising in newspapers for personal collections to buy. This method achieved some success in rural areas;

- Online sources, in cases where texts have been scanned and made available for public download; and
- Through special collections, from the Richard Fryer library at the University of Queensland (Brisbane), National Library Australia (Canberra), State Library of Queensland (Brisbane), particularly the John Oxley collection within the State Library of Queensland.
    - This presented some difficulty at different stages, particularly at the John Oxley collection, where textbooks are not systematically acquired or catalogued thoroughly in the library's catalogue. This fits with Issitt's statement that "...because of the definitional issues surrounding textbooks, there has been no obvious category to be used by librarians under which they could classify such works" (2004, p. 692). However, despite these limitations, librarians themselves were (overwhelmingly) exceptionally helpful and skilful in problem solving and offering alternative pathways to locate resources.

3.8.1 Anticipated difficulties and approaches to combat them.

At the beginning of this research, a number of anticipated difficulties in collecting data were identified, with potential approaches to combating them put in place. These difficulties are outlined here, including whether the anticipated difficulty was realised or not. The bulk of the data collection occurred over a three year period. The first identified potential difficulty was locating sufficient primary sources to conduct a thorough analysis. This was seen as a potential difficulty due to the age of the documents and the availability of them. A number of approaches to combat this were identified, including:

- Contacting publishing companies directly for access to out of print school textbooks;
    - In the case of Jacaranda, the largest publisher of school textbooks in Queensland, permission to access their textbook archives was denied, and instead I was informed to access any textbooks I needed through the state library. The reason my request was denied is because Jacaranda does not allow public access to their books. Unfortunately, the Queensland State Library does not hold in its collection all the textbooks that were needed for this research (as this does not form part of their intentional collection). It is a source of disappointment that Jacaranda did not allow their archives to be used for the purpose of this research. Being a Queensland-based publisher of school textbooks for over 50 years, they are a very popular and widely used

publishing company for Queensland schools, and their resources are of a recognised high standard.

    - Attempts were made to contact major publishers from earlier periods of the 20th century. Many however are no longer operational, for example William Brooks publishers.
    - Queensland Readers are reprinted by the Queensland Government printer, GoPrint, therefore accessing exact copies of the original readers from1948 was made easier. Queensland Readers from other time periods have not been reprinted; therefore collection of the original texts through alternative sources took place.

- Contacting retired and former teachers, teacher educators and parents of former school children who may have school textbooks in their private collections;
    - This approach met with considerable and significant success, and personal collections were generously made available for extended periods of time.
- Acquiring school texts through second hand book stores, second hand dealers and book fairs and online auction sites; and
    - This method was very successful, and books were purchased from antique shops as well. Additionally, a number of texts were purchased through online auction site eBay™. In recent years, *Queensland School Readers* have experienced a surge in popularity so many antique stores now stock them. Due to their popularity, they are becoming difficult to locate and increasingly expensive.
        - A note on using eBay™ as a site for collecting primary sources. While this may be considered by some as a type of *confession* on behalf of the researcher, as Marius and Page write “one historian recently confessed—if that is the correct word—to using the online auction site eBay as a location for research” (2010, p. 81), it is not viewed that way in this project. Rather, it is seen as a legitimate place to collect data, once the type of data needed for a project has been determined. Given many textbooks required for this project are held by private collectors, often inadvertent collectors (usually from direct experience of using them at school, bought as curios years later, or found in deceased estates) and libraries have discarded their collections once superseded,

this site has proven to be a useful way to locate textbooks that otherwise could not have been sourced. This has been the experience particularly for textbooks published in the early to mid 20th century.

- A search of catalogues has shown that suitable texts are stored in special collections held by university and public libraries such as the John Oxley Library at the State Library of Queensland, and the Australian National Library in Canberra, ACT.
    - These libraries were accessed for primary source materials, and a good level of success was experienced overall, particularly the National Library for early 20th century textbooks.

A collection of primary source documents were sourced at the Education Queensland library and permission was sought and granted by the history Librarian to access these documents. A difficulty that was faced is that the collection has not been catalogued since the early 1980s, and many of the catalogued items were no longer on the shelves as indicated in the catalogue, due to having been moved several times, resulting in some being lost and others difficult to find. The difficulty here is that it took a considerable amount of time to locate such documents in the library and excessively strict rules (not experienced elsewhere) regarding visiting the library and accessing resources were required to be observed. This is understandable given the purpose of the library is for school teachers and the delicate state of the textbooks and other Education Department documents.

A difficulty that needed consideration was how to deal with the handling of old and delicate primary source documents, such as school texts, Education Department reports and syllabuses. The need to consider handling of documents extended to sources held in libraries and private collections. The approach taken to this difficulty is in accordance with general principles of compliance when dealing with historical artefacts. This includes following the directions of the librarians responsible for particular collections, which include the wearing of white gloves, not having food or beverages near the artefacts, only viewing the artefacts in allocated viewing areas, not photocopying or scanning delicate documents and other regulations as they arose throughout the research. Texts which have been sourced and are now part of the personal collection used for this research are also treated according to the general principles of good practice of handling historical sources, which also includes appropriate housing of documents. In this case, the textbooks were at first kept in compactors in an air-conditioned room and later moved to a darkened room on book shelves, always out

of direct light, so that they could be properly preserved. Once finished being used, textbooks from private collections were stored in archive boxes, sourced from the State Library of Queensland. As some of the textbooks had started growing mould due to inappropriate housing by past owners (for example, 1913 *Queensland Readers*), it was even more important to ensure that these were kept in an environment where the air was at a stable temperature and humidity level. When being used, the textbooks are taken from the shelf one at a time and not stacked on top of each other.

Other principles observed include: no writing on artefacts, only HB lead pencil used in the vicinity of artefacts, post-it-notes and other glue-like substances prohibited from artefacts, artefacts used only on a cleared desk or table, resting or pressing of writing note pads on artefacts prohibited, books kept closed when not in use for an extended period of time, pages turned from the top right hand corner, and when requiring repair only acid free paper and archival quality materials have been used. The careful handling of the primary source documents ensures that they are kept in as good a condition as possible, preserved for future use, research and enjoyment. An additional point to make about the quality of the books used in this project, is that due to the age and poor condition of some of them, poor quality scans of texts and images have resulted on occasion. Therefore, how they appear in this dissertation is impacted on the quality (or lack thereof) of the original source.

3.8.2 Textbook selection.

Although it was anticipated that there would be a paucity of textbooks for the eras prior to and immediately post WWI and the 1960s, this did not turn out to be the case. Whilst locating school documents for the WWI era proved to be difficult, the 1960s was not difficult at all, resulting in an oversupply. The 1980s era also had an abundant supply of textbooks. Given the 1980s is so recent, it was not anticipated that there would be difficulty locating these books, with many of them still on library shelves. With the oversupply of textbooks for two of the three eras, careful selection needed to take place in order to ensure that a representative sample was included, rather than a *pot luck* process of selection. An annotated bibliography with clear categories acting as criteria for textbook selection was established to facilitate this. Each textbook has been entered into this catalogue enabling an evidence-based process of selection for inclusion. An extract from this catalogue can be viewed in Appendix B. Categories defined in the textbook catalogue include:

- Year of publication;

- Selecting textbooks across multiple years ensures that a fuller picture of the era is gained, rather than only looking at one or two years.
- Publisher and location;
    - Textbooks published by Queensland based publishers are more likely to have been used extensively by Queensland schools, particularly as education in Australia is state based.
- Number of copies;
    - This refers to the number of copies collected for this research. Multiple copies (from different sources) of the same textbook is one indicator of widespread use of the textbook.
- Where copies were sourced from;
    - This is for interest and record keeping purposes, rather than part of the selection process.
- School age group;
    - To ensure a representative sample of textbooks from across year levels are selected for each era.
- Department mandated (Y/N);
    - Textbooks that are department mandated, such as *School Readers* and social studies textbooks, were used in most, if not all, Queensland government schools.
- Written for syllabus or on request of Department (Y/N);
    - Those textbooks written specifically to fit a particular syllabus, or on request of the Department, are clearly seen to be preferable to those that were not, due to their widespread use and translation of official documents to classroom practice.
- Textbook covers broad area of studies (Y/N);
    - Textbooks that cover a broad area of study are more likely to be used by more schools than one-issue textbooks; therefore these textbooks are preferred. One-issue textbooks are more likely to be used for individual student research projects and housed in school libraries, rather than frequent classroom use.
- Textbook written by Queensland authors (Y/N);

- Queensland based authors are often teachers or teacher-educators, therefore are more likely to be used by Queensland schools as the content is localised and the authors are known.

- Textbook published in Queensland (Y/N);
  - As in 'Publisher and Location' category, those textbooks published by Queensland based publishers are more likely to have been used extensively by Queensland schools, particularly as education in Australia is state based. In the early 20th century, it was not unusual for textbooks used in Queensland schools to be published in the UK, often for a UK audience but incorporated in Queensland schooling due to a lack of locally produced textbooks. The 1913 School Reader (distributed for use in 1915) was the first textbook published for Queensland schools.
- Evidence of use in Queensland schools; and
  - Evidence can be found by way of school stamps, store stamps, student names and classes handwritten on the inside cover, margin notes made throughout the textbook, library borrowing cards, colouring-in of pictures and pictures cut out of pages. Evidence of use is important to establish so that a case can be made that the textbook was used.
- Likelihood of being used by students in a 'class-set' type arrangement.
  - Textbooks that were massed produced by the Department of Education (prior to the 1970s) were generally used as class sets; whereby each student in each school year was given a copy of a textbook for their year level, used it for the year and then returned it at the end of the year, to be passed to the next group of students moving to that year level. In some cases, the students purchased the textbooks and these have remained on family bookshelves, used by younger siblings. This is evidenced by some books having multiple names written in the inside cover, all with the same family name.

The establishment of this annotated bibliography makes explicit the texts selected *are* typical texts. Meyer reports that often in research "...there is little discussion about statistical or theoretical representativeness of the material analysed" (2001, p. 25). Therefore, categorising the textbooks in this bibliography enables an evidence-based selection process to occur, an approach that Cullip (2006) adopts in his research on Malaysian History textbooks.

Identifying explicit criteria for selection of primary source documents is not always identified in history research, which can be seen as a downside to research in this discipline. As Husbands writes of selecting and using evidence:

> In some cases, problems arise because the relics, though plentiful, can provide information on the perspectives of only an unrepresentative sample of the historical actors [in the case of this project, textbooks]...In yet other cases, disputes arise from the significance which may be attributed to one piece of evidence set against another, or, more intriguingly, the significance of what survives set against what may or may not have survived. (1996, pp. 14-15)

Joining the concerns raised by those mentioned above, Edwards admonishes against the fitting of data to a researcher's pre-existing hypothesis (see also Hexter, 1971). In the context of historical research, Edwards writes:

> The first prerequisite of the serious historical researcher must be the ability to jettison dearly-held interpretations in the face of the recalcitrance of the evidence...There is nothing mysterious about this; historians are perfectly used to trying out ideas on the evidence and throwing them away when they don't fit. Evidence running counter to the argument cannot be omitted or distorted, but must be explained, even at the cost of amending the argument or abandoning it altogether. (2000, p. 121)

This has been the case with the analysis conducted for this project, in a couple of key areas; where upon conducting primary source research, it was found that the data did not reveal what had been anticipated prior to embarking on the project about particular topics in school textbooks. These topics are namely the extent to which Britishness pervaded the History curriculum (in relation to Australia's national history, not the distinct British history which was taught separately); and the lack of British heritages and Indigenous representations in primary school curriculum during the 1980s.

By providing explicit criteria for this project, a representative sample of textbooks has been selected, defensible against accusations of one-sidedness or inconsistencies in selection, particularly if lodged by those who taught history in these eras (the latter eras, rather than the WWI era). For the WWI era, it is the textbooks that have survived—and publically available through, for example, libraries and antique stores—that have largely determined their

selection, resulting in as comprehensive history as possible, but one that has, nevertheless, unknown gaps.

3.8.3 Selection of syllabuses.

Syllabuses have been selected to form the basis of the analysis, as this is the official document which sets out and directs the content (and pedagogy) teachers are to include in their curriculum and classroom teaching. As the syllabus is the document "intended to assist with school-based curriculum development" (QSCC, 1997, p. 2) it is important that each syllabus with Australian history is included as part of this study. Additionally, as each syllabus is a reflection of the official knowledge sanctioned by the Education Department for school students to learn, it is most appropriate to include them.

3.9 Research Analysis

Being explicit about the process of analysis is an area of this research considered important in order to explain the stages involved in progressing from raw data to a thorough and accurate analysis of the various categories of discourses which exist within the data. Considering this, whereas decoding the discipline looks at deconstructing practices inherent within a practitioner's or 'expert's' disciplinary practice (Pace & Middledorf, 2004), this term is applied to this research as *decoding the methodology*, referring to de-mystifying and making explicit the stages of analysis. This is an area missing in many qualitative research methodology books (along with being explicit about data collection methods, as reported by Meyer, 2001), often under the stated reasoning of, "…my intention has not been to write another recipe book for successful...research…" (Pink, 2001, p.3), or similar. This is often unhelpful in assisting researchers to first, develop a clear understanding about the different stages in research and second make explicit the stages researchers undergo in producing an analysis of selected data. Shirley Steinberg (2006) is a notable exception to this, explaining processes that she undertakes when analysing data, in order to guide readers through the practical aspects of her research, which can then be modified to suit specific research. *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence, language* (Marwick, 2001) also presents as a useful handbook for practical research application

For this project, Fairclough's (2001) model provides the overall structure; with a staged-process amalgamating the methodological analysis primarily of Wodak (2004) and van Dijk (2001a) providing the structure of analysis. Structured on CDA, the analysis incorporates the

principles of the other methodologies, historical and visual, which forms the bricolage approach of this research (see Figure 3.1). How this is structured and conducted is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

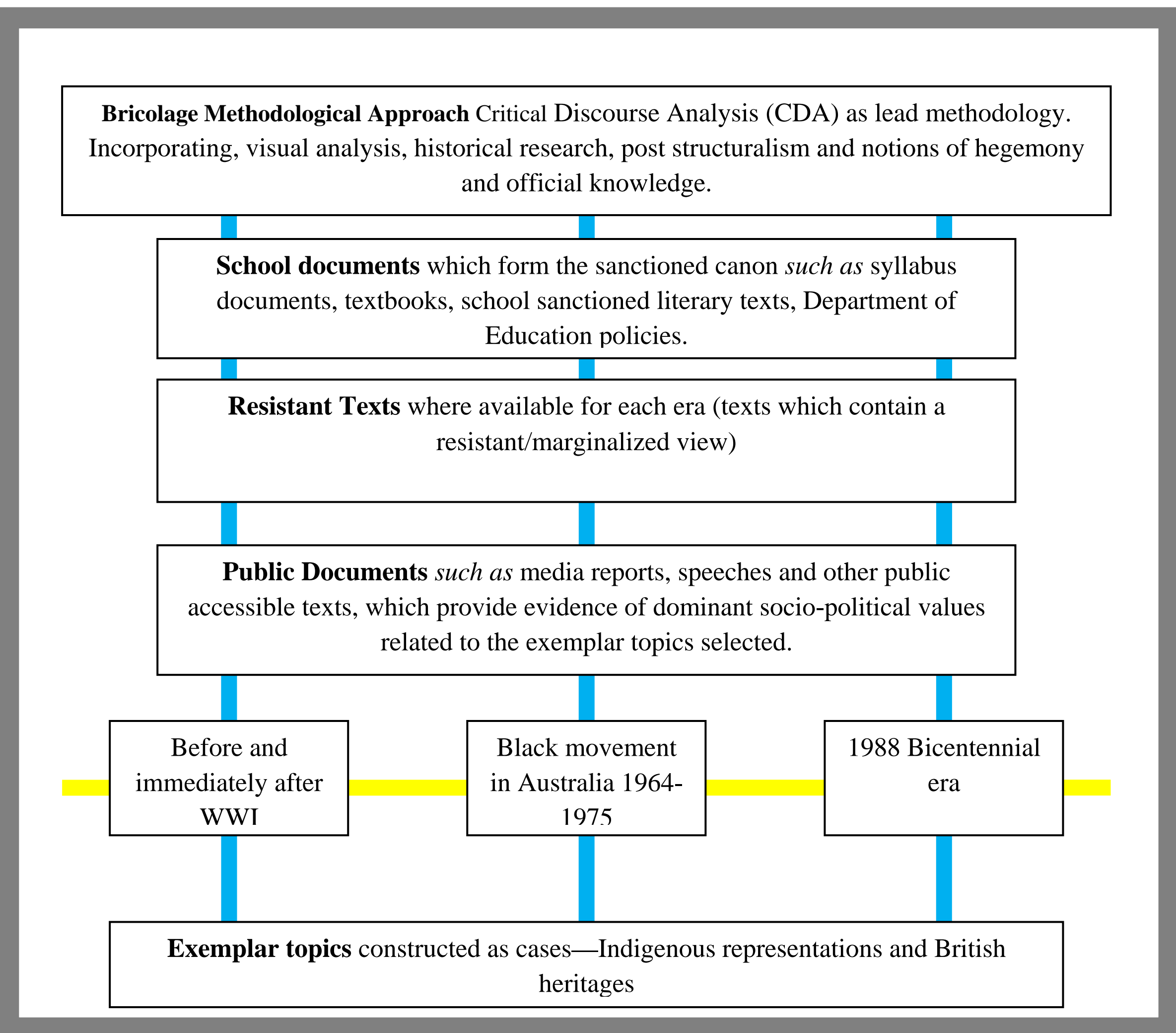


Figure 3.1 Structure of Analysis

3.9.1 Structuring the research.

The analytical framework of Fairclough provides a format for articulating the stages of research required to establish and conduct qualitative research through CDA. This framework is effective for research that looks at texts of same or similar genres within one broader discourse. Therefore, some features of the framework are included in this research, including the adaptation explained here. Fairclough stages his framework as follows:

- "1. Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect" (2001, p. 125). This research has adapted this more broadly, with the *Appendix A: Contexts* articulating the 'social problem' that provided the motivation to carry out this research, namely the public debates regarding Australian history and culture carried out over a sustained period of time.
- Stage two of Fairclough's model reads:

> 2. Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of
> a) the network of practices it is located within
> b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned
> c) the discourse (the semiosis itself)
> - structural analysis: the order of discourse
> - interactional analysis
> - interdiscursive analysis
> - linguistic and semiotic analysis (2001, p. 125)

This stage is used in part prior to the analysis taking place, with Part C of this stage replaced with the four stage process described in the following section. Parts A and B are described as: "…approaches the diagnosis of the problem in a rather indirect way, by asking what the obstacles are to it being tackled—what is it about the way in which social life is structured and organized that makes this a problem which is resistant to easy resolution?" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 125). This occurs through *Chapter 2: Literature Review* where research conducted unpacks aspects of the hidden curriculum present in school curriculum documents. This includes making explicit the official knowledge which translates to and is sanctioned through syllabus documents and then communicated to teachers through syllabuses, sourcebooks and supplementary curriculum materials; and to school students through textbooks. The data, then, becomes part of a network of practices around school discourses by deconstructing representations of Indigenous Australians and British heritages.

- Stage three reads:"consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem" (2001, p. 126) is completed post intermediate analysis during the final stage of analysis and during reflection of school curriculum discourses as presented in the selected data. In what ways, if any, school curriculum "....contribute[s] to sustaining particular relations of power and domination" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 126) is mapped across the selected historical eras. This is linked to Althusser's and Gramsci's notions of hegemony used to explain the role school

curriculum plays in reinforcing dominant (and often adhering to conservative interpretations of) socio-political discourses.

- Stages four "identify possible ways past the obstacles" and five "reflect critically on the analysis" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 124) are conducted post analysis, where the various methodologies used in this dissertation will converge in order to report on the findings. Here, the analysis will look closely at "...whether it does or can contribute to social emancipation" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 127). This stage forms part of the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

3.9.2 Stages of analysis.

The collection and analysis of the data is conducted in four stages. This four-stage model has come about as a result of considering the analysis stages of van Dijk (2001a) and Wodak (2004) adapted to construct a process of analysis specifically suited to the needs and purposes of this research.

Stage one has two components. First, the strategies engaged in to select data have been explained in the above data collection section. Second, once collected, the data is then catalogued into the textbook annotated bibliography (see Appendix B). This is a stage of analysis particularly useful in studies that have a large corpora or body of data as this one does, with van Dijk describing it as:

> Defined as 'semantic macrostructures' derived from the local (micro) structures of meaning, topic represent what a discourse 'is about' globally speaking, embody most important information of a discourse, and explain overall coherence of text and talk (van Dijk, 1980). *They are the global meaning that language users constitute in discourse production and comprehension, and the 'gist' that is best recalled by them.* Language users are unable to memorize and manage all meaning details of a discourse, and hence mentally organize these meanings by global meanings or topics. (2001a, pp. 101-102, emphasis added)

The second stage (named in this research, preliminary analysis) is the description of individual, or separate, data across a number of contexts, for example school texts. This stage, drawing on Fairclough, looks at describing the "formal properties of texts" (Verschueren, 2001, p. 68). Importantly, this is the stage where data selections are

contextualised in the wider study, with van Dijk writing that these local meanings "...are the kind of information that (under the overall control of global topics) most directly influences the mental models, and hence the opinions and attitudes of recipients" (2001a, p. 103). Here, the first two of Wodak's five constitutive questions are used in order to gain a clearer picture of the content contained within the texts (also contained in Wodak & de Cillia, 2006). These five questions enable one of the purposes of CDA research to be achieved, being "...interested in the study of ideologically based discourses, and the ways these polarize the representation of us (ingroups) and them (outgroups)" (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 103). The first two questions are:

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? (Wodak, 2004, p. 207; Wodak & de Cillia, 2006, p. 717)

Adapted slightly for this research, the two questions read:

1. How are individuals, events or groups of people named and referred to linguistically (that is, what is the language used to describe people and events, in relation to the two exemplar topics, Indigenous representations and British heritages)?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them (that is, in describing the two exemplar topics, what is the language used in the sentences around the linguistic description and how is ideology evident in the information selected to be included in the text)?

The template created to record this information from the primary sources can be viewed at Appendix C.

The third stage (named in this research, intermediate analysis) constructs the descriptive analysis into a more coherently structured historical narrative, aligned with and using the principles of CDA. In particular, the understandings gained of Wodak's discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2004; and Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) are incorporated in this stage. The following remaining three of Wodak's five constitutive questions are used to interrogate the data:

1. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?
2. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attribution and arguments exposed?

> 3. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated. (Wodak, 2004, p. 207; Wodak & de Cillia, 2006, pp. 717-718)

The intermediate analysis is completed in the notes section of the preliminary analysis template incorporating the preliminary analysis where appropriate.

The fourth stage (named in this research, final analysis) combines the different data sources collected and analysed in the second and third stages, in order to produce an effective reporting of all data, contained within the pre-identified distinct historical eras. When analysing data, the power discourses operating within texts that aim to naturalise information are investigated, in order to demonstrate the way in which specific content is positioned to be accepted by the reader as 'commonsense', 'normal' and/or 'right'. As described by Woodside-Jiron in drawing on the work of Fairclough, "Discursive practice draws on conventions that naturalize particular power relations and ideologies, and these conventions and the ways in which they are articulated are a focus of struggle" (2004, p. 193).

In carrying out the final analysis, the following four questions are considered in order to clearly articulate the discourses operating within and across texts within the same historical period:

> Knowledge is inevitably situated and positioned and there are multiple standpoints from which legitimate knowledge and meaning are produced. More importantly though, knowledge also functions as a means of legitimising existing power relations which a critical project aims to expose. Thus, in order to expose privileged ways of knowing in education research we must ask:
>
> - What counts as knowledge?
> - What are the historical, political, economic, cultural and social conditions under which it was produced and regulated?
> - How, and by whom, was it legitimized?
> - For whom does it speak? (Lemesianou & Grinberg, 2006, p. 216)

It is during the final analysis stage that the knowledges legitimised, specific socio-political discourses operating, different voices presented and the notable gaps and silences in the data are presented. This will be presented through the social cognition organisers presented by van

Dijk as "knowledge, attitudes and ideologies" (2001a, pp. 114-115). In this case, the *knowledge* is cultural and the assumption is that it is:

> ...shared by all competent members of a society or culture, and forms the basis or common ground of all social practices and discourses. Indeed, in principle all cultural shared knowledge may therefore be presupposed in public discourses. *Of course, such common ground knowledge constantly changes, and what is common ground yesterday, may be ideological group belief today (as is the case for the Christian religion), or vice versa, as is the case for much scholarly knowledge*. (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 114, emphasis added)

The various *attitudes* that are represented in the data are categorised according to how they have been constructed as "...socially shared opinions, such as the opinions people share about immigration...or nuclear energy. These are usually complex, that is, consist of a cluster of evaluative propositions" (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 115). Third, the *ideologies* present in the data as "...basic social representations of social groups" (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 115) are categorised in relation to how they are couched in the knowledge category, so ideologies such as neo-liberal, colonial, progressive and social justice will be made explicit.

3.10 Post Analysis and Conclusion

The post analysis stage incorporates Fairclough's stages four "identify possible ways past the obstacles" and five "reflect critically on the analysis" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 124) into a narrative comprising the various methodologies used as part of the bricolage approach used in this project. The post analysis is reported in *Chapter 8: Conclusion*. Finally, this research aims to use the methodologies selected to enable an accurate and clearly communicated reporting of findings, adhering to what van Dijk describes as:

> ...CDA should be accessible. Esoteric style is inconsistent with the fundamental aims of critical research namely that it can be shared with others, especially also by dominated groups. Obscurantism promotes blind imitation, instead of insight. CDA must be teachable, and hence comprehensible...Complex theorizing and analysis do not require abstruse jargon and profound insights need no arcane formulations. (2001a, p, 97)

3.11 Chapter Conclusion and Summary

To conclude, a feature of a strong qualitative approach to research, as espoused by Denzin and Lincoln is that "…although qualitative researchers may design procedures beforehand, designs always have built-in flexibility, to account for new and unexpected empirical materials and growing sophistication" (2005, p. 376). This is supported by Kincheloe and McLaren who write "…the bricolage views research methods actively rather than passively, meaning that we actively construct our research methods from the tools at hand rather than passively accepting the 'correct' universally applicable methodologies" (2005, p. 317). What has been presented throughout this chapter is a 'final version' of the methodological approach taken. Throughout this project, and prior to the analysis of texts, it underwent a number of cycles of being conceptualised, drafted and reconceptualised, so that a strengthened approach aligned with the theoretical underpinnings has been formulated. What follows on from this is the analysis of data, introduced by *Chapter Four: Data Analysis Introduction* offered as a frame to contextualise the data.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis Introduction

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the historical context of schooling in Queensland specifically related to History curriculum teaching, as relevant to this dissertation. This is done so that a reading of the data analysis is able to be situated with established background knowledge. A second purpose to explain the selection of curriculum documents, including textbooks, syllabuses and *Queensland School Readers*, within their historical context is also presented. The three chapters following this one present the analyses of the representations of the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous Australians across the selected eras. As the specific details of the historical and education contexts of each of the eras is included at the introduction of the analysis chapters, this chapter acts only as a broad introduction.

4.2 Queensland Schooling Context and Education History Overview

Mass, state funded education in Queensland was formally instituted with the passing and enactment of the *State Education Act of 1875 and regulations of the Department of Public Instruction in Queensland* (short title, *State Education Act of 1875*). The compulsory age of schooling clause was then fully enacted in 1900 making school in Queensland free, compulsory and secular. Initially, the compulsory age of schooling was for "...every child of not less than six or more than twelve years of age..." (Part 3, ss. 28). Throughout the period of time that this dissertation investigates, public education was (and remains) free and compulsory. Various revisions occurred to the 1875 Act throughout the twentieth century, with the compulsory age of schooling increasing, and are mentioned when relevant at the beginning of each data analysis chapter. Changes too were made at various times to the syllabuses and these changes form the focus of the *Education context* within each of the data analysis chapters, which highlight the various incarnations History curriculum has had in Queensland schools.

Primarily, available publications on Queensland education history topics have been written from a celebratory perspective and authored by Department of Education officers, sometimes anonymously. See, for example, an overview of the background, origin and features of Anzac Day as published in *Anzac Day in Queensland state schools* (Department of Education, Training and the Arts, 2007). Generally, these publications are structured in a way to present

a type of ‘neutral’ fact-sheet overview of past events, policies and changes. These histories are included as part of Education Queensland’s repository of history articles located on their library services website. Sample topics include information about cultural topics such as when and how Empire Day was celebrated, early commemorations of ANZAC Day; as well as general interest issues such as various legislation and attitudes towards corporal punishment, milk drinking schemes, one teacher schools and employment of women teachers. Whilst they provide an interesting overview of what has occurred in the past regarding schooling in Queensland, on the whole, only a surface understanding of specific topics can be gained from reading them. They act, therefore, as an important source of background information to gain an understanding of wider Queensland school education histories. To illustrate, a specific exemplar of this type of celebratory, ‘neutral’ history is evidenced in an early 1980s collection of monographs produced by the Department of Education, Queensland which included titles such as, *State education in Queensland: A brief history* (Logan & Clarke, 1984); *A centenary history of home economics education in Queensland 1881-1981* (Logan, 1981); and *Assessment in Queensland secondary schools: Two decades of change 1964-1983* (Clarke, 1987), coordinated through the Educational History Unit.

Although the majority of literature on Queensland schooling exists as this type of celebratory history, there is a small amount of literature that focuses on curriculum and schooling through a critical scholarly research approach. The interest in researching schooling specifically in a Queensland context can be traced to a small number of studies that address the topic of curriculum representations and their ideological underpinnings. For example, three unpublished theses that address history curriculum in Queensland schools authored by Libby Connors (1984), Louis Gugenberger (1975) and G.J. Shipstone (1973) demonstrate the scholarly significance of these materials in the local context. Broadly, this research builds on these theses by analysing curriculum across a number of time periods; and differs in a significant way, by offering a longitudinal study of History curriculum across three eras that focus on two exemplar topics, Indigenous representations and British heritages. In this way, this dissertation provides a more focused analysis of the exemplar topics, across historical eras within the set structure of History (and, when not available, the Social Studies curriculum).

4.2.1 Reading curriculum documents within their historical context.

The research conducted for this project does not seek to express criticism or pass judgement on textbooks from past eras for their inclusion or exclusion of specific topics or on the discourses that emerge from those that are included. This is not the purpose of the research. Rather, individual textbooks and other school curriculum materials are analysed in order to determine the meta-discourses present in History curriculum related specifically to Australia's national history. From this, conclusions can be drawn regarding topics such as: critical use of sources; narrative approach to History curriculum; curriculum as gatekeeper of conservative content and values or agent for change; use of primary and secondary sources; and exemplar topics on the periphery of, or absent from, national history. This then forms part of the conclusion for each of the three data analysis chapters. It is especially important to make the point of not expressing criticism or passing judgments on textbooks (and, by default, those who authored them) from past eras for a number of reasons. First, to increase likelihood of wide-spread take up by schools across the State, textbooks need to follow the curriculum closely, as encapsulated (in Queensland, at least) by the syllabus. Second, textbooks are a source of their time, and therefore need to be regarded as historical artefacts in their own right. It is likely that if the same people who wrote textbooks in previous eras were to write textbooks now, then the information in them would be significantly different, reflecting changes in syllabuses, new developments in historical knowledge and in content pedagogy; including the way textbooks are used. The H.R. Cowie textbooks (1975, 1980, 1982), analysed in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975* and *Chapter 7: 1988 Bicentennial Era* provide an example of this, in particular in the area of Indigenous representations.

Each syllabus published is the official rationale, a component of the official knowledge (Apple, 2000); with the textbooks as the explanation or translation of this rationale, one way in which the syllabus is brought alive. Textbooks and syllabuses, therefore, act as complementary documents, particularly in times when a traditional approach has been taken to school curriculum and when authored and distributed by the Department of Education itself. Particularly in the Queensland context of History teaching, textbooks and later sourcebooks written, published and disseminated by the Department of Education make up the bulk of primary school curriculum documents throughout the 20th century. The selection of individual textbooks, particularly when not published by the Department of Education,

across the three distinct eras focused on in this dissertation is explained in depth within the *Education context* section of each of the data analysis chapters.

4.2.2 Queensland School Readers.

A departure from only conducting an analysis of History textbooks and syllabuses comes with the inclusion of the *Queensland School Readers* series. Even though these Readers are not specifically constructed for the History syllabus or History curriculum in general, because they were published by the Department of Public Instruction (later renamed to Department of Education) and were used by all State schools in Queensland, they are relevant to this study. Readers were not published solely for the English syllabus, although this was part of the reason for content selection—including topics such as vocabulary, spelling, literature, art appreciation—they were also published to instill specific moral values in school students, often learnt through imaginative stories. As stated in the preface of the 1913 *Queensland readers: Book IV* a primary purpose of the Readers was:

> (1) To instil into the minds of pupils such a *love for literature* as will last beyond school-days and be to them a source of permanent profit and delight. To this end, the lessons have been chosen from a very wide field. Fiction, travel, history, science, art, biography—all have been laid under tribute; and the result is a collection of extracts that may well illustrate all this is best in written English. Special attention has been devoted, in all the books, to *Australian subjects,* and to the *poetical pieces.* Many of the latter can easily be learned by heart, and will prove a "joy for ever" to the diligent scholar. (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, p. iii, emphasis in original)

The Readers are generally regarded as keepers of the cultural canon, as an introduction for school students to the grand narratives of literature in the English language; and as a result, do not change rapidly or significantly across time. Not explicitly responding to events and topics in the wider community, instead Readers remained (largely) removed from this, with some noted exceptions, for example the addition of WWI topics in the post-war series. The situating of the Readers external to events of the day, explain why there is no significant change between the Readers from one decade to the next. For example, between 1946 and 1967 there was approximately five series of Readers published, yet during this time, there were no significant changes in content. The Readers as an effective pedagogical tool is explained by renowned Australian author, David Malouf in an Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) radio program, *Lingua Franca*:

> The fact is that until the middle '50s, only about 7% of Queenslanders went on to secondary school. The rule was that you could leave school either at 14, or when you had 'done the Scholarship', which in the case of clever children could be as early as 12. So one aim of the Readers was to ensure that the 93% of Queenslanders who would leave school somewhere between 12 and 14 were introduced to the literary culture in its widest and richest form, to folk and fairy tales from every part of Europe, to Greek myths, Aesop's Fables, tales from the Arabian Nights and from Cervantes and Turgenev and Tolstoi and Hans Andersen, to the whole range of English and American poetry and fiction, and the best of what was local; about one-fifth of the poems and prose pieces were Australian.
>
> ...
>
> Added so long after the other six, in a decade, after the First World War, with a very different ethos and mood, the Seventh Grade Reader is a fascinating indication of what was thought necessary in the way of reading, but also of attitude, to 13 and 14-year-olds who were going out into a world that was already sliding towards a second round of war. Shakespeare, Milton's 'L'Allegro', Gray's 'Elegy', 'The Ancient Mariner', two extended character sketches from 'The Deserted Village', some well-known and not so well-known Australian pieces, including Kendall's 'Bellbirds' and 'September in Australia', but also 'The Nation Builders' and 'The Women of the West' by George Essex Evans, a Queenslander. The long prose extracts are from Bunyan, Dickens, Scott, Stevenson, 'Lorna Doone, Bulwer Lytton's 'The Last Days of Pompeii' and Charles Reade's 'The Cloister and the Hearth' – regular Victorian fare - but include as well several pieces, democratic and even socialist in temper, on the Dignity of Labour, 'What is War?' the Anzacs at Gallipoli, the League of Nations, the founding of New England, John Brown, and Emerson on Abraham Lincoln. (Kitson & Malouf, 1999, n.p.)

A final reason the Readers are included for analysis becomes especially important in the first era, *Prior to and after WWI*. Due to the relative scarcity of History textbooks across the range of years that this era encompasses, and the availability of the Readers, this forms a pragmatic reason to include them for analysis. Only narratives, poems and illustrations that directly connect to British heritages within Australian history are included for analysis. For example,

stories by authors such as Arthur Conan Doyle, William Shakespeare and Charles Dickens, although part of the British canon of literature; where narratives are not specifically related to representations within Australian history, they are not added. In general, Readers for older grades have more evidence of British heritages than younger grades (and rarely Indigenous representations for any age group). This is due to younger grades concentrating on personal moral values such as honesty, friendship and respect for elders such as through obeying parents; and through narratives of the natural world, such as stories and illustrations of Australian birds and mammals; rather than a discipline-focused approach to learning, which is more evident from the middle to upper primary years. Overall, representations of Indigenous Australians are not included in any depth, with only an occasional mention and rarely as the main topic of the narrative; with a significant exception to this being the story *The Last of His Tribe* (Department of Public Instruction, 1936, pp. 168-169).

Like other series of textbooks (see for example *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series analysed in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*), Readers build on each other in a curriculum progression, so that the same content is not covered across multiple school years, providing a continuity of curriculum for the school students, as explained in the preface of *Queensland school readers: Book 1* (see Source 4.1).

(5) To secure a gradation of lessons, so that each book—in itself adapted as far as possible to suit the school curriculum—may naturally follow its predecessor by an imperceptible ascent in standards.

Source 4.1. Preface of *Queensland school readers: Book 1*(Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. iii)

4.2.3 Categories and discourses within their historical context.

The categories and discourses emerging from analysis are presented as neither falsities nor truth claims, neither are they intended to de-legitimise any individual or group contribution to Australia's national history. Apropos, a 'cultural self-loathing' mentality is avoided whereby anything positive a group has achieved is wiped out by negative actions. Instead, by enabling the findings to emerge from the data, a more complex knowledge is able to be gained of the representations of the two exemplar topics and the discourses that emerge from them. Even though the content knowledge communicated through textbooks may be done through a discourse of certainties and 'absolutes', as an all-encompassing knowledge font; by investigating textbooks from a number of eras, it can be seen that the notion of a group or event being represented as unchanging is clearly refuted. Instead, it becomes apparent that

discourses are temporal in nature and change significantly across eras. Where this is arguably most obvious in Queensland textbooks, is at the beginning of the 20th century. During this time, words were used to describe Indigenous Australians implying that all Indigenous Australians share the same culture, expressed through language that positions them as both subjects of anthropology and in anonymous groupings. The following extract from a narrative in an early twentieth century History textbook, *The Children's Books of Moral Lessons* provides an example of this:

> *As wild as* the Bushmen were the natives of Australia...The natives of Queensland *supported the weak members of the clan*; they *nursed the sick* as well as they could they *took care of the old folk*, they *kept no slaves*, and, though they would eat the bodies of their enemies, they would *never eat members of their own clan*...The old man approached the European, accompanied by a group of friends, *all looking very mysterious*...*Savage* as they were, their hearts could understand a kind action done to a black child by a strange white man. (F.J. Gould, 1909, pp. 37-38, emphasis added)

In contrast, in the latter stages of the 20th century, Indigenous Australians are increasingly represented as having distinct and different cultures from one another (see, for example, Source 4.2).

Provide the children with background information on the kinship system in North-Eastern Arnhem Land (see teacher information sheet). Work through the information with the children asking them to identify the relationships and people represented by the diagram (see pupil activity sheet).

The children should be made aware that family structures differ among Aboriginal groups and that they have been learning about only one of these many structures.

Encourage the children to understand that the kinship system is one form of social control within Aboriginal society.

Source 4.2. Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5 addressing kinship systems (Department of Education, 1988a, pp. 100-101).

Although a clear hegemony of knowledge exists within eras, communicated through the syllabus, the differences in discourses across eras links with the poststructuralist theoretical concepts of the methodology used in this project. In viewing representations as fluctuating, the following idea explored by Bailey and Hall is relevant: "Post-structuralist thinking

opposes the notion that a person is born with a fixed identity – that all black people, for example, have an essential, underlying black identity which is the same and unchanging" (as cited in Lister and Wells, 2001, p. 86). Therefore, despite textbooks being presented as a keeper of all factual and 'true' knowledge, it is apparent that because the knowledge presented, through the groups and events it represents, has changed so much over time, the notion of the textbook as keeper of an unchanging knowledge is challenged and it becomes apparent that critical engagement with this type of text needs to take place.

4.3 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter and to introduce the three data analysis chapters that follow, two personal recollections of schooling are included as a matter of interest. Although this type of personal experience does not form the purpose of this project, what it does demonstrate is the link between curriculum, memories of schooling and the long-lasting impact it has on students. The following personal recollections signify that students carry the impact of their schooling into their adult life. To begin, the following extract from a speech made by Robert Hughes on 14th January 1992, links his perspectives of his education experience with the perceived changes to History curriculum that have occurred over time. In particular, Hughes draws on monocultural versions of history and the move to multicultural perspectives.

> So you might say that my upbringing was monocultural, in fact classically colonial, in the sense that it concentrated on the history, literature and values of Western Europe and, in particular, of England, and not much else. It had very little relationship to the themes of education in Australia today, which place a heavy stress on local history, the culture of minorities, and a compensatory non-Anglocentric approach to all social questions. 'Multiculturalism' has been a bureaucratic standard there for the best part of twenty years now, and its effects have been almost entirely good. It reflects a reality we have in common with the even more diverse, but culturally reluctant, USA – which, put in its simplest terms, is that the person on the bus next to you in Sydney is just as likely to be the descendant of a relatively recent arrival, a small trader from Skopelos, a mechanic from Palermo, a cook from Saigon, a lawyer from Hong Kong or a cobbler from some *stelt* in Lithuania as the great-great-grandchild of an Englishman or Irishman, transported or free. The length of one's roots, as distinct from their tenacity, is no longer a big deal in my country, whatever passing pangs of regret this may induce in the minority of Australians whose families have been there for most of its (white) history. By the 1970s

> Australia had ceased to be a ‘basically British’ country anyway, and there was no feasible way of persuading the daughter of a Croatian migrant of the mystic bond she was supposed to feel with Prince Charles or his mother –or of the enduring usefulness, to her education, of the history of the Plantagenets.” (Hughes, 2005, p. 155, emphasis in original)

The second example, from a speech made by Robert Manne on 20th May 2001 is similar to Hughes’ speech in so much that a personal perspective of his education experience is expressed. However, in this recollection Manne links his personal perspective with the changes that have occurred in public discourses over an extended period of time. It also broaches Indigenous representations, one of the two exemplar topics analysed for this project, using a source by William Dampier that has been included in History and Social Studies textbooks in Queensland throughout each of the three eras investigated, and forms a topic of further discussion in *Chapter 7: 1988 Bicentennial Era*.

> It almost goes without saying that for someone from the neighbourhood in which I grew up that I did not encounter a single Aboriginal child in my primary or high school years—and can recall only two lessons where we learnt something about Aborigines. In one lesson we were required to copy down the words of, I think, William Dampier about the Aborigines being the most miserable people in the world. I would like to think that intuitively I grasped their racism, but I doubt this was so. Another lesson was even more memorable. My grade three teacher, on one occasion, wrote on the blackboard the words ‘Segregation or Assimilation?’ These were the words of the Aboriginal policy debate of the early 1950s. Again, to be perfectly honest, I am sure I recall this lesson not because of the issues we were invited to explore but because I was almost entranced by the invitation to think about concepts as abstract as assimilation and segregation, words which, as a nine year old, I had never previously heard. How strange that today we are being invited by newspaper articles and right-wing magazines once again to discuss Aboriginal policy in the absence of Aboriginal people and in almost identical terms to the 1950s, the only difference being that those who believe in land rights and self-determination are being accused of being segregationists by the conservatives who have become the champions of a neo-assimilation. (Manne, 2004, pp. 63-63)

Given the clear recollections of schooling for example as demonstrated in this chapter by Malouf, Hughes and Manne, the important place curriculum has in student experience and memory is emphasised, particularly when the same topic and discourses are repeated across school years. Therefore, the important role school curriculum has in instilling values and knowledges cannot be underestimated. What these consistent values and knowledges are, categorised within various discourses, forms the focus of analysis through the lens of the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations in the following three chapters: *Chapter 5: Before and Immediately After WWI*; *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*; and *Chapter 7:1988 Bicentennial Era*.

Chapter Five: Before and immediately after WWI

5.1 Historical Context of the Era

This period in Australian history is characterised by the rapid social and political change that occurred as a result of Australia's participation in World War One (WWI), known at the time as *The Great War*[7]. Social issues prominent at the time include, but are not limited to: debates about military conscription; issues of independence from Great Britain; equipping Australia with an effective military defence; and Australia's participation as a nation in the international arena. This era was also significantly influenced by domestic affairs, namely the continued affective unifying of Australia in the years post-Federation. In addition, other aspects of social and political life beyond those described here played important roles in shaping Australia's national identity, such as the role of women in the workforce and growing political rights. However, only issues covered by the school History curriculum texts are included for analysis in this dissertation.

For Australia, in the time period during and immediately post WWI the socio-political discourses are characterised by topics such as national debates about conscription of military-age males, the rise of different forms of government epitomized through struggles between socialism and fascism, Australia's repayments of war loans to Great Britain, and government support of the unemployed during the economic depression of the 1930s. These issues are at times overshadowed by *The Great Depression*, which from 1929 to the outbreak of World War Two (WWII), greatly impacted and influenced not only the general way of life of ordinary citizens, but also domestic politics, including changes in legislation to support the growing unemployed. This period, characterised by rapid and continued social and political change, is detailed by historians such as Scott (1930), Bean (1921), and in more recent times Adam-Smith (1984), M. Clark (1963, 1995), Blainey (2000), MacIntyre (1993, 1999), and P. Hamilton (2003). The vast amount of research committed to this period of Australia's history is representative of the importance placed on Australia's involvement in WWI as an influential and lasting factor in shaping the nation's identity and cultural history.

[7] At the time of the conflict (1915-1919), what is now known internationally as World War One or The First World War was then being referred to as *The Great War*, or more simply, *The War*. It was not until the World War Two era that this conflict became known differently. Therefore, unless quoting from primary source documents, the term World War One, or WWI, is used here. This is because this is the current commonly accepted term for this conflict.

5.2 Education Context

This section addresses the following points: compulsory age of schooling; key syllabus documents; and key textbooks including related school curriculum documents. The timeframe given to this era of *Before and Immediately after WWI*, covers the period of time six years prior to and almost twenty years post WWI. The era finishes in 1937. One reason for this long duration of time is pragmatic, directly influenced by the slow pace of change of school curriculum in the early part of the 20th century. It was not until the 1930s that the first major change of school History curriculum since WWI occurred, with the implementation of a new (not revised) History syllabus in 1930, and in place until a new syllabus was implemented in 1938. Textbooks covering the content of the new syllabus were then rolled out over the next five years. Despite extensive searches, the actual syllabus itself has not been able to be located; however there is sufficient detail in the preface and introductions of the Government sanctioned textbooks (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1933, 1934a, 1934b, 1932a, 1932b) for accurate knowledge of what was included in the syllabus. Due to the slow pace of change in the syllabus, textbooks will be analysed from a range of years to determine how (or if) they accommodated this period of rapid social and political change that occurred as a result of WWI, through curriculum documents, if not the syllabus itself.

An example of just how static the curriculum change was in this era is evidenced by the 1913 edition of the *Queensland Reader: Book V* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b). The copy sourced for this project has the following written on the fly page: “C.E. Martin 1933” in what looks like adult handwriting (therefore assumed and most likely to be a teacher’s copy). Given that this book was first used in schools in 1915, the date of “1933” means that it was still used in Queensland schools almost 20 years later. Of further note, the 1933 and 1935 editions of this Reader are exactly the same; content has not been altered in any way, indicative of the slow process of curriculum change during this time.

The approach to the selection of textbooks for this era has been different to that of the later eras explored in this project. As resources from this era are scarce, it has been those that have been able to be sourced that have been used, rather than a selection from a wide range of books.

5.2.1 Compulsory age of schooling.

The compulsory age of schooling during this era, as stated in the 1928 *State Education in Queensland* report reads:

> Primary education, which is free, secular, and compulsory to the age of 14 years (or until the pupil has completed Class V requirements).
>
> Isolated families are visited by itinerant teachers, or receive tuition by correspondence. (Department of Public Instruction, 1928, p. 8)

This era will primarily cover the school curriculum up to and including this age. The exceptions are *New syllabus history for seventh grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932b) and *New syllabus history for sixth grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a), as both these textbooks contain important information regarding the exemplar topics, so they are included for analysis. Furthermore, it is likely that many school students, particularly in urban environments continued their schooling beyond grade five, so it is relevant to include textbooks from sixth and seventh grade, for analysis. With the exception of the Readers, analysis of textbooks published post 1930 will cover grade three onwards, as the syllabus states: "In Grade III., as expressly stated in the Syllabus, pupils are introduced to the study of history..." (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1934b, p. 3).

5.2.2 Key syllabus documents.

Locating a distinctly *History* curriculum presents some difficulty when researching this era, as a stand-alone subject was only in place in the latter years. Instead, towards the beginning of the era, history was placed within a larger subject area called *History, Civics and Morals*. In addition, due to the lack of a dedicated history curriculum, the use of the *Queensland School Readers* (and their predecessors) which fall outside of a syllabus and centre more on appreciation of literature have had to be used. The existence of copies of *Queensland School Readers*, despite being first published in 1913, can be attributed to the sheer number of books published by the Department of Public Instruction, which as mandated for use by all Queensland schools were printed in large quantities. Although now scarce, there is still at least one copy from each series available (in public libraries and personal collections).

Despite the difficulty of not being able to locate the Syllabus for this era, the content and ideological framework of these documents are able to be surmised from comprehensive introductions and prefaces included in textbooks published during this era. For example, the

following passage taken from the preface of *The children's book of moral lessons: Third series* sets the tone for the ideological framework of History curriculum in Queensland schools during this time.

> ...the present series advances to a higher level of subjects. Our view is now geographical and historical, though frequent opportunities are afforded for making appeal to the young learner's sense of personal duty...A few illustrations are given rather by way of hint than with any pretence of adequacy. Parents and teachers should provide as many more as they can, either in book-form or by pointing out to children objects of beauty or historic interest in museums, art galleries, ancient buildings, etc. (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. v)

This preface demonstrates that History curriculum is constructed explicitly through moral education in order to "...appeal to the young learner's sense of personal duty..." (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. v). In this case, the values of the curriculum are clearly articulated. Structuring the curriculum this way links the potentially abstract topic of moral lessons to tangible school subjects of History and Geography. The curriculum is constructed beyond knowledge acquisition, and highlights the aesthetics of learning by emphasising that the information in the textbook is not all-encompassing, but instead provides an introduction to History and explicitly states that more learning needs to occur outside of both the textbook and classrooms generally. The knowledge therefore that is presented in the textbooks acts as an introduction to legitimise the selection of content throughout the book, and acts as a pointer for the selection of additional material appropriate to school students outside of this classroom context. Combined with the curriculum encompassing both technical approaches and aesthetics of learning, these perspectives and intentions of the curriculum are overtly stated, and form a feature of the writing style and content throughout the textbook.

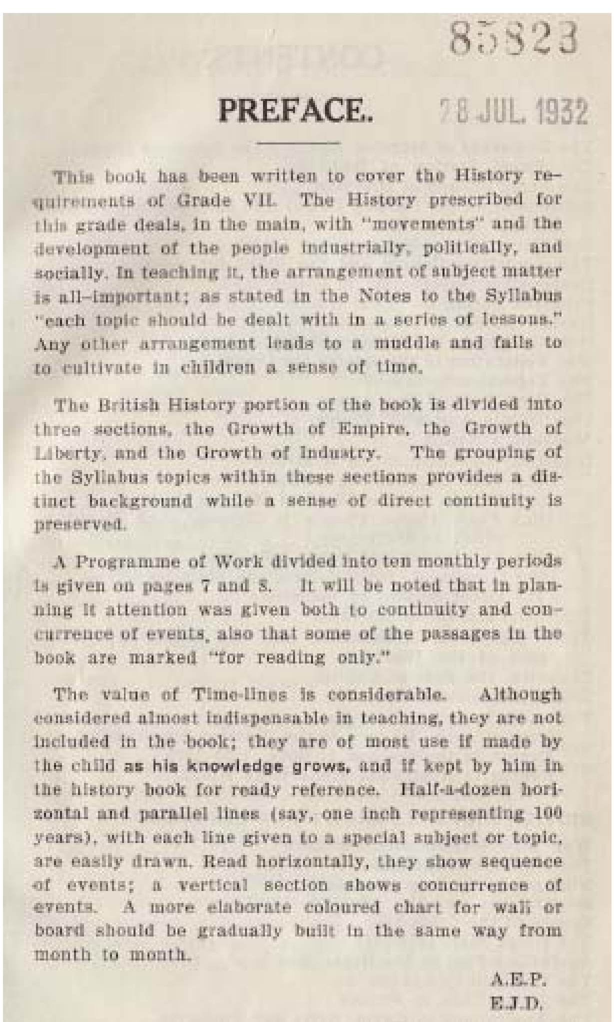
The following information concerning History curriculum was included in the 1928 government report, *State Education in Queensland*, demonstrating that for this era, issues of citizenship morality were closely intertwined with history and literary narratives. One possible reason for this is because the topics civics, morality and history were written into one all encompassing syllabus, prior to 1930.

> The Primary school curriculum aims at laying the foundations of a sound education. While emphasis is given to the importance of the "three R's," the syllabus also includes British and Australian history, general geography (especially that of the

British Empire) civics and morals, Nature study, elementary science, drawing, music, needlework, and physical training.

In the larger towns educational facilities correspond generally with those provided in other parts of the British dominions, but the vast extent of territory and the scattered nature of the population in pastoral and agricultural areas present educational difficulties and problems which are in many respects peculiar, and call for special solution. (Department of Public Instruction, 1928, p. 14)

The Brooks' series of History textbooks, written by E.J. Dunlop and A.E. Palfrey, published in the early 1930s also contains sufficient information regarding the syllabus, as a sample preface from one of the textbooks demonstrates in Source 5.1.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PREFACE.

This book has been written to cover the History requirements of Grade VII. The History prescribed for this grade deals, in the main, with "movements" and the development of the people industrially, politically, and socially. In teaching it, the arrangement of subject matter is all-important; as stated in the Notes to the Syllabus "each topic should be dealt with in a series of lessons." Any other arrangement leads to a muddle and fails to to cultivate in children a sense of time.

The British History portion of the book is divided into three sections, the Growth of Empire, the Growth of Liberty, and the Growth of Industry. The grouping of the Syllabus topics within these sections provides a distinct background while a sense of direct continuity is preserved.

A Programme of Work divided into ten monthly periods is given on pages 7 and 8. It will be noted that in planning it attention was given both to continuity and concurrence of events, also that some of the passages in the book are marked "for reading only."

The value of Time-lines is considerable. Although considered almost indispensable in teaching, they are not included in the book; they are of most use if made by the child as his knowledge grows, and if kept by him in the history book for ready reference. Half-a-dozen horizontal and parallel lines (say, one inch representing 100 years), with each line given to a special subject or topic, are easily drawn. Read horizontally, they show sequence of events; a vertical section shows concurrence of events. A more elaborate coloured chart for wall or board should be gradually built in the same way from month to month.

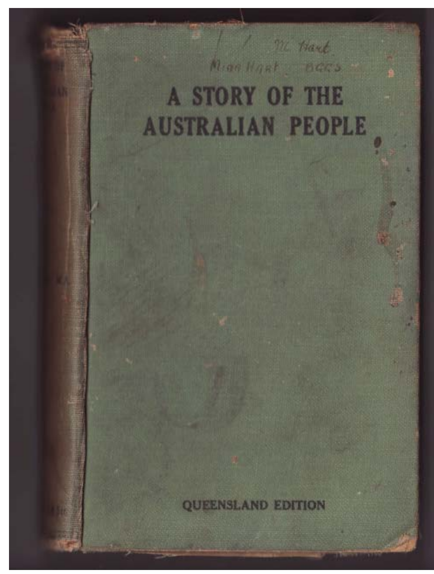
A.E.P.
E.J.D.

Source 5.1. Preface from *New syllabus history for seventh grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, n.p.)

5.2.3 Key textbooks and related school curriculum documents.

In total, 16 school curriculum texts have been selected for analysis in this era, including the following sample texts:

- *Children's book of moral lessons:* Written by F.J. Gould and published in 1909, this is the earliest textbook located for this era. Although published in Great Britain, it was used in Queensland schools (as it was not until 1913 that textbooks started to be published in Queensland, it is not unusual for publication of a school textbook to be from the United Kingdom).
- A story of the Australian people: Queensland edition written by K.R. Cramp and published in 1927 (cover depicted in Source 5.2) is significant for this research as it is the first textbook, post WWI available.



Source 5.2. Cover of *A Story of the Australian People* (Cramp, 1927, n.p.)

- The *New syllabus* history series written by E.J. Dunlop and A.E. Palfrey and published between 1932-1934 in Brisbane, Queensland by education publishers, William Brooks and Co. The authors were, at the time, District Inspectors of Schools and the textbooks mirror the requirements of the syllabus, and were sanctioned by the Department of Public Instruction. An interesting feature of Dunlop and Palfrey is that they wrote textbooks at least up until the 1950s, indicative of their influence over a large time period.

5.3 Categories Emerging from Analysis

Analyses of curriculum documents for this era focus on British heritages rather than Indigenous representations. The categories here have been identified as a result of the preliminary and intermediate analyses (see Appendix D for a sample analysis).

5.3.1 British heritages.

Representations of British heritages are evident through five key categories, and within these a number of specific discourses emerge. The identified categories and discourses emerging from analysis are listed below, with the remainder of the chapter reporting the findings of the analysis:

Category 1: Privileging British heritages

Category 2: Australia's emotional allegiance to Great Britain

Category 3: Australia's military allegiance to Great Britain

Category 4: Australia as a colony, or legislatively part of Great Britain

Category 5: World War I

5.4 Category 1: Privileging British Heritages

This category is evident primarily through the *Queensland School Readers*, for example as stated in the preface of the *Queensland Readers: Book IV*:

> (1) To instil into the minds of pupils such a *love for literature* as will last beyond school-days and be to them a source of permanent profit and delight. To this end, the lessons have been chosen from a very wide field. Fiction, travel, history, science, art, biography—all have been laid under tribute; and the result is a collection of extracts that may will illustrate all this is best in written English. Special attention has been devoted, in all the books, to *Australian subjects,* and to the *poetical pieces.* Many of the latter can easily be learned by heart, and will prove a "joy forever" to the diligent scholar. (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, page iii)

How this is actualized through the content of the Readers provides an interesting focus point to demonstrate that British heritages are prevalent throughout the stories, poems and history narratives. For the *Queensland Readers: Book IV*, at least, a significant amount of content overtly privileges British heritages and can be found in at least six examples, including: *After Blenheim* a poem written by Robert Southey, *What is the Best Day in the Year?*, *Gallant Gordon*, *Lament of the Irish Emigrant* a poem written by Lady Helen Selina Dufferin, *Ye*

Mariners of England a poem written by Thomas Campbell, *The Burial of Sir John Moore* a poem written by Charles Wolfe, and *Robert of Kandahar* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a). The *Queensland Readers: Book V* echoes the *Queensland Readers: Book IV* regarding the substantial content covering British heritages. For example, the following narratives are included: *Waterloo, The Battle of Crecy*, *A Fragment of Europe*, *Heroes of the Mutiny*, *Henry V. to his Men on the Eve of Agincourt*; and *Pen pictures from Macaulay* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b). Where it differs from *Queensland Readers: Book IV* is through its additional inclusion of distinctive Australian content, mediated through British heritages.

Within the *Queensland Readers: Book IV* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a), published 12 years after Australia had federated (in 1901) substantial attention is given to glorifying British battles (Blenheim), heroes (Gallant Gordon) and events (Empire Day). The significant attention given to the topic of war and battles in this Reader when referring to British heritages encompasses the majority of the curriculum material. The two exceptions to this are the brief, passing mention of Empire Day and the poem, *Lament of the Irish Emigrant*. The content is focused towards literary topics rather than presenting the topics as historical, as would be expected in this type of school textbook, and as explicitly stated in the preface. This reader was implemented in Queensland schools in 1915, and even though by this time World War I had just started, no reference is made to this conflict as the book was printed in 1913. Instead, an historical British battle is included as a focus for study, represented through the poem *After Blenheim* by Robert Southey. Here the discourse of war victory is communicated to students through the repetition of "...a famous victory"; although the futility of war is also communicated at the end of the poem, with the last stanza reading:

> " And everybody praised the Duke
> Who this great fight did win."
> " But what good came of it at last?"
> Quoth little Peterkin:—
> " Why that I cannot tell," said he,
> " But `twas a famous victory." (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, p. 16)

Hidden British heritages are arguably evident in this poem, but are less obvious in stories which contain moral values. These stories, typically contain values commonly taught to young children, such as *truth-telling* as evidenced in "Poppet's Visit to the School—Part 1"

(*Queensland Readers: Book IV,* 1913a, pp. 1-6) and Poppet's Visit to the School—Part II" (*Queensland Readers: Book IV,* 1913a, pp. 7-12), appear to be similar to the stories taught to school children in the United Kingdom at the same time. However, as the content is not *explicitly* connected to British heritages, they are not included for analysis. The content which is directly connected with British heritages is sufficient in itself to demonstrate the dominant discourses present in school curriculum.

5.4.1 Discourses of origin.

Source 5.3 from *New syllabus history for fourth grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1933, pp. 44-45), acts to acculturate students into 'being British'. This extract forms the introductory paragraphs of an historical description of the early Britons from the "Stone Age" and "Bronze Age" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1933, p. 45). Although not about Australian history; this narrative introduces students to studying the early Britons; connection is made to students' own context first, in order that the historical narrative develops from something familiar. Specific terms used to link the school students with British heritages as a way to explain their ancestry include: "We Australians are mostly children of people who came from the British Isles...All of us belong to the British Empire, and we ought to know something of the history of that Empire..." (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1933, p. 45). Here, students' backgrounds are explained in relation to British heritages articulated overtly in the text. The narrative towards the end of the introduction, then moves to connect the content with the students' identity, by stating: "...we can learn about the changes that came as new races of people entered Britain, as the population grew and as bands of people left to establish colonies in other lands which led to the growth of the Empire" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1933, p. 45). No mention is made of school students who were not from this background, effectively silencing their heritage. The textbook is careful to say that "mostly" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1933, p. 45) students come from a British background, however it remains that there is no mention of other backgrounds, effectively excluding that part of the student population (which at the time accounted for less than 5 percent of the Australian population).

CHAPTER II.

THE BRITONS.

Far, far away, across the World,
A fine old Island lies;
Its seas, they say, are green and grey,
And blue and grey its skies.
There castles are, and battlefields,
Old inns and bowling-greens;
Great Abbeys and the darksome Tower,
And tombs of Kings and Queens.
There Britons lived, and Norse and Danes
And men who came frome Rome.
Grandfather lived there years ago—
Grandfather calls it—*Home*.

—Veronica Mason.

We Australians are mostly children of people who came from the British Isles. There are, of course, many people in Australia who were themselves born in England and Wales, Scotland or Ireland, but who have come here to live. All of us belong to the British Empire, and we ought to know something of the history of that Empire, and of the changes that took place in the lives of the people who have made it. It is the largest Empire in the world and it is so widespread that the sun never sets on it. But it was not always as large as it is now: one hundred years ago it was much smaller, and two hundred years ago it was a very small Empire indeed. But, in our study of history, we must go back much further still and find out what our ancestors were like as far back as we can tell. Then we can learn about the changes that came as new races of people entered Britain, as the population grew and as bands of people left to establish colonies in other lands which led to the growth of the Empire.

Source 5.3. Chapter II: The Britons in *New syllabus history for fourth grade* (Dunlop and Palfrey, 1933, pp. 44-45)

5.4.2 Discourses of British conflicts.

One way the category *Privileging British heritages* is illustrated is through discourses of British conflicts. This discourse is mediated through poetry and historical narratives told as stories, often with the central figure as the hero of the story. Examples from *Queensland Readers: Book IV* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a) are included here. The first discourse of British conflict is introduced through the poem, *After Blenheim*, written by Robert Southey. This poem, about a battle in Austria whereby the British defeated the French, is widely regarded as being essentially anti-war. For example, it discusses the futility of the lives of civilians and soldiers lost during war-time. However, there is evidence that despite the author's views of armed conflict as being futile, the English are portrayed as being on the 'right side'. This is particularly evidenced through the following extract from lines 31-32 in Stanza 6):

> " It was the English," Kaspar cried,
> " Who put the French to rout ; (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, p. 16)

This is then supported in other examples from the same Reader, for example in the poem, *Ye Mariners of England* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, pp. 102-104), where

discourses of British superiority are more clearly articulated and given symbolic reverence. This poem, a type of “war song” (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, p. 102) uses language that clearly articulates pride for Great Britain, or *Britannia*, in having a formidable ocean presence through the mariners (Navy). Significant words used to describe the mariners and their actions that reinforce this include: “guard our native seas”; “match another foe”; and “Where Blake and mighty Nelson fell” (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, p. 102). Symbolic reverence is evident through the following phrases: “flag has braved”; “glorious standard”; and “meteor flag of England” (Department of Public Instruction, 1913a, p. 102).

Battles fought by England as an independent country (as distinct from including Scotland, Wales and North Ireland) or as a combined Great Britain feature in the school curriculum, particularly the Readers at the time. In addition, they are not given any context, for example *The Six Brave Men of Calais* (Department of Public Instruction 1914, pp. 158-162) is part of the Hundred Years’ War; however this is presented as completely separate battles devoid of historical context. Whilst it could be argued that as these narratives are included in Readers rather than history textbooks, which is why a context may not occur, this presents as a limitation in mediating a deep understanding of historically important topics, especially connected with British heritages. Instead by the contexts of the battles being silenced a blind patriotism is promoted.

Interestingly, the Boer War (1899-1902) is rarely mentioned in textbooks from this era, which is a significant omission as it has occurred more recently than other battles covered; and Australia was involved in this conflict. Considering six VCs were awarded during the Boer War, it is unexpected that in the 1913 *Queensland readers: Book V*, in a lesson dedicated to “The Victoria Cross”, (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 60-63) no mention is made of Australians being awarded it. Instead a biography by George John Whyte-Melville is given of Major Charles Crawford Fraser VC, an English recipient. Considering that the first Australian, Captain Sir Neville Howse VC, had been awarded the Victoria Cross in 1900, it seems unusual that no mention is made of this, especially as one of the purposes of the Readers was to provide local, Australian content for school students.

5.5 Category 2: Australia’s Emotional Allegiance to Great Britain

Given the socio-political context of the era, with Australia having only separated from Great Britain in order to form a Federation in 1901, it is perhaps not surprising that this category is

the largest for British heritages, encompassing the majority of content in History textbooks when British heritages are included in Australian history.

5.5.1 Discourses of loyalty (not military related).

The discourse of loyalty, outside of explicitly military contexts, includes both British born Australians (see, for example, Department of Public Instruction, 1913b) and non-British born Australians (see, for example, Department of Public Instruction, 1933). Textbooks from this era identify loyalty as an important aspect of Australian identity communicated through phrases such as "retaining a common allegiance to the British throne" (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 219), and "Each settlement had grown from small numbers until it became great enough to possess a government of its own, quite independent of other colonies, but *still bound to the British Empire*" (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 219, emphasis added). So, even when Britons moved permanently to Australia, allegiance and loyalty was still expected to be given to Great Britain. This is supported by public discourses of the time, including a major contributing factor for why Australia declared war when Great Britain did, as stated in *The Argus* newspaper on 3rd August 1914:

> The Prime Minister…assumes rightly that 'both parties are favourable to everything being done to make the country secure and to keep its activities going.'
>
> …Speaking at Horsham on Thursday night, Mr. Cook said:—
>
> Whatever happens, Australia is a part of the Empire right to the full. Remember that when the Empire is at war, so is Australia at war. ...So far as the defences go here and now in Australia, I want to make it quite clear that all our resources in Australia are in the Empire and for the Empire, and for the preservation and the security of the Empire.
>
> At Colac on Friday night Mr. Fisher said:—
>
> Turn your eyes to the European situation, and give the kindest feelings towards the mother country at this time. ...Should the worst happen after everything had been done that honour will permit, Australians will stand beside our own to help and defend her to our last man and our last shilling. (M. Clark, 1963, p. 523)

5.5.2 Discourses of loyalty through flags, symbols and national icons.

Loyalty by honouring the symbolism of national flags features significantly across a number of textbooks. Two examples, both from textbooks published post-WWI are included here to demonstrate the acculturation of school students to display loyalty not just to the Australian flag, but also to the flag of Great Britain. The *Queensland School Readers: Book I* (Department of Public Instruction, 1933) provides an illustration of British heritages focused on two narratives in the book. One is about the flag of Great Britain and the other about the Australian flag. They are included for joint analysis as a way to demonstrate the linking of these two discourses *within a Queensland published textbook*. How these narratives are presented to school students is illustrated in Source 5.4. After an historical overview of how the Union Jack (flag of United Kingdom) was formed; being a result of combining the flags of England, Scotland and Ireland into one (Wales, as a principality within the country England, is not represented); the following conclusion is made for the students, as a way to mediate the moral message of honouring flags.

> In all times the flag of a country has been dear to the people of that country; they have fought for it, and died for it. The flag of a country stands for the country itself, and those who insult the flag, insult the people.
>
> Boys and girls in our sunny land, no less than those in other parts of the Empire, should love and honour the Empire's flag, and be ever ready to defend it. (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. 72)

Considering *Queensland Readers* were written specifically for Queensland school students and no other audience[8] the conclusion of the Reader encourages students to "love and honour the Empire's flag" (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. 72). By this argument, students are encouraged to develop a love for the Empire, legitimizing Great Britain as the superior nation. Furthermore, honouring and loving the flag is overtly linked to defending the Empire. This is supported by one sentence in paragraph eight and the ending of the narrative in paragraph nine (see Source 5.4), which reads: "...they have fought for it and died for it...and be ever ready to defend it" (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. 72). National pride or patriotism through the symbolism of the flag is emphasised, "the flag of a country

[8] That is, they weren't used in any other Australian states or overseas, unlike their predecessors, *The Royal Crown Readers* (1912) and *The Century Readers* (c.1904) also known affectionately as *Blackies Century Readers* after the publisher

stands for the country itself and those who insult the flag insult the people" (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. 72). The point of view of this narrative in its entirety is one of loyalty to the Empire, representative of Great Britain, as a legitimate focus of patriotism.

Encouraging students to develop a deep patriotism for Great Britain (identified as the heart of the Empire throughout the two narratives here) is further articulated in, *The Australian Flag* (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, pp. 74-76). Except for the opening paragraph, the remainder of the narrative is technical (see Source 5.4), explaining the features of the Australian and Queensland flags and their historical development. The opening paragraph emphasises the loyalty that students are encouraged to develop for Great Britain, even at the expense of Australia. The excerpt reads:

> In a former lesson we were told about the Union Jack, the flag of the great Empire to which we are proud to belong. In the present lesson we shall learn about another flag—that of the country in which we dwell. (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. 74)

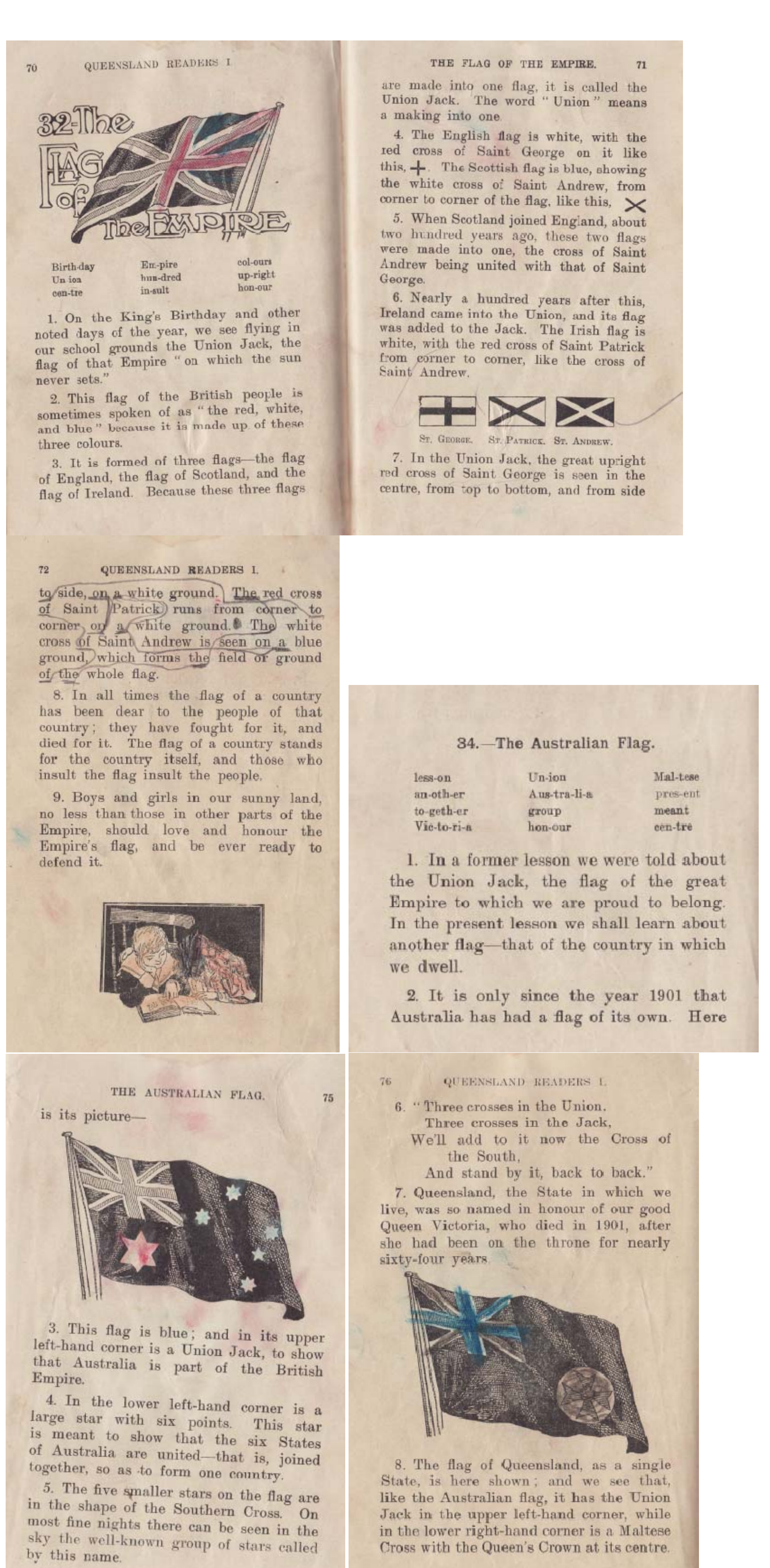
In this extract, specific word choice such as "...the Empire to which we are proud to belong" is given superiority over Australia, where it is considered, rather than somewhere students belong, but rather "...the country in which we dwell" (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, p. 74). Here, it is clearly articulated that whilst the students may *live* in Australia, they *belong* to Great Britain. The perspective of Empire as superior to an individual nation is clearly exposed.

An overarching idea that emerges from this content is the school curriculum as conservative and ignorant of current socio-political discourses in the public arena. What is interesting about the inclusion of this narrative (see Source 5.4) is not so much the historical explanation of the development of Great Britain's flag, but more the *moral lesson* attached to the end of the narrative; encouraging school students to show loyalty to Great Britain through the symbolism of the flag. This is especially interesting given the year this book was published, 24 years post WWI, after Australia was considered as having 'come of age', and during a time when the general public was fiercely debating whether Australia should continue repaying British war loans (especially in New South Wales by Premier Lang). Here, both the conservatism of school curriculum and its single-minded approach to presenting knowledge as static and fixed is glaringly apparent.

Secondary students were also acculturated into developing a symbolic attachment to the flag, with the following passage from *Chapter 32: Federation* in *A story of the Australian people: Queensland edition*:

> To symbolize Australia's existence as a nation, it was decided to adopt an Australian flag—*a flag which should, at the same time, be an emblem of our connection with Great Britain and the Empire. On one top quarter of the flag is the Union Jack to remind us that we are a "New Britannia in a Southern World" and a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations that stands for Liberty, Peace, Prosperity and Justice.* Under the Jack is a seven pointed star representing the six States of Australia and the Federal territory. On the fly is a representation of the Southern Cross, consisting of five stars, one small star with five points, and four others, slightly larger, with seven points each. (Cramp, 1927, p. 199, emphasis added)

Australia's flag, as a symbol of connection to Great Britain, is articulated overtly in the passage, with the statement: "to symbolize Australia's existence as a nation, it was decided to adopt an Australian flag—*a flag which should, at the same time, be an emblem of our connection with Great Britain and the Empire*" (Cramp, 1927, p. 199, emphasis added). This explicitly sends the message to school students that Australia's connection with Great Britain should be maintained, legitimising the superiority of Great Britain as well as the heritage of Australia's modern history. The perspective that Great Britain is superior is articulated through the statement that including the Union Jack (Great Britain's flag) in the top left section of the flag is "to remind us that we are a "New Britannia in a Southern World" and a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations that stands for Liberty, Peace, Prosperity and Justice (Cramp, 1927, p. 199). So, although Australia has federated, the emotional connection to Great Britain and other Commonwealth nations is strong and endorsed to students as desirable to maintain.



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32—The Flag of the Empire

Birth-day	Em-pire	col-ours
Un-ion	hun-dred	up-right
cen-tre	in-sult	hon-our

1. On the King's Birthday and other noted days of the year, we see flying in our school grounds the Union Jack, the flag of that Empire "on which the sun never sets."

2. This flag of the British people is sometimes spoken of as "the red, white, and blue" because it is made up of these three colours.

3. It is formed of three flags—the flag of England, the flag of Scotland, and the flag of Ireland. Because these three flags

THE FLAG OF THE EMPIRE. 71

are made into one flag, it is called the Union Jack. The word "Union" means a making into one.

4. The English flag is white, with the red cross of Saint George on it like this, ✚. The Scottish flag is blue, showing the white cross of Saint Andrew, from corner to corner of the flag, like this, ✕

5. When Scotland joined England, about two hundred years ago, these two flags were made into one, the cross of Saint Andrew being united with that of Saint George.

6. Nearly a hundred years after this, Ireland came into the Union, and its flag was added to the Jack. The Irish flag is white, with the red cross of Saint Patrick from corner to corner, like the cross of Saint Andrew.

ST. GEORGE. ST. PATRICK. ST. ANDREW.

7. In the Union Jack, the great upright red cross of Saint George is seen in the centre, from top to bottom, and from side

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to side, on a white ground. The red cross of Saint Patrick runs from corner to corner on a white ground. The white cross of Saint Andrew is seen on a blue ground, which forms the field or ground of the whole flag.

8. In all times the flag of a country has been dear to the people of that country; they have fought for it, and died for it. The flag of a country stands for the country itself, and those who insult the flag insult the people.

9. Boys and girls in our sunny land, no less than those in other parts of the Empire, should love and honour the Empire's flag, and be ever ready to defend it.

34.—The Australian Flag.

less-on	Un-ion	Mal-tese
an-oth-er	Aus-tra-li-a	pres-ent
to-geth-er	group	meant
Vic-to-ri-a	hon-our	cen-tre

1. In a former lesson we were told about the Union Jack, the flag of the great Empire to which we are proud to belong. In the present lesson we shall learn about another flag—that of the country in which we dwell.

2. It is only since the year 1901 that Australia has had a flag of its own. Here

THE AUSTRALIAN FLAG. 75

is its picture—

3. This flag is blue; and in its upper left-hand corner is a Union Jack, to show that Australia is part of the British Empire.

4. In the lower left-hand corner is a large star with six points. This star is meant to show that the six States of Australia are united—that is, joined together, so as to form one country.

5. The five smaller stars on the flag are in the shape of the Southern Cross. On most fine nights there can be seen in the sky the well-known group of stars called by this name.

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6. "Three crosses in the Union,
Three crosses in the Jack,
We'll add to it now the Cross of the South,
And stand by it, back to back."

7. Queensland, the State in which we live, was so named in honour of our good Queen Victoria, who died in 1901, after she had been on the throne for nearly sixty-four years.

8. The flag of Queensland, as a single State, is here shown; and we see that, like the Australian flag, it has the Union Jack in the upper left-hand corner, while in the lower right-hand corner is a Maltese Cross with the Queen's Crown at its centre.

Source 5.4. *The Flag of the Empire* and *The Australian Flag* in *Queensland School Readers: Book I* (Department of Public Instruction, 1933, pp. 70-72; 74-76).

5.6 Category 3: Australia's Military Allegiance to Great Britain

5.6.1 Discourses of pre-WWI British superiority through military activity.

The discourse of military loyalty and allegiance permeates textbooks in this era. The first example comes from the 1913 *Queensland Reader Book V* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b). Here, a seven page narrative is presented in the genre of a personal reflective essay, with the author relaying recent Australian history as a way to garner patriotism. An excerpt from the poem *Australasia* written by William Charles Wentworth concludes the narrative providing the only example of direct linking of Australian history with British heritages. This final part of the reflective essay and accompanying poem read:

> ...our country will be guarded by an army powerful enough and patriotic enough to repel all attempts at invasion; and we shall possess a navy cruising around our coasts, forming our first line of defence, *and ready, if need be, to aid in defending the honour and interests of that Old Land under whose imperial sceptre Australia's sons are proud to serve*.
>
> "Britannia, should'st thou ever cease to ride,
> Despotic Empress of old Ocean's tide,
> Should'st e'er arrive that dark disastrous hour,
> When bowed by luxury thou yield'st to power,
> May this thy last-born infant then arise,
> To glad thy heart and greet thy parent eyes,
> *And Australasia float with flag unfurled,*
> *A new Britannia in another world*." (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, pp. 44-45, emphasis added)

Through *Australasia*, Australia is viewed as an extension of Great Britain, but inferior to the power that Great Britain holds beyond its national borders; as made particularly evident in the last two lines of the poem. Through this, Australia (as a nation) is justified or legitimised by its relationship to Great Britain. This perspective of Australia as unable to be completely independent and as extension of Great Britain is expressed by stating that Australia is "a new Britannia" (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 45); a feeling of connection to Great Britain articulated overtly in order to instil in students the superiority of Great Britain over Australia, as a colony or "last-born infant" (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 45).

Australasia appears in a number of textbook from this era, highlighting its pedagogical significance in teaching school students about emotional ties to Great Britain, through a political ideology that upholds colonisation and empire. It is included in *A Story of the Australian People* (Cramp, 1927) in a section on Australian writers, and also in the first edition of *Queensland readers: Book V* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b). Including this poem in two textbooks across a twelve year time period, that covers both pre and post WWI, demonstrates the consistency of ideology present in school textbooks across a time period that witnessed otherwise periods of rapid social and political change, especially in light of the involvement of Australia in World War I.

This discourse of military allegiance in the *Queensland readers: Book V* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 45) is also shown as Australia ready and willing to assist Great Britain, stating:

> ...our country will be guarded by an army powerful enough and patriotic enough to repel all attempts at invasion; and we shall possess a navy cruising around our coasts, forming our first line of defence, *and ready, if need be, to aid in defending the honour and interests of that Old Land under whose imperial sceptre Australia's sons are proud to serve*. (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 44, emphasis added)

This emphasises that in a future time of war or military conflict, Australians will serve to protect Great Britain, under its military control. This is apparent by the lines: "to aid in defending the honour and interests of that Old Land under whose imperial sceptre Australia's sons are proud to serve" (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 44). Upholding Great Britain as the country to which Australians should demonstrate loyalty, whilst not articulated overtly, is mitigated through the language of 'serving under' Great Britain, according to its interests, not Australia's. This gives an indication of the socio-political attitude of the time that would become explicitly evident when Australia declared participation in war in 1914, as a mark of their allegiance to Great Britain first doing so against Germany. This Reader was first used in schools in 1915, so this poem could have provided an interesting text for the teacher to use as an example of the sentiment which caused Australia to join Great Britain in declaring war.

5.7 Category 4: Australia as a Colony, or Legislatively Part of Great Britain

5.7.1 Discourses of Federation.

Within the discourse of the Federation of Australia, there is an obvious communication of allegiance maintained to Great Britain, despite political separation. An exception to this is in *New history for seventh grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey 1932a), which focuses on the technical operation of Australia's parliamentary system. This allegiance is attributed to both practical topics (such as future military protection) and emotional concepts (connection to ancestry and symbols of the Empire, such as flags). Federation features prominently in textbooks and is often connected with Great Britain. For example, the *New syllabus history for sixth grade* textbook attributes the development of Federation to Great Britain in a chapter titled *Responsible Government* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932b, pp. 71-73). *A story of the Australian people* (Cramp, 1927) attributes two out of five reasons for Australia's federation to Great Britain; whilst the *Queensland Reader Book V* (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, pp. 219-225) contains a seven page narrative titled *The Founding of the Commonwealth*. The following example articulates a legislative requirement to follow Great Britain, and also a move away from formal British governance:

> The will of the people being thus expressed, a Constitution Bill was submitted to the Imperial Parliament and a delegation representing six colonies went to London to make clear the wishes of Australia on all points of importance. On 9th July, 1900, the Bill received the assent of the late Queen Victoria...On the 17th September the Queen signed the proclamation which declared that on the first day of January, 1901, the people...should be united in a Federal Commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 224)

The Cramp (1927) authored textbook, includes the following excerpt from *Chapter 32: Federation*, aimed at the same age group as the *Queensland Reader Book V*:

> It was felt that the peoples of Australia should come together in a Federation for several reasons.
>
> (1) British settlements should feel a common interest because of their common race. They should come closer together, and not drift apart.
>
> (2) ...
>
> (3) As separate colonies they would never have much influence with the rest of the world. Even England herself would not pay sufficient respect to their requests and

demands. But if they spoke with a united voice the "inaudible squeaks" of the six separate colonies would be magnified into one combined "loud speaker" that would compel attention.

(4) ...

(5) ... (Cramp, 1927, p. 189)

Two of the five reasons given for Australia's federation are to do with Australia's connection to Great Britain; one for existing connections and one for future or planned connections. A link to British heritages is given as the primary reason for Federation, with point one stating: "*British settlements should feel a common interest because of their common race*. They should come closer together, and not drift apart" (Cramp, 1927, p. 189, emphasis added). Here, those who personally have British heritages (family, ancestry) are legitimised as Australians and having a voice in Australian political decisions. All other groups are silenced and excluded, including Indigenous Australians. It is through the "common race" (Cramp, 1927, p. 189) of being British that Federation is justified. Given that the majority of Australians at this time were of British heritages (although 'British' in itself is not a monoculture despite being presented in this way), this can be seen as representative of the general population, however all other voices are excluded.

The second point of British heritages being viewed as a reason for Federation is articulated as a future or planned connection with Great Britain, sometimes articulated as "England" (Cramp, 1927, p. 189). Here, it is argued that as one nation rather than separate colonies, England and other nations would be more likely to listen to the perspectives of Australia. This is articulated by emphasising that the weaknesses of separate colonies "the *"inaudible squeaks"* of the six separate colonies" (Cramp, 1927, p. 189, emphasis added) would instead be made stronger, "magnified into one *combined "loud speaker"* that would compel attention" (Cramp, 1927, p. 189, emphasis added). Therefore, it is through strength of unity that Federation is justified. Furthermore, although not articulated overtly, Australia is presented as having an interest in being heard by other nations; not as a weak nation, but rather one that wants to have "influence with the rest of the world" (Cramp, 1927, p. 189).

5.8 Category 5: World War I

Due to the enormity of this topic, and also being a focal point for this dissertation's research for this era, WWI is organized within its own stand alone category. Within this, various

discourses present, and although there may be some connection with discourses from other categories, it is argued that due to being mediated through the context of WWI, they present as separate to other discourses for the purposes of this analysis. Through this category, the static nature of the syllabus is apparent. Australia's involvement in WWI was included in the British history section of the History textbook, as there was no space made for the inclusion of this content in the Australian history section. This is possibly done as a decision by the Department of Public Instruction and textbook authors to react against the static nature of the syllabus of the time. For, although the syllabus did not have any space for this conflict, perhaps realizing its importance, space was created to discuss Australia's involvement in WWI.

New syllabus history for seventh grade (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a), portrays the involvement of Australia in WWI more as a footnote to the battles of WWI. Whilst it is important not to overstate Australia's contribution to this conflict, which in comparison to other nations was small, given the Australian school audience it is not unreasonable an expectation that there would be more Australia-centric content. Not doing this is a sentiment supported by Australia's official war historian for WWI, C.E.W. Bean in the extract below.

> From the point of view of the reader in other countries, a history of the part played by Australia in the Great War must inevitably be but a partial history. The role of the Australian people and of its armed forces fitted into the larger role of the whole British people much as the part of Britain fitted into the great drama enacted by the full "cast" of the Allies. As the historian of the British share in the Battle of the Marne may be in danger of making that share appear to have been the pivot of the whole campaign, so, and to an even greater degree, the Australian historian may run the risk of so constructing the entire conflict that it seems to centre upon that part of it with which he deals. (Bean, 1921, p. xxv)

To place this important aspect of Australia's history within the section on British History, demonstrates the lasting connection Australia had with Great Britain; particularly given the syllabus that informed this textbook was instigated in Queensland schools from 1930, 11 years after the end of WWI.

5.8.1 Discourses of legitimizing the participation in WWI of Great Britain and Australia.

Introducing the WWI conflict, *A story of the Australian people*, includes an explanation early in the chapter that seeks to legitimize the participation of Great Britain in WWI, through the following passage:

> *The people of the British Isles indeed did not favour the suggestion that we should participate*, until Germany, *by her brutal disregard of her pledged word*, trampled over the peaceful territory of Belgium and *horrified the civilised world.* (Cramp, 1927, p. 215, emphasis added)

Here, Great Britain is set up as a peaceful nation in binary opposition to Germany. Given that this text is within a chapter called *Australia in the Great War* (Cramp, 1927, pp. 214-221) and the next paragraph discusses Australia as part of the broader Great Britain, Australia is included by association. Great Britain as a peaceful nation, therefore, only goes to war as a last resort; included so that the position of Great Britain in participating in WWI is legitimised to school students. This clearly sets up Great Britain as being peaceful, and Germany as war mongering which also means *uncivilised*, emphasised by the phrasing that Germany's actions "horrified the civilised world" (Cramp, 1927, p. 215), ignorant of the many conflicts Great Britain has played a central role in prior to WWI.

Once Great Britain's purpose or reason for participating in the conflict is established, the text then moves on to explain the involvement of Australia:

> *When England is at war, Australia is at war; so are all the British Dominions*. The Prime Minister of Australia, *Joseph Cook, realized the position at once, and offered all Australia's resources to England*. A change of ministry placed Andrew Fisher in the position of Prime Minister, but this made no difference for he, *too declared Australia would stand by England to the last man and the last shilling*. He was succeeded by William Morris Hughes, who, as Prime Minister of four Governments between 1915 and 1923, represented Australia's interest in a most capable manner when he visited England. (Cramp, 1927, p. 215, emphasis added)

Australia as a part of Great Britain, but not an equal part, is articulated through the phrase, "when England is at war, Australia is at war; so are all the British Dominions" (Cramp, 1927, p. 215). Australia's commitment to joining Great Britain in WWI is represented *solely*

through paraphrased statements made by the three war-time Prime Ministers: Joseph Cook, Andrew Fisher, and William Morris Hughes. Despite Hughes being a very controversial politician, particularly regarding first his switching to and from political parties and second, his support for the failed conscription referenda, multiple perspectives are not included in the textbook content. By the textbook reading: "...William Morris Hughes, who, as Prime Minister of four Governments between 1915 and 1923, *represented Australia's interest in a most capable manner when he visited England*." (Cramp, 1927, p. 215, emphasis added), the textbook presents the suggestion of a compliance with Great Britain, failing to mention that Hughes was criticised consistently in Australia for being overly-British, a point reaching a pinnacle due to the defeat of two referenda he instigated (reacting to demands from Great Britain for increased troops) to enact compulsory conscription for military-age males.

The conscription debates, a very complex issue in post-Federation Australian history, are not mentioned in *A story of the Australian people* (Cramp,1927) and are described only very briefly in *New syllabus history for seventh grade*, with the description: "No man was compelled to join the army. In 1916, and again in 1917, the people of Australia were asked to vote whether there should be conscription—that is, whether men should be forced to become soldiers and serve outside the Commonwealth. The majority of electors voted against conscription" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 106). Here, the rejection of conscription is not contextualised to any broader socio-political activities or people of the time; instead it is put forth in a very matter-of-fact way. It is difficult to gauge the view of the curriculum on this topic as it is so devoid of detail. It is curious why more attention was not paid to the debates and referenda over conscription, given that the referenda for Federation is explained in significant detail, with opposing views presented, and results detailed (see, in particular, Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, pp. 52-54). The conscription debates were in fact passionate and fierce, but reading textbooks of the era, intended for upper primary/lower secondary, students would learn little information about this aspect of Australia's very recent past.

5.8.2 Discourses of military allegiance to a superior Great Britain.

The discourse of military allegiance prior to WWI can be seen as an abstract allegiance, with statements of potential future action such as "if need be, to aid in defending the honour…of that Old Land" (Department of Public Instruction, 1913b, p. 44). Curriculum content from WWI onwards provided an opportunity for this military allegiance to be grounded in a

practical example: Australia's participation in WWI. Even in context of the military blunders of Gallipoli, military allegiance to Great Britain is expressed in the following passage:

> The Australians lost 8500 men killed and over 19, 000 wounded at Gallipoli. *But it brought renown to Australia, for seldom before had the daring of our soldiers been equalled and never had it been excelled...the strength of each Australian was the strength of ten because his motive was pure. He fought, not just for glory, but to release the world from tyranny, to establish the cause of freedom and justice*, and to use the words of the President of the United States, to make the world safe for democracy. *The soldiers who Germany had thought would renounce their allegiance to the British Empire as soon as war was declared, gave startling evidence of their loyalty to the Mother Land* and their kinsmen throughout the world. (Cramp, 1927, p. 218-219, emphasis added)

Despite the substantial loss of lives, which represented a significant percentage of the Australian population, this loss is not mourned rather it is legitimised and accepted by justifying death as an honour. First as an Australian described as "daring of our soldiers been equalled and never had it been excelled" (Cramp, 1927, p. 218); and second as a loyal British subject created as a binary against the representation of Germany (an anonymous, generalised opinion that Germany, as the enemy, apparently held, but is not substantiated with sources) through the statement: "The soldiers who Germany had thought would renounce their allegiance to the British Empire as soon as war was declared, gave startling evidence of their loyalty to the Mother Land and their kinsmen throughout the world" (Cramp, 1927, p. 219). So, the participation of Australian soldiers in this conflict, whilst "daring", containing the "strength of ten", "pure", "not just for glory", and "to release the world from tyranny" (Cramp, 1927, p. 218), is also attributed to "their allegiance to the British Empire...evidence of their loyalty to the Mother Land" (Cramp, 1927, p. 219). No other reason is given for Australians volunteering to enlist, of which there were many. This is despite government advertising of the time suggesting the conflict as a way to see this world, as an adventure. As seen in the extract from the Cramp textbook, formations of the myth making of the *Anzac Legend*, although not explicitly articulated are emerging.

The inclusion of Australia's involvement from the perspective that it was a minor player in WWI is demonstrated in the following statement: "Before narrating events that followed the signing of the Armistice, we must give some attention to the part played by Australia in the

terrible conflict that had just ended" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 105). This passage then goes on to discuss reasons for Australia's involvement, as "When Britain declared war on Germany on the 4th August, 1914, Australia, as part of the Empire, also was at war. The response made by the Commonwealth...was instant and remarkable" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 105). This statement is then supported by describing the actions of two political leaders. First, the then-Prime Minister, "...Joseph Cook, sent a cable to the British Government offering the whole of the ships of the Australian Navy and 20,000 soldiers, for any service that the Empire might require" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, pp. 105-106); and Andrew Fisher, who was also a Prime Minister during WWI, "...declared that Australia would support the Mother Country 'to the last man and the last shilling'" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 106). Both these descriptions illustrate Australia's loyalty to Great Britain. There is no mention of any dissenting views, such as those from Melbourne Archbishop Daniel Mannix, a prominent dissenter of WWI and conscription, who (amongst others) was prominent in public discourses throughout the duration of Australia's involvement in WWI.

5.8.3 Discourses of Australia's involvement.

Particularly in the textbook, *New syllabus history for seventh grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a) Australia is regarded as valuable due to the man power its soldiers provided; rather than for any involvement in decision making. This is made obvious through the statement: "The Germans broke through and once more reached the Marne within forty miles of Paris; further north they almost captured Amiens. If it had been taken the British and French armies would have been separated, *but a brilliant attack by the Australians who had rushed up to the danger point, stopped their progress*" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 104, emphasis added). Here, the perspective that Australians are involved in this battle of WWI only in a support role capacity is clearly articulated. Australians providing assistance to Great Britain is also clear in other sections of this wider narrative. For example, the following description is provided of The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzac) soldiers: "The Turks...made an attempt to capture the Suez Canal in order to cut Britain's communication..." (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 108). In this textbook, and indicative of others in the era, Australian national history is represented as mediated through participation under the command of Great Britain in major events.

5.8.4 Discourses of nationhood

Although often mediated through the experience of Great Britain, there are isolated sections of the textbook whereby the discourse of an independent Australian nation is expressed. Here, specific references to Australian traits and leaders are used such as, "magnificent heroism" and "General Birdwood commanded the Anzacs" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 110) articulate the beginning of an emergence of an *Australian-ness*, hitherto not seen in the textbooks outside of an interior or domestic context (for example, through narratives of early exploration). Whilst the examples of phrases provided here are only minor, later this developed into a stronger argument, and as evidenced from the extract below (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 159), WWI is overtly attributed to Australians creating a sense of nationhood, from the perspective of patriotism. Here, nationhood is attributed not to a separation of Australia from the emotional ties to Great Britain, but rather because all the separate states (which only two decades previously had been separate colonies not part of one nation) became closer as a result of this unifying event. The textbook describes:

> It has been said that the Great War made Australia a nation. Before 1914, the majority of Australians were inclined to think of themselves as Queenslanders, or Victorians, or Tasmanians, and so on, rather than as Australians. The war changed that. (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 159)

The connection to Great Britain is still maintained, and a quote from Henry Parkes, widely regarded as the 'Father of Federation' (he died before 1901, but was a significant and active supporter of the Federation movement) is used to justify and maintain an Australian connection to Great Britain, by stating:

> The sacrifices made by every part of the Commonwealth in the terrible conflict made Australians realize more fully the meaning of Sir Henry Parkes' historic phrase, "the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all". (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 159)

Whilst Australian states came together to form a nation, the *British-ness* of Australians was still maintained. The idea of the birth of a nation as a result of Australia's participation in WWI is given further weighting in an extract on the Gallipoli campaign (see Source 5.5).

Thus ended the Gallipoli campaign. The total British (including Australian) losses in killed, wounded, or missing was nearly 120,000, while 100,000 were forced to leave the peninsula through sickness. The Australians killed numbered about 8,600, while 19,400 were wounded. It is estimated that the Turkish killed and wounded numbered about a quarter of a million.

From the moment that the Australian and the New Zealanders landed on Gallipoli under a storm of shot and shell they established for themselves a reputation for valour, sustained and made imperishable by later deeds in France, Syria, and Palestine. The 25th of April is Anzac Day. On this day in the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand we pay homage to our heroic dead, who went forth voluntarily to save our hearths and homes and the free institutions of the British Empire.

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

Source 5.5. Extract on topic of Gallipoli from *New syllabus history for seventh grade*. (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 115)

Here, due to participating in WWI, alongside Great Britain (and New Zealand), Australia is legitimized as an independent nation, with a day for commemoration declared as a consequence of arriving at "...Gallipoli under a storm of shot and shell they established for themselves a reputation for *valour, sustained and made imperishable* by later deeds in France, Syria, and Palestine" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 115, emphasis added). The perspective here is that it is through military deeds that nationhood and pride is established. Although not articulated overtly, use of the word *valour* and accompanying poem at the end of the narrative legitimize this nationhood. However, it is still part of Great Britain, with the textbook finishing the narrative of Gallipoli with:

> The 25th of April is Anzac Day. On this day in the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand we pay homage to our heroic dead, who went forth voluntarily to save our hearths and homes and the free institutions of the British Empire.
> "On Fame's eternal camping ground
> Their silent tents are spread,
> And Glory guards with solemn round
> The bivouac of the dead. (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 115)

Overall, a very unemotional account of WWI is provided. Considering this was the largest and bloodiest conflict ever experienced anywhere in the world, and involved a significant portion of the world's population, it is surprising the 'factual' and non emotive way this conflict is reported in the textbook. This does not connect with socio-political discourses

which were, at the time, very emotive on topics such as conscription, allegiance to Great Britain and supporting the conflict as an act of patriotism.

5.8.5 Discourses of death.

WWI saw the largest loss of life from any conflict ever in the world, and is commonly attributed to the enormous military technological power developed whilst traditional fighting methods were maintained (for, example, close combat fighting alongside machine gun technology). To explicitly place the post-WWI textbooks in their own historical context, the school students learning from textbooks such as *A story of the Australian people* (Cramp, 1927) and *New syllabus history for seventh grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a), would be of the age where, although too young to remember WWI in detail, would undoubtedly have experienced the consequences of this conflict in terms of family members, family friends and neighbours' experiences. Many would also have experienced the consequences of a death of a family member, serious wounding and/or post traumatic impacts of returned service personnel. So, the aftermath of WWI is not a foreign experience for many of the school students during this era. However, despite this, discourses of death are presented in an unemotional, detached way, with the tone ignorant of the impact this conflict has had on the students most likely to be reading the text. For example, *A story of the Australian people* reads:

> Altogether, 330,000 men—all volunteers—were embarked from this continent for the front, another 80,000 had been raised and were under training at the time of the Armistice. Not fewer than 60,000 were killed, while the percentage of the casualties was greater among the Australians than for any other part of the British Empire. The war cost us about £400,000,000. No fewer than 63 soldiers were awarded the highest decoration—the Victoria Cross. (Cramp, 1927, p. 220)

Despite the huge loss of life experienced as a result of WWI of "Not fewer than 60,000 were killed" (Cramp, 1927, p. 220); with 4.87 million the total population of Australia in 1913, this represents a significant portion of the military aged male population. This loss is justified through the phrase, "the percentage of the casualties was greater among the Australians than for any other part of the British Empire" (Cramp, 1927, p. 220) written without emotion or reflection of the impact on families and the community, describing the loss of life is acceptable due to an ambiguous attribute of the soldiers of their "motive was pure" (Cramp, 1927, p. 218). The perspective communicated here, and throughout *A story of the Australian*

people, is one of a distant observer, ignorant of the intricate socio-political context of WWI and the strong opposing viewpoints articulated in mainstream media, for example the controversy surrounding conscription and the very prominent campaign both for and against conscription.

5.8.6 Discourses of commemoration.

An indication of the move away from British heritages, can be seen in the change from many British based conflicts seen in the early *Readers* and commemorative days (for example, Empire Day) towards the sustained inclusion of Anzac Day as a commemoration of national importance. This was, however, a slow process, with many *Readers* in the 1930s not changing from their published content of 1913 and 1914. In this era, Anzac Day was positioned distinctly as part of the British Commonwealth, and less as a part of a definitive *Australian-ness* that it has since become (see, for example, Source 5.6). Interestingly, and indicative of the slow change in curriculum, there is no mention of either Anzac Day or Empire Day in “A Story of the Australian People” (Cramp, 1927). Anzac Day during this era seems more of a commemorative event, outside of academic school curriculum, because whilst Anzac Day commemorations are evident from 1916 onwards as an event that schools actively acknowledge, it is not included in History textbooks, even when WWI is the focus (see, for example, Cramp, 1927; Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a).

The first school curriculum document located for this project that contains reference to World War I is the front and back cover of *The School Paper*, a regular student newsletter published by the Department of Public Instruction, and intended as a supplementary curriculum document. The April 25, 1916 edition contains particular significance as it demonstrates the very early uptake of Anzac Day as a point of commemoration both for the community in general and schools; being only one year after the landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps at Gallipoli. The cover, a full colour image, rare for this era due to cost of copying, can be viewed at Source 5.6. What follows is an analysis of this image, bringing together a number of different sub-discourses within a broader one of commemorating Anzac Day.

Source 5.6. Front cover of Anzac Day edition of *The School Paper: Anzac Day*. (Department of Public Instruction, 1916, April, n.p.)

In Source 5.6, the coming together, or uniting, of Australian states as a nation is demonstrated by the crests of the states: New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, South Australian, Tasmania, Queensland and New Zealand. Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory were at that time not formed. Although New Zealand is not a state of Australia, it is represented in Anzac Day as the two nations commonly fought together in WWI battles, hence the name: Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (or, Anzac). The Queensland crest is the largest, being about double the size of the others, and is positioned away from the rest

of the crests, at the lower front centre. To further promote that this is a Queensland version of Anzac Day, the shape of the oval 'framing' of the soldiers represented is illustrated with an extra part that forms it into a "Q". Wording in the "Q" reads: "In memory of the heroes of Anzac 25th April 1915. Queensland" (Department of Public Instruction, 1916, n.p.).

British heritages are evident across many symbols included in this picture. First, on top of the oval framing of the soldiers, is a crown and red lion, representations of the British Crown. There is a large Union Jack flag (representing Great Britain) held by two of the soldiers and red roses frame the oval framing of the "Q" (mentioned above). Both discourses of Australia as a unified nation, and discourses of British sovereignty over her former colonies are present. Representations of soldiers within British heritages are portrayed with six serving men of the Allies, mainly the British colonies (and former colonies). Standing in the back row from left to right, are a soldier from an unknown location, possibly Canada, an Australian soldier wearing a slouch hat and holding the pole of the flag (he is in the centre and slightly taller and bigger than the two serving men beside him, representing the physical strength and importance of the Australian soldier to the intended audience of school students), and a person from the Navy, most likely from Great Britain. Seated or squatting in the front row from left to right are an Indian soldier (obvious by his distinct uniform head-dress), a British soldier and another soldier without headdress. His origin is not clear, but is possibly from a country on the African continent. The representation of soldiers/serving men from different Allied countries demonstrates the awareness of the various backgrounds of the soldiers fighting in WWI. A community of soldiers is established and school students are being made aware of the diverse population of the allies, including that of the British Empire.

The back cover page contains an image (colour painting) facing towards Anzac Cove in Gallipoli with the sun rising from the hills behind the beach. The following phrase is included: "Anzac—The Dawn" and underneath, "25th April, 1915" (Department of Public Instruction, 1916, n.p.). *The Dawn* physically represents the sun rising over the hills, and is symbolic of the beginning of a new era for Australia as a more unified nation. So, in this cover of an Anzac Day edition of *The School Paper*, ties to Great Britain are clearly communicated, as well as the emerging emotional and patriotic unification of Australia. Overall, three significant discourses are included: Australia unifying as a nation; British heritages as superior and connection with other countries of the British Commonwealth.

5.9 Intersections of British Heritages and Indigenous Representations

Although the analysis focus of this era is the British heritages exemplar topic, rather than Indigenous representations, the small amount of times when the two exemplar topics intersect are included here so that a connection is able to be made between eras. Binaries are present in the socio-political discourses of the time, through for example (and as briefly mentioned in *Chapter 1: Introduction*), fiction novels such as *Settler and Savage: One hundred years ago in Australia* (De Boos, 1906). Whether the exemplar topics are also represented this way in school curriculum forms the focus of analysis here. In the case of the example of the novel mentioned, *settler* is code for white European (usually from Great Britain) taking up residence in Australia; and *savage* is code for Indigenous Australian living in a perceived inferior tradition lifestyle environment.

Of interest, this type of categorizing of groups has occurred in school curriculum across nation states, particularly when a dominant and a subjugated group are intentionally constructed. In discussing the way Columbus and white exploration is taught in United States schools, for example, hooks writes:

> We were taught that the Indians would have conquered and dominated white explorers if they could have but they were simply not strong or smart enough. Embedded in all these teachings was the assumption that it was the whiteness of these explorers in the 'New World' that gave them the greatest power. The word 'whiteness' was never used. The key word, the one that synonymous with whiteness, was 'civilization.' Hence, we were made to understand at a young age that whatever cruelties were done to the indigenous peoples of this country, the 'Indians,' was necessary to bring the great gift of civilization. Domination, it became clear in our young minds, was central to the project of civilization. And if civilization was good and necessary despite the costs, then that had to mean domination was equally good. (1994, p. 199)

5.9.1 Discourses of progress.

Progress, when included in school curriculum, is seen as explicitly working towards betterment, which is code for *goodness* of nations and individuals within that nation, often coupled with patriotism. This is clearly a conservative, Whig version of history presented to school students, representing national history as a continual line of upward progression. The textbooks portray Great Britain as the only nation that identifies its mistakes and moves

towards not repeating these through a process of self-correction. Here, a type of dichotomy is established between Great Britain and all other nations, where Britain is the only nation cognizant of morality. An extract where this is illustrated particularly overtly comes from *The children's book of moral lessons: Third series*, in a section titled *Lesson XXIII Looking Backwards* under the subsection, *Bad deeds of the past*:

> Of course, many of the ideas and customs of the Past were bad, and it is good that we should drop them. The old English took great pleasure in robbery; they sailed the sea in their wooden ships, and landed on coasts where they thought they could obtain booty in gold, corn, prisoners, etc. After Oliver Cromwell's death, his body was not allowed to rest in peace; his enemies dug it up, and suspended it by chains to a gibbet such as criminals were hanged on; but no one would wish to do such a coarse deed to-day. An Englishman, Sir John Hawkins, was the first to engage in the negro slave trade, and his coat-of-arms bore the picture of a black man tied with a cord; but you may be sure no man to-day would care to have such a coat-of-arms painted over his doorway or on his window. Such thoughts and habits as these we are glad to cast aside. (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 115)

This textbook overlooks details of the past injustices it mentions, as well as others that could be potentially included, in a way that provides neither an historical context nor an explanation of factors that informed change. The textbook explains this in a way that although, "customs of the Past were bad, and it is good that we should drop them" (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 115), negative activities conducted in Great Britain no longer exist. This is communicated overtly through the wording: "but no one would wish to do such a coarse deed to-day...; but you may be sure no man to-day would...; [and] Such thoughts and habits as these we are glad to cast aside" (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 115). Furthermore, the use of "we" implies that all school students reading the book are from the same mono-British heritage, ignoring a variety of cultures that the children come from (even from within British heritages), and also ignoring class issues, including the fact that many of the students would have a personal family history (such as forced transportation from England to Australia) of injustices endured as a consequence of the British ruling classes imposing unjust laws and practices.

The following passage taken from *Lesson XXIII Looking Backwards* in *The children's book of moral lessons* is indicative of the types of British-centric ideologies presented throughout this textbook. A passage covering the visit of David Carnegies (British adventurer) to Western

Australia contains further significance as it views British heritages as changing, fluid throughout time and moving towards ‘goodness’ as a sign of progress attributable to British heritages; whereas other topics, such as Indigenous representations are viewed as static and unchanging. This combined with the preface (see the *Key Syllabus Documents* section of this chapter) demonstrates both overtly (in the case of the preface) and mitigated (in the case of this example) the *values of progression* in human history. The passage reads:

> A story from the travels of Mr. David Carnegie in West Australia will interest you. When searching for gold, he journeyed through the sandy plains with a caravan of camels, horses, and a few white companions. He came upon a native hut, in which crouched an old man whose grey beard was plaited into ends like rats’ tails, and his back hair was twisted into a knot and covered with a net of string. An unhappy black boy lay there, his eyes being sore; and flies settled on the boy’s eyelids and caused him much distress. Mr. Carnegie anointed the lad’s eyes with some lotion which he carried in his medicine chest. The old man held the patient, and gave nods with his head to show that he was pleased. The lotion relieved the boy’s eyes.
>
> Later on in his travels Mr. Carnegie again passed by the native camp. The old man approached the European, accompanied by a group of friends, all looking very mysterious. They gave Mr. Carnegie a parcel—something very hard, wrapped between two sheets of tree-bark. Having opened the packet, he found inside a flat piece of wood, carved on both sides with rough patterns. The Australians thought very highly of this article. In their eyes it was a treasure which they thought Mr. Carnegie would be glad to accept. Of course he took it and thanked them. It was a mark of their gratitude. Savage as they were, their hearts could understand a kind action done to a black child by a strange white man. (F.J. Gould, 1909, pp. 37-38)

The binary logic of this is apparent by terms used to describe Indigenous Australians as a group. In this and other passages, terms such as “savage”, “wild”, “natives”, “savage as they were, their hearts could understand a kind action done to a black child by a strange white man” (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 37, 38) describe the way of life of Indigenous Australians as primitive. Whereas, on the other hand, except for this one occasion where Carnegie is described as a “strange white man” (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 38), at all other times he is referred to as either “Mr. David Carnegie” (p. 37) or “Mr. Carnegie” (p. 37, 38). Whilst these attributes are given to the two distinct groups, it is important to analyse this textbook within

its historical context. Given the era this text was published, it does not appear that the narrative is trying to be provocative or antagonistic towards Indigenous Australians, and although some terms such as “native” (p. 37), “ “blackfellow” ” (p. 37), and description of “savage as they were” (p. 38) are used, which would not be acceptable in a textbook in the current era of the early 21st century, these terms make up only a small minority of those used, with an example of other descriptions being: “The natives of Queensland *supported the weak members of the clan*; they *nursed the sick* as well as they could they *took care of the old folk*, they *kept no slaves*...” (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 37, emphasis added). However, this is mediated through a discourse of superiority and charity, for example Carnegie accepted a gift, even though the narrative does not place any value on it, writing “Of course he took it and thanked them” (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 38), demonstrating that manners are important as a moral lesson for students. Here, a discourse of morality is provided in a narrative within a scholarly context.

Overall, Indigenous Australians are legitimised only when connected to a non-Indigenous narrative or example in history. This is evidenced by David Carnegie (British) being the subject of the narrative, and the Indigenous Australians being peripheral, used only as a way to assert the underlying moral of the story. However, even given this, Indigenous Australians still form the majority of content here with the British heritages as exemplar topic, through David Carnegie, only introduced mid way through the narrative. It is from there that the narrative takes shape according to an actual event, whereas the first half consists of an overview of Indigenous Australians, along ideas of Indigenous Australians as subject of anthropology; as spectacle; and as ‘Other’.

The example above links with Syllabus values, for example, explicitly recognizes the discourse of *progress* as being a major ideological underpinning of the History curriculum, as seen in Source 5.7.

> The Syllabus prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction specifically states: "In dealing with the events enumerated, care should be taken to give the pupils a connected story, and to trace the development of great movements and changes, noting carefully their causes and results." History "is to be taught in such a way as to show a connected story of progressive development."

Source 5.7. Extract from Preface to *New syllabus history for sixth grade* quoting directly from the syllabus. (Dunlop & Palfrey 1932b, n.p.)

Although binaries of British heritages and Indigenous representations may not be explicitly stated as a comparison against one another in individual textbooks, when textbooks are tracked across a number of years in the era, it becomes increasingly apparent that this is the general message being communicated. In addition, with progress seen as *common sense* to a community's legitimacy, a further binary is created when textbooks emphasize the primitiveness of one group (in this case, Indigenous Australians) and the progressive advancement of another (in this case, emerging from British heritages). Using History curriculum as a vehicle to demonstrate the development of a nation or nations, particularly when that development is positive for a wide range of people, is not necessarily faulty; however the questionability of this becomes apparent when only one nation is regarded as progressive at the expense of all other nations and groups, including those indigenous to the nation where the textbook is used.

5.10 Conclusion

Bringing together the various categories and discourses analysed from the school curriculum texts forms this conclusion. Here, the following topics are addressed: narrative style of school curriculum; critical use of sources; curriculum as gatekeeper of conservative content and values or agent for change; on being British; and disjuncture and parallels between History curriculum and socio-political discourses.

5.10.1 Narrative style of school curriculum.

As explained earlier in this chapter, narrative content in texts from lower primary grades demonstrate that there are no explicit discourses of British heritages or Indigenous representations. For example, *The century readers: Reader 1* (c. 1904) and *The royal crown readers: Book 2* (1912). Instead, these younger grades focus on every day issues with implied

moral values, with history content included in the middle-upper primary grades. Three distinct narrative styles are evident across the textbooks analysed, identified as: a 'boys own adventure' style (see, for example, Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932b); an aesthetic value through a love of literature (see, for example, Department of Public Instruction, 1913a; 1913b); and factual, detached, non-emotive descriptive writing style (see, for example WWI description in Cramp 1927). Narrative styles can vary within the same textbook, so the example references provided above demonstrate samples of style. The preface to *New syllabus history for sixth grade* highlights the explicit construction of a particular narrative style, and the intention in selecting this style:

> The Syllabus prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction specifically states: "In dealing with the events enumerated, care should be taken to give the pupils a connected story, and to trace the development of great movements and changes, noting carefully their causes and results." History "is to be taught in such a way as to show a connected story of progressive development."
>
> In narrative style the authors have endeavoured to give a connected account of events that may be read by pupils with comprehension and interest… (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932b, n.p.)

5.10.2 Critical Use of Sources.

Knowledge in textbooks of this era is presented as factual, complete and not open to any other interpretation. The facts selected and the way in which historical events are described do not provide space for any other perspective, resulting in no evidence of critical use of sources in the textbooks in the samples selected. On a rare occasion, there might be the inclusion of two perspectives; for example, this occurred in a narrative about Australia's Federation whether to have the parliamentary House of Representatives, or Lower House, included as a House of Lords type arrangement or as democratically elected (Cramp, 1927); however these alternative perspectives are not really presented as problematic or questioning of dominant views. Of course, given the textbooks analysed are primarily for upper primary and lower secondary students, their age and stage of development needs to be taken into consideration. However, given the socio-political change that was occurring in society at the time, it really is at odds with the other non-school texts students were potentially exposed to outside of the classroom.

Furthermore, the use of primary source documents in the textbooks is significantly flawed. Their inclusion is limited, and when included as part of the narrative, they are included in a way that is antithesis to the history discipline. They are rarely sourced and generally no mediation for the student is provided in order for them to locate the recounts themselves. Nor is there an attempt to provide alternative views through primary source documents, than what is being expressed in the narrative written by the textbook authors. This emphasizes the need to ensure that a school History curriculum *is* directly connected with the discipline of history, and not a course of the appreciation of literature or culture. It is apparent that students need to be provided with scaffolding in order to develop the skills of an historian, at an age appropriate level. Finally, except for minor diversions, the history content presented during this era was generally celebratory. This is arguably within an overall discourse of progression operating, with inefficiencies brought up in the narrative countered by an overarching understanding of celebration and progression.

5.10.3 Curriculum as gatekeeper of conservative content and values or agent for change.

The hidden ideological constructions of the curriculum are distinctly conservative and encompassing of one perspective. An example of the conservatism of the curriculum reads:

> It has at times been suggested that Parkes had such radical views that he would have liked New South Wales to sever her connection with England and set up as an independent country. This is not true, for he always believed in the maintenance of the British Empire. But he did hope that the day would dawn when Australia would speak with equal voice with England and other British States in a Commonwealth of British Nations. He once said, "I believe the time is fast approaching when we shall cease to speak of England and her colonies. The time is fast coming when these giant children of the mother of nations will assert power and importance for themselves: but as they grow in strength.......they will grow in reverential love for the Sovereign and for England. We shall have to throw into disuse the word 'colonies,' for a grand world-encircling British Empire will arise resting upon a hundred isles......And this new Empire, embracing the outlying countries and the Old Land must be united on terms of a just and an enlightened equality." Scarcely had the hoary and revered political warrior passed away when the Empire began to take shape in the form which he had predicted. (Cramp, 1927, p. 237-238)

Implicit in this passage, and representative of the ideology underpinning curriculum during this time, is that holding or declaring “radical views” (Cramp, 1927, p. 237) is not a positive trait. This is emphasised in the extract above through a sentence stating that Parkes was considered radical by some, but assuring the reader, “this is not true...” (Cramp, 1927, p. 237). Ideology of knowledge that is apparent in this textbook is that there can be no opinion other than that expressed. Although two opposing views are presented here, there is no opportunity for students to make up their own minds by being given samples of primary source documents. Instead *the truth* is mediated for students by the textbook author.

5.10.4 On being British.

A noteworthy area of content that changed in textbooks published *prior* to WWI and those *after* WWI is the British battles mentioned so prolifically in textbooks (F.J. Gould, 1909) and Readers (1913a, 1913b) before WWI have largely been omitted and not completely replaced by WWI stories. This resulted in a decreased focus on military discourses post WWI. The battles that are mentioned are now largely to do with WWI, especially Gallipoli and to a lesser extent France, and some pre-WWI conflicts are still included. However, overall there is less interest in military conflict as being promoted as worthy, perhaps a consequence of the impact of the large-scale slaughter of enlisted soldiers, not previously seen in any conflict.

This era has brought some unexpected findings with it not being as ‘*British’* as expected. Whilst the British heritages discourses are certainly present and Australian identity can be seen to be mediated through British heritages, this does not overshadow all content. Whereas memory making, constructed through selected documents used in history textbooks and school history textbooks in contemporary times, drawing on specific material from this era, emphasize Australia’s connection to Great Britain, this was not *as* significantly reflected in school History textbooks of the time. Although it is clearly evident that Great Britain is presented as the superior power to the colonial outpost, Australia as an independent country formed an important and significant aspect of the curriculum content. Whilst there is evidence of loyalty to Great Britain, and it is clear that Australians should see themselves as British this is not communicated with the amount of fervour that would be otherwise expected. This expectation is based on the type of mediated memory making about Australia’s connection with Great Britain in the earlier parts of the 20th century. This is an example of data analysis not pre-empting findings, a common criticism of this type of qualitative research, discussed by Pennycook (1994); Wetherell (2001) and Verschueren as

"…playing fast and loose with the observable facts in order to support preconceived claims" (2001, p. 60).

5.10.5 Disjuncture and parallels between History curriculum and public discourses.

The analysis of textbooks detailed here demonstrates that change in school curriculum happens very subtly and slowly. Just how slow is unexpected, given the rapid social and political changes that were reflected in the wider community as a consequence of Australia's involvement in WWI. On the whole, school curriculum is significantly more conservative and mono-focused in the content included in curriculum documents such as syllabuses and textbooks. Whilst general public discourses see the nuances in constructing national identities and the foundations of which this identity is created, school textbooks see things a different way—presented very factually, and often without emotions or more than one point of view presented for students to learn. In fact, it sits so far out of their everyday lives and living contexts, that the potential educational value of the history narrative has the very real potential of not being realized. This disjuncture stretches beyond the British heritages exemplar topic, and can be seen as part of the purpose of schooling more broadly, as one of acculturating students into public morality and citizenship.

Chapter Six: Black Movement in Australia 1964 – 1975

6.1 Historical Context of the Era

Influenced in part by the civil rights movement in the United States of America (USA), this period of Australian history from around 1964 to 1975 is characterised by the dramatic social and political changes affecting a range of social justice and civil rights issues, especially in relation to Indigenous affairs[9]. In brief, some of the more prominent causes championed during this period included: second wave feminism; the emergence of an organised green movement; peace movements, especially those relating to anti-Vietnam war protests in the 1970s; youth and student issues; and a raise in profile of civil rights of racially subjugated groups such as African Americans in the USA and Indigenous Australians in Australia. Increasingly, this period saw mass demonstrations as being a common way to exercise democratic freedoms. Despite Queensland being governed at the time by the conservative Bjelke-Peterson government; with street marches and other non-violent protests banned; the State was also a site of dissent for social and political change. Regarding this time as a period of massive and rapid social and political change with lasting impacts, is asserted by a number of leading historians and social commentators. For example, Curthoys and Docker (2006), particularly their overview of second wave feminism; Burgmann (1993), who provides a thorough overview of the *The Black Movement*; and Horne who coins this era as being that of a *Time of hope* the cusp years of "...the period between the end of the age of Menzies and the beginning of Gough Whitlam's season..." (1980, p. 2). Finally, the rise in profile of Indigenous issues is reflected on by historian Henry Reynolds as:

> The sudden emergence of Aborigines on the national political stage came without warning or prior reflection from historians. All this provided strong motivation to research and write and explain. There was a sense of urgency. We were self-appointed missionaries who were required to enlighten the public. (Windschuttle, 2003, p. 54)

The influence of the USA can be found across many aspects of political and social cultures in Australia during this period. For example, in the post World War Two (WWII) Menzies era,

[9] The term *Black Movement in Australia 1965-1974* has been selected for this project as this is the aspect of the wider social justice and civil rights issues that experienced an increased public awareness during this time. Other areas such as second wave feminism, environmental and peace movements were also prominent during this time. *Power and protest: Movements for change in Australian society* (Burgman, 1993) can be consulted for in depth information about these issues.

Australia experienced a growing strategic connection and economic interdependence with the USA, particularly in terms of military security and trade, especially Australian exports. Australia steadily moved away from the close relationship it had experienced with Great Britain in these same areas prior to WWII. This relationship development is arguably most obviously demonstrated by Australia joining the USA in the conflict in Vietnam; with the slogan 'All the way with LBJ' referring to the support shown by Australia to the USA, through then-USA President, Lyndon B. Johnson.

Overall, this era saw a significant rise in profile of Indigenous issues and participation of Indigenous peoples in matters that would impact the wider community. Through targeted issues and events, such as land rights demonstrations and the 1967 referendum, the wider community was drawn into debate about the state of Australia's Indigenous population, some for the first time in Australia's history. Briefly, some of the key events of this era included the 1966 Wave Hill Station Strike in the Northern Territory where Aboriginal stockmen went on strike demanding a land rights claim be recognised so that they could train and sell horses; the 1965 freedom bus rides of outback New South Wales highlighting systemic and institutionalised racism led by then-student activist, Charles Perkins, Australia's first Indigenous university graduate and who would go on to become one of Australia's leading Indigenous rights advocates; the 1967 Referendum which altered the Constitution to both include Indigenous Australians in the census and to allow the Commonwealth to legislate on Indigenous issues; emergence of Land Rights issues, accompanied by public demonstrations and the setting up of the Tent Embassy[10] in 1972 when land rights across Australian States (with the Commonwealth Territories excepted) were not recognised by the Federal Government despite the 1967 Referendum enabling Federal Government jurisdiction in this area.

In addition to the rise in public awareness of social justice and civil rights issues in Australia during the 1960s and 1970s, leading up to and throughout this era there was a rise in profile

[10] The *Tent Embassy*, which remains to this day in the same location, is a series of tents (now also a demountable building features) placed by activist Indigenous Australians as a way to protest inequities especially related to land rights. Called an 'embassy', as those involved in setting it up felt that Indigenous Australians were being treated as foreigners in their own country, with no effective political representation, particularly in relation to Land Rights. Therefore, the 'embassy' would act as that representation. Tents were selected as the form of shelter because at the time of its setting up, it was not illegal to have up to 12 tents in a public area in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). For more information, access http://www.aboriginaltentembassy.net/

of Indigenous Australians in the literary and arts contexts. For the first time stories, histories and autobiographies *by* (rather than *about*) Indigenous Australians were being published; empowering their own voices rather than continuing their silencing. Prior to this, publications on Indigenous peoples in areas such as anthropology, culture, history and biographies had commonly been written as a result of observations *by* non-Indigenous people *on,* rather than *with*, Indigenous peoples and their cultures. Sample seminal publications from this era include Douglas Lockwood's *I, the Aboriginal* (1962), a book transcribed by Douglas Lockwood from interviews with Phillip Roberts, also known as Waipuldanya; and Harry Gordon's *The embarrassing Australian: The story of an Aboriginal warrior* (1962), an in depth biography of WWII and Korean War veteran, Reg Saunders.

There was also a marked increase in acknowledging and supporting Indigenous participation through the arts. Two high profile examples include Albert Namatjira, an Arrernte Indigenous man. His water colour paintings of Australian landscapes earned him national and then international recognition as an artist of note. Namatjira remains one of Australia's most high profile artists. The second is Aboriginal actor, Robert Tudawali, who had a nation-wide profile, not just in the Northern Territory where he resided. The struggle he faced adjusting to his traditional life after living in non-Indigenous communities in Sydney is well documented. He is perhaps most well known for his lead role in the first feature film to cast all major roles with Indigenous actors, *Jedda*. Incidentally, this film, released in 1955 and directed by Charles Chauvel, was also the first Australian feature film to be fully shot in colour. Both Namatjira and Tudawali were included in school curriculum at a minor level during this era and are expanded on in the analysis section of this chapter.

The following two examples, one leading up the 1967 Referendum and the other leading up to the creation of the Tent Embassy on 26 January, 1972, demonstrate the multiple perspectives held in the general community and expressed through for example the press. An article published in *The Spectator* leading up to the 1967 referendum discusses social issues surrounding non-Indigenous understandings of Indigenous Australians. Of particular note, the author Bruce Silverwood identifies the placement of Aboriginal garden statues in lieu of the traditional garden gnomes as part of a wider practice of placing Indigenous Australians within the natural environment—or flora and fauna— detached from mainstream society. Of this, the author Bruce Silverwood, a noted activist for Indigenous Australian issues comments:

> Separate State responsibility has led to a piecemeal approach to Aboriginal affairs, and generally to a shameful story of our Aborigines being treated as less than human…people have too readily looked upon the Aboriginal people as part of the native fauna.
>
> …
>
> But I'm still worried by the suburban garden. I'm worried by the unthinking attitude which tends to put Aboriginals along with Australian fauna.
>
> It's not only the garden statues. It's the song, 'Tie me kangaroo down, sport', in which the singer goes through a list of the animals possessions of a dying stockman and reaches the line, "Let me abos [sic] go loose, Bruce, let me abos go loose; they're no more use, Bruce, let me abos go loose"….
>
> We won't get far in raising the status of our Aborigines until we see them as real people...people of dignity and worth.
>
> And to do that, we need not only enlightened legislation, but enlightened public attitudes. (1967, p. 8)

Then Prime Minister, William McMahon's *Australian Aborigines: Commonwealth Policy and Achievements* statement, delivered as a public address on the 26th January, 1972 (Australia Day), outlined a five-point statement of objectives as a "…general directive to those responsible for the formulation and administration of Commonwealth policies affecting Aboriginal Australians" (McMahon, 1972, p. 1). The statement significantly favoured Indigenous Australians in the Northern Territory and although acknowledging that Indigenous Australians live in traditional ways on reserves in Australian states, the actual policy statement extends Land Rights to Northern Territory Indigenous Australians only. The Federal Government absolved all of its other responsibilities to the states, leaving it to individual states to legislate *or not* (as often the case was), on Land Rights issues. On this aspect of land rights, the McMahon statement reads:

> We decided to create this new form of lease rather than attempt simply to translate the Aboriginal affinity with the land into some form of legal right under the Australian system…because we concluded that to do so would introduce a new and

> probably confusing component, the implications of which could not clearly be foreseen and which could lead to uncertainty and possible challenge in relation to land titles elsewhere in Australia which are at present unquestioned and secure. (1972, p. 6)

Furthermore,

> …the decision to grant leases to Aborigines on reserve lands, apply only to Commonwealth territories. The Government has informed the States of these decisions. The States, of course, keep under review the question of measures for the advancement of Aborigines within their own fields of responsibility. (McMahon, 1972, p. 10)

This statement by Prime Minister McMahon was met with cynicism by some members of the community, as demonstrated for example in the editorial in *The Australian* which noted the following of the land rights decisions by the McMahon government:

> If the decision should fall seriously short of the Aboriginals' deepest desires, January 26 is only reinforced as the day of defeat in their calendar, and the announcement would take its place for them as another part of the white man's voluminous gasbagging for the edification of white men on this anniversary day… (Editorial: A price on our guilt, 1972, n.p.)

Regarding the decision to limit land rights, the editorial goes on to read:

> He means the question of precedent could bother some pastoralists, including overseas groups who have been leased enormous areas without a qualm…The alternative set of fringe proposals outlined in Mr McMahon's statements are not very remarkable when considered as the fruit and culmination of the massive expression of public opinion in the 1967 referendum. (Editorial: A price on our guilt, 1972, n.p.)

The exclusion of non-Northern Territory Indigenous Australians, directly resulted in the Tent Embassy on the front lawn of Parliament House in Canberra being established, with the argument that Australian Indigenous peoples needed representation in this form as they were being treated as foreigners in their own country as a consequence of land rights claims not being recognised.

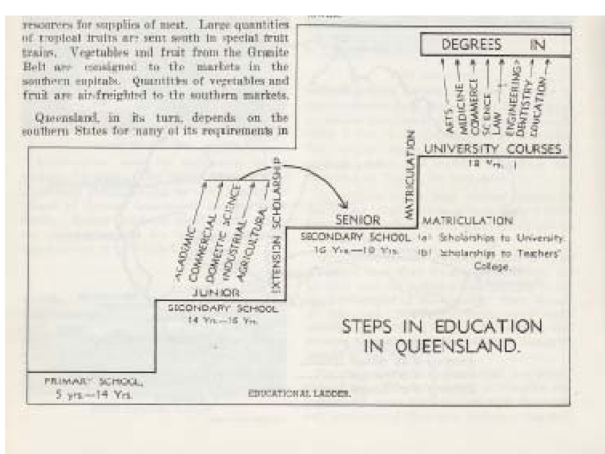
The two examples above, although brief and only selective of events that arose during this era, demonstrate the increase in profile of Indigenous issues highlight the multiplicity of socio-political discourses operating and show the rise in consciousness of the general community to issues directly and significantly impacting Indigenous Australians.

6.2 Education Context

Just as this era presents as a period of rapid social and political change in the wider national and international community, so too were there major shifts in Queensland's schooling context. This period saw significant changes occur in areas such as school-based assessment, school structures, an increase in student participation in high school and matriculation to university, and pedagogical approaches catering to educate the *whole child*. For a discussion of some of these key changes and their relationship to assessment, see Clarke (1987). This section primarily outlines the compulsory age of schooling, syllabuses used during this era, and key textbooks selected for analysis, in order to establish the schooling context relevant to this project.

6.2.1 Compulsory age of schooling.

In the first major review of education since the *Education Act of 1875*, *The Education Act of 1964* increased compulsory school age to "not less than six years to 15 years" (Education Act 1964, ss 4). This meant that students were generally in grade 9 when it was no longer compulsory for them to attend school. The "Steps in Education in Queensland" (see Source 6.1) shows all possible formal education pathways for students.



Source 6.1: *Steps in Education in Queensland* in *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 7*. (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 74)

Primarily, the textbooks selected for analysis during this era fall within the compulsory school age range (5-14 years). However, with the dramatic increase of students continuing past the compulsory age of schooling, two senior high school textbooks have also been included. These books are: *Challenge and response: A history of the modern world volume 1* (Allsopp & Cowie, 1969) and *Challenge and response: A history of the modern world volume 2* (Allsopp & Cowie, 1976).

6.2.2 Key syllabus documents.

For this era, *History* as a distinct curriculum area did not exist for primary school students. Instead History was placed within a broad integrated subject called *Social Studies*, with the distinct subjects of History, Geography and other Social Sciences like Citizenship not explicitly delineated. Therefore, for analysis, content from textbooks has been selected that encompass History-type topics and approaches, rather than Geography-style content. The change from individual subjects to an integrated *Social Studies* occurred with the implementation of the 1952 Syllabus, as stated in the Education Office Gazette of November 1951, "…the replacement of Geography and History by a course in Social Studies" (Department of Public Instruction, 1951, p. 5).

During this era, two Social Studies syllabuses were in place in Queensland schools. The first implemented in 1952, *The Syllabus or Course of Instruction in Primary and Intermediate Schools* and the second implemented in 1964, *The Syllabus or Course of Instruction for Primary Schools Social Studies*. The 1952 syllabus is used in order to contextualise the era under investigation, for although the 1964 syllabus covers the entire time period under investigation, in order to track the changes in curriculum that occurred comparison is made with textbooks from the earlier era of 1952 to 1963. In 1965, *The Syllabus or Course of Instruction for Primary Schools Social Studies* (Department of Education, 1964) was in its first year of use in State (public) schools. This syllabus was used until 1978 when the new *Social Studies Syllabus* was introduced. For the time period covered in this chapter, the 1964 syllabus remained the guiding document for the determination of curriculum content. This syllabus, although comprising the focus for this chapter, really has only negligible differences to the 1952 syllabus. This is also evident by the same textbooks *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series being used from the early 1950s to the mid 1970s without any changes being made to them, despite a number of reprints being published.

It was in the 1952 syllabus that the Social Studies subject was created with the inclusion of History beginning in grade three with the topic *Stories from History*. Emphasising the importance of narrative in teaching students, and the interest in linking cross-curricula content, the teaching of history is described in the syllabus notes as:

> These stories are intended to serve as an introduction to the study of history in the later grades. The characters should be selected from the history of the world in order to give the pupil a broad view, and, as far as possible, to correlate with the work in geography in this grade.
>
> The list of characters is merely suggestive. Other characters might be substituted at the discretion of the teacher.
>
> Biographical details need not be laboured.
>
> The teacher will make his own selection.
>
> The following are suggested:-William Tell, Bruce, Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale, Grace Darling, Livingstone, Captain Scott, Hinkler, Kingsford Smith, Confucius, Hiawatha, Pocahontas, Horatius, Corporal French V.C., Sir Philip Sidney, Gregory and the Slave Children, Caxton and the Printing Press. (Department of Public Instruction, 1952, p. 6)

Explaining the reason for moving towards multi-disciplinary Social Studies, rather than take a discipline-specific subject approach, the syllabus states:

> The appearance of " Social Studies " in curricula is indicative of two interdependent tendencies in the educational practices of our time. One of them is the tendency to relate matter to be taught to the actual experiences of children and to prepare the child for the life of the man through participation in activities of the type he is likely to meet during his life-time ; the other is the tendency to depart from rigid, convenient but artificial " subject " approach in formal education. Conceptions of what constitute " Social Studies " vary according to how much of the total curriculum is unified. This course of Social Studies has been planned to bring about a systematic correlation in Civics, Geography, and History.

...

> The major objective of Social Studies is preparation of the child for life as an effective citizen of the community...Children should be led to see in what ways our democratic practices are desirable and trained to act with that intelligent understanding so vital to democratic living.
>
> The syllabus as set forth a suggested scheme of work. It must be studied entirely before detailed plans are prepared for particular grades. Emphasis throughout will be upon the study of people in their environment. The importance of beginning with the known—the child and where he lives—and of presenting information in such a way that the child will understand it and be interested in it is stressed. To this latter end the use of stories, the encouragement of self-activity, the more frequent employment of the project or activity method, and the correlation of Social Studies with other subjects of the curriculum are strongly recommended. (Department of Public Instruction, 1952, p. 6)

This syllabus along with the *1964 Social Studies Syllabus* firmly locates representations of Indigenous people, their culture (rather than *cultures*, as it was a very monocultural view presented) and events within geography, rather than history. Within a geography disciplinary framework, Indigenous representations were formed around notions of being connected to the natural world—flora and fauna—rather than the social or cultural worlds. Accordingly and repeating the 1952 syllabus, significant gaps and outright omissions in the presentation of Indigenous histories and cultures are now, almost five decades hence, glaringly apparent. In the whole of both syllabuses, for example, no specific Indigenous Australian is mentioned, despite many non-Indigenous Australians and Europeans being specifically named and singled out for study in school. Additionally, a (then) contemporary understanding of Indigenous Australians is missing, resulting in an a-historical representation, frozen-in-time *exotica* image presented to students. For example, in the 1964 syllabus for Grade 4 Term 1, the first mention of Indigenous Australians occurs within the section titled, 'Recommended Centre of Interest and Division of Work', where teachers are advised to cover the following two topics:

2. (a) Australia's Living Wonders.
   Birds, Trees, Animals.

(b) Australian Aborigines. (Department of Education, 1964, p. 9)

Although arguably individual teachers could decide to focus on a specific Indigenous Australian, group or cultural event, *this is not the way* it is presented in the Syllabus. For this generation of Queensland pupils, Indigenous Australians were, it would seem, far removed from mainstream society, and instead positioned as part of the natural world.

The second time the syllabus discusses Indigenous Australians is for Grade 4, Term 2 where teachers are required to teach about '…the life of the original inhabitants of Tasmania's Aborigines [sic]' (Department of Education, 1964, p. 10). Whilst this is not an example of viewing Indigenous Australians as part of the natural environment, it does place Indigenous Australians firmly within *The Past*, an ambiguous prior era with no reference to any specific time frame except *not* in contemporary times. No mention of Indigenous Australians within contemporary times is made. Nor is any specific historical or cultural event included as a mandated or even suggested area for study, unlike other aspects of the curriculum. A stark contrast can be drawn with legitimised representations of early explorers whose names, personalities and personal histories are all presented by way of basing accounts of their exploits in discovering and opening up a land purportedly unknown to and by the original inhabitants (this, of course, is a standard or at least, common, colonialist revisioning of history that finds its ways into mandated curricula and supporting materials across the colonised world).

From this, it can be inferred that an overarching view of Indigenous Australians was located in a period prior to European contact. Additionally, such a monocultural representation of Indigenous Australians does not consider differences between Indigenous groups and cultures in different parts of the continent and effectively constructs an undifferentiated 'Other'.

The third and final inclusion of Indigenous Australians in this syllabus, and the first mention of specific action by Indigenous Australians is within a unit that looks at explorers and significant agricultural developments, such as the introduction of wheat and Merino sheep to the Australian continent. The specific mention of Indigenous Australians is in relation to assistance given to explorers, under the heading and accompanying comment: "'Saved by Friendly Aborigines'—with Sturt down the Murray" (Department of Education, 1964, p. 11). Again, Indigenous Australians are represented as unnamed and undifferentiated groups with

no specific mention of individuals; thus reinforcing the passivity attributed to this group in the retelling or reporting of historical events. Demonstrating the exclusion of Indigenous Australians from national history, in the Grade 6, Term 1, 2 and 3 unit of work titled 'Australia' (Department of Education, 1964, pp. 20-22) Indigenous Australians are not included at all.

It can be seen, therefore, that throughout this era, Indigenous Australians are significantly underrepresented and are not included as forming either a significant part of the Australian history curriculum content or having a role or even a presence in contemporary Australian society. Exceptions to this are noted and analysed further in this chapter.

6.2.3 Key textbooks and related school curriculum documents.

Textbooks selected for analysis are predominately placed in two categories. The first are the government published and sanctioned textbooks, *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series covering school grades 4 to 8; and *Queensland School Readers* covering school grades from Preparatory (pre-grade 1) to grade 8. Used throughout this era with their publication ceasing in the early 1970s they were still in use in some schools until as late as the 1980s. In addition, a periodical published and supplied to school students at a small cost by the Department of Education, the *School Paper* represented the official knowledge of the Department of Education at updated intervals. Therefore, both the Queensland Readers and editions of the *School Paper* form a part of the analysis of curriculum materials for this era. The second category is textbooks written by Queensland-based authors such as school inspectors and school teachers. This second type of textbook, although not officially published or endorsed by the Department of Education, was nevertheless in such widespread use throughout high schools in Queensland that they form an important part of the canon of textbooks used in this era. Regarding the place and importance of textbooks in general, the syllabus states,

> The text-books already supplied by the Department can be used by both teachers and children as reference books. They, or any other texts, are not, however, adequate as the only sources of information. They should, at all times, be used purposefully and not viewed as the sole means of instruction. No text-books can be regarded as setting up either maximum or minimum requirements. (Department of Education, 1964, p. 1)

However, due to the wide distribution and recorded use of the government authorised, published and printed textbooks (through school cataloguing and through informal discussions with people who were school students and teachers during the 1960s and early 1970s), that matched *exactly* the curriculum content for each school year level, it is accurate to use these texts as the key source for textbook-based study content. In fact, the 'Recommended centres of interest and division of work' (Department of Education, 1964, p. 9) from the Syllabus acts as the outline to the content in the government published *Social Studies for Queensland schools* textbook series.

Compared with the analysis of the WWI era, the *Queensland School Readers* play only a minor role in this era, due to two main reasons. First, and most importantly, the majority of the Readers' content did not contain any Indigenous Representations. Second, the quantity of textbooks available far exceeds those available for the WWI era, thus there is not the need to supplement school textbook analysis with Readers, as there was in the earlier twentieth century period.

Key to the selection of textbooks for this era is the government published and supplied *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series covering grades 4 to 8. Constructed to reflect the 1952 syllabus, they were then used throughout the period the 1964 syllabus was in place, with no adjustments to content made. For approximately 25 years, the same textbooks were used by primary-age school students in Queensland, demonstrating both continuity and a static curriculum. Regarding the initial rollout of these textbooks, and demonstrating their widespread use, the 1954 Annual Report reads:

> Since the adoption of the policy of producing text books for free issue to schools, a panel of experienced teachers has been engaged in the preparation of the material necessary in the compilation of these books. The books are well illustrated, the subject-matter attractively arranged, and very favourable comment has been received from teachers on the success of the undertaking. The Government Printing Office has played no small part in presenting this series of attractive books and in producing the quantities necessary to meet the requirements of the schools. Some idea of the magnitude of the task may be gauged from the fact that over 232,000 books in English, Social Studies and Mathematics have been issued to schools. In no other State has the issue of free text books been made on a scale comparable with the issue in this State. (Department of Public Instruction, 1954, p. 25)

Anecdotal evidence indicates that typically there was a pile of books to one side of the classroom and during the lessons (for example, Social Science) each child in the class received one book from the class set to use. They would then be returned at the end of the lesson. This experience is shared by others as evidenced by school stamps in some textbooks that have been gathered for analysis. Other schools assigned a textbook to each student to use for the year, to be returned at the end of the school year, with the student's name written on the inside front cover for each year (see Source 6.2 for a selection of samples).

Source 6.2: *Student names in textbooks*

The *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series of textbooks was rolled out over a number of years. Covering all the grades that Social Science was taught (grades 3-8), this series was commonly used in Queensland primary schools during this era. The 1955 Annual Report reads:

> The distribution to schools, this year, of a new text book in Social Studies (Grade V.) marked the completion of a project to supply all pupils in State Primary Schools with free issues of interesting, informative text books. Text books in English, Social Studies, and Mathematics have been prepared and issued to schools...
>
> In the compilation of these textbooks, an earnest endeavour has been made to reflect the spirit of the Syllabus. The books aim at developing in the pupil a spirit of self confidence, a feeling for both self effort and co-operative effort and an appreciation and pleasure in the work. Opportunities have been seized to present

> matter in a fresh and interesting way and to develop, both directly and indirectly, a love of reading and inquiry.
>
> The books have been well received by children, teachers and the public and reflect credit on the teacher-compilers and the staff of the Government Printing Office. (Department of Public Instruction, 1955, p. 29)

Australia's Heritage a textbook for secondary school students was first published at the beginning of the era in 1964 and the second edition in 1970. This textbook was written by Queensland based authors Sparkes et al. (1964; 1970), respected educators active in the Queensland History Teachers' Association, syllabus committees and other curriculum bodies. This textbook provides an opportunity for comparison of curriculum content relating to Indigenous representations.

Arguably the most prolific textbook writer of textbooks for Queensland schools over the past four decades (and significant contributor to Queensland and Australia's history teaching community in a range of areas including curriculum content, pedagogy and establishing teacher networks), H.R. Cowie began his authorship of textbooks in the late 1960s. Four of the textbooks Cowie contributed to are included for analysis, all aimed at high school students from first year to senior high school. Those four textbooks include *Challenge and response: A history of the modern world volume 1* (Allsopp & Cowie, 1969); *Challenge and response: A history of the modern world volume 2* (Allsopp & Cowie, 1976); *Frankfurt to Fra Mauro* (Cowie, 1975); and *Foundations* (Hendy, Lipke, Deoki, Ramsay, Davidson, Mulcahy, & Cowie, 1976).

Other textbooks are also used for this era, with those listed above comprising the significant texts, published by Queensland-based authors. Given the wide range of textbooks available for this analysis, a thorough and systematic process has had to be applied to ensure a representative sample from the over 50 textbooks that were known to be published, and used in schools, between the mid 1950s to late 1970s was distilled. In particular, in order to demonstrate any change in textbooks, it has been necessary to ensure that textbooks were representative from across the era. The process for selecting textbooks for analysis outlined in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct* has been applied rigorously to this era. Textbooks that were eliminated during this process of selection are those that were not in

widespread use, instead forming part of school library collections for students, particularly secondary students, to use for research essays and projects; and for teachers to consult and use to supplement their planned curriculum. There seems to be a small number of texts written about Indigenous Australians that were used by individual schools, although not necessarily widely spread across the State, as those selected for analysis were. These books include: *Among the first Australians: The story of an aboriginal family* (1958); *Bennelong* (Johnson, Berkeley, Hamilton, & Scott, 1970); *Australian Aboriginals* (Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 1974); *Aranda boy* (Ingamells, 1960); *An Australian muster* (Phillips, 1961); and *Australia and Britain in the nineteenth century* (Andrews et al, 1973).

6.2.4 Indigenous representations in textbooks.

What clearly stands out in the textbooks is the lack of content related to Indigenous Australians, particularly in high school textbooks, but also in primary school texts. This is a clear reflection of the syllabus which does not contain significant content of Indigenous representations in Australian history. This point is illustrated by drawing on all publications within one particular series, the *Queensland School Readers*. These books, widely regarded as comprising the canon of literature for school students, contains very limited examples of Indigenous representations. From the Readers published between 1946 and 1967, *Queensland school reader: Grade 7* (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/1960/1963/1967) is the only book that contains any information about Indigenous Australians. This is in the form of a poem titled *The Last of his Tribe* by Australian poet H.C. Kendall, detailing the period before death of an Aboriginal tribal elder.

Indigenous representations are more common in the *Social Studies for Queensland Schools* textbook series. As expanded on in the analysis below, the defining feature of this content is that it represents Indigenous Australians as belonging to the past either in traditional lifestyles or as interacting with explorers. The Grade 7 textbook from this series is a rare exception to this type of representation, where instead Indigenous Australians are shown in contemporary environments, if only in a very limited space, primarily as workers on cattle stations and life on a mission station.

As a result of the majority of content of Indigenous representations being located in textbooks and curriculum materials for primary school students, the focus in this era will necessarily be on the primary years of schooling. In any case, in the main, secondary school history

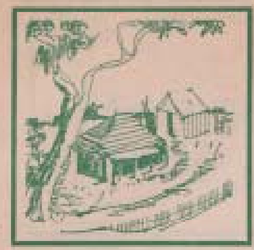
textbooks published in the early to mid 1970s are notable for the absence of any discussion of Indigenous Australians, either in an historical or contemporary context. This is despite political gains made by and for Indigenous Australians in the late 1960s. Two history textbooks used extensively in Queensland secondary schools, *Australia in the modern world* (Andrews, 1974) and H.R. Cowie's (1975) *Frankfurt to Fra Mauro: A thematic history of the modern world* contain no mention of Indigenous Australians, despite both books having a focus on Australian history. In the case of Andrews' book, the entire content is Australian history, and although less of a focus in Cowie's book, three of the 42 chapters nevertheless are primarily concerned with Australia. A third textbook *Foundations* (Hendy et al., 1976), also used extensively in Queensland secondary schools, contains only two fleeting references to Indigenous Australians, both in a negative way and included within the topic of bushrangers. This is despite the book covering Australian historical and contemporary issues. The first reference reads: 'Food and water were difficult to find and the Aborigines were hostile…The Australian bush and hostile Aborigines had kept the bolters close to the coast' (Hendy et al., 1976, p. 119). A "bolter" was a convict who had escaped from incarceration. The second and final reference to Indigenous Australians includes a short paragraph linked with a version of the Ned Kelly bushranger saga and reads:

> Even with the help of the 'black trackers', the mounted police had a hard time of it when looking for bushrangers. *The black trackers were Aborigines*. Mostly from Queensland, they could track the bushrangers when there seemed to be no trail. *Hated and feared by the bushrangers, Ned Kelly called them 'the black-devils'*. Public support, help and information could have made the trackers' work easier. (Hendy et al., 1976, p. 127, emphasis added)

This second reference includes information about Indigenous Australians being of worth to non-Indigenous Australians only when they perform services, such as trackers to stop illegal activities. Identification or lack of identification of Indigenous representations in textbooks is not intended to be used as a criterion for judging the value of any textbook or to critique its effectiveness, worthiness or otherwise as a high quality text used in schools. This would not be a fair analysis, as the textbooks were constructed to reflect the syllabus of the time and to ensure that the students were learning material they would be tested on, through for example, externally based exams and, later in the era, school based examinations. This would also not be a valid form of research, as the textbooks were not written with this imposed criterion in mind. Instead, what this analysis does is identify what Indigenous representations there *are* in

textbooks and the particular discourses surrounding the content. So, for example some exemplary textbooks, written by widely respected educators, such as H.R. Cowie do not contain any Indigenous representations, and although this is made explicit in this analysis, it is not used as a measuring stick of the value of the text as a whole.

Finally, although there was an opportunity for substantial syllabus change in 1964 from the 1952 Social Studies Syllabus, the syllabus did not undergo any significant changes. As a result, the government supplied textbooks did not change. However, support materials in the later years of the era were updated, a seemingly conscious effort to provide some update to the curriculum without a complete restructure or overhaul. So, responsiveness to current events for primary school students can be tracked from the 1970s. Although current events and issues of the day were not explicitly taught, the underpinning sentiments of wider participation in public affairs of Indigenous Australians start being seen in textbooks. Curriculum support materials, not published but endorsed by the Department of Education, *Social Studies for the 70s* (produced by renowned educational publishers, William Brooks) was a series encompassing three types of books for each primary school grade, including student workbooks, student project sheets, and teachers' handbooks. They were designed to complement and build on, in order to make more contemporary, the *Social Studies for Queensland schools* textbook series. It is worthwhile to point out however, that some served only to reinforce what was already in the textbooks, see for example Source 6.3.



SOCIAL STUDIES
FOR THE 70's
GRADE FIVE

UNIT TWO

PROJECT: Why were settlements made in Van Dieman's Land and what problems did they have?

REFERENCES: 1. The First Australians. (K. M. Adams.) (pp. 71-72.)
2. Social Studies for Queensland Schools. Grade 7. (pp. 19-22.)

TASKS:

A. *Draw a time line to show the history of Tasmania from 1642 to 1852.*
Along the time line mark these years.
1798, 1803, 1825, 1842 and 1852.
Why are these years important in the history of Tasmania?

B. *Find answers to the following questions:*
1. Why did Governor King send Lieutenant Bowen to Risdon Cove?
2. Who else arrived the next year?
3. Who were the "bushrangers"?
4. Did the colony improve during Colonel Davey's time?
5. Who was the first Governor?
6. Where did he send the worst convicts?
7. What was the "Black War"?
8. How was the aborigine problem solved?
9. How did the colony improve in Governor Arthur's time?
10. Why was the time between 1840 and 1852 a difficult time?

C. *Each letter of the word TASMANIA can be used to give a short talk on this island state, eg.,*
T is for Tasman who visited the shores of Van Diemans' Land in 1642.
A is for apples. Tasmania is the 'Apple Isle'.
Can you complete the talk using the other letters?

D. *The convict settlements in Tasmania were the worst in Australian History.*
Prepare a talk on life in the convict settlements.
After presenting these talks to the group or class have a recorder make a written report to attach to the chart.

Source 6.3. A sample project sheet from *Social Studies for the 70s grade 5: Project sheets unit 2 (blue book)* (1975, n.p.):

This series uses both the textbook series *Social Studies for Queensland schools* and other curriculum support materials to construct projects for students to complete. So, whilst the core curriculum textbooks series, *Social Studies for Queensland schools* did not undergo changes, supplementary curriculum materials were added. Overall, this demonstrates responsiveness to socio-political discourses operating throughout the era, in terms of bringing current issues to the classroom for students to engage with and have as learning experiences.

6.3 Categories Emerging From Analysis

The various discourses evident in school curriculum for this era differ from those of the WWI era in one significant organisational way. While the content related to British heritages in the WWI era was broadly evident through discourses within wider topics, for example Federation; the content related to Indigenous representations in this era is generally explicitly connected with topics of Indigenous Australians. Therefore, the themes and discourses that have emerged from this era are, to a greater degree, analysed within explicit topics, rather than a range of less defined categories that discourses are organised within. They include:

- Category 1: Interactions with explorers;
- Category 2: Frontier conflicts;
- Category 3: Tasmanian Indigenous Australians;
- Category 4: Colonial and post colonisation representations; and
- Category 5: Contemporary representations.

6.4 Category 1: Interactions with Explorers

This category represents a greater quantity of curriculum content than any other category. In particular, narratives of interactions with explorers feature more prominently in the primary school than in high school textbooks. This can be viewed, in part, as a reflection of the Social Studies Syllabus. In total, five textbooks selected for analysis contain topics relating to interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers. The dates of the textbooks cover a wide range of publication dates from 1954 to 1969, with no significant changes in discourses or representations across this fifteen year time period, despite very public social justice and land rights movements which occurred during this time. Examples of Indigenous representations within this category are organised in six main discourses: violence; peaceful interactions; anonymity and subjugation; Indigenous knowledges; Batman’s Treaty; and Jacky Jacky. Here, Indigenous Australians are generally seen as peripheral to the grand

narratives of so-named British exploration and, arguably, included to make the story more interesting and appealing for students (as can be read through the creative language selection), but not as a substantial part of the historical events.

Overall, impersonal attributes of Indigenous Australians are presented to the reader. For example, descriptions include “friendly natives” (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 59); “friendly people” (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 74); “Kindly Natives” (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 64); and “they were angry” (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 79). By representing Indigenous Australians in this way, textbooks provided a (non-overt) message to school students that Indigenous people are only capable of expressing basic emotions like happiness (in the case of being described as *friendly*) and anger. On the other hand non-Indigenous people such as the explorers are capable of more complex human emotions, as seen, for example in Source 6.4.

"He was struck on the left arm and side," continues Oxley in his journal. "He immediately ran off, running towards the creek, the others slowly going in different directions but in no way offering to help their companion. We saw him drop on the edge of the creek, about 200 yards from us.

"After a little time, seeing that no one came to assist him, we went to him, and found him lying on his side, being wounded, though not dangerously, with the small shot with which the barrel was loaded. He bled, but very little, and I was not sorry that he had suffered for his boldness.

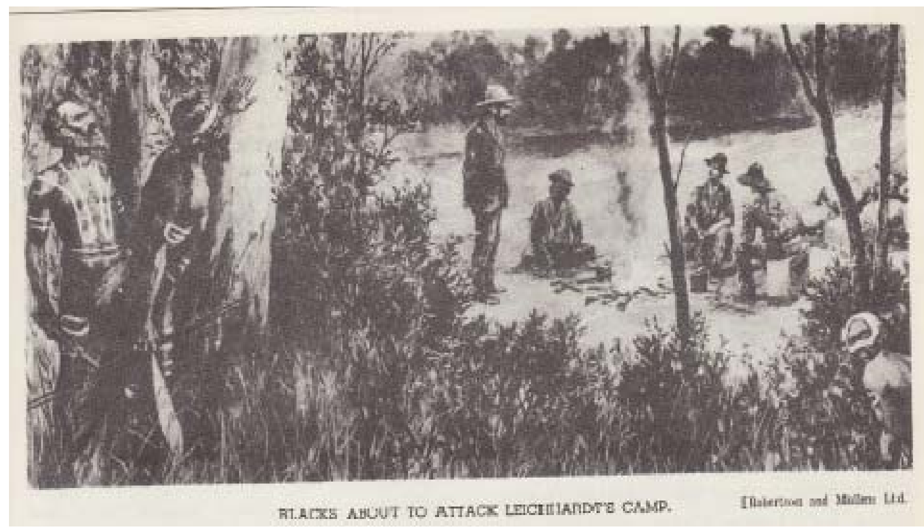
"The other natives seemed to think that he had deserved his punishment, for on our making signs that they should come and take him away they crossed the creek. After we had gone a little way off, he was taken to their camp on their shoulders.

Source 6.4. John Oxley exploration extract from *Social Studies for grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 23).

6.4.1 Discourses of violence.

Visual representations of interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers are used throughout textbooks in this era; see for example Source 6.5, which is typical of representations found in textbooks during this era. As an aside, this image was also used in a textbook from earlier in the twentieth century *A story of the Australian people* (Cramp, 1927). As it is not used as a primary source document for students to deconstruct and question in either the *Social Studies for Queensland Schools grade 5* or *A story of the Australian people*, this demonstrates the static nature of curriculum content. The image appears in the textbook in black and white, reproduced from a colour oil painting. The picture is of four explorers

around a campfire, watched by three Indigenous men who are positioned in the immediate foreground; two standing on the extreme left, hiding behind a tree and facing towards the group of explorers and the third on the far right of the immediate foreground, crouching behind some scrub. Whilst the body of the third man faces towards the explorers, he has twisted his neck and head around to face the observer. All three Indigenous men are dressed in traditional attire with face paint and spears. The explorers, around the campfire, are positioned talking to each other, one is standing up and the other three are sitting down, and all are facing the fire in a semi circle. They are in the mid-ground of the image, within a clearing of the surrounding bush. Behind the three explorers appears to be their rolled bedding. The extreme background is made up of a bushscape with what appears to be either a river or billabong (small watering hole). Trees and scrub separate the three Indigenous men from the explorers, creating a physical boundary between them.


BLACKS ABOUT TO ATTACK LEICHHARDT'S CAMP.

Source 6.5. *"Blacks about to attack Leichhardt's camp"* from *Social Studies for Queensland Schools grade* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 69).

Source 6.5 portrays Indigenous Australians as both perpetrators of violence and as belonging to the natural environments. The crouched Indigenous men looking at the observer gives a sense of adventure, as though the observer is 'in on the act', and although the title indicates that the Indigenous men are the perpetrators of the violence, this image nevertheless creates a feeling of familiarity with them. With the explorers talking in a circle, unaware of being watched, a sense of their vulnerability is communicated. A binary of the differences between the Indigenous Australians and explorers is created by having the trees and bush separating them, clearly demonstrating difference between the two groups, which also inscribes Indigenous Australians' place in nature rather than 'civilisation'.

This image, like many of the narratives during this era, represents Indigenous Australians as belonging to another world (from that of the school students). In almost all images, Indigenous Australians are dressed in traditional clothes with face paint and traditional weapons, or in a traditional lifestyle environment. It is not disputed that this is how Indigenous Australia looked, especially in the era of early exploration, however what is clearly being communicated to students is that this is the *only* way Indigenous Australians are to be seen. The only exception to visual representations of Indigenous Australians in traditional clothes, poses and cultural artefacts are when contemporary representations of Indigenous people in the Northern Territory are included in *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 83). Other than this anomaly, the message that is clearly communicated to students is that Indigenous Australians belong to the past or to an exotic present, far removed from the daily lives of the students and from mainstream society in general.

In addition to being represented as belonging to an 'othered' world, Indigenous Australians are often included as fringe or peripheral content to the wider narrative of exploration, with their inclusion legitimised only in relationship to interactions with the explorers. An example of this can be found in *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966). The perspective taken here is that although the textbook makes an attempt to say that not all Indigenous Australians are violent, through the phrase "Sometimes the natives were friendly..." (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 68), the use of the word *sometimes* indicates that this was not the usual or common experience, and that instead, Indigenous Australians are most often perpetrators of violence against unsuspecting explorers. This is emphasized particularly in Source 6.6 and Source 6.7:

A Night Attack They pitched their tents one afternoon by a lagoon not far from the Mitchell. All seemed quiet and peaceful when the men lay down to sleep. No watch was set. During the night, natives attacked the camp. Spears were thrown into the tents and two of the party were wounded. A spear pierced Gilbert through the chest, and he died. The natives were driven off, and next day Gilbert was buried.

Source 6.6. *"A night attack"* extract from *Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/ 1962/1966, p. 67)

and;

Sometimes the natives were friendly, but on one occasion an attacking party had to be fired on. At one place beyond the Roper, natives gathered at sunset near their camp. They set fire to the grass and tried to frighten the white men by howling like a pack of dingoes.

Source 6.7. *"Sometimes the natives were friendly"* extract from *Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/ 1962/1966, p. 68).

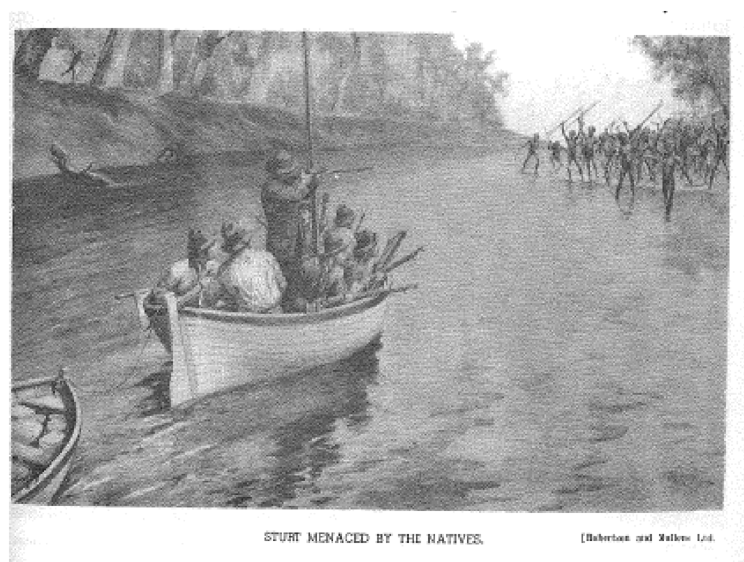
Demonstrating Indigenous Australians categorised as an homogenous group is exemplified in the following paragraph from *Australia: Colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963). Here, the experiences of four explorers from four separate explorations are pieced together in order to make a point about the Indigenous population being the cause for difficulties of exploring the inland regions of Australia.

> There was also the menace of hostile aborigines. Giles' party was attacked nine times while crossing the western deserts and, if Stuart's party had not been attacked by a large band of warriors at Attack Creek, they might have crossed the continent on their first attempt in 1860. 'It would be destruction to all my party for me to go on,' Stuart wrote. The luckless Kennedy was fatally speared by blacks in the jungles of Cape York Peninsula, and Eyre's companion Baxter met with a similar fate in the desert. (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 113)

In this paragraph, titled *Difficulties of Exploring the Inland* within *Chapter 10: Explorers of the Inland*, blame is explicitly attributed to Indigenous Australians for causing the explorers to face certain insurmountable problems in their exploration of inland Australia. Terms such as "menace of hostile aborigines", "large band of warriors" and "speared by blacks" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 113) are all credited with causing exploration failures. Characteristics attributed to the Indigenous people's interactions with explorers are ones of violence and hostility. At no time, in this paragraph or entire section, are the perspectives of Indigenous Australians provided to the reader so that a more comprehensive understanding can be gained as to why the various Indigenous populations may not have welcomed the explorers when entering land which they traditionally used as the custodians.

In addition to blame being attributed to violent Indigenous Australians, two sets of explorers, Kennedy in Far North Queensland; and Eyre and Baxter in the South Australian desert are specifically mentioned in the narrative. Two of the explorers, Kennedy and Baxter were

killed by Indigenous Australians; Eyre being the only survivor. What is completely omitted though is that both Kennedy and Eyre had Indigenous companions who stayed with them through the violence, assisted them, remained loyal to the explorers afterwards and turned their back on their traditional way of life, and in the case of Eyre's companion, Wylie, refused requests by two other Indigenous men to leave Eyre and travel with them after the murder of Baxter. Yet, this is not mentioned anywhere in the narrative (and Jacky Jacky only once further in the textbook, see Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 115). It is as if neither Jacky Jacky (Kennedy's companion) nor Wiley (Eyre's companion) existed, despite the significant role they played in this period of exploration.



Source 6.8. *"Sturt menaced by the natives"*, a half page picture from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* featured in the narrative about Sturt's exploration (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 113)

Although an expedition headed by Sturt ended peacefully, throughout the narrative, there are distinctive discourses of violence prevalent. The image accompanying the narrative in *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (see Source 6.8) is presented as black and white, possibly reproduced from a colour oil painting. The overall scene is of large river, at the junction of the Murray and Darling Rivers with trees around the river banks. In the foreground are seven explorers in a small rowing boat. One man is standing and pointing a gun, and the others have their guns with them. The background shows a crowd of Indigenous men dressed in traditional clothes adorned with war paint and waving spears above their heads. Some are in the water, as though they are walking towards the boat.

The two groups in the picture, the explorers and the Indigenous men, are shown as oppositional, as enemies, positioned on opposite extremes of the image, with the explorers in the front left of the image (immediate foreground) and group of Indigenous men in the back right of the image (far background). The perspective of this image is from an explorer's view, watching the violent clash begin. By having the image painted from this perspective, it is as if the 'observer' is part of the party of explorers, creating sympathy for the explorers in meeting the aggression of the attacking Indigenous men. As a result, the actions of the explorers in using gun powder to protect themselves, is legitimized. The caption of the image indicates that it is the Indigenous men who are the perpetrators of violence, reading: "Sturt Menaced by the Natives" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 113).

This image is typical of those found throughout this textbook, with the only visual representations of Indigenous Australians portrayed as either perpetrators of violence or in their traditional tribal[11] lifestyles. School students were provided with a clear message that the only *visual* representations of Indigenous people are as formidable, physically imposing, weapon carrying perpetrators or actors of violence and as belonging to a world separate from their own. In the images, Indigenous Australians are dressed in traditional clothes with face paint and traditional weapons.

Regarding specific terms used in *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4*, "savages" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 113) is used only in the context of primary source documents; however this is not contextualised at all. So, although the author of this textbook does not use this term, instead opting for the (at the time) more progressive and socially acceptable terms "natives" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 114) and "aborigines" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 113), by not clearly articulating or contextualising the use of the term *savage*, students are receiving the non-articulated, and

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[11] My use of the term *tribe* and *tribal* throughout this dissertation (and outside of primary source documents) is not applied in the colonial sense of the term, described in part by Davidson as

> ...since the dominant, evolutionist theory of the time placed 'tribal societies' low on the ladder of human development, it seemed inevitable, and right, that they should fall under the control of developed Western nations. The dominance of structural functionalism in the anthropology of the colonial period maintained the key importance of clearly bounded tribal groups as the unit of analysis. (2004, p. 209)

Instead, it is used as a convenient and not irregular term to group Indigenous Australians in common family (kins and moiety systems) and geographical areas in a 'traditional' (meaning pre-colonial) environment and cultural way of living. It is also noted, that aligned with the work of 19th century African intellectuals, identity construction also occurs outside of tribal boundaries (Davidson, 2004).

possibly unintended message that the use of this term to describe Indigenous Australians is acceptable. After all Sturt, a well known and widely respected explorer uses the term, as seen in Source 6.9.

The aborigines shook their spears and shouted angrily. They were ready to attack. Sturt saw that the battle might begin at any moment. He did not want to have to kill any of the dark-skinned people but he aimed his gun at them. Sturt, telling the story later wrote, "A few seconds more would have closed the life of the nearest of the savages. I was determined to take deadly aim, in hopes that the fall of one man might save the lives of many."

Source 6.9. *"The aborigines shook their spears"* extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 113).

While the term "savage" had been used widely in the earlier part of the twentieth century, for example in the historical novel, *Settler and savage* (De Boos, 1906), the term was used less and less by the time of this era, with some notable exceptions, such as the children's book *The courteous savage* (Durack, 1964). So, putting aside the anomaly use of the term *savage*, the other terms *aborigines* and *natives* regardless of their social acceptance of the term in the time period this textbook was written, create and sustain an anonymous, unknowable representation of Indigenous Australians, unable to specifically identify individuals or tribal groupings. Furthermore, the common placement of a lowercase 'a' rather than an uppercase 'A' used to describe Indigenous Australians reinforces the low level of importance attributed to this group.

A topic that emerges in the discourse of violence is demonstrated in the story of Sturt's exploration of the Murray, which reads like an adventure story, with the focus of the narrative on violent skirmishes avoided. When detailing the particular skirmish avoided in this sample narrative, there is a focus on highlighting the explorer as the 'voice of reason' using negotiation or relationship building skills in order to avoid conflict. For example,

> During his journey down the river, Sturt met tribes of aborigines who made their camps on the banks of the stream. He was always kind to the natives and often gave them presents. *It was fortunate for him that he had won the friendship of these people*. (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 113, emphasis added)

Followed with:

> His [Sturt's] rescuers were aborigines with whom he had made friends farther up the river. It was not long before Sturt was in the middle of an excited crowd of natives who wished now to be his friends. *His kindness to the natives had brought its own reward*. (Department of Education, 1954/ 1963/1966, p. 114, emphasis added)

The two extracts demonstrate the explorers (encapsulated by Sturt) as acting rationally, whereas the Indigenous people need to be calmed and actively encouraged by gift giving and performances to cease being irrational. This legitimises the explorers' presence on Indigenous land. Here, an unspoken binary between rational, *white* explorers and irrational *black* Indigenous people is operating, whereby it is the duty of the rational explorer to calm the irrational Indigenous people, completely ignoring that the explorers were in essence using land that was not theirs.

6.4.2 Discourses of peaceful interactions.

This discourse, highlighting examples of peaceful interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers includes topics such as exchanging of gifts and instances of assistance provided by Indigenous people to the explorers. Whilst the majority of instances of interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers reported in school textbooks during this era tell of violence, Source 6.10 provides an example of non-violent interactions, through the gifting of a tomahawk to an Indigenous man by the explorer Sturt when travelling (not for the first time) down the Murray River.

Natives. An old native visited them there and showed great pleasure when he saw Sturt. He remembered Sturt when he had come down the Murray in his whaleboat fourteen years before.

Other natives were seen as the party moved up the Darling. Feed was plentiful. The sheep gave no trouble, for they followed along like faithful dogs.

At one sandy stretch of the river Sturt came upon a native and his wife. She carried a baby, and their little boy was helping his father, who was cutting a sheet of bark from a tree to make a canoe. His only tool was a stone tomahawk, and Sturt saw that with it he would hardly finish his work before dark.

Sturt sent for an iron tomahawk, which he gave to the native. With it he quickly cut the sheet from the tree trunk.

He then got it ready for launching by blocking up its ends with clay. Putting it into the water, he placed his wife and the baby in it. Giving her a spear to use as a paddle, he pushed her away from the bank. The canoe was not big enough to hold the little fellow too. He jumped into the water and struck out bravely.

The mother kept close beside him in the canoe, and the father stood on the bank encouraging his little son. At length they all landed in safety.

Then the native came to return the tomahawk, which he thought had only been lent to him. However, Sturt was so pleased with what he had seen that he made the man understand that the axe was now his own. The delighted father plunged into the river and soon rejoined his family.

Source 6.10. *"Natives"* extract from *Social Studies for Queensland Schools Grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 54)

In Source 6.10, the language use is largely respectful of both explorers and Indigenous Australians, applying discourses of family to the group met by Sturt. The inclusion of this narrative is legitimised to demonstrate a superiority of European built technology through the provision of the iron tomahawk to replace the stone one the Indigenous family had. It is also an example that demonstrates not all interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers were violent, and that in different parts of the country, reactions by the Indigenous population to the explorers (and vice versa) were non-violent. This adds a level of complexity to representations of these two groups.

Another example of peaceful interactions can be seen through the disastrous and ultimately fatal exploration of Burke and Wills in the New South Wales and Queensland outback. The inclusion of Indigenous representations in *Social Studies for Queensland Schools Grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966) is due to their helping the explorers. Wills recorded in his diary:

> "I find myself," he wrote, "altogether too weak and exhausted. In fact I have extreme difficulty in getting across the numerous creeks and gullies." Luckily he came upon some natives. "I was taken by the chief to a fire where a large pile of fish was just being cooked. These I imagined to be for the half dozen natives gathered around, but it turned out that they had already had breakfast. I was expected to eat the lot—a task which, to my astonishment, I soon performed, keeping two or three natives pretty steadily at work taking the bones out for me. Next came a supply of nardoo cake and water until I was so full as to be unable to eat any more." (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 65)

Source 6.11 demonstrates Indigenous Australians assisting the explorer, King; a companion to Burke and Wills.

King Was Saved. Let us read what the leader of the rescue party wrote.

"I crossed a large reach of water. At a neck of sand, and at a little distance, I again came upon the track of a camel going up the creek. At the same time I found a native who began to wave his arms about in a very excited manner, and to point down the creek bawling out, 'Gow! Gow!' as loud as he could.

"A little farther on I found my party halted and immediately went across to the natives' gunyahs where I found King sitting in a hut which the natives had made for him. He was wasted to a shadow. He seemed exceedingly weak and I found it difficult to understand what he said. The natives were all gathered round, seated on the ground, looking with a most pleased and delighted expression."

Kindness Rewarded. A few days later this explorer rewarded the natives. "I unpacked my blanket and took out specimens of the things I intended giving them—a tomahawk, a knife, beads, a looking-glass, a comb, flour, and sugar. The tomahawk was the great object of attraction, after that the knife; but I think the looking-glass surprised them most. On seeing their faces reflected, some seemed dazzled, others opened their eyes like saucers, and made a rattling noise with their tongues to show their wonder." Carrawan, an old lubra who had been kindest to King, was loaded with gifts. All the tribe received something. The natives showed their pleasure by holding a corroboree.

Source 6.11. *"King was saved"* extract from *Social Studies for Queensland Schools Grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/ 1966, p. 65)

Who these Indigenous Australians were, or which tribal group they belonged to is not ever mentioned, demonstrating the relative unimportance placed on the role of Indigenous people in Australia's early exploration history. Despite the fact that it was due to the local Indigenous population that King survived, the discourse of anonymity is strong in this narrative. Also, this narrative of Burke and Wills' exploration provides an example of Indigenous Australians and explorers *not* interacting violently and is an exception to other accounts that generally focus on violent conflict between the two groups. Here, unlike in other examples throughout the textbook (for example, when skirmishes between the explorers and Indigenous Australians are detailed), the traditional lifestyle of Indigenous people is legitimized by the struggle for survival of the explorers. What is interesting about this historical narrative is that although it initially follows a familiar theme of interactions between explorers and Indigenous Australians, the direction quickly takes a focus different to others recorded in this textbook, and the local Indigenous population and the explorers do not become enemies. Instead, the traditional lands and way of life of the Indigenous people are respected. However, despite this, and despite allowing King to live peacefully with them, the Indigenous tribe and individuals remain anonymous. So, on the one hand they are legitimized through being included in the story, but on the other hand they are not legitimized sufficiently to have their names included, despite each of the explorers and the main rescue party leader being explicitly named. Furthermore, there is no inclusion of any perspective of the Indigenous people who allowed King to live with them.

A third example of the discourses of peaceful interactions is based on an exploration. Here, the experience of Bass and Flinders aboard their small boat, the *Tom Thumb* is detailed, as a type of content organiser to lead into a discussion of the Indigenous Australians they encountered, with interactions occurring after landing ashore as explained in Source 6.12.

"Governor Hunter was very pleased with their work and was willing for them to set out the next year on another voyage south. The boat that they used this time was only a little larger than the tiny *Tom Thumb*, and so they gave it the same name. Before long they were short of water. When they saw a place where it seemed likely that there might be fresh water, Bass swam ashore with a cask. As he was trying to lift the cask of water aboard, a wave swamped the boat. Their muskets were wet and the powder was soaked. The explorers landed on the beach. Two natives came along and the white men were worried when more appeared. They knew that they would not be able to defend themselves until they could dry their powder and muskets.

Source 6.12. Bass and Flinders extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 71).

Demonstrating a sub discourse of Indigenous people as a novelty, the narrative explains that Flinders decided to cut the hair of the Indigenous people in order to avoid confrontation. This is communicated in the textbook through Source 6.13, which presents a child-like quality of Indigenous people.

"It was a serious position, but I have often thought that Bass and his comrade must have felt amused, just the same. Snip, snip, snip went the scissors, and while the other natives gazed in wonder, the one being barbered rolled his eyes, half pleased, yet half afraid. You can imagine him, when his beard had been trimmed, proudly showing it off and saying in his own way, 'Next, please.' When the powder was dry, the white men loaded their boat and boldly pushed out to sea.

Source 6.13. *"It was a serious position"* extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/ 1966, p. 72).

To conclude, Flinders performed the action described in Source 6.13, demonstrating ingenuity, to avoid a violent confrontation, and the success of this is confirmed by the passage ending: "When the powder was dry, the white men loaded their boat and boldly pushed out to sea" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966/1963, p. 72). But the larger unmistakable message running through this passage is that peaceful interactions between

Indigenous Australians is linked with treating the group as a novelty or childlike, manipulating behaviour through offering gifts or unneeded and unrequested services.

6.4.3 Discourses of anonymity and subjugation.

Within *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/ 1962/1966) a narrative within the broader topic of explorers primarily focuses on John Oxley and Alan Cunningham's early exploration of the Brisbane and Ipswich area (major cities of Queensland). This narrative centres on interactions between the local Indigenous population and the two explorers; rather than treating Indigenous people as peripheral players in historical narratives as occurs throughout the remainder of this textbook. Like the grade 4 textbook in this same series, Oxley and Cunningham's exploration is written to students as an adventure style genre, most likely to engage and sustain their attention and interest. The direct quotes included throughout the textbook narrative and quoted here, expressed through Oxley's voice, are from his diary entries.

Throughout the textbook, the Indigenous peoples Oxley and Cunningham come in contact with are not referred to by either name or tribal group, sustaining the anonymity and silencing of Indigenous Australians from the exploration era of the nation's history. Whilst it could be reasonably assumed that the early explorers did not form relationships with the Indigenous people sufficient to get to know their names or tribal affiliations, information at least about the tribal affiliations of those they came into contact with would be known by the 1960s, enabling the gaps of historical recounts to be filled. However, this does not occur, and the anonymity is maintained in a way that places little importance on Indigenous Australian histories. For, although the Indigenous people are at the cornerstone of this narrative, it is told solely from the perspective of the explorer, Oxley, with no mediation of meaning provided by the textbook authors to students. Instead, the information presented is treated as 'the truth' with no space provided for alternative perspectives.

Traits and characteristics attributed to Indigenous people include, for example, " 'We had scarce pitched the tents,' wrote Oxley, 'when we were visited by a party of natives, some of whom were very troublesome, endeavouring to steal everything they could lay their fingers on" (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 22). This, a representative statement from the narrative, positions Indigenous Australians as annoyances and petty thieves. The descriptions of behaviour underpins a general (albeit unspoken) ideology of racial inferiority.

On the other hand, traits and characteristics attributed to the explorers include, first, hardworking and focused, as represented in the following statement: “All through the next day they rowed upstream, suffering from thirst, for no fresh water could be found...Rowing against the current had been hard and tiring...” (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 22). Second, in relation to interactions with Indigenous Australians, only violent when retaliating against sustained aggravation, as epitomized in the following extract:

> They had been very troublesome, and Mr. Cunningham saw to getting things on shore and pitching the tent. When we returned, we found that a party of natives had found their way to our camp.
>
> ...
>
> Because Oxley and his men would not allow this native to come close to the tent, he became very angry indeed. Seizing a piece of wood he hurled it at Oxley. He was in the act of throwing a stone at Cunningham when one of the men fired at him.
>
> “He was struck on the left arm and side... (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 23)

This narrative, with the above statement as a representative sample, communicates to students that violent acts committed against Indigenous Australians are acceptable when explorers are provoked. On the one level, this is potentially praiseworthy of the explorers, and represents the actions of many of the explorers—their intention was *not* to engage in mass slaughter or indiscriminate acts of violence against Indigenous Australians. A thorough understanding of the historical context of the era of the explorers would also indicate that (although this is not explicitly mentioned in the textbooks of this era), they would have had a fear of Indigenous Australians. However, on another level, this and other passages clearly demonstrate that when Indigenous Australians are perceived as nuisances or engaging in petty criminal behaviour (from the perspective of the explorers), then violence is an acceptable method of achieving their goals of further land exploration (and, ultimately acquisition by the government). At no time is there an attempt to consider any other perspective related to interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers. For example, issues of explorers trespassing on traditional land and hunting grounds; using food and water sources; and disrupting sacred grounds are not considered in any way, much less given a voice. Overall, violence committed against all Indigenous people from the same tribe is a legitimate way for explorers to pursue their activities when theft or another petty crime is suspected of even only

one Indigenous person. There is a very distinct grouping of behaviour by one Indigenous Australian as being representative of all, in a way that does not occur for any other group, and gives further weight to the argument that this group is treated as subjugated by stereotyped traits.

6.4.4 Discourses of Indigenous knowledges.

An anomaly discourse that does not often present itself in textbooks from this era, with *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966) being a notable exception, is the valuing of Indigenous knowledges and lifestyles as superior to non-Indigenous knowledges. In this example, the inclusion of Indigenous Australians; although highlighting the superior knowledge the Indigenous people held (it is expressed in past tense in the textbook) about living in the desert where resources, such as water, are scarce; is still legitimised through their connection to the explorers. The perspective taken is that when Indigenous Australians have knowledge that the explorers will value, than it is considered noteworthy. Other Indigenous knowledges, such as kinship, are typically not included in textbooks during this era. Considering certain knowledges as valuable is communicated in the following statement:

> The natives were able to live in the desert because *they always knew where to find water*. Where the water was, lived the kangaroos and the emus and other birds which they hunted for food...They [Indigenous Australians] were angry because they through the strangers [explorers] and their horses would drink all the water. *Well they knew that water meant life*. (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 79, emphasis added).

6.4.5 Narratives of Batman's Treaty.

There is mention across several textbooks of farmer John Batman's[12] attempt to make a Treaty (the only treaty recorded in Australian history) with the local Indigenous population at the site of the current day Melbourne city. The three textbooks that make mention of

[12] John Batman, an Australian born settler moved from his birthplace of Parramatta (New South Wales), to Tasmania (then Van Dieman's Land) and was known for his capture of a bushranger. In 1835 he arrived by boat in what is now modern day Melbourne from Launceston, Tasmania with a group of other white settlers and Indigenous people (they were from Sydney). Batman, with the assistance of the Indigenous people, negotiated a so-called Treaty (that became known as Batman's Treaty) with the local Indigenous population, exchanging vast tracts of land for blankets, tomahawks and other items and with the promise that these types of goods would be supplied each year. The Treaty was soon abandoned as the government of the day, led by Governor Bourke, refused to recognise it.

Batman's Treaty do so with a great variance in detail and perspective. Given Batman's Treaty is both an anomaly to usual interactions with Indigenous Australians and generally not a well known aspect of Australia's history, the inclusion of this event in textbooks was unexpected. Although Batman is not an explorer in the conventional understanding of the term, given his actions during the early exploration period, including being one of the first persons of non-Indigenous descent to arrive in current-day Victoria (an Australian State), his attempt to create a treaty is included in this category.

Students are first introduced to Batman's treaty in *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966). The narrative (see Source 6.14) describes Batman's attempt to take advantage of the local Indigenous population in order to secure large tracts of land.

When natives gathered to watch what the strange white men were doing, Batman said, "This is their country. I shall try to buy some of their land."

He gave the natives blankets, knives, mirrors, flour, scissors, coloured handkerchiefs, and many other presents. He then asked them to sign a treaty making him owner of a large stretch of pasture land. So pleased were the chiefs with the wonderful gifts that they willingly put their queer marks on the paper. They also gave Batman a sod of earth showing that they agreed that now the land was his.

Source 6.14. Batman's Treaty extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, pp. 82-83).

Unfortunately for Batman, the government would not recognise this claim, as seen in Source 6.15.

Governor Bourke was wise. "Well, you can't expect to have your land for nothing," he said. "You'll have to pay for the use of it."

John Batman told the Governor that he had bought his land from the natives by means of a treaty.

"A treaty!" said the Governor. "Nonsense! The natives could not read what was on any paper you gave them to sign. Therefore, it is worthless. You must be content with a much smaller piece of land."

Source 6.15. Batman Treaty and Governor Bourke extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/ 1966, p. 83).

A term used consistently to describe Indigenous Australians throughout this narrative is "natives" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 82, 83). In addition "chiefs" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 83) is used to describe who Batman dealt with in negotiating his so-called Treaty. Even though Batman's Treaty with the local Indigenous population forms the focus of this narrative, very little content is directed at them; instead they are passive players, neither named nor their perspective heard. Regarding the negotiating and signing of the Treaty, knowledge is presented as unproblematic with no attempt in this textbook to engage students to think whether the Indigenous tribe (who did not speak the same language as Batman) actually understood that they were signing a treaty and the consequences of Batman's actions. Whilst later in the narrative the Governor is reported as saying "A treaty!...Nonsense! The natives could not read what was on any paper you gave them to sign. Therefore, it is worthless" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 83), there is no explicit articulation of the role played by the Indigenous tribe in this event. So, the underlying ideology present in this narrative is that even when the event directly relates to actions they are involved in, Indigenous Australians are not an important, voiced part of history.

In high school, students once again come in contact with Batman, with two of the textbooks containing information about him. The first is *Australia and the near north: The Commonwealth in the modern world volume 2* (Connole, 1962) and the second, *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore, Cotter & Elliott, 1969). The first text is an example of Indigenous Australians not being included in the History curriculum, with Source 6.16 discussing the early actions of Batman excluding any discussion of a treaty.

By 1834 the Henty brothers had crossed from Launceston to establish a homestead as well as a whaling station at Portland Bay. Soon others from across the Strait followed, led by Batman and Fawkner. By 1836, 177 had crossed bringing with them sheep, and property worth £110,000. Regular ferry services were commenced bringing settlers, sheep and cattle from the island which was then suffering economic hardships. Three lines of settlement are discernible in this settlement—the first and most important till the early '40's from Van Diemen's Land, the second from New South Wales followed Major Mitchell's route into the Western District or another route into the Goulburn Valley (this route became more traversed following a period of drought in the Riverina area) and the third from England which was not as great as either of the other two.

Source 6.16. Migration from Tasmania (then known as Van Diemen's Land) to present day Victoria extract from *Australia and the near north: The Commonwealth in the modern world volume 2* (Connole, 1962, p. 29).

It is significant to include Source 6.16 as it is a really illustrative example of just how much Indigenous Australians were under represented in textbooks during this era. A second example of Batman in a high school textbook reads:

> In 1835 John Batman from Van Diemen's Land landed near present day Melbourne, and finding a tribe of Aborigines, offered to buy their land. Batman made an unusual deal with them and 'bought' 600, 000 acres of land for a few tomahawks, mirrors, knives and blankets. While this seems laughable it was the first time that any white person had offered the native people of Australia anything in return for the land they had taken. Batman's claim to the land was not accepted by the authorities. (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 56)

In this small passage, no explanation of why this Treaty "seems laughable" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 56) is provided, nor attempts to mediate this for students. What can be deduced from content relating to Batman's Treaty is that as the most comprehensive coverage of Batman's Treaty is in the grade 4 Social Studies textbook, students will finish their schooling with only a very elementary understanding of the event.

6.4.6 Narratives of Jacky Jacky.

Jacky Jacky was a companion to the explorer Kennedy in far north Queensland. His story is significant due to the loyalty he displayed towards Kennedy, even after the death of Kennedy. Jacky Jacky (also referred to in history books as Jacky or Jackey) is categorised in this analysis with his own discourse as he presents as an anomaly to general representations of

Indigenous Australian interactions with explorers. A number of sub discourses within this broader one emerge. The first sub discourse, Indigenous Australians as a problem to be dealt with is analysed here. The explorers, through a non-articulated perspective of superior rights to explore, ignorant of the claims of Indigenous Australians to protect their land, presents interactions with Indigenous people as a nuisance in the way the flora was, with a passage from *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* reading:

> The natives were troublesome. Sometimes Kennedy was forced to fire upon them to frighten them off. Once, when the party was crossing a grassy plain, the natives set fire to the grass. The explorers were very fortunate to escape this danger without injury. (Department of Education, 1959/1962, 1966, p. 32)

Here, when Indigenous Australians attempt to make clear their intentions to protect or defend their land, their perspectives are not attributed to any legitimate argument, but rather seen as something that needs to be overcome, much the same way as the thick scrub needed to be cut down.

A second sub discourse that emerges is that of violence between Indigenous Australians and explorers. One point to make though, is that violence committed *by* the explorers is mitigated through the argument that it was initially the Indigenous people who allegedly goaded the explorers into violence, by following them and making (not overtly articulated in the narrative) threats of violence (see Source 6.17).

The Natives. To add to their worries the natives here were unfriendly. At one spot angry natives threw spears into the camp, forcing Kennedy to fire upon them. Four of the natives fell. Three of them were carried into the bush by their companions.

Source 6.17. *"The Natives"* extract from *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/ 1962/1966, p. 30).

A third sub discourse, and arguably the most significant with the broader discourse of experiences of Jacky Jacky; is the discourse of Indigenous Australians as anonymous. In this case, the Indigenous person at the focus of the narrative, Jacky Jacky bucks the usual trend that sees Indigenous Australians as anonymous and silenced actors in history narratives. Jacky Jacky presents as the only example in this textbook where an event is told from the

perspective of an Indigenous person, rather than from an explorer. This is very rare for any textbook in this era, and therefore presents as a type of legitimate alternative reading of history, where the ‘othered’ is given voice. It is not clearly articulated in the textbook how the account came to be recorded, however the narrative of Jacky Jacky provides an interesting and powerful insight into his perspective (see Source 6.18). This presents as a significant departure from the usual silencing of Indigenous voices. Furthermore, in terms of quantity of words provided to this recount by Jacky Jacky, it is significantly lengthier than most other primary source recounts in the textbook.

Jacky's Sad Story. This is the story of the death of Kennedy, as Jacky told it after his rescue.

"Now we went into a little bit of scrub and I told Mr. Kennedy to look behind always. Sometimes he would not look behind to look out for the blacks.

"Then a good many blackfellows came behind in the scrub, and threw plenty of spears, and hit Mr. Kennedy in the back first.

"Mr. Kennedy said to me, 'Oh! Jacky! Jacky! Shoot 'em, shoot 'em!' Then I pulled out my gun and fired, and hit one fellow all over the face with buckshot.

"He tumbled down and got up again, and again, and wheeled right round, and two blackfellows picked him up and carried him away.

"They went away then a little way, and came back again, throwing spears all around, more than they did before; very large spears.

"I pulled out the spear at once from Mr. Kennedy's back. Then Mr. Kennedy got his gun and snapped, but the gun would not go off. The blacks sneaked all along by the trees, and speared Mr. Kennedy again in the right leg, above the knee a little, and I got speared over the eye, and the blacks were now throwing spears all ways, never giving over, and shortly again speared Mr. Kennedy in the right side.

"I now told Mr. Kennedy to sit down while I looked after the saddlebags, which I did.

"When I came back again, I saw blacks along with Mr. Kennedy. I then asked him if he saw the blacks with him. He was stupid with the spear wounds and said, 'No.'

"Then I asked him where was his watch. I saw the blacks taking away the watch and hat as I was returning to Mr. Kennedy.

"Then I carried Mr. Kennedy into the scrub. He said, 'Don't carry me a good way.' Then Mr. Kennedy looked this way, very bad." (Jacky rolled his eyes.)

"I asked him, 'Mr. Kennedy are you going to leave me?' and he said, 'Yes, my boy, I am going to leave you.' He said, 'I am very bad, Jacky. You take the books, Jacky, to the captain, but not the big ones.'

"I then tied up the papers. He then said, 'Jacky, give me paper and I will write.' I gave him paper and pencil, and he tried to write, and he then fell back and died, and I caught him as he fell back and held him; and I then turned round myself and cried."

"CLOSE BEHIND THEM."

Source 6.18. *"Jacky's Sad Story"* extract from *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 32-33).

Source 6.18 is further unusual, as it describes the close friendship between Jacky Jacky and Kennedy, with discourses of loyalty (not to be confused as an equal standing between them) demonstrated through Jacky Jacky's recount, for example:

> "I asked him, 'Mr Kennedy are you going to leave me?' and he said, 'Yes, my boy. I am going to leave you.' He said, 'I am very bad, Jacky. You take the books Jacky to the captain, but not the big ones.'
>
> "I then tied up the papers. He then said, 'Jacky, me paper and I will write.' I gave him paper and pencil, and he tried to write, and he then fell back and died, and I caught him as he fell back and held him; and I then turned round myself and cried." (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 32-33)

It also tells of a disjuncture between Jacky Jacky and other Indigenous people of the area. Although not stated in the textbook, it is most likely Jacky Jacky did not belong to their kin group, thus the loyalty Jacky Jacky may otherwise have had to them could have resulted in different actions. Including different perspectives and conflicting actions between Indigenous Australians is an anomaly for a textbook that usually groups all Indigenous people together and attributes the same features, traits, qualities and characteristics regardless of individual opinions, actions and tribal groups. This complexity of relationships between different Indigenous groups is alluded to through the following first person account by Jacky Jacky:

> "Now we went into a little bit of scrub and I told Mr. Kennedy to look behind always. Sometimes he would not look behind to look out for the blacks.
>
> "Then a good many blackfellows came behind...and threw plenty of spears...
>
> "Mr. Kennedy said to me, 'Oh! Jacky! Jacky! Shoot 'em, shoot 'em!' Then I pulled out my gun and fired, and hit one fellow all over the face with buckshot. (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 32-33)

Even though Jacky Jacky is positioned in the *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* textbook as an important figure in Kennedy's exploration, his exclusion in other textbooks during this era demonstrates the tenuous relationship Indigenous representations has in core curriculum content. The following passage, which emphasizes the hostility of and attacks by the local Indigenous people, demonstrates the wide disparity in representations of Indigenous

Australians in history narratives. The contrast between *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* and *Australian in world history* (Logue, McLay, Pearson, & Sparkes, 1965) illustrates those differences:

> Kennedy was killed by Aborigines in 1848 near Cape York after exploring the eastern part of the peninsula.
>
> ...
>
> This pastoral expansion into the north was a really remarkable one, over vast distances, through a wilderness peopled by often hostile natives. However, the settlers had proved too eager, and, as Prof. J. Macdonald Holmes point out in *Our Open North*, by 1870 they were forced to withdraw from the Gulf Country. Drought and falling prices were the main problems, but there were many others—aboriginal attacks, lack of transport, insufficient capital for improvements, shortage of labour and insecurity of tenure. (Logue et al., 1965, p. 376, emphasis in original).

Australia: Colony to nation (Dunlop & Pike, 1963) also demonstrates the disparity of Indigenous representations, with the following paragraph, being the only mention of Jacky Jacky in the textbook, providing evidence of this:

> For almost seven months they pushed on, hacking a path through jungle so dense that they averaged little more than a mile a day. Their goal seemed almost in sight when Kennedy, leading a small advance party, was killed by aborigines. Jack Jacky, an aboriginal in his party, struggled on although wounded by spears and reached the waiting schooner. Of the remainder of Kennedy's companions at least six starved to death, and only two were ever rescued. (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 115)

By including such scant detail, the significant contribution of Jacky Jacky to Australian history, particularly his following Kennedy's instructions by taking his books and journals with him, is ignored, making Jacky Jacky an insignificant footnote to the exploration of Kennedy.

6.4.7 Narratives of Wiley.

Just as Jacky Jacky is an anomaly example of individual Indigenous people being explicitly named and the focus of a narrative, Wiley an Indigenous man who accompanied Eyre and Baxter's exploration of South Australia also shares in this anomaly. The naming of Wylie seems to legitimize his position in the expedition, highlighting the important role he played,

and perhaps demonstrates the importance Wylie had in assisting Eyre in his exploration. The narrative included in *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966) presents as an anomaly to those typical of interactions between Indigenous people and explorers. Here, there are three Indigenous men mentioned specifically, with only the name of one included, Wylie. Presented as an adventure story to school students, the narrative explains that three Indigenous men accompanied the explorers Eyre and Baxter. Two of the Indigenous men kill Baxter with the third, Wylie, remaining loyal to Eyre. Wylie receives no credit for his displays of loyalty, with the only reference made by Eyre of Wylie, included in this textbook being: "At the dead of night, in the wildest wastes of Australia, with the fierce wind raging, I was left with a single native, and him I could not trust. Both guns were gone. The rifle was useless, and also the pistol" (Department of Education, 1959/1962/ 1966, p. 75). Whilst, to be fair to Eyre, this account is from his diary entry of the time and it would *not* seem out of the ordinary that he would be suspicious of Wylie immediately following the death of his long time companion, Baxter, at the hands of the other two Indigenous men. However, what is not fair is that further in the narrative, when it becomes clear that Wylie shows nothing but loyalty to Eyre (until they are rescued some time later off the coast of South Australia, this part of their journey not included in the textbook), no further statement of Wylie's character is made in order to demonstrate that Eyre's fears were to become unfounded, particularly as, when later "The two native boys who had killed Baxter appeared and tried to entice Wylie to join them. He would not go, and stayed with Eyre" (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 75). Here, Indigenous Australians are treated with suspicion, and even when Wylie does not act violently and remains dependable to the explorer Eyre, this fact is not articulated overtly to the school students reading this narrative. Instead, the narrative overtly articulates an untrustworthy attitude towards Indigenous Australians, even the one who stood loyally with Eyre, and who, in fact, had alerted Eyre to the violent act of the other two Indigenous men with the exploration party. However, none of this is articulated in the narrative. So, whilst it is able to be justified why Eyre may be concerned at least initially for his wellbeing, the fact that Wylie remained with the explorer is never given any recognition.

6.4.8 Conclusion and general comments.

Given the quantity of information in this category, and in order to avoid a potentially fragmented discussion of the overall Indigenous representations with the theme of Indigenous interactions with explorers, it is appropriate to provide a conclusion and make some general

comments that bring together the variety of discourses present in the selected textbooks. In order to establish a comprehensive account of Indigenous Australians included and excluded in History and Social Studies textbooks, focusing on areas of textbooks that contained no Indigenous representations can be as important as identifying those that do. One such example is from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963). Except for the extended narrative on the decimation of Tasmania's Indigenous population, other references to Indigenous Australians in the textbook are disjointed, and not connected to any significant part of sections or historical narratives. Instead, they are relegated very much to the fringe of content, as incidental players in Australia's history of early colonization and exploration.

Even the treaty between Batman and the local Indigenous population of the Melbourne region is given scant attention, despite this being a monumental case in early contact and relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Here, two small paragraphs totaling only seven sentences (see Source 6.19) are included to cover the attempt at a treaty between Batman and the local Indigenous population, noting that their tribal affiliation or individual names are not provided to the reader, furthering the discourse of anonymity. Only one sentence includes information about the treaty, which reads: "It was officially declared that he [Batman] had no just claims to the vast lands mentioned in his treaty with the aborigines" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 48). There is no mention of what the treaty consisted of, how it was negotiated and the reasons why the government did not acknowledge it. Instead, a fragmented history of early interactions between farmers and Indigenous Australians is included that is far removed from an established historical context. It could be argued that including any mention of Indigenous Australians in this narrative is legitimized only as an anecdote of the rivalry between Fawkner and Batman (two early land holders in the Melbourne district) and their respective successes and failures.

Another party, under the leadership of John Pascoe Fawkner, a Launceston newspaper proprietor, had established themselves on the Yarra bank at the spot which Batman had reached. Fawkner was a businessman. He visualized the tide of settlement that would soon follow and built his cottage and a store. This was the beginning of Melbourne, the city that was to grow on "the site for a village".

Here Fawkner prospered but Batman was not so fortunate. It was officially declared that he had no just claims to the vast lands mentioned in his treaty with the aborigines. He was, however, given a grant of land valued at several thousand pounds.

Source 6.19. Batman and Fawkner extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 48).

The following passage, from *Australia: Colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963) provides an example of Indigenous representations missing in history that really positions Indigenous Australians as a type of subaltern ‘Other’ on the fringe of History curriculum content. For example, there is no mention of Wylie and his contribution.

> Pushing northward the little part was barred by sand Spinifex desert. With their strength sadly reduced through shortage of water and rations, they were finally turned back, after an encounter with warlike aborigines on June 26, 1860, having reached a point 1,500 miles north of Adelaide. (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 116)

Furthermore, this point can be supported by another paragraph in this textbook which draws on the story of Burke and Wills and the rescue of King. The narrative reinforces the point of Indigenous Australians being on the fringe or periphery of curriculum, reading:

> Instead of following Brahe, Burke persuaded Wills and King to strike for Mount Hopeless. After aimless wanderings they returned to the depot. Burke and Wills perished miserably, though King—the sole survivor of their small party—was eventually rescued by Howitt’s relief expedition. (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 118)

To conclude, as the examples throughout this section demonstrate, primarily the representations of Indigenous Australians within stories of the early explorers are included not as integral to the narrative, but rather as on the periphery, as a way to inject some aspect of drama into a story. The larger implications of exploration on issues such as Indigenous cultures, way of life, connection to land, and the right to live peacefully are not taken into account, nor mentioned, with the narrative not linked to any context outside of the immediate story of explorers. So, if Indigenous Australians were not included in the narrative, it would neither add nor take away from the overall story, save some drama.

6.5 Category 2: Frontier Conflicts

Arguably, one of the most controversial topics in Australian history is the conflicts between former convicts, early squatters (farmers), government officers and Indigenous Australians in the period from the mid-19th century to the early-20th century. These acts of violence, although not generally connected with one another, are broadly classified under the term *Frontier Conflicts*, and have had a significant role to play in the history/culture wars, with various debates held about the accuracy of the conflicts reported in recent history publications and extent to which there were violent conflicts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. These debates are outlined in *Appendix A: Contexts.* It is now commonplace to hear of the Frontier Conflicts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in the early stages of Australia's history of colonisation both in school and public contexts. This rise in profile of past conflicts can be attributed to Australian historians such as Henry Reynolds (1987, 1995) whose research on Indigenous Australians has highlighted brutality and violence committed by the early colonists and has also examined examples of resistance by Indigenous Australians. His perspectives are counteracted by fellow-historian Keith Windschuttle (2002) whose research disputes that of H. Reynolds, claiming, in part, that deaths as a result of conflicts have been exaggerated and in some instances fabricated. So, whilst knowledge of these events is now widespread, and forms part of the current optional Queensland Senior School Modern History curriculum; during this era, it was uncommon for specific and collective terminology to be given to the violent clashes that form what is now referred to as the Frontier Conflicts.

In the main, three specific conflicts are included in Social Science and History textbooks during this era, being: the decimation of Tasmania's aboriginals; the Myall Creek massacre; and the Whyte brothers' murder of local Indigenous people. They are included for analysis here as representative of the violence committed against Indigenous Australians in Australia's early colonial history.

6.5.1 Discourses of conflict origins.

General conflicts, outside of noted and major ones, between Indigenous Australians and early squatters are included in *The first hundred years* (Palmer & McLeod, 1954/1964). Here, the authors construct a descriptive narrative that seeks to explain the origins of the conflicts that arose between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. However, even though the concept of "invasion" (Palmer & McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 59) is attributed to introduced herd

livestock, there is no deeper explanation provided of the original source of the conflicts between the two groups, and does not make problematic or offer any critique of the decision of non-Indigenous Australians to migrate to areas under traditional land guardianship of Indigenous tribes. Instead, a reason provided for conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is attributed to scarcity of resources. Conflict is thus justified as a arising as a consequence of lack of natural resources (see Source 6.20).

Conflicts between the advancing squatters and the aborigines also demanded action on the spot, and later Protectors of Aborigines were appointed. On the coast, the white men had built their settlements on river-mouths and on the banks of creeks and rivers without much opposition from the aborigines: in the well-watered areas, there were always other sources of water to which the native people could retreat. But on the inland plains, the conflict came to a head. The aborigines depended on the lagoons, creeks and waterholes as a source not only of water but of food. At the precious permanent water supplies, fish were netted and trapped, birds of all sorts gathered and animals came to drink. But the squatters also needed the waterholes and creeks for their flocks, and the invasion by sheep, cattle and horses drove away the native birds and animals, and so destroyed the centuries-old way of living of the wandering tribes.

Source 6.20. *"Conflict between the advancing squatters and the aborigines"* extract from *The first hundred years* (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 59)

Landmarks (Blackmore et al., 1969) includes the following passage as the second of two narratives on the Frontier Conflicts:

> Between 1926 and 1934 a series of incidents stirred the public conscience. In 1928, for example, Aborigines killed a dingo shooter. An expedition of white men shot thirty-two Aboriginal men and women in retaliation. The court of enquiry held that the shootings were justified. (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 165)

Information is not provided how this "stirred the public conscience" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 165), as no consequence or outcome of the impact of the decision handed down by the court that declared 32 Indigenous Australians were shot as a result of the death, even if it was murder, of one non-Indigenous person. There seems to be a theme of the *Wild West* running through this narrative whereby if you happen to be of the same demographic as someone else accused of a crime, then you are vulnerable to prosecution. How the decision was made to declare the "shootings were justified" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 165) is not made explicit to students.

6.5.2 Discourses of eye-witness accounts.

The first hundred years (Palmer & McLeod, 1954/1964) provides two primary source perspectives of the conflicts between Indigenous Australians and the early advancing squatters. However, to the detriment of providing students with a coherent and comprehensive historical narrative, neither of the perspectives is mediated for the students nor explanations provided of the accounts absent. In addition, no endeavour is made to engage the students in higher order thinking. Considering this textbook was written for high school students, including this information is not an unrealistic expectation. The first primary source, titled *Men attack aborigines*, centres on a massacre committed by the Whyte brothers on their property (see Source 6.21).

2. *Men attack aborigines*

'The first day I went over the Wando Vale station to look at the ground I found old Maggie (that Sir Thomas Mitchell gave the tomahawk to) fishing for mussels with her toes, in a waterhole up to her middle, near where the Major crossed the stream. . . . Nearly all her male relatives were killed three days before I arrived on the Wando by the Whyte Brothers. Three days after the Whytes arrived, the natives of this creek, with some others, made up a plan to rob the new comers, as they had done the Messrs. Henty before. They waited an opportunity, and cut off 50 sheep from Whyte Brothers' flock, which were soon missed and the natives followed; they had taken shelter in an open plain with a long clump of tea-tree, which the Whyte Brothers' party, seven in number, surrounded, and shot them all but one. Fifty-one men were killed, and the bones of the men and sheep lay mingled together bleaching in the sun at the Fighting Hills.'

Source 6.21. *"Men attack aborigines"* extract from *The first hundred years* (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 60).

Who the person is that wrote this recollection is not named. In this extract, Indigenous Australians are referred to either by name, in the case of "Maggie", or as a collective, "natives" (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 60). The violence committed by the Whyte brothers on the property Wando Vale is justified as "…the natives of this creek, with some others, made up a plan to rob the new comers, as they had done the Messrs. Henty before. They waited an opportunity, and cut off 50 sheep…" (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 60). The stealing of sheep is used as the impetus to engage in violent conflict with the local Indigenous population and as a result, the Whyte Brothers and those with them killed 51 Indigenous people. This horrific result is not given any justification other than retaliation for stealing sheep, nor is any historical explanation or explicit justification provided for the school students reading the text. Instead, a message is provided (not overtly, and perhaps not

intentionally by the authors, but nevertheless it is present), that the mass killing of Indigenous Australians is neither cause for emotion or punishment by the perpetrators.

The second primary source narrative takes a significantly different perspective, and is written by an unnamed daughter of a squatter in Queensland. The general message of the extract (see Source 6.22) centres on the dual living arrangements on her father's property, and the peaceful relations between the local Indigenous Australians and her father as a result of traditional hunting grounds, water sources and camping areas being respected.

To help understand the point of view of both the blacks and the squatters, it is interesting to read what the daughter of a Queensland squatter remembered of the tribe that formerly occupied the site of her father's cattle run:

Why the blacks defended their territory

'This tribe never molested our cattle or our sheep. Its rights to camp in the old haunts, to hunt kangaroos, opossums and fish, and to hold the Bunya-nut feast on the hills were respected, and it respected my father's property in return. If a tribe were chased away from its native district, its own place on the river or among the hills, there was no place for it anywhere else. The surrounding country belonged to other tribes, who allowed no trespasser on their preserves; the displaced tribe became outcast and homeless, and often died miserably. The first settler knew nothing of these tribal laws, of the totem's home, or of the virtue pertaining to certain places. We must weigh this fact in passing judgment on him. He found fires started from a camp raging through his grass in a dry season, when there was no hope of rain to set it growing again, and this meant heavy loss of stock. He thought it quite reasonable to rule the blacks out of the station boundaries, since he imagined the blacks to have the freedom of all Australia, and might as well look for Bunya-nuts on one hill as another. When the black man refused to give up his old camping ground, grew revengeful and speared cattle, or even men, he was driven away as an enemy and, in some places, shot. It was not till years after my childhood that I learnt of cruelties to the blacks, and I refused at first to believe it possible. This I know, that there were very many places where the natives were treated with kindness and affection, and that much of the harshness was due to ignorance and misunderstanding. But for actual cruelty, which unfortunately cannot be denied, no excuse is possible.'

Source 6.22. Squatter's daughter's narrative extract from *The first hundred years* (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/ 1964, pp. 60-61)

What this narrative clearly demonstrates is that knowledge of violence and cruelty committed against Indigenous Australians was well known at the time of it happening, even by those who did not participate in or condone these acts. This is particularly accentuated for the reader in the last three sentences of the narrative (see Source 6.22), which reads:

> It was not till years after my childhood that I learnt of cruelties to the blacks, and I refused at first to believe it possible. This I know, that there were very many

places where the natives were treated with kindness and affection, and that much of the harshness was due to ignorance and misunderstanding. *But for actual cruelty, which unfortunately cannot be denied, no excuse is possible*. (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 61, emphasis added).

Although the two primary sources included in this section of the textbook are of two different perspectives, at no stage are the perspectives of any Indigenous Australians given. Instead, Indigenous Australians are written *about* not *by*. So, the students are only ever receiving the perspective of a someone who is non-Indigenous, furthering the likelihood of Indigenous Australians being seen as victims of history and in need of being 'looked after' and afforded protection; rather than being in control of their lives and events which shape their experiences.

6.5.3 Discourses of justice.

In Source 6.23, one of two narratives within discourses of justice; blame is not attributed to either the Indigenous population or "squatters" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 164) for engaging in what is referred to simply as a "conflict" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 164). Rather, it is reported in this narrative as "each side took direct action with predictable results" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 164). The example provided of the Frontier Conflicts is a case on the Wando Vale (called Wannon in the narrative) property in 1849 where the owners, the Whyte brothers, retaliate after a group of local Indigenous Australians, by all accounts, purposefully steal a herd of sheep. On the one hand the textbook appears sympathetic to the violent outcome, with a primary source account of the event pre-empted with "the story of the slaughter of Aborigines" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 164). Use of the term *slaughter* indicates some kind of sympathy towards the victims of the violent clash. However, this is somewhat contradicted when, at the end of the primary source accounts which concludes with "There was, therefore, no trial, *although it was with some show of justice maintained that several of the blacks had been shot when the conflict was over* and the sheep recovered" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 165, emphasis added). The reader is not told who shot the Indigenous Australians, nor is the reason for referring to their death as *justice* resolved. Whilst it could be accurately asserted that because stealing sheep is a crime, then punishment needs to be dealt out, the level of unequal violence without anyone being brought forth to face justice in the legal system is not mediated or resolved for the students reading the textbook.

The occupation of the land by the squatters in the 1830s and 1840s led to increasing conflict. Each side took direct action with predictable results.

A nineteenth century historian tells the story of the slaughter of Aborigines on the Wannon property of the Whyte brothers, near Hamilton, in 1840: 'A tribe had appeared at the station and surreptitiously driven off some hundreds of sheep. The owners and some friends, five gentlemen in all, with four men belonging to the run, started in pursuit, but they were not sooner come within reach of missiles than a shower of spears was thrown, of which one passed through a gentleman's leg. It seemed clear that the blacks were resolved to defend the sheep they had taken. The white men fired a volley, and a general fight began; it lasted about an hour, and resulted in the death of thirty-six blacks, none of the white men being seriously wounded. The Whytes duly reported the circumstances to the authorities. The matter was put into the hands of Mr Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, but after due enquiry he came to the conclusion that there was no case. For it had been settled in the law courts that if the Crown issued to anyone a licence to depasture his flocks in a certain district he had a perfect right to defend them with arms against robbers who came in arms to remove them. There was, therefore, no trial, although it was with some show of justice maintained that several of the blacks had been shot when the conflict was over and the sheep recovered.'

Source 6.23. *"The occupation of the land by the squatters"* extract from *Landmarks* (Blackmore et al., 1969, pp. 164-165).

A significant component of the one and a half page narrative that constitutes the majority of the representation of Indigenous Australians in *Australia in world history volume 1* (Logue et al., 1965) covers the Frontier Conflicts (see Source 6.24).

> In the spread of settlement, the Aboriginal inevitably lost his traditional hunting grounds, and often tried to take vengeance on the white man. In the more distant parts, the governor's authority and supervision were limited, and in the rough conditions of frontier life, both white and black men suffered. Half the males of one tribe were killed at Pinjarrah near Perth in 1834; the settlements, in West Australia, were dispersed and the natives seemed a very real threat in the new colony. The Myall Creek murders of more than twenty Aborigines aroused a public outcry and seven shepherds were hanged in spite of their claim that they 'were not aware that in killing the blacks we were violating the law . . . it was so frequently done before'. Soon after the first settlement was made, there were instances of convicts being speared while on working parties away from the main groups. There were some vicious attacks on white settlers in the Moreton Bay district and in what is now Central Queensland—one estimate is that 250 white men lost their lives in nineteen years. The worst cases were at Hornet Bank with eleven white men, women and children killed, and Cullin-la-ringo where nineteen were murdered. Often the victims were themselves kindly disposed to the Aborigines; they were paying a penalty for some injustice or misunderstanding on the part of other white settlers. Retaliation by white men took the lives of many Aborigines, but the white man's diseases and his food accounted for many more deaths. There were probably about 300,000 Aborigines in Australia in 1788, now there are fewer than 40,000 full-blood natives and some 31,000 half-castes.

Source 6.24. *Frontier Conflicts* extract from *Australia in world history volume 1* (Logue et al., 1965, p. 352)

From reading this extract, a number of issues become immediately obvious. First, there is a sense of inevitability of history that is being overtly communicated to students. The first line of this extract reads, “In the spread of settlement, the Aboriginal inevitably lost his traditional hunting grounds...” (Logue et al., 1965, p. 352). A problematic analysis of this so-called inevitability does not take place, and instead historical events are presented to students as though no other course of events could have been possible. This neutralisation of history presents as a broad sweeping stroke of events in the nation’s past.

The second issue is the acts of violence committed by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Here, rather than solely positioning the Indigenous population as victims, this group is presented in multiple ways. One way is receiving justice for atrocities committed in the case of the Myall Creek massacre. Although not mentioned in the textbook, this massacre is widely noted as the first instance of a guilty verdict against non-Indigenous people for the murder of Indigenous Australians. The textbook represents the massacre in the following way:

> The Myall Creek murders of more than twenty Aborigines aroused a public outcry and seven shepherds were hanged in spite of their claim that they ‘were not aware

> that in killing the blacks we were violating the law...it was so frequently done before'. (Logue et al., 1965, p. 352)

The inclusion of information of this event is justified (in the textbook) as it provides an example to students of acts of justice against violent perpetrators. However, no historical context or understanding is provided of the wider injustices that give weight to the shepherd's claim of other killings of the Indigenous population, leaving students with a very limited exposure to and certainly inadequate understanding of the event.

Indigenous Australians are also represented as unprovoked perpetrators of violence against non-Indigenous people, for example after providing information on numbers of "white settlers" and "convicts" (Logue et al., 1965, p. 352) killed by Indigenous Australians, the narrative concludes with "often the victims were themselves kindly disposed to the Aborigines; they were paying a penalty for some injustice or misunderstanding on the part of other white settlers" (Logue et al., 1965, p. 352). Representing Indigenous Australians as perpetrators of violence could be done in order to demonstrate that the Indigenous population *did* attempt to fight back against aggressors, or it could be to mitigate the actions of the non-Indigenous Australians who committed acts of violence as a type of ongoing conflict where neither party is either solely to blame or solely blameless. As this is not clearly expressed in the narrative, only suppositions can be made regarding this. A third representation is through giving voice to statistics of deaths of Indigenous people by non-violent means, as a direct consequence of colonisation, which include fatalities as a result of illness, with the narrative stating: "...the white man's diseases and his food accounted for many more deaths. There were probably about 300,000 Aborigines in Australia in 1788, now there are fewer than 40,000 full-blood natives and some 31,000 half castes" (Logue et al., 1965, p. 352).

Interestingly, after a three quarter page narrative on events of what is now widely known as the Frontier Conflicts, the three questions under the sub-heading "For Research and Discussion" that accompany this section of the textbook include no questions about Indigenous Australians, focusing instead on experiences of, for example, squatters during the 19th century. A conclusion that can be drawn from this is that Indigenous representations remain on the fringe of curriculum content able to be included and excluded at any time. Content is included only to provide students with a very basic level of knowledge and understanding of Indigenous representations in historical events.

6.6 Category 3: Tasmanian Indigenous Australians

6.6.1 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as a 'problem' to be dealt with through government policy.

In discussing the conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, samples of terms used to describe Indigenous Australians include "aborigines" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 74, 75), "blacks" (Dunlop & Pike p. 74, 75), "primitive Tasmanian race" (Dunlop & Pike p. 75) and couched within a discourse of being a "social problem" (Dunlop & Pike p. 74). Traits explicitly attributed to Indigenous Australians are first as a "peaceable, friendly people" (Dunlop & Pike p. 74) and after provocation and the internment of all Tasmania Indigenous Australians, referred to as "primitive" (Dunlop & Pike p. 75). Similarly, language used in *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969) to describe the genocide of Tasmania's Indigenous population attributes blame of the social issues that emerged to "ex-convicts and the Bass Strait sealers" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 51). This perspective holds specific groups in the community to blame for the "problem" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 51) that arose when relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians had negative repercussions. The government is left out of any discourse that suggests it had a role to play in the situation, instead placed in the position of ending conflict, with the narrative stating of the government activity of removing the Indigenous population from their traditional lands as "eventually the problem was 'solved' when in 1888 the last Tasmanian Aborigine died" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 51). Although the word *solved* is placed in quote marks indicating the authors do not share the opinion that this was an appropriate address of the issue, with no mediating of other possibilities or the wider ramifications of this policy, students are provided with an incomplete profile of the government policies towards Tasmanian Aboriginals in the 1800s. There is no problematising of the removal of Indigenous Australians, with language such as "dying race" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 51) used, nor is this term placed in an historical context.

The government policy of the time to stop violence between the Indigenous Australians and the colonisers is described in this narrative as two forms of actions. The first, a "Black Drive" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 74) whose purpose was to "...sweep all the surviving aborigines into the Tasman Peninsula, ended in the capture of one old man and a boy, for an outlay of £30,000" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 74) did not meet with success. Therefore, a second and

ultimately successful (from the perspective of the government) measure was put in place whereby George Robinson, who had interacted positively with the Tasmanian Indigenous Australians agreed or volunteered to live with the Indigenous population and persuade them to "surrender to the authorities" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 75), and in return receive protection from physical violence being committed against them. Although not explicitly stated in the textbook, by referring to Robinson as "...a warm-hearted working man with some knowledge of the language and ways of the aborigines..." (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 74); the authors are indicating that Robinson's intentions were honourable and well-meaning, even if the results are now considered devastating, as the following extract shows.

> Arthur's next social problem was the friction between the white settlers and the aborigines. Originally peaceable, friendly people, the Tasmanian aborigines were provoked by the outrageous conduct of many of the convicts to such an extent that the bitterest hatred developed between the two races, with killings on either side. Mass shootings took heavy toll of the blacks. An aboriginal Protection Committee failed miserably to handle the situation and Arthur's next step—the famous Black Drive—provide even less successful. This great armed drive, which aimed to sweep all the surviving aborigines into the Tasman Peninsula, ended in the capture of one old man and a boy, for an outlay of £30,000.
>
> George Robinson, a warm-hearted working man with some knowledge of the language and ways of the aborigines, was then allowed by Arthur to approach the problem from a more humanitarian angle. Going unarmed among the aborigines as the emissary of the Government, he finally prevailed upon almost all the blacks, by his patience and kindly confidence, to surrender to the authorities, who formed a settlement of some 200 of them on Flinders Island in 1835. Here this pitiful handful of survivors of the primitive Tasmanian race slowly sickened and died. By 1876 they were extinct. (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, pp. 74-75)

By including information with such brevity, not only is a thorough contextualisation of the events which led to the decimation of Indigenous Australians from Tasmania not able to be made, but the risk is that misinformation is provided to school students. For example, the last three sentences read: "...formed a settlement of some 200 of them on Flinders Island in 1835. Here this pitiful handful of survivors of the primitive Tasmanian race slowly sickened and died. By 1876 they were extinct" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 75). No mention is made of the

removal of the captured aboriginals from Flinders Island back to the Tasmanian mainland nor of the conditions and experiences faced once moved to the "settlement" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 75).

The main argument to justify the creation of this closed 'settlement' for the Tasmanian Indigenous population is attributed to their being "primitive" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 75). Unlike the Indigenous population on the Australian mainland, it is not uncommon for the Tasmanian Aboriginals to be described as "primitive", and some textbooks, including *Australia: Colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 5) and *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962, p. 1) discuss this quite explicitly, by stating that the Tasmanian aboriginals were not as 'developed' as those on the mainland, as seen in Source 6.25 and 6.26, for example.

Old Stone Age Tasmanians

How did this affect the aborigines? The Tasmanian natives were completely isolated from those of the mainland. These small Negrito people had been the first-comers to our shores and they were racially and culturally less developed than those in later migratory waves, who drove them into the extreme southern part of the continent. Now, cut off from the rest of the world, they remained a survival of the Old Stone Age until after the coming of the white man to Tasmania at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Primitive hunters and fishers, they used chipped stone weapons and wooden spears with points hardened in their campfires.

Source 6.25. *"Old Stone Age Tasmanians"* extract from *Australia: Colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 5).

They first settled in Northern Australia and spread out in three fairly distinct lines. From one of these lines, the first settlers in Tasmania came. Later the land-bridge between the mainland and Tasmania slipped and the Tasmanian blacks were left to continue in their primitive form of existence undisturbed. Not so the original mainland population. The mainland native differed in many ways from the Tasmanian aboriginal. The island type had frizzy hair, the mainland type usually had straight or curly hair; the Tasmanian native's weapons and implements were usually more primitive. He had no spear thrower, no boomerang, only long-pointed, unbarbed spears, simple throwing sticks and stone axes, knives and scrapers of the crudest patterns. At a later period, a race more advanced in civilization migrated to Australia and probably blended with the older inhabitants to produce the present Australian native.

Source 6.26. *Tasmanian aboriginals* extract from *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962, p. 1).

6.6.2 Discourses of tokenistic representations.

Australia and the near north (Connole, 1962) pays scant attention and detail to what the textbook terms "the spectacular Black War" (Connole, 1962, p. 27), this textbook does not do justice to this significant event in early Australian history, and could be seen as including only a tokenistic representation of Indigenous Australians. The content of this genocide of Tasmania's aboriginals is disjointed and provides little context and even less information

about the outcomes of the government-sanctioned actions. A total of two sentences are included which read:

> In an effort to protect the natives from the bushrangers and from the sealers in the Strait Islands, and to segregate the two races, Arthur embarked on the spectacular Black War (cost £30,000) in an effort to drive them to the Tasman Peninsula. George Robinson succeeded where Arthur had failed and he gathered the dispirited natives on Flinders Island. (Connole, 1962, p. 27)

Providing a simplistic and tokenistic explanation of this significant historical event does little to engage students in causes and consequences of this issue, nor to develop an appreciation or empathy for this group.

6.6.3 Discourses of general government policies and control.

Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 4 (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966) describes the genocide of Tasmanian Indigenous Australians in a very vague way, leaving out significant details which led to the decimation of Tasmania's aboriginals. Whilst it is important to acknowledge that this textbook is for grade 4 students, therefore age-appropriate content needs to be included—the glossing over of significant historical details, such as the perpetrators of violence that led to the Governor's decision to create a compulsory encampment for the Indigenous population, the failures of the first attempt to group all of the aboriginals together, and reasons for the successes of the second attempt—means that significant historical information is left out, potentially leaving students with a fragmented knowledge base of causes and consequences of the government's actions, which then could lead to a lack of understanding of Indigenous issues in contemporary environs.

The narrative, whilst acknowledging that "many of the whites were guilty of cruel deeds..." (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 94), and that as a result "...the natives sought revenge...Many lonely settlers were murdered by the natives who had learned to fear and hate all white men" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 94); there is no mention of justice served to the perpetrators of violence. Instead, it is seen as a definite *aboriginal problem*, with instead of the original perpetrators brought to justice, "...the Governor of Tasmania had all the remaining natives collected and sent to an island in Bass Strait" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 94), as though the Tasmanian Indigenous population was collectively guilty of any wrong doing.

Some emotion is attributed to this historical event, but not from the people or primary source documents of the time. Instead, the narrative which is written as a letter (see Source 6.27) to 'David' from a school friend 'Tom' who had moved to Tasmania from Queensland concludes the section on the genocide of Tasmanian Aborigines with a detached, "It is a sad story, don't you think?" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, p. 94).

When white men first came to the island, the natives were friendly. But this friendship did not last and some natives were killed. Many of the whites were guilty of cruel deeds and the natives sought revenge. In time, most of them retreated to the forests and the mountains. Many lonely settlers were murdered by the natives who had learned to fear and hate all white men. At last, the Governor of Tasmania had all the remaining natives collected and sent to an island in Bass Strait. They were very unhappy in their new surroundings and many of them died. The few survivors were later brought back to the mainland and, less than eighty years after the white men had come to live in the island, the last Tasmanian aboriginal died.

It had at first seemed strange to me never to see an aboriginal somewhere on the island but now I know the reason for this. It is a sad story, don't you think?

Source 6.27. Extract of letter between Tom and David from *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/ 1966, p. 94).

The grade 7 book in this same series, *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963), builds on the grade 4 textbook by including significantly more information and at a deeper cognitive level, and still within a discourse of government policies and control (as well as the introduction of other discourses, being: remorse and regret for violent actions against Indigenous Australians; discourses of criminality; and discourses of a 'dying race'). Unlike the grade 4 textbook, Indigenous representations form a central focus of the section on Tasmania's early colonial history; which demonstrates the sequential planning undertaken when constructing the *Social studies for Queensland schools* series of textbooks. After setting up an initial discussion of violent interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, this textbook then moves to a discussion of the general built environment, progress and increasing economic activity of

the early Van Diemen's Land (as Tasmania was then named). After four paragraphs, the textbook then goes back to discuss the Frontier Conflicts, which it calls a "Black War" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 21), a provocative term for a textbook of this era, and one not included in many other textbooks (Connole, 1962 being an exception). Here, clear government sanctions are recorded as the impetus for sustained acts of violence against Indigenous Australians; who are also placed in the same category as criminals, with terms such as "subduing" and "unfortunate people" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 21) used to describe Indigenous Australians *in the present tense,* not as a record or quote from a primary source document. This is evidenced in the following extract:

> Governor Arthur encouraged the whole colony to take up arms against the bushrangers and he himself led the attack. In spite of great difficulties, the Governor's forces tracked down the outlaws. Many of them were captured and executed and the bushranging menace was overcome.
>
> Subduing the natives proved to be an equally hard task. These unfortunate people, guilty of some terrible crimes against the settles, had merely been imitating the harsh treatment they themselves had suffered at the hands of bushrangers, whalers, and sealers... (Department of Education, 1960/ 1963, p. 21)

A clear contradiction of Indigenous representations is evidenced throughout this text. From one perspective, Indigenous Australians are seen as perpetrators of violence, for example, "The natives retaliated and, considering all white people to be their enemies, often took revenge upon peaceful, lonely settlers" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 20). From a second perspective, Indigenous Australians are seen as victims of violence "These unfortunate people, guilty of some terrible crimes against the settles, had merely been imitating the harsh treatment they themselves had suffered (Department of Education, 1960/ 1963, p. 21). A third perspective similar to the first, positions all Indigenous Australians as criminals, grouped together with bushrangers (as seen in the extract above). So, a variety of mixed messages are communicated to school students, without any intervention or mediation of meaning. Rather, the contradictory messages do little to equip students with the knowledge and understanding to consider the issues at hand in the Tasmanian Frontier Conflicts with any real depth or insight.

6.6.4 Discourses of criminality.

Violent actions towards Tasmanian aboriginals are initially set up as being regarded as regretful and shameful. This is explicitly articulated in *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 7*, describing the violent clashes between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population, including government policies, as "thus commenced the worst feature of Tasmanian history" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 20). However, the tone of the *Social studies for Queensland schools grade* 7 textbook quickly changes to that of representing Tasmanian aboriginals as violent and criminal. By consistently referring to Tasmanian aboriginals in the same sentences and passages as bushrangers, a discourse of criminality emerges that places Tasmanian aboriginals in the same category as outlaws. Other groups, such as current or former convicts and errant so-named free settlers are not categorised with either bushrangers or the Tasmanian aboriginals, despite the illegal actions of some from these groups. Within this discourse of criminality, blame is attributed to the Tasmanian aboriginals collectively for the violence committed by them against "...peaceful, lonely settlers" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 20). For, although the text makes clear that the violence was first committed against the Tasmanian aboriginals, through the statement "not satisfied with hunting and fishing, many convicts, "bushrangers"…attacked the natives, shooting down great numbers of them. The natives retaliated and, considering all white people to be their enemies, often took revenge upon peaceful, lonely settlers" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 20). Blame here is placed on the shoulders of the Tasmanian aboriginals for not identifying differences between groups of "white people" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 20). Furthermore this text assumes that it was *only* bushrangers who committed acts of crime and violence against the Indigenous population, absolving all others of responsibility or blame.

6.6.5 Discourses of a 'dying race'.

In *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963), no discussion or debate is broached about the actual *cause* of the mass death of Tasmanian aboriginals. The government policies and sanctioned actions regarding treatment of the Indigenous population are not mediated for students, resulting in a disjointed historical narrative that does not effectively link cause with effect. The textbook refers to the consequences of what has in more recent times been referred to as "genocide" (Elder, 2003; often incorrectly attributed to H. Reynolds, see a discussion in Curthoys & Docker, 2006, pp. 229-232 for more information) as "they were given a new home on Flinders Island in Bass

Strait, *but their numbers gradually decreased until their race became extinct*" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 21, emphasis added), as though, even if the Indigenous population had not been forcibly removed (note, the language in the textbook says "given a new home", Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 21); they would have 'died out' anyway.

Overall, it is interesting that this topic is given any coverage at all in textbooks during this era. Whilst Indigenous civil rights issues were gaining momentum and Indigenous Australians achieving an increased profile in mainstream society, there is no evidence to suggest that issues from Tasmania received widespread attention in school, especially in the early years of this era. Even though the content provided to students regarding the Frontier Conflicts generally and the incidents in Tasmania more specifically can be very problematic, at least by including this information, students develop awareness of this historical event.

6.7 Category 4: Colonial and Post Colonisation Representations

6.7.1 Discourses of Indigenous Australians disjointed from or on the fringe of mainstream history.

Demonstrating the disjointed way Indigenous Australians are included in school textbooks, a significant portion of content represents this group as anonymous actors in Australian history, erased from mainstream narratives. Of the textbooks analysed, seven represent Indigenous Australians as anonymous, with the year of the era any textbook was published in not making a notable difference. Ways in which Indigenous Australians are represented as disjointed from mainstream history, in a way that establishes and maintains anonymity are included in both images and written text examples, a sample of which is analysed here. Other examples of representing Indigenous Australians as anonymous or removed from mainstream history are included within other discourses, for example Batman's Treaty represented in the *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963) analysed within *Category 1: Interactions with explorers*.

An early example of representing Indigenous Australians as anonymous comes from an image included in *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 8* (Department of Education, 1954/1959/1960). In a page wide banner introducing the first chapter of the textbook (see Source 6.28), two Indigenous people make up one fifth of the image which is a line drawing of different people from the early colonial period. The Indigenous people are positioned on the far left, as though to signify that they are the first inhabitants of Australia. As can be seen

in Source 6.28, they are both male, dressed in traditional attire of only cloth around their groins. Both are holding a spear, with one standing and the other sitting on a rock. The natural environment behind them is a mountain range and by their feet is wild grass. The text under the picture (of all five representations of people) reads: “The clearing in the bush has widened across a continent of three million square miles in a pageant of colonisation unrivalled in history, and there a freedom beyond Phillip’s dreams has strangely come to pass” (Department of Education, 1954/1959/1960, p. 5). Interestingly, besides this image, there is no mention of Indigenous Australians anywhere else in the textbook. No name is attributed to the Indigenous men, therefore portraying Indigenous Australians as a whole, rather than any individuals specifically. However, as the other people in the image are also anonymous, this is not really a significant point to make, in this example. However, it is indicative of general portrayals of Indigenous Australians in school curriculum in this era, particularly in images.

Source 6.28. *“Australia”* extract from *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 8.* (Department of Education, 1954/1959/1960, p. 5)

As though recognizing the gaps in the school curriculum that must be followed by textbook authors for their books to be both published by a publishing company and purchased by schools for widespread use in the classroom, *Australia and the Near North* (Connole, 1962) introduces the topic, “The Australian Aborigines” (see Source 6.29).

8. THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

Introduction

It seems ironical that this topic should have to be added as an appendix to the general history of the Australian people but it should be realized that our aborigines have stood apart from the evolution of our White Australian Nationalism and that as a nation we were barely conscious until recently of any national debt that we owed to these ‘Old Australians.’

Source 6.29 *“The Australian Aborigines”* extract from *Australia and the Near North* (Connole 1962, p. 213)

However, even despite the use of the phrase "…ironical…added as an appendix…" (Connole, 1962, p. 213), evidence that the author considers history involving Indigenous Australians to be outside of the mainstream is evident through the concluding sentence which reads: "…as a nation we were barely conscious until recently of any national debt that we owed to these 'Old Australians'" (Connole, 1962, p. 213); supporting a view of Indigenous Australians as external to mainstream national history, as a type of exotic 'Other'.

Demonstrating contradictions in Indigenous representations, and in an example from the latter years of the era, *After the first hundred years* (Palmer & MacLeod, 1969) presents conflicting messages about Indigenous Australians and in particular their placement in Australian history. These contradictions are evident in the following ways, in the first three chapters, terms used to describe Indigenous Australians include, for example, "savage blacks" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 28); a comparison with monkeys through quote (that is not contextualised) from an unnamed critic "'You cannot write an epic on the Australian blacks; you might as well compose a sonnet on a monkey,'" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 29); and "dark people" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 40). Yet later in the textbook in the almost five pages that make up the bulk of content on Indigenous Australians, a significantly different tone is taken. Here, the perspective articulated is one of paternalism that concentrates on highlighting the differences between Indigenous and non- Indigenous Australians, rather than overt racism, with naming being, for example, "aboriginals" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, pp. 183, 184, 185). An anomaly to these descriptions is the frequent categorisation of Indigenous people, according to level of indigeneity, which is determined, in this case (and certainly common during this era) by terms such as "full-blood" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, pp. 183, 184, 185); "mixed blood" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 183); "half-caste", and "half-and quarter-caste" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 186). Consistent throughout the textbook is the lack of *naming* Indigenous Australians as individuals, with an exception being artist, Albert Namatjira and actor Robert Tudawali (also known as Bobby Wilson). Otherwise, Indigenous Australians are represented as anonymous masses, with no individual or tribal identity attributed. Despite mention of their traditional living arrangements in a tribal community, even Namatjira's and Tudawali's traditional family groups are not included beyond the naming of Namatjira's tribe. Overall, this textbook probably is a reflection, albeit not a very progressive one, of the rise in profile of Indigenous Australians issues in the wider community during this era; with a mixture of contradictions,

emerging respect for different knowledges and profiling of well-known Indigenous Australians.

Finally, *After the first hundred years* (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969), represents Indigenous Australians separately from other aspects of Australian history. For example, whilst there are five consecutive pages of content focusing solely on Indigenous Australians, it is included out of context to any other part of Australian history, despite the remainder of the book being structured by chronology, rather than themes.

Foundations (Hendy et al., 1976), a textbook written for first year high school students, includes the following small example of Indigenous Australians within a chapter focusing on bushrangers. Their inclusion as the role of trackers is legitimised as a result of assisting police looking for bushrangers. The extract reads:

> Even with the help of the 'black trackers', the mounted police had a hard time of it when looking for bushrangers. The black trackers were Aborigines. Mostly from Queensland, they could track the bushrangers when there seemed to be no trail. Hated and feared by the bushrangers, Ned Kelly called them 'the black-devils'. Public support, help and information could have made the trackers' work easier. (Hendy et al., 1976, p. 127)

The perceived expertise of the trackers is reinforced by Ned Kelly (arguably Australia's most infamous and well known bushranger) calling them "the black-devils" (Hendy et al., 1976, p. 127) due to his fear of being caught as a result of their work. This small example firmly places Indigenous Australians on the peripheral of Australian national history, given less importance than narratives of criminals.

To conclude this section, an interesting example of Indigenous Australians represented on the fringe of History curriculum content, comes from H.R. Cowie's seminal textbook publication, *Frankfurt to Fra Mauro* (1975). This textbook looks at modern history largely in the western world from 1848 through to the early 1970s. There is a section on Australia as well as a section on "Imperialism and Race Relations" (Cowie, 1975, pp. 471-523). However, although there is a substantial section on Australia, there are no examples of Indigenous representations. The fact that Indigenous issues were so prominent at the time, speaks volumes about the little importance and value placed on teaching high school students

Indigenous histories in either an historical or contemporary context. Rather than using this as an example of any inadequacy on Cowie's part, this provides an example of the inadequacy of the curriculum (as set by the Syllabus) to properly respond to important events occurring in society. Cowie would have closely followed the syllabus in writing this textbook, as textbooks written by him in later years do include substantial Indigenous Australian content. Therefore, it is evident that for this era, Indigenous people were not considered sufficiently important to include in the core curriculum.

However, despite this, it can be seen that Cowie recognised the importance of studying Indigenous Australian histories from both an historical and contemporary perspective (even if the syllabus did not). Cowie includes a *Further Reading* list at the end of his book, which among the nineteen books he recommends, seven are directly related to Indigenous Australians, some written by people considered radical (for example H. Reynolds, 1972; McQueen, 1974). The list includes the following books: *The Aborigines* (Gibbs, 1974); *I, the Aboriginal* (Lockwood, 1962); *We, the Aborigines* (Lockwood, 1963); *Aborigines race and racism* (McQueen, 1974); *Goodbye Dreamtime* (McNally, 1971); *Aborigines and settlers: The Australian experience 1788-1939* (H. Reynolds, 1972); and *The destruction of Aboriginal society* (Rowley, 1970). Finally, this list can be seen almost as a resistant reading to the core curriculum, whereby Cowie includes texts that are not yet part of the official knowledge as designated by the syllabus, although in later years, post the era under analysis here, this changed considerably.

6.7.2 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as savages/primitive.

Although the discourse of primitive culture is not the largest in terms of quantity of narrative content, it does represent the most widespread discourse with nine out of the twenty-two textbooks identified as containing content that positions Indigenous Australians as primitive. This is achieved *through explicit language use* of the term *primitive* to describe Indigenous Australians as individuals, as a collective and in reference to their culture, lifestyle and development. Discourses of primitivism are evident in primary through to secondary textbooks, and the following analysis provides a sample of how this discourse is presented in the curriculum.

For the primary school grades, *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 7* contains one representation of Indigenous people as primitive. Within a section that covers early

exploration of the Western Australian coast by Dampier; two sentences are included with no context to the wider narrative. It reads, "...the natives...were a primitive race" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 28). Progress or any form of human development is mediated only through the built environment "...they had no knowledge of metals" (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 28); and economic activity, "...no chance of developing a profitable trade..." (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 28).

In the secondary grades discourses of primitive are emphasised and covered in greater depth. *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962) introduces a discourse of primitive culture in the first chapter. Discussed through an anthropological lens, the genetic characteristics of Indigenous Australians are traced from India to Malaysia and then to Australia, differentiating different levels of "advanced...civilization" (Connole, 1962, p. 1). This is also determined in the textbook according to where Indigenous people settled, determining that "Tasmanian blacks were left to continue in their primitive form of existence…" (Connole, 1962, p. 1); whereas on the mainland, "…a race more advanced in civilization migrated to Australia and probably blended with the older inhabitants to produce the present Australian native" (Connole, 1962, p. 1). Terms used to describe Indigenous Australians through this first paragraph are patronizing in tone, and in addition to the term "primitive" (Connole, 1962, p. 1), the following is included: "it is believed that the first human beings to come to Australia—the aborigines, *as we call these black people*…" (Connole, 1962, p. 1, emphasis added). By regarding Indigenous Australians as "primitive" (Connole, 1962, p. 1) Indigenous knowledges are clearly not valued, respected or even made known to the students reading the textbook so that they may begin to form a more complex and comprehensive historical view and attitude.

The discourse of Indigenous Australians as *primitive* and the *exotic 'Other'* pervades *Chapter 8: The Australian Aborigines*, with typical language including, for example: "Old Australians", "our aborigines", "primitive race", "primitives" (Connole, 1962, p. 213), and "race of mystics" (Connole, 1962, p. 214). A description of the nomadic lifestyle of Indigenous Australians is also provided to the reader, explaining their culture in a simplistic, descriptive manner, more suited to primary school aged students rather than the sophisticated knowledge expected of secondary school students. The significance of the tribal lifestyle of Indigenous Australians is reduced to mainly "…ceremonial and "dream" lives…They are religiously-minded people, one might also call them a race of mystics. They know and

understood and lived in harmony with the 'Timeless Land.' In their midsts, the poet who inspired their corroborees and retold their legends held an honoured place" (Connole, 1962, pp. 213-214). So, whilst other topics present in the textbook may be pitched at a more academic level, the content of Indigenous topics, pre-colonisation, is included as simplistic and unchallenged.

Similarly to the Connole text, the first chapter of *Australia: colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963) focuses on Indigenous Australians prior to and immediately after contact with Europeans. One discourse in particular emerges in this chapter, being the representation of Indigenous Australians and cultural heritage as "primitive" and "prehistoric" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 3). The argument made to support this claim compares Indigenous with European cultures, as seen in Source 6.30. This narrative makes clear that evidence such as artefacts of Indigenous culture through rock painting, oral histories, and corroborees are neither valued nor considered valid. It seems labeling Indigenous culture and lifestyle as "prehistoric" (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 3) is the easiest way to explain a culture that is not understood, rather than delving deeper into its epistemologies, practices, norms and values.

CHAPTER I

THE DAYS BEFORE HISTORY

Prehistoric Australians

Most Australians think of 'prehistoric times' as a long-distant period when primitive man roamed and hunted in the forests of Europe, but our own country had its prehistoric times much more recently. 'Prehistory' is the name given to the period before there were any systematic written records of man's doings. So far as Australia is concerned, there were no such records until the arrival of the first Europeans early in the seventeenth century. Even to-day our aborigines in their native state still have no system of writing and in that sense may even now be regarded as living in prehistoric times. They were certainly prehistoric people when the first white settlement was established in 1788, and their culture had much in common with that of Stone Age man in Europe thousands of years ago.

Source 6.30. *"The Days Before History"* extract from *Australia: colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 3).

Continuing with the representation of Indigenous Australians as primitive is the textbook *Australia's heritage* (Sparkes et al., 1964) which describes the observations of the Captain of the First Fleet, Arthur Phillip. This includes, in addition to terms to describe Indigenous Australians such as "natives", "aboriginals", "Australian aborigines", "Australian natives" and "tribe" (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 46); the following traits, qualities attributed to this

group: “naked”; “In the ten thousand years during which the Australian natives occupied our land before the coming of white men, they never advanced beyond the stone age or hunting stage of development” (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 46); and “nomadic existence” (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 47). By using these terms and phrases, from the primary source of Captain Philip’s observation, but without contextualising it for the students reading this in the 1960s, representing Indigenous Australians as primitive is reinforced from this 1788 source. Furthermore, the phrase “before the coming of white men, they never advanced beyond the stone age or hunting stage of development” (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 46) implies that as a result of British arrival, Indigenous Australians *advanced* in lifestyle and technology, presenting a solely ‘Western’, progressive view.

By the same authors as *Australia’s heritage,* and written around the same time, *Australia in world history* (Logue et al., 1965) also contain representations of Indigenous Australians as primitive. An extract reads:

> The Australian Aborigines—both those of the mainland and the different race that inhabited Tasmania—were also isolated soon after they had settled in Australia. Until 1788 they led a stone age existence as nomadic hunters. They grew no crops, not because they were too stupid, but because they could not import seeds; and because, in a land lacking the fertility provided by the manure of animals and leaf mould from the deciduous trees, cultivated crops could scarcely thrive. (Logue et al., 1965, p. 267-268)

This small paragraph, included in the introduction of the first section on Australia, represents Indigenous Australians as being “isolated...stone age existence as nomadic hunters” (Logue et al., 1965, p. 268). In addition, an oversimplified version of Australian history is presented by the claim that from 1788 onwards this “stone-age existence” (Logue et al., 1965, p. 268) ceased, ignorant that many parts of Australia were uninhabited by the colonisers until much later in modern Australian history. Although there is a discourse of representing Indigenous Australians as primitive, it is mediated through contextualisation of the available resources of the natural environment, and does not use the term *primitive,* unlike other textbooks of the era. Instead, the lifestyle of Indigenous Australians is attributed to the following reasons:

> They grew no crops, not because they were too stupid, but because they could not import seeds; and because, in a land lacking the fertility provided by the manure of

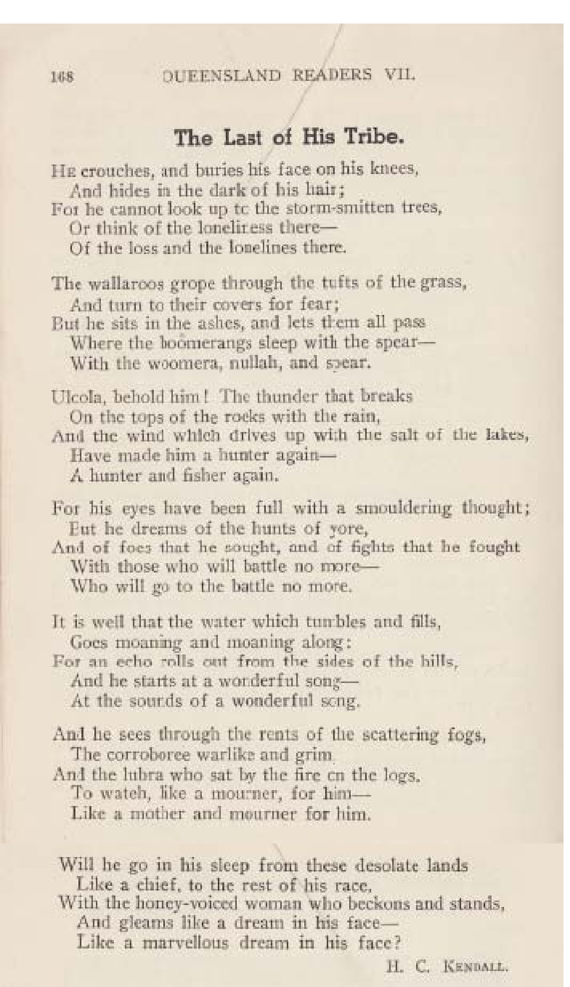
> animals and leaf mould from the deciduous trees, cultivated crops could scarcely thrive. (Logue et al., 1965, p. 267-268)

Therefore, although alternative Indigenous knowledges are not presented, by not negatively judging Indigenous lifestyles prior to British contact, this textbook is an example of progressive discourses for this era. However, overall, this textbook presents very little information on Indigenous Australians. Considering that the textbook is about *Australia's* involvement in world history, with two sections solely covering Australian history, there is an expectation that more information would be provided on Indigenous topics; especially considering the broader socio-political discourses operating at the time.

Two textbooks present consistently as alternative, resistant readings to the discourse of primitive, instead presenting as respectful of Indigenous cultures and knowledges. Those two textbooks *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 6* (Department of Education, 1955/1966) and *After the first hundred years* (Palmer & MacLeod, 1969) are included for analysis further in this chapter, in the examples of resistant and alternative readings of Indigenous representations section.

6.7.3 Literary representations.

Of the school curriculum content analysed for this era, there are three examples of Indigenous representations from literary sources. One is from the Queensland Readers series and the second is from the school curriculum supplementary material, *School Paper*. The Queensland Reader example is from *Queensland School Reader: Grade 7,* and although not an example of representations in Australian history, strictly speaking, given that it is the only representation of Indigenous Australians in Queensland Readers, it is included for analysis. The poem, as it appears in *Queensland School Reader: Grade 7* (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/1960/1963/1967, pp. 168-9) is written by a non-Indigenous person from the perspective of an observer who has a detailed insight into the thought of an un-named Indigenous man as shown in Source 6.31.



The Last of His Tribe.

He crouches, and buries his face on his knees,
And hides in the dark of his hair;
For he cannot look up to the storm-smitten trees,
Or think of the loneliness there—
Of the loss and the loneliness there.

The wallaroos grope through the tufts of the grass,
And turn to their covers for fear;
But he sits in the ashes, and lets them all pass
Where the boomerangs sleep with the spear—
With the woomera, nullah, and spear.

Ulcola, behold him! The thunder that breaks
On the tops of the rocks with the rain,
And the wind which drives up with the salt of the lakes,
Have made him a hunter again—
A hunter and fisher again.

For his eyes have been full with a smouldering thought;
But he dreams of the hunts of yore,
And of foes that he sought, and of fights that he fought
With those who will battle no more—
Who will go to the battle no more.

It is well that the water which tumbles and fills,
Goes moaning and moaning along:
For an echo rolls out from the sides of the hills,
And he starts at a wonderful song—
At the sounds of a wonderful song.

And he sees through the rents of the scattering fogs,
The corroboree warlike and grim,
And the lubra who sat by the fire on the logs,
To watch, like a mourner, for him—
Like a mother and mourner for him.

Will he go in his sleep from these desolate lands
Like a chief, to the rest of his race,
With the honey-voiced woman who beckons and stands,
And gleams like a dream in his face—
Like a marvellous dream in his face?

H. C. Kendall.

Source 6.31. *"The Last of His Tribe"* in *Queensland School Reader: Grade 7* (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/1960/1963/1967, pp. 168-9)

The Last of His Tribe, representing one Indigenous elder as indicative of all Indigenous Australians, asserts that Indigenous Australians and therefore their cultures are 'dying out' or disappearing. This is epitomised in this poem from the beginning, with the title *The Last of His Tribe*. This poem is written to give a mystical, dream like impression of what appears to be the last Indigenous Australian still alive from a particular tribe, remembering his youth. The following word choices in particular emphasize this:

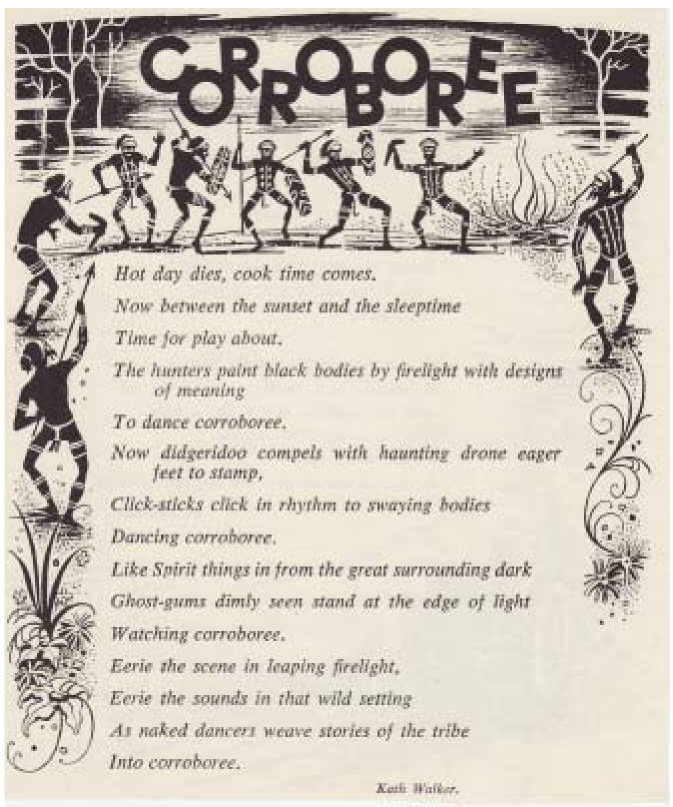
> He crouches, and buries his face o his knees,
> And he hides in the dark of his hair;
> For he cannot look up on the storm-smitten trees,
> Or think of the loneliness there—
> Of the loss and the loneliness there. (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/1960/1963/1967, p. 168);

Supported by the final stanza:

> Will he go in his sleep from these desolate lands
> Like a chief, to the rest of race,
> With the honey-voiced woman who beckons and stands,
> And gleams like a dream in his face—
> Like a marvelous dream in his face? (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/1960/1963/1967, p. 169)

Specific words relevant to Indigenous cultures are mentioned throughout this poem. This is unusual for school texts of this era, and adds to the mysticism and other-worldliness of the poem, as the terms are not defined for the students (this is despite that in other narratives in Readers, new and unfamiliar words are defined for the students). It is as though this poem has been included to be enjoyed only for its literary qualities, not for deep understanding. Specific words throughout the poem that may need defining are: "boomerangs", "woomera", " nullah", "spears", "corroboree", "Lubra" [woman] (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/ Department of Education, 1960/1963/1967, p. 168).

The second example, from a 1968 edition of the *School Paper*, written by Indigenous poet Kath Walker (also known as Oodgeroo Nonuccal) describes an Indigenous cultural tradition, the Corroboree (see Source 6.32).


CORROBOREE

Hot day dies, cook time comes.
Now between the sunset and the sleeptime
Time for play about.
The hunters paint black bodies by firelight with designs
of meaning
To dance corroboree.
Now didgeridoo compels with haunting drone eager
feet to stamp,
Click-sticks click in rhythm to swaying bodies
Dancing corroboree.
Like Spirit things in from the great surrounding dark
Ghost-gums dimly seen stand at the edge of light
Watching corroboree.
Eerie the scene in leaping firelight,
Eerie the sounds in that wild setting
As naked dancers weave stories of the tribe
Into corroboree.

Kath Walker.

Source 6.32. *"Corroboree"* in *School Paper* (Walker, Term 3, 1968, n.p.).

The event is referred to as occurring "between the sunset and sleeptime" and provides a "time for play about" (Walker, 1968, n.p.). The dancing that makes up the majority of the actions of a Corroboree is described as "The hunters paint black bodies by firelight with designs of meaning To dance corroboree" (Walker, 1968, n.p). Traditional instruments accompanying the dancing are described as "click-sticks click in rhythm to swaying bodies" (Walker, 1968, n.p). Finally, in the last stanza, the deeper, spiritual, meaning of the corroboree is communicated:

Like Spirit things in from the great surrounding dark
Ghost-gums dimly stand at the edge of light
Watching corroboree.
...
As naked dancers weave stories of the tribe
Into corroboree. (Walker, 1968, n.p).

This poem is an example of valuing Indigenous culture without being mediated through other cultures as a point of comparison. The perspective, uncommon for a school curriculum document, is that of an Indigenous person. Usually Indigenous people and cultures are

spoken *about* rather than *by* in school texts during this era, with this poem providing a more personalised view of Indigenous representations.

A third literary representation comes from a popular children's book of the time, and although not strictly a school text, was popularly used by school-aged children of the time and was held in public and school library collections. Reinforcing the position of Indigenous Australians within the natural environment are the popular artistic and literary works of Brownie Downing. Of particular note are her Tinka stories, told in colourfully illustrated children's storybooks. One such book, *Tinka and his friends* (Downing & Mansfield, 1964) tells the story of Tinka, a young Indigenous boy helping Shelley, a young non-Indigenous (white) girl who wants Tinka to use magic to help her blonde pigtails grow. Throughout the story, Tinka is shown to be intimately connected with the natural environment, with all his friends being native animals and Tinka himself able to work magic to make Shelley's pigtails grow. A sample of specific references from the text which demonstrate the positioning of Tinka as part of the natural environment include: 'Tinka was a piccaninny belonging to the people who *came out of the deep earth of the wide bushland* which grows underneath the sun and is called Australia' (Downing & Mansfield 1964, pp. 7, emphasis added). Tinka's residence is described in the following way:

> He was known and loved by all in the bushland, for he was the child of a people whose wisdom was old when the mountains were still only ant-hills.
>
> …
>
> He lived near a big lagoon…His house was like a new moon turned upside down with a pole through the top to keep it up, and was made from the skin of a stringy-bark tree. (Downing & Mansfield 1964, pp. 8)

The written text is accompanied by 42 full colour illustrations placed throughout the 42 page story. An example of how Tinka is represented visually can be viewed at Source 6.33. This reinforces the representation of Indigenous Australians as belonging to the flora and fauna of the natural environment.

Source 6.33. Typical portrayal of Tinka in *Tinka and his friends* (Downing & Mansfield 1964, p. 9)

6.7.4 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as a 'problem' to be dealt with in social discourses.

Introducing the discourse of Indigenous Australians as a problem to be dealt with, *Australia in world history* (Logue et al., 1965, p. 351) explains, "the attitude of the British Government and that of the governors towards the natives was humanitarian, but was not based on any real understanding of the problem." According to this textbook, the *problem* needs to be dealt with, in order to "civilize...to teach them the benefits of European civilization" (Logue et al., 1965, p. 351). The underpinning ideology evident here is European civilization is superior to Indigenous civilization, with no reciprocity of appreciation for alternative knowledges or cultures. Therefore, the inclusion of Indigenous Australians in this narrative is justified through their interactions with early colonisation policies and practices.

Demonstrating Indigenous representations being on the fringe of curriculum content, *Social Studies: Year 9* (MacKenzie, 1968), written to reflect the Social Studies syllabus has one, very minor, mention of Indigenous Australians. In a chapter titled "Some Community Problems", the following dot point is written as one of 25: "11. Equal rights for Aborigines" (MacKenzie, 1968, p. 205). This point is suggested as a topic for discussion in the classroom. It positions Indigenous Australians as part of a "community problem" (MacKenzie, 1968, p. 204), as a topic to be *dealt with* or *solved*. Even though this textbook was published one year after the historical 1967 Referendum, Indigenous Australians are still represented as on the fringe of the community, as a problem and not important enough to be included more substantially in the core content of Social Studies and History curriculum.

6.7.5 Discourses of ignorance.

Moving back to topics of the early Australian colonial period discourses of ignorance draw on examples that demonstrate the fierce disrupter of and disjuncture between official policies and instructions by the British Government, to be carried out and supported by Governor Phillip; and the actions of the first and early colonisers. *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962) first provides an (unnamed) primary source of instructions from the British Government, and then moves to an explanation of what factually occurred (see Source 6.34).

The Coming of the White Man

When Phillip arrived in Australia in 1788, the number of aboriginals in our land was about 300,000. They had never been large in number probably because of their great struggle for existence, and their constant warfare. Phillip's instructions from the British Government were:

> 'You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an intercourse with the natives and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them and, if any of our subjects should wantonly destroy them or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offence.'

However, neither Phillip nor any of his party really understood what the white man's intrusion meant to the natives. This usurpation of his land was to the native a fundamental interference with his way of life and with the social and religious traditions that gave his life meaning. In his attempt to halt encroachment on his tribal land his primitive weapons were no match for those of the white man. His life quickly lost its meaning before the advance of the white man with the inevitable result of the weakening of the black man's will to survive. This, more than the bitter clashes which followed the coming of the white man, is the ultimate explanation for the decline of the black population.

Fortunately, this decline has been arrested in our day by the implementation of policies based on the knowledge of the aborigines, an understanding of their problems and a genuine regard for their well-being. In fact their numbers are once again on the increase. The pessimistic attitude, which persisted for more than a hundred years, that the aborigines were doomed to extinction, has given way to the sanguine expectation that in time they will be assimilated.

Source 6.34. *The Coming of White Man* extract from *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962, p. 214).

Assertions made that explains the violence between Indigenous Australians and the British colonisers includes lack of knowledge of Indigenous cultures and ways of life, as evidenced in the statement "…neither Phillip not any of his party really understood what the white man's intrusion meant to the natives. This usurpation of his land was to the native a fundamental interference with his way of life…that gave his life meaning" (Connole, 1962, p. 214). The narrative then explains that the weaponry of Indigenous peoples was overpowered by the weapons of the colonisers, which contributed to high rates of deaths. However, the narrative then moves to apportion blame for the reduction of the Indigenous population to the Indigenous people, stating "…life quickly lost its meaning before the advance of the white man with the inevitable result of the weakening of the black man's will to survive" (Connole,

1962, p. 214). Attributing negative impacts of the *white man* on the Indigenous population is stated explicitly without attributing blame to this group, as is often the case in narratives from textbooks of this era that discuss the consequences of interactions between Indigenous Australians and early colonisers, especially when discussing the Tasmanian Frontier Conflicts (see for example, Dunlop & Pike, 1963). The end of the narrative changes focus to the contemporary era, with the perspective of the author explicit through the statement starting with "fortunately, this decline has been arrested in our day by the implementation of policies based on the knowledge of the aborigines..." (Connole, 1962, p. 214). Here, a type of discourse of progress is articulated, whereby it is recognized that past policies have not worked, and instead assimilation as part of the "…implementation of policies based on the knowledge of the aborigines" (Connole, 1962, p. 214) is regarded as being a positive move to enable full Indigenous participation in mainstream society.

6.8 Category 5: Contemporary Representations

6.8.1 Discourses of the 1967 Referendum.

Of the eight Social Studies and History textbooks published from 1968 onwards selected for analysis for this study, only one contains information about the 1967 Referendum. This is indicative of the low level of content that includes representations of Indigenous Australians in contemporary contexts. Therefore, the examples from textbooks analysed in this section can be seen as anomalies to the dominant curriculum discourses present in the latter part of this era. In addition, the inclusion of the Referendum as a topic is found only in secondary textbooks. The earliest textbook that contains information about the Referendum is *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969) published and released within two years of the Referendum being held. This textbook presents an alternative perspective making it a resistant reading to the information generally provided in school textbooks. It provides explicit opportunities for students to construct their own knowledge, based on the information provided, in order to extend their thinking and to enable informed judgments. There are a number of explicitly political statements made throughout *Chapter 15: Australian attitudes* that for the era the textbook was published were topical and reflective of wider socio-political discourses regarding Indigenous issues, such as the 1967 Referendum and land rights. By paying close attention to these issues, students are provided with alternative perspectives to consider. The perspective of the authors though, remains very obvious, as can be seen for example in the following statement:

> The occupation of the land by white men destroyed their [Aborigines] means of living and affected their traditions and heritage. To the white settler the Aborigines seemed a dispirited, listless people. (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 164)

Speaking directly to students in an active voice, an uncommon practice for textbooks, especially during this era the following statement is made:

> We should note that the provision of scholarships is admirable, but these will be of no benefit unless they are used. As yet too few Aborigines have taken up these scholarships. (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 167)

As seen in Source 6.35, *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969) further demonstrates its responsiveness to the rapid social and political change that was occurring during this era. Unlike other public and school texts of this and other eras which assert incorrectly that the 1967 Referendum was about whether Indigenous Australians should be eligible to vote (this had, in fact, happened some years earlier and in any case is not a Commonwealth issue), this textbook accurately defines the purpose of the Referendum, which was to officially ratify the counting of all Indigenous Australians (including those living in remote environments) in any Census taken; and to give the Commonwealth power to legislate on Indigenous issues (prior to the Referendum this was the sole responsibility of each State).

The Referendum of 1967. In May 1967 Australians voted (5,183,113 'Yes' votes to 527,007 'No' votes) to include Aborigines in the national census and to enable the Commonwealth government to pass laws on Aboriginal affairs.

The voters saw that Aboriginal affairs were Commonwealth matters even though each state is responsible for the Aborigines within its boundaries. The Commonwealth govern-

ment directly controls Aboriginal affairs only in the Northern Territory.

The Commonwealth government then established a Federal Office of Aboriginal Affairs to recommend policies and to co-ordinate the activities of the Commonwealth and State governments. Mr B. Dexter, the first Director, hopes that the office will give expert advice so that national, rather than state policies, will be followed. Mr Wentworth, the first Minister in Charge of Aboriginal Affairs, has said that: 'The development of government policy towards Aboriginal citizens will depend largely on what they themselves want.'

Source 6.35. *"The Referendum of 1967"* extract from *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166).

Even though *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969) is innovative in comparison to other textbooks during this era; knowledge and understanding of Indigenous Australians is still mediated through non-Indigenous perspectives, with the bulk of Indigenous Australian representations found within a chapter titled "Attitudes", the final chapter of its section. As generally the last chapter in a textbook or a section of a textbook is the 'wrap up' chapter, skipped by teachers if time is running short as it does not generally form the core of the curriculum, the placing of the majority of content connected with Indigenous representations in this chapter means that it remains on the peripheral of curriculum content, included for learning opportunities *only if time permits*.

The 1970 second edition of *Australia's heritage* (Sparkes et al., 1970) is an example of a textbook that, although it explicitly states in the preface that the content has been updated due to the reasoning "…historical scene has inevitably changed" (Sparkes et al., 1970, p.6), no mention of the 1967 Referendum is included. Part of the preface reads:

> Since this series of books was first written the historical scene has inevitably changed. Obviously a decision has been needed to bring the content of the books up to date. Moreover, since history is certainly not a static study, new light continues to be shed on the subject as a result of recent research. Changes have been made in the text where these appeared necessary. Certain alterations have also been made in the light of the experience of students and teachers who have been using the series.
>
> In the last seven or eight years, the approach to the teaching of history has been changing also. Much more emphasis is being placed on enquiry techniques and this is to be commended. So that the books may enable teachers to use these newer

> approaches, more emphasis has been laid on the sections at the end of each chapter which suggest projects for students to undertake as part of their study. In these revised sections, selections of contemporary writings have been featured. In many cases, teachers may decide to use this material to introduce topics or to use it as their treatment of the topic proceeds. In other cases, teachers may find the material useful for purposes of recapitulation or revision. It is hoped that teachers will plan their lessons around this material. (Sparkes et al., 1970, p.6)

However, despite the period of rapid social and political changes and events that occurred in the period 1964 to 1970 both in Australia and overseas, the content has *remained exactly the same*. The changes have been made regarding the addition of study and classroom questions, called "For Research and Discussion" and included alongside the addition of "References" for teachers and students to consult to add to the content presented within the textbook. Here, the authors are cognisant that one textbook cannot cover all materials, so offer the further references as authoritative of worthwhile history texts to consult, with this textbook as a starting point, for use as a class set or similar. The placing of study questions and further references demonstrates a change in the way History was taught in schools. This is also the style of Allsopp and Cowie (1969), and includes an inquiry approach to learning with questions and further references included. This is indicative of the teaching of History of this era.

However, while the pedagogical approach was undergoing changes, the content was not, and despite the 1967 Referendum and other active civil rights issues, no content related to Indigenous representations changes at all. So, as similar to the WWI era, the school curriculum changes at such a slow pace, that it really can be viewed as regressive not just conservative in some cases, and definitely so where the exemplar topic of Indigenous representations is concerned.

After the first hundred years (Palmer & MacLeod, 1969), is another textbook where the Referendum could have been included, fitting into the structure of the textbook. The focus of the section of the chapter covering Indigenous Australians is on issues of citizenship, albeit with no mention of specific events, like the Referendum, Wave Hill Station Strike, growth in the Land Rights movement and other civil rights issues; instead a very broad stroke version of history and contemporary events is provided, devoid of specific details. In fact, the

inclusion of Indigenous Australians appears to be legitimized only by mediation of representations through Australia's constitution and state-government policies, with a significant focus on broad policies of exclusion and paternalism. In addition, a topic what has become known in more recent times as *The Stolen Generation* is included here, albeit without naming it as such. For example, the following passage reads:

> The Constitution of the Commonwealth referred to the aborigines only to instruct that they were not to be counted in census figures and to state that the Federal government had no power to make laws concerning them. The states framed their own laws and ordinances to govern aboriginal people. Many of these imposed restrictions and handicaps giving aborigines little opportunity to improve their conditions. They were excluded from many benefits taken for granted by white men. In some states their movements were severely controlled. They could not settle in certain areas, they could be removed from one district to another, children could be forcibly taken from their parents and brought up in schools hundreds of miles from their homes. Aborigines were paid lower wages than white men doing the same work, little was done for the education of their children, young people could not marry without the permission of a government official, housing conditions were often very bad. (Palmer & MacLeod, 1969, p. 183)

6.8.2 Narratives of the Wave Hill Station Strike.

Continuing with its representations of contemporary topics related to Indigenous Australians, *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969) features a narrative (see Source 6.36) on what is now known as the Wave Hill Station Strike providing an example of current issues experienced by Indigenous people from the Northern Territory.

> **Major Problems.** Aborigines cannot own land. In 1966 the Gurindji tribe of Wave Hill in the Northern Territory, refused to work on the cattle station. They wanted eight square miles of Wave Hill country as their own. The Gurindji wanted to break in wild horses and use them on local cattle stations at mustering time. This plan required large tracts of pasture in a region where the land is so poor that several square miles are needed to support one horse. The powerful cattle interests of the area, and fears that land ownership would create too many problems in the future, influenced the government and the Gurindji were given the right to occupy only a small area of land. The Gurindji directed attention to the problem of land ownership at a time when many pastoralist and mining companies were extending their activities throughout the North.

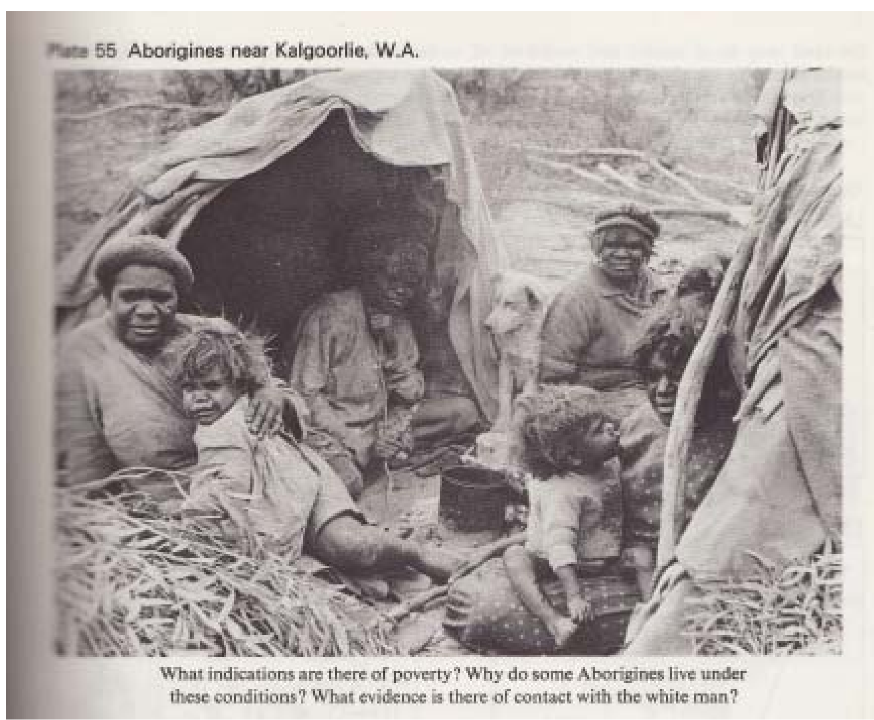
Source 6.36. *"Major Problems"* an extract from *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166)

A rarity for school curriculum of this era, the Indigenous Australians are referred to by their tribal affiliation, the "Gurindji tribe of Wave Hill" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166). A discourse of land rights operates throughout this extract, with the explanation of the decision of the Gurindji people to go on strike, or as the textbook states "…refused to work on the cattle station" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166) due to the point "they wanted eight square miles of Wave Hill country as their own" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166). The main stakeholders, "powerful cattle interests" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166) are represented as oppositional to the Gurindji claim and the textbook then mediates the demand through broader issues of the time, politicizing the reason for the Gurindji land claim, concluding the section with "the Gurindji directed attention to the problem of land ownership at a time when many pastoralist and mining companies were extending their activities throughout the North" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 166). A clear binary is established in this narrative that positions the Gurindji and cattle property owners in ideological dispute with each other. In what is now regarded as an important historical event, this textbook is the only example of covering the Wave Hill Station Strike across all textbooks analysed.

6.8.3 Discourses of poverty.

Source 6.37 provides an example of discourses of poverty evident in Indigenous representations. The image, a black and white photograph, shows a group of Indigenous Australians (four women and two children) sitting on the dirt ground around a tea billy in what appears to be an outback area (there is scrub in the background of the photo). They are sitting in front of two humpies, or gunyahs. There is part of a third one in the very front

foreground of the image, but it is seen only partially. There is also a domesticated dingo sitting between two of the women. The humpies are made of branches, leaves and what appears to be either old canvas or blankets. The women and children are wearing non-traditional clothes of dresses or shirts and shorts. Interestingly, knowledge is presented as able to be critically constructed by students and used by the teacher as a learning opportunity, with the description placed at the top of the image: "Aborigines near Kalgoorlie, W.A." followed by three questions running along below the image: "What indications are there of poverty? Why do some Aborigines live under these conditions? What evidence is there of contact with the white man?" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 167).



Source 6.37. *"Aborigines near Kalgoorlie, W.A."* extract from *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 167).

6.8.4 Discourses of progress and hope.

Contemporary representations, within a larger topic of *assimilation* are included in some depth in *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962), covering the following topics: the missions; the government; health and housing; franchise; social service benefits, education; and employment. The general discourse running through this chapter is one of progress with hope for the future, especially regarding the full citizenship and participation in mainstream society of Indigenous Australians. Throughout this section of the textbook, the perspective of the author is made explicitly clear, for example, see Source 6.38.

> **The Missions**
> The writer does not hesitate to say that by far the greatest contribution to the welfare of the Australian aborigines has been made by the dedicated men and women missionaries of the various religious persuasions. For over a hundred and fifty years in spite of disappointments and failure, the hazards of drought and flood, and inadequate financial assistance from the governments, these unselfish apostles of Christian Charity have done all in their power to promote the spiritual and temporal well-being of the natives. The booklet makes mention of the work of the following missionary endeavours amongst the aborigines. No doubt others could have been listed but these are worthy of note.

Source 6.38. *"The Missions"* extract from *Australia and the near north* (Connole, 1962, p. 215).

Within this discourse, value of representations of Indigenous Australians is attributed to economic contributions (see, for example, Source 6.39).

> How can the Aborigines best contribute to the economic development of Australia? The granting of mineral leases to large companies in the north has dispossessed many. There is an urgent need to encourage the independence of the Aborigines by allowing them to share in development, particularly in the areas of the remote north where the climate of the region is unattractive to white men.

Source 6.39. *"How can Aborigines best contribute…?"* extract from *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 169)

Interestingly, for all of its understandings of the contemporary issues being experienced by Indigenous Australians, the textbook still follows a narrow definition of progress by aligning the value of Indigenous people with their (potential) economic contribution, beginning a paragraph with the question "How can the Aborigines best contribute to the economic development of Australia?" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 169). The question is then responded to by stating that Indigenous Australians should be allowed to receive economic compensation due to being "dispossessed" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 169) as a result of the approval by the government of mining leases. Here, an ideology of privileging economic wealth is strongly articulated. A second reason is then asserted, being "…particularly in the areas of the remote north where the climate of the region is unattractive to white men" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 169). Here the previous comment of more or less financial compensation for dispossession from traditional land is contradicted by the term "particularly" to describe where this should happen—in areas where the weather is consistently hot and humid; therefore opening the possibility that compensation should be based on location, rather than principle, a problematic concept. Overall, Indigenous Australians are represented as having nothing valuable to offer any part of society except economically when they lease their traditional lands. Social inequities experienced by

Indigenous Australians are still regarded as their “problem”, completely ignoring the actions that brought upon particular inequities such as poverty, lack of formal education and health disadvantages. The chapter concludes with four questions on Indigenous Australians, with the fourth question reading “What do you regard as the main problems facing the Aborigine today?” (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 177). No attempt is made here to look at the issues holistically, including all Australians in addressing the growing inequities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

6.8.5 Discourses of tokenistic representations of Indigenous Australians.

General representations of artist Albert Namatjira are included in a number of textbooks and seem to represent a tokenistic example of Indigenous Australians in contemporary society. It is as though Namatjira has been selected as the example to use in order to demonstrate some kind of even-handedness approach to the Social Studies and History curriculum—a safe selection as Namatjira is an artist of landscape water colours, not known for political activism. For example in *Australia’s heritage*, Albert Namatjira’s name is included in a list within a section titled *Nationalism*. The extract reads:

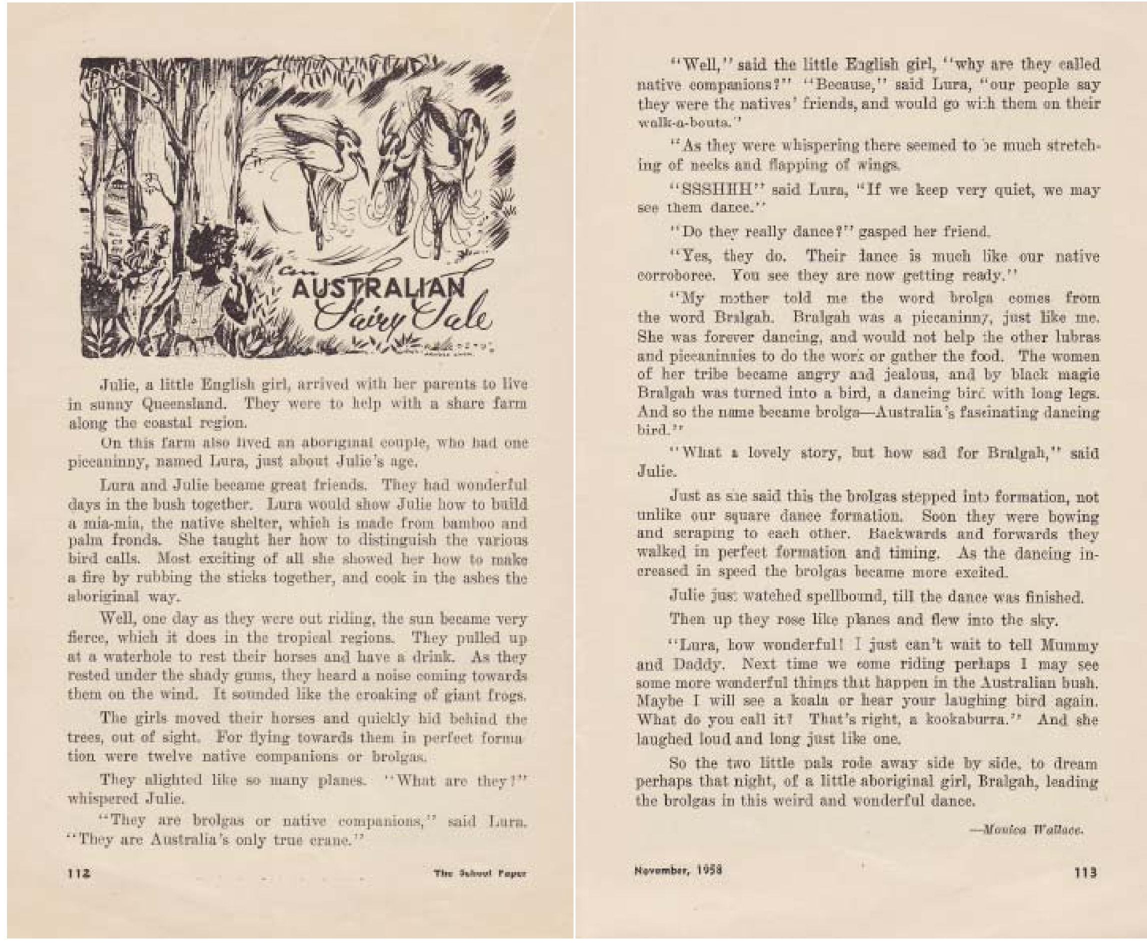
> As Australians, we are all proud of our land, native or adopted. We love its beauty; we glory in its growing importance. We want our athletes to win the Olympic Games, Miss Australian to be Miss International. We like our Australian way of life with its belief in God, its respect for the individual, its easy comradeship, its material prosperity—even its rather annoying casualness. The heroes of our history—men and women such as Captain Cook, John Oxley, Dame Mary Gilmore, Sir Donald Bradman, Albert Namatjira—are sources of pride for every true Australian. The “diggers” of the World Wars have become a symbol to the rest of the world of Australian courage, physical strength, and loyalty. New Australians soon learn English and follow our customs in order to become “Australians”. (Sparkes et al., 1964, pp. 194-5)

Albert Namatjira is presented equally to the other names listed, as examples for further study, as “heroes of our history” and “sources of pride for every Australian” (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 195). Unless you know specifically that Albert Namatjira is an Arrernte (sometimes spelled Arnada) Indigenous Australian, then this one name inclusion may have gone unnoticed in this textbook as an example of Indigenous representations.

Despite the Preface indicating the aim of the textbook, "...seeks to explain the causes and effects of movements significant in the lives of Australians today" (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 5), in this textbook, Indigenous Australians (other than this one reference to Albert Namatjira) are represented as a-historical, almost as an historical artefact themselves with words such as 'natives' and 'tribe' attributed to descriptions of Indigenous Australians. Seen only from a Eurocentric perspective; Indigenous Australians are mentioned only in relation to Captain Phillip's contact with them in 1788, rather than as contributing to contemporary 1960s Australia.

6.9 Intersection of British Heritages and Indigenous Representations

Intersections of the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations occur infrequently in textbooks and other curriculum materials of this era. A rare example of this is included in the children's fictional story, *An Australian Fairytale* by Monica Wallace published in the supplementary curriculum item of a 1958 *School Paper* (Wallace, 1958, pp. 112-113). The story in its entirety and as it appears in the magazine can be viewed Source 6.40.



An Australian Fairy Tale

Julie, a little English girl, arrived with her parents to live in sunny Queensland. They were to help with a share farm along the coastal region.

On this farm also lived an aboriginal couple, who had one piccaninny, named Lura, just about Julie's age.

Lura and Julie became great friends. They had wonderful days in the bush together. Lura would show Julie how to build a mia-mia, the native shelter, which is made from bamboo and palm fronds. She taught her how to distinguish the various bird calls. Most exciting of all she showed her how to make a fire by rubbing the sticks together, and cook in the ashes the aboriginal way.

Well, one day as they were out riding, the sun became very fierce, which it does in the tropical regions. They pulled up at a waterhole to rest their horses and have a drink. As they rested under the shady gums, they heard a noise coming towards them on the wind. It sounded like the croaking of giant frogs.

The girls moved their horses and quickly hid behind the trees, out of sight. For flying towards them in perfect formation were twelve native companions or brolgas.

They alighted like so many planes. "What are they?" whispered Julie.

"They are brolgas or native companions," said Lura. "They are Australia's only true crane."

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"Well," said the little English girl, "why are they called native companions?" "Because," said Lura, "our people say they were the natives' friends, and would go with them on their walk-a-bouts."

"As they were whispering there seemed to be much stretching of necks and flapping of wings.

"SSSHHH" said Lura, "If we keep very quiet, we may see them dance."

"Do they really dance?" gasped her friend.

"Yes, they do. Their dance is much like our native corroboree. You see they are now getting ready."

"My mother told me the word brolga comes from the word Bralgah. Bralgah was a piccaninny, just like me. She was forever dancing, and would not help the other lubras and piccaninnies to do the work or gather the food. The women of her tribe became angry and jealous, and by black magic Bralgah was turned into a bird, a dancing bird with long legs. And so the name became brolga—Australia's fascinating dancing bird."

"What a lovely story, but how sad for Bralgah," said Julie.

Just as she said this the brolgas stepped into formation, not unlike our square dance formation. Soon they were bowing and scraping to each other. Backwards and forwards they walked in perfect formation and timing. As the dancing increased in speed the brolgas became more excited.

Julie just watched spellbound, till the dance was finished.

Then up they rose like planes and flew into the sky.

"Lura, how wonderful! I just can't wait to tell Mummy and Daddy. Next time we come riding perhaps I may see some more wonderful things that happen in the Australian bush. Maybe I will see a koala or hear your laughing bird again. What do you call it? That's right, a kookaburra." And she laughed loud and long just like one.

So the two little pals rode away side by side, to dream perhaps that night, of a little aboriginal girl, Bralgah, leading the brolgas in this weird and wonderful dance.

—Monica Wallace.

November, 1958 113

Source 6.40. *"An Australian Fairy Tale"* from *School Paper* (Wallace, 1958, pp. 112-113).

The intersection of British heritages and Indigenous representations occurs as a central component of this story. In a move away from the majority of Indigenous discourses of school curriculum content during this era, this creative narrative presents as quite remarkable in that it does not place non-Indigenous knowledges or people as superior to Indigenous Australians, but instead demonstrates the *superiority* of Indigenous knowledges. The two protagonists, Julie and Lura are included as their parents belong to the same share farm and the two girls become friends as a result.

Indigenous knowledges and traditional culture is presented as superior rather than primitive and still as a part of contemporary, mainstream society. The superior knowledge that Lura has is communicated through the narrative in the following ways:

> Lura would show Julie how to build a mia-mia, the native shelter, which is made from bamboo and palm fronds. She taught her how to distinguish the various bird

> calls. Most exciting of all she showed her how to make fire by rubbing the sticks together, and cook in the ashes the aboriginal way. (Wallace, 1958, p. 112)

Lura's superior knowledge is further communicated by being able to respond to questions from Julie, such as:

> "What are they?" whispered Julie.
>
> "they are brolgas or native companions," said Lura. "They are Australia's only true crane." (Wallace 1958, p. 112)

So, while the types of knowledge Lura shares with Julie are very traditional Indigenous knowledges which could potentially categorise Lura (as representative of Indigenous Australians) as only belonging to a traditional culture and not part of contemporary society, two key points in the narrative dismisses this claim from being made. First, Lura and her family live on a share farm with other non-Indigenous families as stated in the opening two paragraphs:

> Julie, a little English girl, arrived with her parents to live in sunny Queensland. They were to help with a share farm along the coastal region.
>
> On this farm also lived an aboriginal couple, who had one piccaninny, named Lura, just about Julie's age. (Wallace, 1958, p. 112)

The second key point is the image of the two girls, where both girls are dressed the same, in contemporary clothing (see Source 6.40 to view this image).

Racial heritage is an important marker (in this story) whether from the dominant culture, in the case of Julie or from the non-dominant culture, in the case of Lura. Both have their racial heritage mentioned when the reader is first introduced to them. Despite this, the indigeneity of Lura, as one of the two central characters in the narrative, is not used in a way to make her a 'spectacle' or 'other'. Instead, Lura's knowledge is respected as both interesting (in the case of the story of the Brolgas) and useful (in the case of building shelter, and cooking food).

Terms such as "piccaninny" (Wallace, 1958, pp. 112, 113) and "lubra" (Wallace, 1958, p. 113) are used; the first to describe a young Indigenous girl and the latter to describe an

Indigenous woman which, although commonly accepted terms to use at the time, were still considered paternalistic descriptions. However, the ways in which the terms are included in this narrative do not seem to be negative or paternalistic, which perhaps owing to their widespread usage is a way for the hidden messages of non-Indigenous superiority to be communicated. So, the non-paternalistic way in which the terms are used here could be because the terms are mediated through their connection with British heritages and the overall representation of Lura, the Indigenous girl, who is positioned as having superior knowledge to the English girl, Julie. Just as significant as the terms used to describe Indigenous Australians, are the terms used when describing the two protagonists, Julie and Lura, as a collective. This is noteworthy as describing an Indigenous and non-Indigenous person in the same collective group does not occur elsewhere in school texts. In this narrative, the following terms are used to describe the girls: “great friends”; “they”; “her friend”; “we”; and “two little pals” (Wallace, 1958, pp. 112, 113).

6.10 Examples of Resistant and Alternative Readings of Indigenous Representations

There are a number of examples of resistant and alternative readings of Indigenous representations in textbooks from this era. Samples of content that break away from typical representations of Indigenous Australians are found in textbooks *across* the era, not just in the latter years, which could have been reasonably expected given the rise in profile of social justice and political rights for Australia’s Indigenous population.

6.10.1 Discourses of traditional life.

The earliest example of resistant readings can be found in *The first hundred years* (Palmer & MacLeod, 1954/1964). Although the textbook primarily reproduces the official knowledge of curriculum, part of it presents as an alternative reading. See Source 6.41 for an extended extract of the textbook that contains an alternative perspective of regarding Indigenous Australians as primitive when living in their traditional environment, following a traditional lifestyle.

These early settlers had an opportunity to study the aborigines before white settlement had made changes in the country. The writer of this description, a good observer who later became a Protector of Aborigines, knew them very well:

The life of an aboriginal tribe

'They hold that the bush and all it contains are man's general property; that private property is only what utensils are carried in the bag; and this general claim to nature's bounty extends even to the successes of the day; hence at the close, those who had been successful divide with those who have not been so. There is "no complaining in the streets" of a native encampment; none lacketh while others have it; nor is the gift considered as a favour, but as a right brought to the needy, and thrown down at his feet. In warm weather, while on the tramp, they seldom make a miamia—they use merely a few boughs to keep off the wind; in wet weather a few sheets of bark make a comfortable house. In one half-hour I have seen a neat village begun and finished. The harmony that exists among them when none of another tribe is in the party is surprising. I have been with them for months without a single altercation.'

But neither the country nor the aborigines remained for long in their natural state. Within a few years the colony was scattered with rough station huts and sheep and cattle grazed on the hills and plains. Some overlanders looked back rather sadly to the days when the bush was untouched:

An overlander looks back

'The most spirit-stirring sight that the sportsman can witness is the first view of a new pastoral district. . . . Plains and "open forest", as far as the eye can see, covered with grass so luxuriant that it brushes the horseman in his saddle; flocks of kangaroos quietly grazing, as yet untaught to fear the enemy that is invading their territory; the emu playfully crossing and re-crossing his route; the quail rising at every step; lagoons literally swarming with wildfowl—these are scenes reserved for the eye of the enterprising settler, or the still more enterprising "overlander".

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'Then mark the change that follows upon discovery. Intelligence of the new country reaches the settled districts, and countless flocks and herds are poured into the land of promise. It is divided into stations, and "improvements" are everywhere erected upon it; disputes arise, and a commissioner is appointed to settle them; bushrangers are "out", and mounted police are sent to hunt them down; the wild blacks, indignant at the cool occupation of their territory, spear the cattle, and the settlers retaliate. The governor establishes a "protector of aborigines". . . . But Nature, as if offended, withdraws half her beauty from the land; the pasture gradually loses its freshness; some of the rivers and lakes run low, others become wholly dry. The wild animals are no more to be found.'

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Source 6.41. *"The life of an aboriginal tribe"* extract from *The first hundred years* (Palmer & MacLeod 1964/1964, pp. 47-49).

Although the image is a typical example of illustrations of Indigenous Australians, the text provides an example of knowledge of traditional lifestyles from a different perspective. In the case of this extract, two discourses are evident. The first, discourses of primitive lifestyles (where the alternative reading is present); and second, discourses of displacement. The second discourse provides an opportunity to juxtapose an emerging alternative reading, quite radical for its time, with a dominant reading of attitudes towards Indigenous Australians. Found within the same extract (see Source 6.41) this illustrates the tenuous nature of content that seeks to challenge all dominant perspectives.

Through a discourse of primitive lifestyles, Indigenous cultures are established for the reader through the narrative of an unnamed observer who "later became a Protector of Aborigines" (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 47). His observation demonstrates a respect for Indigenous knowledges and structure of traditional life, evident through the following extract:

> They hold that the bush and all it contains are man's general property…and this general claim…extends even to the successes of the day; hence at the close, those who have been successful divide with those who have not been so. There is "no complaining in the streets" of a native encampment; none lacketh while others have it; nor is the gift considered as a favour, but as a right brought to the needy, and thrown down at his feet. (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 48)

Here, rather than a paternalistic attitude towards Indigenous culture, now common in both popular culture, for example the representation of the Chief Protector in Phillip Noyce's film *Rabbit Proof Fence*; and textbooks that frequently represent Indigenous cultures as both mono-cultural and through the lens of anthropology, the organisation of traditional Indigenous lifestyles are respected. This is overtly stated throughout the above passage. A further perspective, mitigated through privileging the Indigenous culture is the inclusion of the phrase "no complaining in the streets" (Palmer and McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 48), a veiled criticism of mainstream, non-Indigenous society, reflective of the levels of social dysfunction, poverty and crime in Australian cities (especially Sydney) during the 19th century.

Moving to a reinforcement of dominant discourses of displacement, and indicative of contradictions found in textbooks, in discussing the impacts of an increase in farming in a particular district, a primary source recollection of an unnamed person who had lived in the district for an extended period of time is included. On the topic of Indigenous Australians, he writes: "…the wild blacks, indignant at the cool occupation of their territory, spear the cattle, and the settlers retaliate. The governor establishes a "protector of aborigines"…" (Palmer & McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 49). The use of the term "wild blacks" (Palmer & McLeod, 1954/ 1964, p. 49) does not appear to be used in an intentionally provocative way, judging by the position of the person writing the primary source. In particular this perspective is sympathetic towards the situation Indigenous Australians have been placed in through the "occupation of their territory" (Palmer & McLeod, 1954/1964, p. 49). Rather, this term seems to be used as a way to differentiate between Indigenous Australians living in mainstream society (albeit usually on the fringe) and Indigenous Australians still living in a wholly traditional tribal community. However, what it does reinforce is the acceptance of language use that describes Indigenous peoples as different to others.

The first hundred years represents Australian Indigenous culture/s as primitive, particularly by reference to "study of the aborigines by anthropologists" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 186). Yet, different from the majority of these representations, this textbook explains this as being a consequence of "a limited environment" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 187) and that in actual fact due to "inventiveness…Richness of imagination showed in their art, their myths and legends" (Palmer and MacLeod, 1969, p. 187), an attempt by the authors to demonstrate a respect for a variety of knowledges. This fluidity of knowledge is then extended to compare contemporary ideas of relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians to former, paternalistic relationships, through the following sentence: "The idea that the white man's function was to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race' was slowly being replaced by another: that there was no basic difference between the two races, and that full acceptance was the solution" (Palmer & MacLeod, 1969, p. 187). However, there is still no mention of contemporary events such as the Wave Hill Station Strike or the 1967 Referendum, major events in Australia's 20th century history. Overall, the presentation of knowledge as fluid and open to change is a feature of the representation of Indigenous Australians in this textbook, and presents as an anomaly to other textbooks.

Providing an alternative reading to discourses of primitive is evident in other textbooks too. *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 6* (Department of Education, 1955/1966), although containing only one page of text and two images, represents Indigenous knowledges as different from and equally valid to non-Indigenous (that is, European) knowledges in discussing the use and value of natural resources. Rather than the usual discourse of treating Indigenous Australians as a primitive group of people prior to colonisation, this type of term is not used, and furthermore is not an underpinning ideology or perspective running between the lines of the text. The language in an extract from the textbook (see below) used to describe Indigenous Australian is consistently to refer to the protagonist by his name, Kooloona. When the reader is first introduced to him, he is referred to as "Kooloona the aboriginal" (Department of Education, 1955/1966, p. 5) and from thereafter as Kooloona. There are no references to Kooloona as a 'native', 'black fellow', 'savage' or other similar terms prevalent in textbooks. It is clear that Kooloona is a fictional character, representative of Indigenous cultures prior to colonisation. Using a fictional character to illuminate historical narratives is not unusual for the Department of Education published and supplied *Social Studies for Queensland schools* textbook series. This series typically includes a variety of narrative and genre structures within and across textbooks in order to sustain student

attention and make learning Social Studies (of which Australian history is a part of) interesting and enjoyable. Two criticisms of this narrative is that it does simplify Indigenous cultures into one homogenous group and it removes the important role women played in Indigenous cultures, by casting Kooloona as a solitary man. This could be improved by being clear about which part of Australia the narrative is referring to as topics of clothing, shelter and food vary according to the geographical location of particular tribal groups; and by including information about the role of women, perhaps by including a female character. However, notwithstanding this, this narrative does provide an alternative, against the grain reading of Indigenous representations compared with other textbooks from the era. Furthermore, it would not be in the spirit of the narrative to focus solely on this simplification of cultures and omission of gender roles in an analysis aligned with the purpose of this project, where there is significant learning opportunities presented to students.

Characteristics attributed to Kooloona position him as a self-sufficient warrior, with an example reading:

> Beside him lay his woomera, boomerang and stone axe. Around him stood the forest as it had always stood. Beneath him lay the soil that his ancestors' feet had trodden for countless ages.
>
> ...
>
> Kooloona's weapons were his most prized possessions. With them he could kill the game he needed...
>
> ...
>
> His needs were very simple. The creatures he caught and the seeds and roots he gathered, the plant fibres he twisted into twine, the sheets of bark he cut for his gunyah, and the wood, stone, sinew, bone, and teeth he used in making his tools and weapons—these had real value for him. (Department of Education, 1955/1966, p. 5)

This narrative is included as a way to introduce students to the topic, *Natural Resources*. The inclusion of the story of Kooloona is legitimized in two ways. First, the narrative is representative of the original inhabitants of Australia who selected those natural resources which held value for their needs and used them accordingly. Second, the narrative is used as a tool to teach students that knowledges are non-hierarchical and value is placed on resources for different reasons according to the needs and wants of different groups of people. The perspective attributed to the topic of *Natural Resources* is clearly non-judgemental, and

instead explains to students why Indigenous people did not use the natural resources available of coal and gold, pointing to “value depends on usefulness” (Department of Education, 1955/ 1966, p. 5) as the contributing factor to selection of natural resources (for example, trees over coal) to use.

Although the narrative does not overtly articulate that the valuing of Indigenous knowledges as equal to non-Indigenous knowledges, it does so in a less explicit way, by first using respectful language towards the protagonist; and second through phrases such as:

> As Kooloona roamed his hunting-grounds, he caught, perhaps, a glint of yellow stone in a creek bed. To him it was a stone among other stones, and nothing more. Gold had no value in Kooloona’s life. In his eyes its very softness rendered it useless and therefore a thing of no value. The black stone he sometimes saw in seams across a cliff face was of no value to him. He had no use for coal; fallen branches were sufficient to feed his fires. (Department of Education, 1955/1966, p. 5)

The images used are two photographs of Indigenous Australians in traditional environments, but unlike other textbooks this is not out of context to the narrative or the history that is being presented. Instead these images add richness to the narrative by providing an illustration for students to focus on when reading the narrative as a type of visual cue to represent the fictional protagonist, Kooloona. The photographed captioned “An Australian Aboriginal” (Department of Education, 1955/1966, p. 5), although presents an anonymity of Indigenous Australians similar to other textbooks during this era; seems to be included for students to imagine that it is Kooloona, thereby illuminating the narrative through images. Similarly, the first image of the textbook, a photograph of two Indigenous men holding spears and walking is representative of the activities Kooloona engages in through the narrative.

6.10.2 Discourses of key terms that describe Indigenous Australians.

To conclude the analysis of textbook content from this era, two extracts will be used to demonstrate resistant uses of terminology in Indigenous representations. Occasionally alternative terms are used to describe the colonisation of Britain, long before the kerfuffle of the 1994 incident over the use of the term “invasion” (as detailed in *Appendix A: Contexts*). Use of the word “occupation” in *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 165) is very radical for this era, as generally textbooks refer to the British period of colonisation as “settlement” (see, for example, Logue et al., 1965, p. 352;

Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 20). Demonstrating its progressiveness, the introduction of *Chapter 6: New lands, new people* describes the colonisation of Australia as an "occupation", which for this era is very strong language choice. The context of the use of this term is: "The story of this occupation of Australia is a fascinating one because the reasons for the settlements were quite varied" (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 50).

The second example is from the *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4*. In Source 6.42, the term "white invaders" (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, pp. 101- 102) is used in such a way that it presents as an anomaly to the general style of this textbook, almost as though it slipped through the editing process, unnoticed.

Here is a story about those days.

Knee almost touching knee, three horsemen rode quietly along towards the west. Wherever they turned their eyes, the grasslands stretched away until lost in the haze that hid the far horizon. Low hills and ridges broke the level of the plain. Dotted in scattered clumps or in ones and twos, trees cast their short shadows in the strong Australian sunshine. Narrow lines of trees along the creeks wound like great green snakes across the land, and, although they seldom caught more than a flash of silver in the sun, the riders knew that water was there.

A mile or two behind them a thin cloud of dust rose in the still heat of noon. Frequently the leader, a big bearded man, turned in his saddle to see that all was safe with the sheep and the drays. He could see them dimly in the dust and was always pleased when he saw that all was well. He and his sons carried guns. Well they knew that out here, far beyond the last station, the natives might try to drive back the white invaders. But for two days, now, no native had been seen; except for themselves and the rest of the party behind, only emus and kangaroos moved on the plains.

Presently the big man spoke, "That looks like it, boys. See, where the two creeks join. We'll ride over."

Source 6.42, "White invaders" extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/ 1966, pp. 101- 102).

6.11 Conclusion

The data presented above provides a representative sample of the discourses of Indigenous representations operating in school textbooks during the 1960s and early 1970s, a period of rapid social and political change for a wide range of issues, including (and especially) those

relating to Indigenous Australians. The school texts, mostly represented through History and Social Studies textbooks, portray the common Indigenous representations operating in Queensland school curriculum. By and large, they are generally ignorant to or dismissive of massive changes in Australian legislation and public views concerning Indigenous peoples. Instead, the majority of knowledge students learn about Indigenous Australians concern interactions with explorers, representations in traditional environments, and as part of violent conflicts with early colonisers.

The following sub-sections make up the final analysis and conclusions that have been formed from the analysis presented throughout this chapter. These topics include: absence from national history; on the peripheral of history; narrative style of school curriculum; critical use of sources; use of primary and secondary sources; curriculum as gatekeeper of conservative content and values or agent for change; and disjuncture and parallels between History curriculum and public discourses.

6.11.1 Absence from national history.

In many examples from textbooks across this era, any representation of Indigenous Australians in Australian history is absent. For example, except for the poem *The last of his tribe* in *Queensland School Reader: Grade 7* (Department of Public Instruction, 1957/1960/1963/1967, pp. 168-9), there are no Indigenous representations across any other grade in all the editions of the Readers series published from 1946 until the last publication in 1967. This is despite this series encompassing a variety of stories, poems, pictures and other literary samples from a wide range of cultures. A second example is the 1964 first edition of *Australia's Heritage* (Sparkes et al., 1964), written by Queensland based teachers, respected in the history teaching community, evidenced by being "...members of a committee charged with the preparation of a syllabus in History and Civics to be introduced into Queensland Secondary Schools in 1964" (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 5). The aim of the textbook, in accompanying the syllabus, "...seeks to explain the causes and effects of movements significant in the lives of Australians today" (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 5). Considering the socio-political issues impacting Indigenous Australian affairs during this era, it is surprising that the textbook includes less than one page in a 282 page textbook on an Indigenous topic. In this case, it is titled "The Aborigines' Way of Life" and briefly and paternalistically describes the authors' perceptions of indigenous lifestyle "…in Australia in 1788" (Sparkes et al., 1964, p. 46). The simplistic overview provided on this topic seems inappropriate for the

secondary school level this textbook was written for. Specifically written to complement the 1964 History and Civics Syllabus, the fact that the textbook covers a number of complex topics, such as the Industrial Revolution and Australia's place within the increasingly globalised world of the time, it could be assumed that a textbook (and just as importantly, the syllabus this textbook was written from) specifically about Australian history would incorporate more information about Indigenous issues and topics.

As detailed in the education context earlier in this chapter, Indigenous representations are included with far greater frequency in primary school textbooks than they do in secondary school textbooks. This perhaps points to the lack of importance placed on Indigenous issues as a topic for study. Students are able to leave school only with a relative elementary knowledge and understanding of Indigenous peoples, cultures and topics. This gap in content of Indigenous representations presents an interesting power discourse regarding the omission of events or issues present in Australian society particularly in an historical context. During this time of Australia's history, Indigenous affairs especially in relation to land rights and social justice were gaining political momentum and increasingly entering the public consciousness especially through media reporting. However, this increase in profile is not evident in many textbooks for high school students.

6.11.2 On the peripheral of history.

Even though there are significant tracts of content regarding Indigenous Australians in some textbooks such as *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966), *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966), and *Landmarks: A history of Australia to the present day* (Blackmore et al., 1969), overall across all the textbooks from this era, Indigenous Australians are represented as peripheral to mainstream history, as an add-on or foot note to the 'real' history taking place. This is typified by the narratives on early explorers, which comprise a significant part of the textbook content across school year levels. With the occasional exception of stories such as those about Jacky Jacky, Indigenous people are represented as only very minor players, contributing nothing of significant value, but rather often as a hindrance to exploration. What is noticeable about the absence of detail in the Social Studies and History curriculum, is that when information is left out to the detriment of the already subjugated group; for example in the narrative of Eyre and his companion, Wylie (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966, p. 74-75); is that important conclusions that students could reach

if mediated appropriately by the curriculum, are missed. This therefore emphasizes the importance of the responsibility school History curriculum has in communicating information that is accurate by not leaving out or omitting important points and details.

Regarding the content of explorers and their interactions with Indigenous Australians, it appears that there is a type of canon of exploration stories. For example, the stories of Kennedy and Jacky Jacky; and Wylie and Eyre are included across textbooks. They feature in *Australia: Colony to nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963) and *Social Studies for Queensland Schools Grade 5* (Department of Education, 1959/1962/1966). Unusual for Indigenous representations during this era, Jacky Jacky and Wylie are at the centre of the stories as important figures in narratives that include them. However, overall, regardless of the perspective taken; whether one of paternalism, equality, historical curiosity or some other ideological standpoint; Indigenous Australians are consistently represented on the fringe of mainstream history. As has been demonstrated through the analysis, two main areas of textbooks where Indigenous representations are included are either as adjuncts or anecdotes to an historical narrative or as a separate chapter, usually at the end of the textbook, as an optional case study that positions Indigenous issues as a ‘problem’ or positions Indigenous people themselves as ‘victims’ of an imposed system.

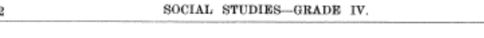
6.11.3 Narrative style of school curriculum.

Predictably, the narrative styles of textbooks differ according to the school year level for which they are written. Whilst the secondary school textbooks generally comprise a detached and formal approach to communicating content, the *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series provide students with a vibrant recount of historical narratives. For example, in one chapter of *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966) the narrative is constructed by following two children on a train holiday. When they see various points of interest along their journey someone in their carriage or who they are visiting happens to be an expert on this point of interest and tells the students about it including its historical context, answering the questions the students have. As an early example of an inquiry-based approach to learning, this presents as an interesting narrative that school students can feel a part. Other chapters in this same textbook are similarly constructed into an engaging narrative, with one being a series of letters to and from a classmate who has moved to Tasmania, who tells his former classmates still in Brisbane, the

history of Tasmania through various letters and postcards. Source 6.43 is an example of the personal adventure-style narrative found throughout this textbook.

"Governor Hunter was very pleased with their work and was willing for them to set out the next year on another voyage south. The boat that they used this time was only a little larger than the tiny *Tom Thumb*, and so they gave it the same name. Before long they were short of water. When they saw a place where it seemed likely that there might be fresh water, Bass swam ashore with a cask. As he was trying to lift the cask of water aboard, a wave swamped the boat. Their muskets were wet and the powder was soaked. The explorers landed on the beach. Two natives came along and the white men were worried when more appeared. They knew that they would not be able to defend themselves until they could dry their powder and muskets.

"The powder was spread in the sun and a start was made to dry and clean the muskets. The natives did not like the look of those muskets; so the explorers stopped working on them. Flinders thought of a way to keep the natives' attention off Bass, who was looking after the powder. Much to the delight of the natives, he took out a large pair of scissors and began to cut their hair and beards. While he was doing this, the powder was drying.


72 SOCIAL STUDIES—GRADE IV.

WHILE THE POWDER DRIED. From a drawing by Percy Lindsay.

"It was a serious position, but I have often thought that Bass and his comrade must have felt amused, just the same. Snip, snip, snip went the scissors, and while the other natives gazed in wonder, the one being barbered rolled his eyes, half pleased, yet half afraid. You can imagine him, when his beard had been trimmed, proudly showing it off and saying in his own way, 'Next, please.' When the powder was dry, the white men loaded their boat and boldly pushed out to sea.

"On the homeward journey the brave explorers were caught in a storm but succeeded in reaching Sydney, safe and sound. Their voyage had shown what the coast was like south of Sydney. It had made Bass anxious to sail still farther south. Two years later he set out in a whaleboat on another voyage, which made him sure that Van Diemen's Land was not part of the mainland."

The children were looking very tired but Jim said, "Thank you, sir, for your stories. We have enjoyed them."

"I'm very glad to have been able to tell them," replied their friend. "Off you go to bed now. I'm sure you'll want to see more of Sydney tomorrow."

Source 6.43. Example of personal adventure-style narrative extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, pp. 71-72).

Unchanged from previous eras, the *Queensland School Readers* explicitly affirm that the intent of their use in Queensland classrooms is to instill in students a lifelong enjoyment of reading, with a sample preface stating:

> A child who has gained the habit of reading for the sake of the pleasure and the profit that it brings will continue his self-education after he has left school.
>
> …
>
> To instil into the minds of pupils such a love of literature as will last beyond school-days and be an unfailing source of profit and delight. (Department of Public Instruction, 1954/1960, pp. iii)

Moving from the narrative style of curriculum, this era is also characterised by an increase in visual images to accompany text, and is evident at a larger degree than earlier eras, such as those from the WWI era analysed in the previous chapter. This can be most likely attributed to lowered cost of producing images in textbooks (due to their mass production) and photographs being more cost-effective than they may have previously been. Although images do not play a central role as learning experiences for students in the Social Studies and History textbooks analysed for this era, their use and application has increased and they are often used as page fillers rather than for students to engage with as an explicit pedagogical device.

6.11.4 Critical Use of Sources.

During this era, students are increasingly seen as active in the learning process. This is especially evidenced through high school textbooks, including those written by H.R. Cowie (see, for example, *Frankfurt to Fra Mauro*, 1975; and *Challenge and response: A history of the modern world volume 2*, 1976); *Landmarks* (Blackmore et al., 1969); and *Foundations* (Hendy et al., 1976), where the Introduction, in part, reads:

> ...we seek to lead students to the skills of forming opinions from simple basic narrative and interesting stimuli, both written and pictorial.
>
> ...
>
> Students who have merely 'received' facts may possess some temporarily stored information, but if they have not been actively involved with the facts, and have no reached some conclusions for themselves, it is questionable whether they have expanded their knowledge (Hendy et al., 1976, p. 7).

Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 6 (Department of Education, 1955/1966) is a primary school example of critical use of sources, where an alternative perspective of valuing natural resources is presented to students, as analysed earlier in this chapter.

In addition, the term *base book* starts being used to describe a textbook (see, for example, Hendy et al., 1976, p. 7). H.R. Cowie also continued using this term in textbooks published during the early 1980s. This term is used by textbook writers to indicate that their textbook should be used only as a starting point, rather than an all-encompassing curriculum document. By including references for further reading, they are also providing teachers and students with other sources to be used in classroom teaching and student learning.

Further demonstrating the trend of viewing students as active participants in their learning, there is considerable change in approach between the first and second edition of *Australia's heritage* (Sparkes et al., 1964; 1970). Whereas in the first edition, student learning was very much through a traditional didactic approach; the 1970 edition, through the addition of key changes such as 'For Research and Discussion' and 'References' sections at the end of each chapter, promote both a more active student learning approach and begin to demonstrate that there is knowledge of value *outside of* and not necessarily connected with individual textbooks. These changes are explained by the authors, in the preface, as: "In the last seven or eight years, the approach to the teaching of history has been changing also. Much more emphasis is being placed on enquiry techniques and this is to be commended" (Sparkes et al., 1970, p. 6). However, despite the changes in pedagogical approach, often made explicit by the textbook writers, the content of textbooks in terms of Indigenous representations do not change in any significant way, demonstrating that even with innovative pedagogical practices employed, the curriculum can still contain significant omissions to the detriment of students' knowledge and understanding of key historical events, facts and issues.

6.11.5 Use of primary and secondary sources.

There is a notable disparity between terms used to describe Indigenous Australians when the textbook is writing in present tense, than what is used when quoting from primary sources. To explain, textbooks of the era do not use terms such as 'savage' or 'blacks' (whereas this was language used in earlier eras) in narratives that the authors write for students as a secondary source. As secondary sources, Indigenous Australians are referred to by terms such

as ‘Aborigines’, ‘Aboriginals’; less common by individual name, for example ‘Jacky Jacky’, ‘Wylie’, ‘Robert Tudawali’, and ‘Albert Namatjira’; and even less commonly by tribal affiliation, for example “Gurindji” (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 167). However, when primary sources are used not only are they rarely accurately attributed to the original source of author, for example “A nineteenth century historian” (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 164), but potentially inflammatory terms such as ‘savage’, ‘primitive’ and ‘native’ are used (as shown throughout the analysis of textbooks in this chapter). Whilst it is indicated through quotation marks that a primary source from a past period of time is being used, there is never any mediation for students of these terms, resulting in a complicit acceptance, strengthened by the position of power a textbook has over students and also teachers as a tool of teaching and learning. As a process of acculturating students into the work of an historian, including primary source documents even if they do incorporate terms that are no longer socially or politically acceptable is an important part of that process. However, where the curriculum documents across the board fail students is that there is no mediation of how these terms are used, either in the past or in the present, which potentially leads to prejudices and other preconceived, uneducated views being reinforced, rather than using the texts as an opportunity to challenge perspectives in consideration of changed socio-political attitudes and beliefs.

6.11.6 Curriculum as gatekeeper of conservative content and values or agent for change.

Indigenous Australians and Indigenous representations more generally, are portrayed as both a-historical, out of context and disconnected from other curriculum content (such as excluded from chronologies of national history); perpetrators of violence against explorers; and increasingly as *victims* of white colonisation. This discourse of victimhood infiltrates the curriculum, particularly in contemporary representations of Indigenous Australians. For example, one of the few visual representations of Indigenous Australians in a contemporary setting portrays a group of Indigenous women and children from the outback as an example of poverty (Blackmore et al., 1969, p. 167), and can be seen as aligned with the dominant socio-political views of the time, being assimilation.

In different textbooks, there is significant disjuncture of Indigenous representations within this same era. On the one hand, there are representations of anonymous ‘natives’ interacting with explorers. Yet, on the other hand, there are occasional stories of Indigenous Australians belonging to specific tribal groups, for example “Gurindji tribe of Wave Hill” (Blackmore et

al., 1969, p. 166), where Indigenous Australians are shown as being part of contemporary society; and also of being named, for example Tudawali and Namatjira. However, apart from these couple of exceptions, Indigenous Australians are by and large only mentioned as a group or if mentioned as individuals as part of a wider narrative or topic area on Indigenous Australians. Rather than included as part of the mainstream content, Indigenous representations are included as something ‘special’, ‘exotic’ and ‘other’; meaning as a consequence Indigenous Australians are seen outside of the ‘normal’ and ‘everyday’, away from mainstream society. Overall, Indigenous representations remained static throughout this era with, for example, the *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series not undergoing any changes from the early-mid 1950s until the early 1970s. Despite all that had changed in society over that time period in relation to Indigenous representations, the *core* curriculum texts did not change.

6.11.7 Disjuncture and parallels between History curriculum and public discourses.

As demonstrated in the analysis of textbooks, there is significant evidence of disjuncture between school curriculum and general public discourses. Generally, school textbooks are devoid of information relating to contemporary events initiated by Indigenous Australians, such as, for example: the Wave Hill Station Strike of 1966; the 1967 referendum; Freedom bus ride of 1965; general civil action for land rights to be recognised, for example, the Yirrkala people’s petition of 1963; and towards the end of the era the establishment of the Tent Embassy in 1972. Whereas, in public discourses, these issues and events were given increasingly significant press space and heightened attention by the mainstream community, they are largely missing in History and Social Studies textbooks. At the same time, there is sufficient data analysed from the selected textbooks that demonstrate a commitment by educators (all the textbook authors were either teachers or employed by the Department of Education), to present alternative or resistant readings to those which otherwise present themselves in the syllabus. This was achieved to a greater degree than in the WWI era, where there are no examples of textbooks that challenge dominant discourses or offer any alternative perspectives.

Throughout this era there were many different perspectives concerning Indigenous representations (as there remains today), which were influenced by the media, have informed debates. The perspectives that the media take is very much dependent on the issues being

discussed, rather than a principled approach to social and political rights and equity. So, for example whilst the mainstream media and government supported the referendum of 1967, the same cannot be for said for the Tent Embassy, whereby the issues were sometimes presented as somehow infringing on existing non-Indigenous rights, for example those of pastoralists. Overall, it is apparent that school curriculum did reflect the dominant socio-political values of its historical era. The content is presented in an authoritarian way with little opportunity for debate about either the accuracy of or the appropriateness of selecting certain content over another. Furthermore, it is evident that the school curriculum from this era takes on a conservative representation of the changes to the dominant socio-political discourses, and does not include contemporary understandings or events surrounding Aboriginal issues that were beginning to emerge in the consciousness of mainstream Australian society.

Chapter Seven: 1988 Bicentennial Era

7.1 Historical context

The year 1988 is an important one in Australian history, being the 200 year anniversary of the arrival of the First Fleet from England to Port Jackson, Sydney in 1788. This event effectively began the modern history period of the Australian continent, being the first colony of Great Britain on the Australian continent. The First Fleet, led by Captain Arthur Phillip (who was also given authority as the first Governor of New South Wales), was sent by the British government to set up a colony on the east coast of the continent with three main purposes. First, as a penal colony to disperse convicts from overcrowded prisons in Britain; second to act as a trading port; and third to source raw materials, such as flax, in order to make items such as ship sails. In more recent times, the impact of the arrival of the First Fleet on the Australian continent in the year 1788 has been described variously as *settlement*, *colonisation, occupation,* or *invasion*, depending on the perspective of the author; and as relevant to this research, all four terms have been used at different times in school curriculum (as demonstrated through the analysis conducted in this chapter, in *Appendix A: Contexts* and also in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*).

The year 1988, as the bicentennial of the arrival of the First Fleet, is particularly relevant for this project, with the intersection of the two exemplar topics—Indigenous representations and British heritages—particularly conspicuous in the public arena during this time period for their relationship to the 200 year anniversary. Viewing this period of history as a time of rapid social (if not so much political) renewal is supported by the number of popular histories written in an accessible way for the general public, often supported through public funding or commissioned by major publishing houses. Sample publications include *The Ashton Scholastic History of Australia* (Clark, Hooper & Ferrier, 1988) and *The Penguin Bicentennial History of Australia* (Molony, 1987). Overarching the histories published during the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial (even those that seek to explore the complexities of the nation's history—past and present), is a discourse of *celebration*, arguably the most dominant discourse surrounding the marking of this historical event (for an extensive critique of this discourse of *celebration*, see Bennett, Buckridge, Carter & Mercer's *Celebrating the nation*, 1992). This is demonstrated, for example, in Source 7.1, an introduction written by then-Governor General Sir Ninian Stephen in a *Sydney Morning Herald* magazine insert titled *Australia: 200 years and beyond* (Anderson, 1987), one year prior to the Bicentennial.

This is the story that the Historical Library *tells and, in the telling, gives new insights into the life and times of Australia's past. This is also what our Bicentenary is all about: the celebration of the achievements of all those who have ever lived their lives in Australia, how they realised their hopes, overcame their disappointments, achieved their successes and survived their failures; how from the combined experiences of all Australians our country's national identity has been shaped.*

The publication of Australians: A Historical Library *accordingly makes a substantial contribution to our nation's Bicentenary.*

Sir Ninian Stephen
Governor-General of Australia

Source 7.1. Extract from *Introduction* by Sir Ninian Stephen in *Australia: 200 years and beyond* (Anderson, 1987, p. 4).

The Weekend Australian magazine history series, published in 1988, presents as a departure from the majority of for-general-public readership national histories, with a critical lens applied, highlighting both shameful and positive aspects of the nation's past. Source 7.2 and Source 7.3 (representative of each of the two exemplar topics) from the series highlight the complex manner in which Australian history was communicated to its audience.

After almost every major upheaval in our national life historians declare that Australia has 'come of age'. Whether or not World War I did bring maturity to Australian society is still debated. It is certain, however, that the war brought unprecedented social change.

When Britain declared war on Germany on 3 August 1914, Britain's dominions and colonies were automatically committed to participation in what was to become known as the 'Great War'. Politicians from both political parties pledged their support for the Mother Country.

The Labor leader, Andrew Fisher, summed up the feelings and policy of the time in his enthusiasticly received election speech of 31 July 1914 he said:

'. . . All, I am sure, will regret the critical position existing at the present time, and pray that a disastrous war may be averted. But should the worst happen after everything has been done that honour will permit, Australians will stand beside our own to help and defend her to our last man and our last shilling.'

Patriotic fervour

Although few Australians understood the causes of the war, they were proud of the Empire. Patriotism flourished and all over the country community leaders held meetings at which *God Save the King*, *Rule Britannia* and *The Marseillaise* were sung; politicians and religious leaders made speeches, and young men publicly declared that they were ready to fight.

In a surge of patriotism, over 20 000 men enlisted in the first wave of the Australian Imperial Forces (A.I.F.) which sailed in early November.

When news came back to Australia of the Gallipoli campaign and the sinking of the *Lusitania*, another 12 500 men volunteered. Although the flow of volunteers had been steady from 1914 to June 1915, the British still asked for more men: they wanted every man capable of fighting. Recruiting drives throughout town and country were organised. Urgers were included in these drives, and they publicly humiliated men who seemed to be holding back from enlisting.

Source 7.2. British heritages interacting with Australian contexts extract from Two *hundred years* (O'Brien, Keith, Wilson, & Jacobson, 1988, p. 49).

Truganini

On the night of 3 May 1876, Truganini, the so-called 'Last Tasmanian', became delirious and lost consciousness. She died six days later, all alone. The white invaders had slaughtered many of her and the other Tasmanian tribes. Those who had survived the white man's guns succumbed to the alcohol, disease, miserly hand-outs and tobacco brought by Europeans. A few Aborigines survived on Flinders Island, but the lonely black woman, Truganini, was the last Aborigine on the Tasmanian mainland. She had begun her life with her tribe, free in the bush, hunting and gathering. It ended with her dependent on the charity of Mrs Dandridge, a wealthy Hobart woman. Australians had become the first people to commit genocide of an indigenous race.

Truganini, the last of her race.

Source 7.3. Indigenous representations encapsulated through *"Truganini"* extract from *Two hundred years* (O'Brien et al., 1988, p. 325)

It is worthwhile pointing out, that selecting 1788 as an important historical marker is also not without contention. For example, Cochrane and Goodman write the following of the establishment of the largest celebration of the year, the 1988 World Expo held in Brisbane, Queensland (Australia's third largest city):

> The makers of the Exhibition faced a dilemma: how to put together a program which spoke to the 200 years of white Australia history, which was in some way celebratory, and yet which took seriously the contemporary circumstances which have rendered unequivocal nationalism problematic...The Bicentenary was not a naturally occurring event. A decision had to be made that 200 years since the arrival of the First Fleet was an event worth celebrating. And then the event itself had to be invented...What, exactly, was the Bicentenary about? That had always been open to contestation. (1992, p. 176)

In the lead up to and in the year of 1988, a wide range of government programs and events were initiated as a way to create an atmosphere of 'celebration' of this historical event. A government authority, the Australian Bicentennial Authority (ABA) was set up in 1979 (Augoustinos, 1993; MacIntyre & Clark, 2003). Initially established by the Liberal (conservative) Fraser government, and then continued by the Labor Hawke government, this demonstrates the bi-partisan support of the 1988 Bicentennial. The ABA had legislative authority to act under the *Australian Bicentennial Authority Act 1980* (date of assent 23rd May, 1980). The primary purpose of this Act was to plan and coordinate projects that connected with Australia's cultural heritage. It was also to administer funds, provided by the Federal government. The Bicentennial was promoted to the general public through consistent advertising campaigns throughout the 1980s, particularly under the Hawke government. Branding the Bicentennial was also important, and the logo in Source 7.4 was used extensively in advertising and other promotional material in the lead up to and including 1988.

Source 7.4. Bicentennial logo. (Foundationexpo, n.d.).

As mentioned, a key term that describes the dominant mainstream representations of Australian nationhood (especially through culture, heritage and history) in the 1980s is *celebration*. Bicentennial celebratory events, activities and publications were at the fore front of the material portrayal of the themes that had entered the national psyche through official government channels and support. *Celebration of a nation* was the official government slogan, and is described by Turner in the following way as a pedagogical event:

> ...the promotional campaign emanating from the Australian Bicentenary Authority had an almost pedagogic objective: Australians were being *taught* their bicentennial behaviours. 'Celebration of a Nation' was not just a method of raising the emotional temperature of the nation in readiness for 1988. It was also a practical demonstration of what was expected of Australians celebrating the bicentennial year. It probably worked. (Turner, 1994, p. 69)

In addition, whereas in previous decades of the twentieth century, British heritages had formed the foundation of identifying as an 'Australian', this had now dramatically shifted to one of multiculturalism, with people identifying their patriotism through a multicultural lens, as described by Turner:

> The Bicentenary theme, 'Living Together', promoted a multicultural Australia through its emphasis on culture difference and variety. The ABA's contradictory attempt to simultaneously signify cultural difference and national unity, and the multiculturalist agenda seen as the motivation for such an attempt, met with resentment from (among others) the Anglo Right, who regarded the whole thematic project as an *abandonment of Australia's predominately British (indeed, nationhood) in favour of non-British 'minority interest groups'...*Up to a point, the reactions were understandable: to celebrate a nation which is united but diverse, on a day which is the moment of both settlement and invasion, through rhetoric which foregrounds difference and reconciliation over uniformity and assimilation, was not a simple public relations exercise. (Turner, 1994, p. 70, emphasis added)

Celebratory discourses are prevalent and obvious by a quick scan of the types of histories published for a general audience leading up to the 1988 Bicentennial, as already noted. These books were often commissioned by government or government funded agencies (such as the ABA) and offered by and large a very rose-coloured view of Australian history. Blemishes, embarrassments or generally negative aspects of Australia's past were either glossed over or not included at all. As stated earlier, a noteworthy exception to this is the magazine series published by *The Australian* as a 48 volume publication of Australian history from pre-colonisation to the contemporary era. Here, a significant (but not unbalanced or overbearing) portion of the content reflected aspects of Australian history that are not regarded as positive examples of the continent's developing nationhood, for example in describing events surrounding Tasmanian Aboriginals in the 1800s through a story on Truganini, the following concluding statement is made: "Australians had become the first people to commit genocide of an indigenous race" (O'Brien et al., 1988b, p. 325).

The written word was not the only way aspects of Australia's cultural heritage—within a contemporary memory making context—were communicated to mass audiences. *I am Australian,* a song that is now widely regarded as one of a number of informal anthems was released in 1987 and written by renowned Australian song writers, Bruce Woodley and Dobe

Newton. The lyrics portray a multicultural perspective of Australia, underpinned by a sentiment that regardless of how individuals came to live in Australia, everyone is equally as 'Australian' as each other; with a strong discourse of harmony throughout the lyrics evident through key terms such as: "we are one, but we are many...We share a dream and sing with one voice". Sample verses and the chorus to the song that include discourses of British heritages and Indigenous representations read:

> I came from the dream-time, from the dusty red soil plains
> I am the ancient heart, the keeper of the flame.
> I stood upon the rocky shore, I watched the tall ships come.
> For forty thousand years I've been the first Australian.
>
> *We are one, but we are many*
> *And from all the lands on earth we come*
> *We share a dream and sing with one voice:*
> *I am, you are, we are Australian*
> I came upon the prison ship, bowed down by iron chains.
> I cleared the land, endured the lash and waited for the rains.
> I'm a settler, I'm a farmer's wife on a dry and barren run
> A convict then a free man, I became Australian.
>
> I'm a teller of stories, I'm a singer of songs
> I am Albert Namatjira, I paint the ghostly gums
> I am Clancy on his horse, I'm Ned Kelly on the run
> I'm the one who waltzed Matilda, I am Australian (Woodley & Newton, 2009, n.p.)

7.1.1 Dichotomy of British heritages and Indigenous representations in Bicentennial discourses.

Even though the focus of government-funded advertisements and programs was on multiculturalism as the prevailing, and sanctioned, discourse of national identity, the dichotomy between British heritages and Indigenous representations cannot be overlooked. In particular, Augoustinos highlights the dissention of the time:

> In 1985, the ABA experiences a barrage of public and media criticism which subsequently led to further government intervention. It began with an article written

> by Dr Ken Baker and published in the Institute of Public Affairs' journal, *Review*. The article was entitled 'The Bicentenary: Celebration or Apology?', in which he criticised the ABA for failing to emphasise Australia's British heritage and traditional values. Indeed Baker and others on the political right argued that the ABA's objectives were paramount to promoting 'white guilt' over the Aboriginal issue. (Augoustinos, 1993, p. 34)

Augoustinos also discusses Indigenous representations in the lead up to the Bicentennial, writing:

> Considerable controversy surrounded the Bicentenary celebrations. Particularly salient were Aboriginal objections to the event. The history of Black Australia is far longer than the 200 years of white settlement which the Bicentenary represented. Aboriginal perceptions of white colonisation were understandably negative since European settlement represented to them, the violence and associated subjugation of their people. (Augoustinos, 1993, p. 33)

One way this dichotomy was played out in a practical and visible way, at the instigation of a group of Indigenous Australians is through an *Invasion Day* event. A similar day, called *Day of Mourning* had been held first on the 26th January 1938 commemorated for the 150 year marker of the arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney 1938 instigated by *The Aborigines Progressive Association*; and again in 1970 to mark the 200 year anniversary of the arrival of Captain Cook on the east coast of Australia. In 1988, this event received significant media and general public attention on Australia Day due to its stark jarring against the common discourses of celebration. The main protest was held in the highly visible location of Lady Macquarie's Chair on the Sydney Harbour (which was also the site of the re-enactment of the arrival of the First Fleet, covered by all major television networks). Re-named as *Invasion Day* a far more provocative term than *mourning* and one that clearly put across a perspective to Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians of what the day was commemorating. Whilst the dominant discourses were of celebration of Australian nationalism, this was a clear attempt by groups of Indigenous Australians to reclaim their history and to educate the general public about Indigenous issues that had emerged post-1788.However, even though there were strong pockets of resistance to the official messages and representations of nationhood, as seen through this section, overwhelmingly a clear discourse of *celebration*, intertwined with the policy of multiculturalism formed the dominant representations of the

1988 Bicentennial, clearly marking the year as for a site of celebration, optimistic reflection and renewal.

7.2 Education context

7.2.1 Compulsory age of schooling.

The compulsory age of schooling in the years leading up to and including 1988 had not changed from The Education Act of 1964, being "not less than six years to 15 years" (Education Act 1964, ss4), as described in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*. As in this previous era, due to the increased participation rates of school students enrolling in senior high school (exact figures are not available) beyond the compulsory age of schooling, these grades have been included for analysis. They also demonstrate a more sophisticated representation of the two exemplar topics in the core History curriculum. In particular, it is the *Crossroads* textbook series of five volumes written and edited by H.R. Cowie that form the focus of analysis for the senior years of high school, years 11 and 12. The selection of these textbooks is explained further in the chapter.

7.2.2 Key Syllabus Documents.

Replacing the 1982 syllabus, the Department of Education released a new syllabus for the primary grades, *Primary Social Studies Syllabus and Guidelines* (Department of Education, 1987b). This syllabus was a review rather than a complete change, as noted in the foreword "...the Primary Curriculum Committee started a *review* of the Social Studies Syllabus in 1982. As a result, the Primary Social Studies Syllabus Committee and its project team...have spent the past five years *improving, rather than changing*, the Social Studies Curriculum" (Department of Education, 1987b, p. iii, emphasis added). The 1987 syllabus, published only one year before the Bicentennial provides an up-to-date representation of the Social Studies curriculum for this era, covering grades one to seven and complemented by a series of sourcebooks designed for teachers to use in the classroom as complete units of work. So, as the kinds of textbooks of previous eras, for example the *Social Studies for Queensland schools* series were no longer published, the sourcebooks can be seen as taking their place, with anecdotal evidence (from conversations with teachers who taught during the 1980s) suggesting that the sourcebooks were used widely and, in effect, replaced the previously issued textbooks. Like in the previous era, History was not a standalone subject for the primary grades, with an all encompassing Social Studies instead. Compared with previous eras, an increased move away from even identifying History, Geography and

Civics/Citizenship is obvious, with the syllabus not acknowledging these discipline areas separately. Instead, Social Studies is positioned as its own discipline-specific curriculum, integrating various approaches, evident through the following key statements from the syllabus:

> Social studies is about people and the societies in which they live. It focuses on people as intellectual, spiritual, emotional and social beings, and on how they relate to each other and their environments in local, national and global settings. Social studies also involves learning from the past, investigating the present and considering the future of people and their societies.
>
> ...
>
> Social studies provides a structure through which children can organise and build on their experiences of the world. To achieve this, social studies draws upon a range of disciplines and areas of knowledge for its mode of inquiry and content. (Department of Education, 1987b, p. 2)

Building on the inquiry-learning process that was emerging in the 1960s and 1970s, this syllabus firmly places students at the centre of learning experiences, encouraging educators to draw on what the students already know as an entry into the formal learning experiences of this curriculum area. In summary, the syllabus states:

> As members of social groups they [students] have observed other people and formed ideas about individuals and groups. Often these are drawn from a wider context...
>
> Social studies provides a structure which allows children to examine systematically these experiences and ideas.
>
> In social studies children are encouraged to develop their thinking and understanding by using their everyday experiences of life. They begin with their own experiences and knowledge of society and, through appropriate activities, relate these experiences and ideas to other groups and societies, thereby learning how to analyse and better understand their social world. (Department of Education, 1987b, p. 2)

These statements provide an overview of the explicit learning that the syllabus recommends, highlighting both a student-centred approach and commitment to inquiry-based learning.

Demonstrating the progressive move away from a wholly prescriptive syllabus of the earlier years of the 20th century to a more abstract description of desired learning experiences and outcomes, this syllabus does not prescribe set content. Rather, it establishes a set of objectives categorised into the following four areas: basic knowledge; thinking processes; social skills; and attitudes, feelings and sensitivities. Using the syllabus as a guiding document, teachers then developed their own programs for their class, with a scope and sequence chart provided as a base for units of work. As can be seen in Source 7.5, this chart is devoid of detail, covering all grades from 1-7 on one page. The onus therefore is placed on teachers to interpret the syllabus in order to construct grade-appropriate units of work within an overall program. However, as mentioned, sourcebooks were published by the Department of Education which were constructed by the syllabus committee and provided ready-made units of work for teachers to follow and implement in their classrooms (much in the same way as the *Social Studies for Queensland schools* textbook series had previously been used for this purpose). Therefore, whilst it is not possible to tell from the syllabus whether the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations were present in the Social Studies curriculum for primary grades, the accompanying sourcebooks can be used to investigate whether and to what degree these representations were evident. As stated by then Director-General of Education, I.J. Matheson in the foreword to the syllabus, regarding the sourcebooks: “I am confident these books will greatly assist teachers in developing stimulating and effective social studies programmes for children in primary schools...I...recommend the use of these materials in Queensland schools” (Department of Education, 1987b, p. iii).

Level themes	Becoming a member of society			Developing Australian and other societies			Participating in society
Key concepts / Year themes	Year 1 Living in families	Year 2 Living in neighbourhoods	Year 3 Living in Australia	Year 4 The local area	Year 5 The past in Australia	Year 6 Other societies	Year 7 Australia today
needs	Family members have common needs.	People in neighbourhoods have common needs.	Needs are satisfied by the provision of goods and services in different communities.	Needs are met in a variety of ways in the local area.	Changing needs of Australians have been met by exploration and settlement of new areas.	Throughout time people have sought to meet their changing needs by exploring and settling new lands.	Responsible decisions must be made to meet people's needs for the future.
groups	Children are members of family groups.	Children are members of social groups.	Groups are formed in communities.	People form groups in every local area.	Groups in Australia were established in particular places for different reasons.	Culture influences the values and actions of groups.	Different values, interests and goals can lead to conflict among individuals and groups within a society, as well as between societies.
interdependence	Family members are interdependent.	Groups in our neighbourhood are interdependent.	Communities are interdependent.	Communication increases interdependence.	Location of resources contributed to the growth of interdependence.	Interdependence is exhibited by exchanges and trade.	Countries are interdependent.
resources	Families are affected by the environment in which they live.	Neighbourhoods have many facilities which provide goods and services.	The way of life of a community is influenced by its environment.	The activities of people are influenced by the resources of the local area.	Settlement in Australia was influenced by the availability of resources.	Exploration and settlement are influenced by the distribution of resources.	Society is responsible for the management of resources.
social control	Families have rules.	Rules are necessary when people belong to groups.	Every community has rules and laws.	Rules and laws exist in our local area.	The past influences how people participate in Australian society.	Rules and laws differ in societies.	Individuals need to participate in a socially responsible way.
change	Individuals and families experience change.	Changes occur in neighbourhood groups.	Changes occur in communities.	As new ideas are developed and implemented, change takes place in the local area.	Change has contributed to development in Australia.	Change occurs in every society but in different ways and at different times.	Change is a constant condition of human society.
culture	Special and traditional days are celebrated each year among various groups.			Culture influences the way people use the local area.	Culture is passed on from one generation to the next.	A people's way of life is influenced by natural resources, human skills and cultural heritage.	Many cultural groups contribute to Australian society.
	Organising ideas						

Table 2: Scope and sequence chart

Source 7.5. Scope and sequence chart from *Primary Social Studies Syllabus and Guidelines* (Department of Education, 1987b, p. 14)

For the senior years of high school, years 11 and 12, two syllabuses are relevant for this era; the first is the *Draft senior syllabus in Modern History* (Board of Secondary School Studies, 1981); and the second is the *Senior syllabus in Modern History* (Board of Secondary School Studies, 1987). Due to the similarities of these two syllabuses, for the purposes of this research, the 1987 syllabus has been consulted for its relevance to the two exemplar topics. The structure and content has not altered between the two syllabuses, including the learning objectives of the units. The rationale of the 1987 syllabus states, in part:

> It is important that students have an understanding of the contemporary world. This can only be achieved by placing into perspective its historical origins. This exposure to the recent past should give students a knowledge and awareness which will assist their comprehension of the world in which they live. (Board of Secondary School Studies, 1987)

This rationale emphasizes the importance of understanding history within a contemporary context, an aspect of study particularly relevant for the Indigenous representations exemplar topic for this research, due to the significance of the political rights (particularly land rights) movement in the 1960s and 1970s. The syllabus content is structured into ten semester units (see Source 7.6) from which teachers select four as learning experiences for students (to cover the four semesters across years 11 and 12).

A two (2) year course must comprise four (4) compatible units, with one unit studied each semester.

Semester Unit 1:	(Incompatible with Semester Units 2 and 3): Nationalism and Internationalism in the 20th Century
Semester Unit 2:	(Incompatible with Semester Unit 1): Nationalism and Internationalism: Origins and Development
Semester Unit 3:	(Pre-requisite: Semester Unit 2. Incompatible with Semester Unit 1): Nationalism and Internationalism: New Perspectives
Semester Unit 4:	Economic Trends and their Social Impact
Semester Unit 5:	(Incompatible with Semester Units 6 and 8): Asia and Australia in World Affairs
Semester Unit 6:	(Incompatible with Semester Unit 5): Transformation in Modern East Asia
Semester Unit 8:	(Incompatible with Semester Unit 5): Modern Australia
Semester Unit 9:	Imperialism and Racial Conflicts and Compromises
Semester Unit 10:	The Historical Background to Contemporary Society

The minimum number of hours of timetabled school time including assessment for which this syllabus has been designed is 55 hours per semester.

Source 7.6. Semester Units extract from *Senior syllabus in Modern History* (Board of Secondary School Studies, 1987, p. 4)

The *Crossroads* textbooks, written and edited by H.R. Cowie encompass the ten units across the five textbooks that comprise the series, following closely the structure of the syllabus. This reinforces that it is appropriate to select this textbook series as a representative example of a textbook that translates the syllabus to classroom learning experiences.

7.2.3 Key textbooks and related school curriculum documents.

Key textbook and curriculum support materials selected for analysis cover primary school, junior high school grade levels and senior high school. Unlike the other two eras analysed, whereby the syllabuses were more prescriptive and textbooks were published and supplied by the Education Department, this era has a significantly less prescriptive syllabus and a greater selection of textbooks is available, published by private publishing companies. Therefore, there are many more textbooks to select from as the options in the syllabus (especially for high school) have increased. This has made textbook selection more complicated, accentuating the need to adhere to the criteria established in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*. In order to select textbooks, direction has been taken from Queensland Universities' catalogues, collections of University lecturers who were involved in teaching of pre-service education programs, and from teachers who taught during the 1980s. For primary school, selection was not complicated, as sourcebooks published by the Department were supplied to all schools and used in great numbers by teachers. Therefore, these sourcebooks form the focus for analysis of selected textbooks and related curriculum documents for this era.

Source 7.7 includes an extract from the introduction of the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) outlining the purpose and origin of the sourcebooks.

Developed by the Primary Social Studies Syllabus Committee and the Social Studies Syllabus Support Project Team of Curriculum Services Branch, this sourcebook was produced in response to teachers' requests for more comprehensive guidelines and support for the planning of classroom programs.

The units in this sourcebook represent **one way** of implementing the approach to social studies suggested in the Syllabus. They also contribute to the sequential development of the seven key concepts of the Social Studies Syllabus: **needs, groups, interdependence, resources, social control, change,** and **culture.** Those key concepts can be linked in more ways than the methods demonstrated in this book.

Source 7.7. Extract about sourcebooks from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 1)

The majority of textbooks available for short listing and selection for analysis cover the junior years of high school, being in Queensland years 8, 9 and 10. These textbooks range from comprehensive texts covering a wide range of modern history topics, such as *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al.,1986); to more focused topic specific approaches,

such as *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986). A brief synopsis of the key junior history textbooks selected for analysis includes:

The modern world emerges (Lawrence et al., 1986) is arguably the most widely used textbook for History in grades 9 and 10 across Queensland, and was used into the late 1990s as a core History curriculum textbook. This claim is asserted here due to the large number of copies held as class sets in Queensland schools; being part of university library collections; and importantly its sustained use in classrooms ten years after the original publication date. In particular, it is this last point that has placed this textbook in the canon of History textbooks used in Queensland schools. A further reason for the selection of this textbook is two of the authors, Joe Eshuys and Vic Guest, have written many textbooks in the curriculum areas of History and English for high school students, and their influence in translating syllabuses to the classroom through textbooks is notable.

Essentials of history by Ian Grant (1988) is a departure from the usual structure of a textbook, and although the author states that it can be used as a "'stand-alone' text" (Gray, 1988, p. 1), it really is targeted as a teacher resource, almost as a textbook for teachers to then select parts to use in the day to day classroom teaching of threshold concepts in the History discipline (see Source 7.8 for the preface to the textbook explaining the function of this textbook). This textbook uses historical topics, such as WWI, Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions, and Ancient Egyptian beliefs to teach historical skills such as note taking, referencing and developing an hypothesis and historical concepts such as nationalism, cause and effect and evidence.

The study of history depends on the acquisition of a number of fundamental skills: the skills of focusing a research question; of locating, assessing, and analysing evidence; of taking notes; of drafting and writing a report.

Essentials of History, by teaching these skills explicitly with examples from many content areas, is the ideal text for a skills-based history course and the perfect introduction to historical method. It is also well suited for supporting content-based courses.

If using *Essentials of History* as a 'stand-alone' text, students can work through the chapters sequentially, at their own pace, learning from the feedback for each exercise. This is possible because the tasks are not just comprehension exercises; they are a graduated development of inquiry skills. 'Real-life' problems show students the broader application of the skills learnt in history.

Activities are derived from a variety of topics, allowing *Essentials of History* to be used as an introduction to and a general reference for particular content areas. This means it is also a valuable source of ideas for the design of assessment instruments.

Source 7.8. Preface to *Essentials of History* (Gray, 1988, p 1)

Although Gray's book is a departure from the common structure and approach of a textbook, it has nevertheless been selected for analysis as the author is a widely respected Queensland-based educator; and furthermore, this book presents as a new style of textbook for teachers to use at various times in the school year, across history topics.

Prolific textbook author H.R. Cowie's textbook series, *Crossroads* published between 1980 and 1982 forms the focus of analysis for the senior high school grades. This textbook series is the only publication that addresses each of the ten units available for teachers to select to teach Modern History in years 11 and 12. As a result, this series was widely used by most, if not all, senior high school Modern History classes in Queensland. A sample of a cover from this series can be viewed at Source 7.9.

Source 7.9. Front cover of *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in World Affairs.* (Cowie, 1980)

How the textbooks were intended for use is stated in the introduction of each of the five books, with the following example from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations volume 5*:

> The books in the *Crossroads* series are offered as stimuli for learning, not as a single course of infallible information. Striving to avoid the presentation of a one-view narrative, we have made frequent use of primary-source extracts and excerpts from secondary-source commentaries. These are intended to facilitate consideration of differing opinions, and the re-enactment of past thoughts and events.

> Our hope is that students using the material offered in the *Crossroads* series will be encouraged to regard the study of History as a process of 'response to evidence' rather than the passive reception of a 'body of information', and that they will regards the 'base-book' as only one such source of evidence, seeking opportunities to delve more deeply into the differing interpretations of the significance of events. (Cowie, 1982, n.p.)

7.3 Categories emerging from analysis: Indigenous Representations

The following categories and discourses have emerged from analyses of selected textbooks. Where possible, and appropriate, categories that were created for the *Black movement in Australia 1964-1975* era as included in *Chapter 6* have been kept for this era. Where topics that were not part of the History curriculum from this era have now been included, new categories, with relevant discourses have been added. The categories include:

- Category 1: Traditional lifestyles and environments (including contact pre-1788)
- Category 2: Early colonial history and Interactions with explorers
- Category 4: Frontier conflicts
- Category 5: Federation and the Constitution
- Category 6: General civil action led by Indigenous Australians
- Category 7: The Wave Hill Station Strike
- Category 8: Indigenous knowledges
- Category 9: Contemporary and general representations, including special events
- Category 10: Representations in Social Studies curriculum

7.4 Category 1: Traditional lifestyles and environments (including contact pre-1788)

7.4.1 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as subjects of anthropology.

As seen in Source 7.10, *Spanning Time* (Power, Lingard, & Itsikson, 1985), a textbook written specifically for year 8 students, initiates discussion on Indigenous Australians with two pages that provide an overview of the pre-history of Indigenous Australians through an anthropological lens. Content includes: detailing weaponry, hunting equipment and food eaten by the three Indigenous Australian racial groups mentioned Negritos, Murrayians and Carpentarians. Providing this type of introduction to Indigenous Australian history is an anomaly, not extended to other cultures or races that are included in the curriculum—for example the pre-history of British people is not included prior to the main content of the

situation in England that led to the decision to start a colony on the Australian continent in 1788. In this narrative, Indigenous Australian history and culture is viewed as both vague and no longer ‘living’—with no explicit connection to the relevance this topic has to students’ lives made; and seems to be included only as a tokenistic inclusion. This is demonstrated due to the accompanying questions requiring comprehension skills only, with no higher order thinking skills or problematising of the information presented. Of note, it is interesting that Indigenous Australians are referred to as “settlers” (Power et al., 1985, p. 173) in this section. This presents as an anomaly to the majority of Indigenous Australian representations in History curriculum throughout this era. Usually this term is reserved for the people of the First Fleet and British colonisers.

CHAPTER TEN:

SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

176

THE FIRST AUSTRALIANS

Imagine you are an archaeologist excavating a dig somewhere in Central Australia. You uncover the implements and the cave-painting shown in the sketch on the previous page, and learn that they are made of either wood or stone.

(1) What would these implements have been used for?
(2) No metals such as bronze or iron were used to make these implements; what type of society did their owners live in?
(3) Would their technology have been as advanced as that of the people of Sumer? Give reasons.
(4) How would you decide how old these implements are?

The first group of settlers: the Negritos

During the last Ice Age, about 25 000 years ago, the ocean-level was much lower than it is today, and the Australian mainland was joined to New Guinea and Tasmania. Many small islands formed a chain between Asia and Australia.

As the ice cap moved south, people were forced to 'island-hop' south to seek a better climate as well as animal and vegetable life. This is how Australia came to be settled!

This process took hundreds of years, and these first settlers came in three separate groups. Historians call the first group of Aborigines who arrived about 40 000 years ago the **Negritos**.

The Negritos were short, curly-haired people who gathered food, living on animals, fish, fruits, berries and edible roots.

These first 'Australians' originally settled in mainland Australia but were later driven south by a stronger race of people. The Tasmanian Aborigines (now extinct) were descendants of these first settlers.

The second group of settlers: the Murrayians

The stronger race of people, who formed the second group of settlers, are called the **Murrayians**. They were given this name because they settled near the Murray River. They arrived about 10 000 years ago, and their weapons were superior to the weapons of the Negritos. For example, they used a **woomera** (a throwing-stick) to make their spears go faster. The Murrayians were taller and physically stronger than the Negritos.

The third group of settlers: the Carpentarians

The third group of settlers also entered Australia from the north, and they are called the **Carpentarians**. They probably arrived about 7000 years ago.

The Carpentarians were the strongest of the three races, and they forced the Murrayians south. Their canoes, made of hollowed logs, were stronger boats than the Murrayians boats, which were made of sticks and bark. The Carpentarians were tall people with long thin legs, which enabled them to walk very long distances.

These three groups of settlers were the only human inhabitants of Australia until European settlers arrived in 1788.

EXERCISE 1

(1) Draw a time-line showing the arrival of each of the three groups of settlers.
(2) Why do we give the name 'Carpentarians' to the third group of settlers?

Source 7.10. *"Settlement in Australia"* extract from *Spanning Time* (Power et al., 1985, pp. 176-177)

7.4.2 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as savages/primitive.

Viewing Indigenous Australians as savage or primitive is highlighted in Source 7.11 in an extract from *Spanning Time* about Dampier, a Dutch explorer from the 1600s.

- In 1688 and 1689, **William Dampier**, an English sea captain, chartered the north-west coast of Australia (now Western Australia). He held the same views of the land as the Dutch held: that the land was dry and sandy, and lacking water and useful vegetation. As well, Dampier described the Aborigines as 'the miserablest people in the world'.

Source 7.11. Extract about William Dampier from *Spanning Time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 179)

By not mediating the summary of a primary source quote in Source 7.11, students are not provided with an understanding of Dampier's statement within its historical context. Nor is this perspective problematised or critiqued. Instead, students are provided exposure to this statement as though it is 'true' and unproblematic. The disconnected use of this primary source quote is also included in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a). Despite the significant role this sourcebook plays in acknowledging and promoting Indigenous Australian histories, primary source documents are still used, unmediated, in a way that reinforces discourses that view Indigenous Australians as 'savage' or 'primitive'. See, for example, Source 7.12, two extracts from a *Teacher information sheet* in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5*.

The first recorded sighting of Australia was in 1606 by the Dutch skipper of 'Duyfken', Willem Jansz, who described the natives as 'savage, cruel, black barbarians who slew some of our sailors'. In the same year the Spaniard, Luis Vaez de Torres, sailed through the Strait named after him, and described the natives of the same area as 'very corpulent and naked. Their arms were lances, arrows and clubs of stone ill-fashioned'. Jan Carsterz in 1623 described several armed encounters with Aborigines, and judged the country 'the most arid and barren region that could be found anywhere on earth; the inhabitants, too, are the most wretched and poorest creatures that I have ever seen in my age of time'. As a result of such reports the Dutch Government decided the land was not suitable for colonisation.

In the late 18th century, despite the various visitors, Australia and the Aborigines were still unknown to much of the world. In 1697, the Englishman William Dampier had published his *New Voyage Round the World*, in which he described Aborigines on the Western Australian coast as 'the miserablist People in the World . . . They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great Heads, round Foreheads and great Brows. Their Eyelids are always half closed, to keep the Flies out of their Eyes'. His observations remained the most detailed description of the Western Australian Aborigines for well over a century.

Source 7.12. Dampier extracts from a *Teacher information sheet* in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5*. (Department of Education, 1988a, pp. 19, 20)

It is not disputed that these are the descriptions provided by the Dutch sailors and then by Dampier from Great Britain, nor does this research question the appropriateness of including primary source documents to illustrate a point or to illuminate an historical narrative. What is questioned is the educational value of including a primary source document that contains negative discourses about a group, already subjugated in schooling and wider society, without adequate mediation of the context of the original source and positioned within the dominant discourses operating at the time. By not sufficiently contextualizing the primary source discourses that although no longer dominant, still have some hold in school and wider communities, this negativity is reinforced to students as legitimate. As a point of interest, the quote above by Dampier from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) and also *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 179) has been used in History and Social Studies textbooks in Queensland school across all eras of the 20th century, and as in its use here, it is never contextualized for a contemporary audience. The example of it in the 1987 primary school curriculum has changed only that it is now directed at teachers, through the *Teacher Information Sheet*. However, as this information sheet is intended as in-service professional development material for teachers who are then encouraged to summarise it into a student worksheet, representing Indigenous Australians in this unmediated way potentially runs the risk of this discourse of primitive people being repeated to school students. Reinforcing the view of Indigenous Australians as 'other', they are the only group in the Social Studies curriculum that has terms such as "savage, cruel…barbarians" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 19) attributed to them. Furthermore with no actions recorded that would attribute these adjectives to them, a decontextualised statement of a 17th century observation by sailors who had no meaningful contact, engagement or relationship with the people they are describing, is presented to students as the 'truth'.

Of interest, a sample of other textbooks, across the three eras investigated for this research, where parts of this quote from Dampier are used include *New syllabus for third grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1934, p. 38); *Social Studies for Queensland schools grade 7* (Department of Education, 1960/1963, p. 28); and *Australia: Colony to Nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, p. 9). It is only in this last textbook where this quote is mediated effectively for contemporary audiences (see Source 7.13).

> To the Dutchman Carstenz (1623) aborigines were 'utter barbarians', and the Englishman William Dampier (1688) described them as 'the miserablest people in the world . . . setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes'. To-day we know much more about aboriginal art and culture which causes us to have a different opinion from these early explorers.
>
> We know, too, that in their ability to live off the land over which they roamed the aborigines were—and still are—superior to the civilised white man.

Source 7.13. Dampier extract from *Australia: Colony to Nation* (Dunlop & Pike, 1963, pp. 9-10)

These examples of the use of Dampier's diaries can be linked to what Hall terms "inferential racism" (2006, p. 399), that is Indigenous Australians are only described from the "white eye", writing:

> ...the 'absent' but imperialising 'white eye'; the unmarked positions from which all these 'observations' are made and from which, alone, they make sense. This is the history of...conquest, written, seen, drawn...by The Winners. They cannot be *read* and made sense of from any other position. The 'white eye' is always outside the frame but seeing and positioning everything within it. (Hall, 2006, p. 400)

7.4.3 Discourses of kinship.

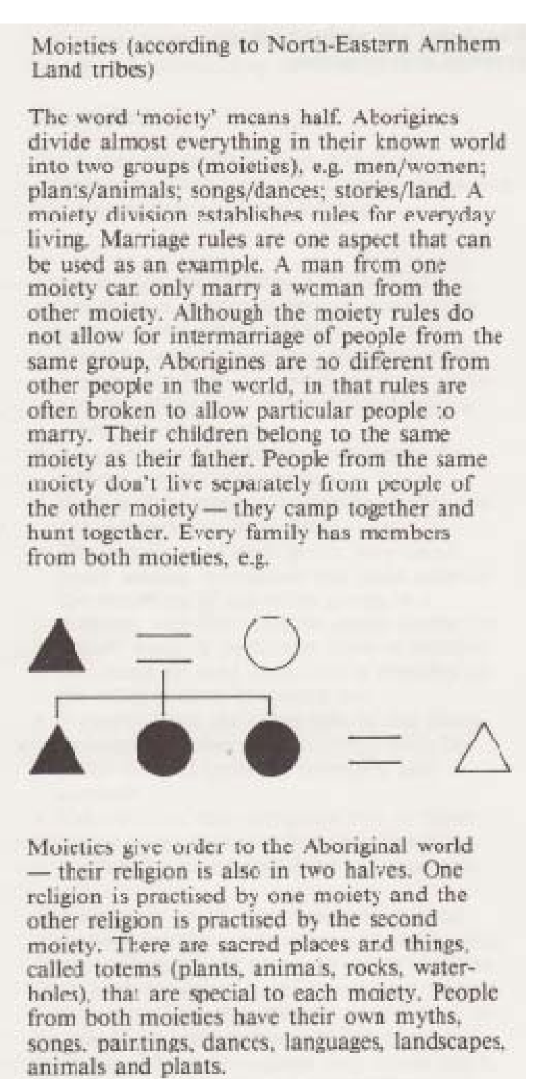
From the textbooks selected for analysis, kinship is the most common topic used as a learning opportunity for students in the category of valuing Indigenous knowledges. Student understanding of traditional Indigenous culture is mediated through this topic, used as an avenue to raise awareness of core Indigenous communities' values. Textbooks and curriculum materials where this topic is covered in depth include: *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a), *Living history* (Gurry, 1987) and *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982). Briefly, *kinship* refers to family structures, people's relationship to each other in the family and responsibility for different decision

making roles. Particularly in some Australian Indigenous kinship systems, considerations outlined in Source 7.14 would be taken into account.

- who would look after the child if mother or father were ill, away, dead;
- would the absence of an aunt or uncle have much effect on the child (special attention should be given to the role of the Njapipi).
- who would teach the child about the family structure or family history.

Source 7.14. Kinship considerations extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 100)

Connected to kinship are *moiety* systems. This is a complex structure that aims to maintain social order within communities, and is based on a principle of halves (see the explanation provided in Source 7.15).



Moieties (according to North-Eastern Arnhem Land tribes)

The word 'moiety' means half. Aborigines divide almost everything in their known world into two groups (moieties), e.g. men/women; plants/animals; songs/dances; stories/land. A moiety division establishes rules for everyday living. Marriage rules are one aspect that can be used as an example. A man from one moiety can only marry a woman from the other moiety. Although the moiety rules do not allow for intermarriage of people from the same group, Aborigines are no different from other people in the world, in that rules are often broken to allow particular people to marry. Their children belong to the same moiety as their father. People from the same moiety don't live separately from people of the other moiety — they camp together and hunt together. Every family has members from both moieties, e.g.

Moieties give order to the Aboriginal world — their religion is also in two halves. One religion is practised by one moiety and the other religion is practised by the second moiety. There are sacred places and things, called totems (plants, animals, rocks, water-holes), that are special to each moiety. People from both moieties have their own myths, songs, paintings, dances, languages, landscapes, animals and plants.

Source 7.15. Explanation of Moiety systems extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 106):

Kinship and moiety structures common in Indigenous Australian family groupings are investigated in-depth in *Unit 3: Decision-makers of Australia* in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a). As the introductory topic to the unit that covers government decision making, this topic provides students with an awareness-raising topic pertinent to Indigenous Australian families. Recognising the complexities of kinship, the sourcebook provides the following note to teachers: “This is a very simple explanation of Aboriginal kinship groupings. The purpose of the activity is to promote children’s awareness of the existence of a kinship system rather than to provide a detailed understanding of Aboriginal social structure” (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 100). A similar explanatory note is provided further in the bridging topic regarding the moiety structure. Kinship is included in the unit, justified as a way to demonstrate to students (in particular, those without Indigenous Australian heritages) that there are legitimate structures for decision making and social control outside of their own known ones. In particular, the objective for students is stated as: “By drawing and interpreting kinship diagrams, children should realise that the Aborigines had their own systems of social control” (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 100). In particular for this unit of work, care is exercised to ensure that students understand that different Indigenous communities have different kinship and moiety structures, with the focus of this bridging topic on “…the kinship system in North-Eastern Arnhem Land…” (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 100; see Source 7.16).

The children should be made aware that family structures differ among Aboriginal groups and that they have been learning about only one of these many structures.

Encourage the children to understand that the kinship system is one form of social control within Aboriginal society.

Source 7.16. Family structures extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 101).

The moiety structure, which has the potential to be a difficult and abstract concept for students who have had no previous connection to this system to grasp, is demonstrated to students through their participation in a practical activity (see Source 7.17).

Discuss with the children a method of establishing a classroom moiety system (for one lesson or a whole day), for example:

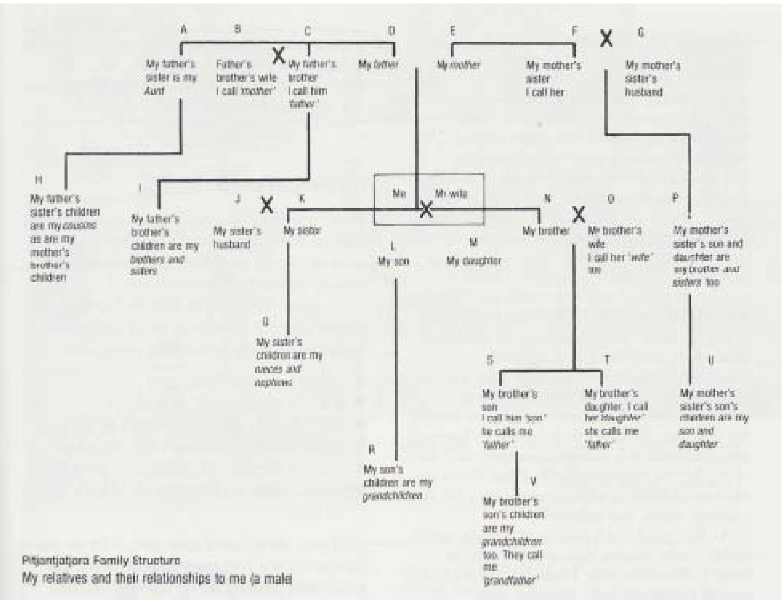
- Seating could be arranged so that half the boys and girls sit on one side of the room and the other half of the children on the other side of the room.
- All property on each side belongs to the moiety group sitting on that side.
- Each moiety group member can freely use *any* property on their side.
- The members of each group may speak freely among themselves but must address the members of the other group in a different way (the children could decide on a code word or particular form of address that must be used each time a member of the other moiety is spoken to).
- Property from the other side of the room (belonging to the other moiety) must be asked for and returned promptly and carefully.
- The children may designate two or three sacred items (totems) that may not be touched by members of the other moeity.

The children could carry out their normal classroom routine while observing the moiety system. Group work which involves children from both moieties would provide an added dimension where the children would need to be mindful of whose 'territory' they were sitting in, whose belongings they could share, how they spoke to the other members, and what they could and could not touch.

Source 7.17. Classroom moiety system activity in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 104)

In order to authenticate student learning about kinship and moiety structures, teachers are advised to invite a representative from the local Indigenous community to inform students about specific Indigenous customs used to maintain social order (the unit as a whole covers the maintaining of social order through governance in some depth). The inclusion of an Indigenous representative is legitimized for inclusion as the topic specifically covers Indigenous themes. The broader perspective articulated in this bridging topic is that Indigenous knowledges and cultures are valued in and of themselves, not mediated through an understanding of other, namely 'Western' cultures.

Increasingly common, and one of the few topics that overlap between textbooks, are discourses of kinship explained to students as a learning experience. In *Living History* (Gurry, 1987), *Investigation 7* presents a detailed description of the regular nuclear family structure that the majority of students would be familiar with (even if their personal experiences differ from this structure). The activity then builds on this knowledge by presenting the complex structure of the kinship system, as depicted in Source 7.18.



Source 7.18. *"Pitjantjatjara Family Structure"* diagram from *Living History* (Gurry, 1987, p. 123)

In identifying family structures, the textbook is careful to point out "...not all Aboriginal groups had the same family structure as this one [Pitjantjatjara], they all have family groupings which are more complex than a normal European *nuclear family* structure" (Gurry, 1987, p. 123); thus highlighting the complexities and differences in Indigenous cultures—and reinforcing to students that Indigenous tribes do not belong to a monoculture, but are distinctly polycultural across the Australian continent.

Living History then proceeds to explain to students, through the use of a narrative taken from anthropologist Richard Gould's observation of the Yiwara tribe, how the family structure and accompanying "special obligations" (Gurry, 1987, p. 123) play out in everyday life. Through the narrative of hunting and food sharing, the textbook describes the complex web of rules governing hunting and food sharing, as seen in Source 7.19.

After being roasted, the animal, regardless of size, is divided and shared. There are complicated rules governing the sharing of meat and other food among various classes of relatives. The basic rule is that each animal is divided into a fixed number of named portions which are offered to the various classes of the hunter's kin present at the division. There is no way of storing meat, so it must be shared as widely as possible and eaten soon before it rots. Certain kinds of kin, such as fathers-in-law and brothers in law, have first choice from among the portions, followed then by other classes of kin, like elder and younger brothers, and, last of all, by the hunter himself. These shares in turn are divided by each sharer among his own parents, wives, and children.

At first glance this system of sharing seems unfair to the hunter, who after all got the meat in the first place. Looked at through the eyes of the Aborigines, however, this arrangement actually doubles the rewards to the hunter by giving him both social prestige as a good kinsman and meat, when, according to the same set of rules, he takes *his* share from someone else's catch.

Richard A. Gould, *Yiwara: Foragers of the Australian Desert*, Collins, London, 1969

Source 7.19. Yiwara *"special obligations"* extract from *Living History* (Gurry, 1987, p. 123).

During this part of the unit, Indigenous knowledges, cultures and systems are explained to students legitimised for inclusion based solely on them being of historical interest to students as a standalone topic. The information is not mediated through an understanding of non-Indigenous knowledges, cultures or systems—presenting as a rare example whereby Indigenous topics are privileged above others. Where non-Indigenous systems are presented to students (such as a family structure diagram on page 122 of *Living History*), it is done not to mediate Indigenous knowledges, but rather used as an entry point for students to develop their understanding and appreciation of the complexity of Indigenous knowledges. The perspective of this section is clearly one that values Indigenous cultures.

Also covering the topic of kinship is *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982), where binaries of the differences between non-Indigenous and Indigenous valuing of material possessions are identified. *Section 3: "Aboriginal—White relations"* explains this perspective through the discourse of kinship, although this term is not used often, with "reciprocity" (Cowie, 1982, p. 299) and "responsibility" (Cowie, 1982, p. 298) the preferred

terms to explain connections between persons in traditional Indigenous cultures (see Source 7.20).

When the Europeans saw the apparent *material* poverty of the indigenes, many were quick to assume a cultural, intellectual and sometimes moral poverty as well. Anthropological studies have now proved this belief wrong. In fact, the Aborigines were products of a finely-balanced and often complex society based on kinship and group co-operation. Their languages, though simple, were and are rich in imagery and poetic quality. Their religion (many Europeans continued to believe that they had none) centred around a set of imaginative and colourful accounts of various culture heroes of the Dream-time who were responsible for creation and the continuance of life. Deeply central in religious as well as economic life was their relationship with the land.

Source 7.20. Kinship extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 298).

Unlike in the primary school curriculum, kinship in this senior high school History textbook is not explained, with the assumption made that students would understand this term as it applies to Indigenous Australian cultures. In parts, this section is written through an understanding or perspective that one system has to be better than another, rather than different by equally valid (see, for example, Source 7.21).

Far from being a wretched existence, it may well be that the Aboriginal standard of living (if one considers adequate nutrition, health and shelter) was higher than that of many Europeans of the time. Although times could be harsh, and life expectancy possibly not more than forty, Aborigines had been free from many of the diseases that were rife in other parts of the world.

Source 7.21. *"Aboriginal standard of living"* extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 298).

7.5 Category 2: Early Colonial History and Interactions with Explorers

7.5.1 Discourses of Indigenous Australians' pre-colonisation.

The placement of Indigenous Australians in pre-1788 history forms the majority of content where Indigenous Australians are included in the primary school year 5 curriculum, as represented through *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a). The perspective broadly attributed to Indigenous Australians and Indigenous Australian culture is one of explicit awareness that Indigenous Australians are the first inhabitants of Australia, and an important aspect of national history for students to learn. Also, and at least in the *Teaching information sheets*, descriptions of the complexities regarding tracing the migratory journey of how Indigenous Australians came to reside in the various parts of Australia forms an important aspect of this topic, set as an introduction to the unit. This topic is introduced to the students through the following activity objective: "Through research and discussion, children should become aware of one generally accepted view of the original inhabitation of Australia" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 10). For

suggestions on how teachers are to achieve this activity, see Source 7.22. It is indicative of the way knowledge is presented as fluid, problematic and open to inquiry throughout the year 5 sourcebook. Here, teachers are encouraged to discuss the gaps in historical knowledge and assumptions that historians make, with students invited to engage actively in this process, as seen through the following suggested question to post to students: “Why do you think there is some doubt among historians about how and when Australia was first inhabited?” (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 10).

Procedure

Discuss with children some of the views of Aboriginal habitation of Australia as presented in the teacher information sheets. Children should not be given copies of the information sheets, although teachers may wish to compile a brief summary of relevant points for pupil use.

A map of Sahul Land could be provided for children to use as an aid to discussion. (See Williams, Don (ed.)., *Discovering Aboriginal culture* (The Aboriginal Australian in North-Eastern Arnhem Land,) Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra, 1982.)

Time lines could be drawn to enable children to establish a more concrete understanding of the time involved in this theory of the settlement process.

During discussion, ask children questions such as:

- Why do you think there is some doubt among historians about how and when Australia was first inhabited?
- Why do archaeologists and historians believe Australia was inhabited by people at least 40 000 years ago?
- What does the map of Sahul Land suggest about original habitation of Australia?

Through research and discussion, children should become aware that Australia was first inhabited by Aboriginal people.

Source 7.22. *“Procedure”* extract about Indigenous history from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 10).

Whilst the knowledge of how Indigenous Australians came to live in Australia is presented as problematic, once the unit moves to consider Great Britain’s “Motives for settlement” (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 22), there is no further inclusion of Indigenous Australians in the curriculum (with the exception of one paragraph on page 31 that represents Indigenous Australians as a hindrance to explorers). This demonstrates that issues outside of any modern or contemporary context can be broached openly and problematically, yet in contemporary Australian history, Indigenous Australians are still silenced, omitted from national history.

7.5.2 Representations of pre-1788 contact between Indigenous Australians and others.

Where it had not been evident in previous eras, showing Indigenous Australians as having sustained contact with people from overseas pre-1788 is included in the 1987 year 5 Social Studies curriculum. Instead of only mediating student understanding of Indigenous culture/s through contact with the British in the years following 1788 with the early explorers or through violent confrontations in the Frontier conflicts (as is the dominant representation of Indigenous Australians analysed for the previous era); student knowledge and understanding towards Indigenous Australians is broadened through content that acknowledges the variety of Indigenous cultures within Australia. The example provided in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) of Indigenous Australians' interactions with others is detailed in a *Teacher information sheet* (see Source 7.23).

While Dutch and Portuguese ships made brief stops on the coast, another group of sailors was having a deeper effect on the Aboriginal culture of the north.

It is not certain when the visits of Macassarese-Buginese praus began; archaeologists have found no material evidence to place the contact before the 17th century, but social anthropologists have suggested that it could have begun in the early 16th century, because of changes in social customs that were influenced by Macassan culture over a long period. At that time, trepang (the *bêche-de-mer* or sea cucumber) formed an important export item from South-East Asia to China. The Chinese credited the trepang with magical powers and made soup from it.

Each year a fleet of praus set out, probably from the Celebes and Macassar, for 4–5 months, for the north and north-east coasts of Arnhem Land, Groote Eylandt and the Pellew Group, rich sources of trepang. Trade with the Aborigines was also conducted in tortoise shell and pearl shell.

The trepang industry continued until 1907, when new immigration laws restricted access for the prau fishermen.

The Aborigines of Arnhem Land have had more intensive recent contact with 'outsiders' than any other group of Aborigines. Today they still sing songs of the earliest visitors they can remember, Pre-Macassans called 'Baijini', who came from western islands beyond the Arafura and Timor Seas, who are sometimes placed in the far distant past with the most important of their Ancestral Beings, the Djanggawul Brothers and Sisters.

The Macassan visitors came in what the Aboriginals regard as historical times, and their camps were both large and well-organised. The camp sites are still marked by tamarind trees, which grew from seeds of the fruit dropped by the fishermen.

The Macassans introduced the dug-out canoe (lepa-lepa) and taught the Aborigines the use of steel in making knives, spear blades and tomahawks. The Aborigines watched or took part in the entertainment and ceremonies; they learned to play cards, and began to adapt their song rhythms to the strange tunes and sounds of foreign musical instruments. Death ceremonies came to be associated with the annual departure of the praus, and with Macassan burial rites. The body was regarded as a mast, and the present day grave posts are an extension of this idea.

The Aborigines learned more about the culture of the visitors by travelling to Macassar with the prawn fishermen, returning with the fleet the following season; some of them remained in Macassar. The Aborigines adopted Macassan words into their own languages; for example compass directions, names of tools and parts of the boats. The names of Macassans are still remembered, and Aborigines often adopted Macassan names as well as their own. The Macassans were included into the pattern of exchange already operating.

In the 1930s a white anthropologist discovered that a wooden replica of a Dutch gin bottle brought by the Macassans had become a ceremonial totem in the Glyde River area of the Northern Territory, with a design of trepang painted round the centre.

The contact between the groups was not always amicable. There is evidence of conflict and fights, and it is probable that smallpox, VD and yaws were introduced by the Macassans.

Source 7.23. *Teacher information sheet* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, pp. 19-20).

As demonstrated in Source 7.23, this makes explicit to students that, unlike common assumptions which place British people as the first to initiate and maintain contact with Indigenous Australians, this had, in fact, occurred at last two centuries previously. This debases assertions of Britain as the sole source of the bringing of ‘civilisation’ to Indigenous Australians. In addition, *Torres Strait Islanders*, rather than only *Aboriginals*, are included in this sourcebook, the first example of acknowledging Indigenous Australian diversity in all the textbooks analysed during this project. Even though the histories of Torres Strait Islanders are not acknowledged, an important step has been taken that at least acknowledges Torres Strait Islanders and mainland Aboriginals as being distinct groups.

7.5.3 Representations of interactions between Indigenous Australians and the early colonizers.

Beginning with the questions contained in Source 7.24, *Unit 7: Aboriginal life before European contact* in *Living history* (Gurry, 1987) is set up in a way that encourages an active inquiry process through teacher pedagogy and student activities.

There are two central inquiry questions to investigate:

1 *Were Aborigines living a full and successful life in Australia?*
2 *Were all Aborigines living in exactly the same way, or were there differences according to where they lived?*

Source 7.24. Example of inquiry questions in *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 98)

1788, the year of the arrival of the First Fleet, is regarded as an important date in Indigenous histories, however the textbook ensures students develop a thorough understanding of the slow process of colonising the entire Australian continent, thus highlighting that many Indigenous communities were not affected at this point in time (see, for example, Source 7.25). Doing this, unlike other textbooks in this era highlights the complexities of British colonisation.

The date 1788 is important because it marked the beginning of an enormous change in the way people lived in Australia.

Of course, not all Aborigines had their life changed by the arrival of Europeans in 1788. It took many years for European influences to spread to all parts of Australia, so not all people's lives would have been affected at the same time or in the same way. Indeed there are many ways in which Aborigines did not change as a result of European contacts, but 1788 can be regarded as a very significant time in Australian history. Our aim is to try to find out about these Australians just before the great changes began.

Source 7.25. Arrival of the First Fleet extract from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 98).

In *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) a section discussing the reasons for British colonisation of the Australian continent is included. This takes the form of an extract of the letter of appointment of Arthur Phillip (Captain of the First Fleet, as Governor of the colony which was named New South Wales). Source 7.26 demonstrates the *official* request of the British government to Phillip regarding Indigenous Australians.

"You are to endeavour by every possible means [to earn the friendship of] the natives . . .

Source 7.26. Extract of Captain Phillip's appointment letter from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 182).

A similar extract is also presented in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982), containing the same information, with additional detail (see Source 7.27).

The instructions carried by Governor Phillip on the journey of the First Fleet were similarly humane, and Phillip was therefore determined to establish friendly relationships.

Extract 168. You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of our subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offence.

Quoted in Woolmington, J., *Aborigines in Colonial Society*, Cassell, Melbourne, 1974, p. 2

Source 7.27. Extract of Captain Phillip's appointment letter from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 299).

The reality of the relationship between Indigenous Australians and the British citizens from the First Fleet is then the focus of a part-narrative later in a section of *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985; see Source 7.28 for the full extract).

The first Australians and the First Fleeters

Both the Aborigines and the members of the First Fleet were curious about each other when they first met. One of Captain Phillip's orders had been to make friends with the Aborigines, but his well-meaning plans showed little respect for the Aborigines' way of life.

Phillip captured an Aboriginal man, Arabanoo, and began to teach him English. Arabanoo became very friendly with the white settlers, but when he was released his own people did not want to talk to him. He died in April 1778 from smallpox, a disease introduced by white people.

Phillip captured another two Aboriginal men, Bennelong and Colbee, who later escaped. When Phillip went to recapture them, he was speared by another Aborigine. At that time Phillip took no action, but later, when his gamekeeper was killed by Aborigines, Phillip tried unsuccessfully to round up the Aborigines in the area.

Violence was also done to the Aborigines. Sixteen convicts attacked a group of them. Phillip had these convicts whipped in front of the Aborigines.

These incidents show that relations between the Aborigines and the first white settlers got off to a poor start!

Source 7.28. *"The first Australians and the First Fleeters"* extract from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 185-186).

This extract uses the given names of Indigenous Australians, rare for narratives covering this time period. Doing so gives personal qualities to the three men that are included: Arabanoo, Bennelong and Colbee. Indigenous Australians are included in this narrative, justified due to their interactions with Phillip. Why these Indigenous Australians were "captured" (Power et al., 1985, p. 185) and, in the case of Arabanoo, subsequently "released" (Power et al., 1985, p. 185) is not made known to students. The extract is written in a way that creates empathy with Phillip in how to deal with what would prove to be difficult and sometimes deadly situations between convicts, free settlers and the local Indigenous population. This is evident through the phrases, "...his well-meaning plans showed little respect for the Aborigines' way of life"; "...began to teach him English" (Power et al., 1985, p. 185); "at that time Phillip took no action..."; and "violence was also done to the Aborigines. Sixteen convicts attacked a group of them. Phillip had these convicts whipped in front of the Aborigines" (Power et al., 1985, p. 185).

The overall perspective of this narrative is overtly stated, that even though it is indicated there was no malice on Phillip's part in trying to develop some sort of relationship with Indigenous

Australians, with violence committed against this group by convicts, the textbook finishes the section with a declarative: "...relations between the Aborigines and the first white settlers got off to a poor start!" (Power et al., 1985, p. 185). Emphasising the skin colour of the "white settlers" (Power et al., 1985, p. 185) as a point of difference further entrenches the binary between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

7.5.4 Representations of interactions with explorers.

Like in school texts from the *Black movement in Australia 1964-1975* era, Indigenous Australians in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) are referred to as "natives" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 31) when interacting with explorers. Interestingly, other language use to describe Indigenous Australians during this era does not generally align with this attitude, with names of individuals and tribal groups increasingly used. In terms of the topic of early explorers, Indigenous Australians are represented as negatively interfering with explorers, generally being a nuisance to their activities. No attempt is made to consider the issues which arose out of exploration from the perspective of Indigenous Australians, despite a significant rise in general public awareness of Indigenous histories and contemporary issues. In this example, the school curriculum can be seen as not keeping up to date with new research on historical events. In particular, the perspective that Indigenous Australians are a problem to be dealt with is seen through the following extract: "at Redcliffe *the natives had been a constant problem*, stealing tools and animals and menacing the convicts" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 31, emphasis added).

There is a disjuncture between representations of Indigenous Australians from the early exploration period, and from more recent events in the nation's history. It is as though the perspective of the explorers are presented to students, not as primary source documents, but as an enduring *truth*, with Indigenous Australians from this period only able to represented as very two-dimensional.

7.6 Category 3: Frontier Conflicts

Highlighting the perceived neglect of the Frontier Conflicts as an area of historical importance, *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* states:

> Few Australian history books report that something like a frontier war occurred as the settlers expanded, with their sheep and cattle, outside the original area of

settlement. However, documents reveal that there was an undeclared war which reached its height in the 1830s and 1840s in the closer settled areas but which lasted as late as the 1930s in some more remote areas. (Cowie, 1982, p. 301)

Rather than *only* positioning Indigenous Australians as victims in the frontier conflicts, *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982) acknowledges and celebrates, albeit briefly, specific individuals who actively fought “against the newcomers” (Cowie, 1982, p. 301), including “Aboriginal guerrilla leaders...Pigeon, Mosquito, Sandamara, Yagan, Ellewarra, Merrimicki and Pemulwy (who was declared an outlaw)” (Cowie, 1982, p. 301). The textbook then goes on to establish reasons for Indigenous Australian “guerrilla style of warfare” (Cowie, 1982, p. 301; see Source 7.29). This and other similar extracts are written from a perspective that attempts to understand the perspective of Indigenous Australians and does not attribute blame or wrongdoing for violent acts, particularly as the textbook mitigates acts of violence with “...the degree of retaliation often depended on their treatment at the hands of the Whites” (Cowie, 1982, p. 301).

From the Aborigines' point of view, the grazing of herds exhausted water-holes, destroyed native grasses, upset the balance of nature and depleted the supply of native animals upon which their lives depended. Moreover, Whites took land and native women without regard to the sacred rule of reciprocity—sharing in return. Evidence seems to point to the fact that the degree of retaliation often depended on their treatment at the hands of the Whites.

Source 7.29. Perspectives of Indigenous Australian’s actions against *“Whites”* extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 301).

7.6.1 Discourses of the Myall Creek massacre.

An overview of the Myall Creek Massacre[13] in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982) provides information about this tragedy that other textbooks do not include, such as Indigenous Australians originally *legally* prevented from giving evidence in a court hearing, with the Myall Creek Massacre trial presented an important historical moment in overturning this legislation (see Source 7.30).

[13] An explanation of the Myall Creek Massacre is provided in *Chapter 6: Black movement in Australian 1964-1975.*

The law case which followed the 1838 Myall Creek Massacre shows much about the attitudes of the time. In the first trial, eleven white settlers were tried for having murdered twenty-eight Aborigines and burning their bodies. The case, unlike many, was brought to public attention because a white man reported the crime. At the first trial the murderers were acquitted. A comment by one of the jurors is enlightening:

> ***Extract 171.*** I look on the blacks as a set of monkies, and the earlier they are exterminated from the face of the earth the better. I would never consent to hang a white man for a black one. I knew well they were guilty of the murder, but I for one would never see a white man suffer for shooting a black.
>
> The *Australian*, 8 December 1838, quoted in Howe, K.R., *Race Relations Australia and New Zealand*, Methuen, Wellington, 1977, p. 30

A public controversy arose, and a second trial was held. Seven of the eleven were found guilty and were hanged. However, the remaining four were acquitted because the evidence against them was held by an Aborigine—and Aborigines by law were unable to give evidence since they were not Christians.

One result of the trial was that Governor Gipps, concerned that four guilty men had gone free, persuaded the Legislative Council to alter the law to enable Aborigines to give evidence. The second trial, in which the guilty men were convicted, seemed to suggest a victory, however delayed, for British justice. But some writers on Aboriginal society feared that crimes against Aborigines were, after this event, committed in greater secrecy.

Source 7.30. Extract of the Myall Creek Massacre from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 302)

The information provided in Source 7.30 is justified for inclusion in the textbook, as it acts as an anomaly to other events represented in textbooks regarding Indigenous Australians. In this example, Indigenous Australians are empowered through the legal system to not only provide evidence in a criminal trial, but also to obtain justice for crimes committed against them. However, concern that reporting of crimes would cease due to just penalties is highlighted with the concluding statement "…some writers on Aboriginal society feared that crimes against Aborigines were, after this event, committed in greater secrecy" (Cowie, 1982, p. 302). Who these writers were and whether these claims were to be shown as founded or not is not explored in this textbook.

7.6.2 Discourses of genocide.

Covering the violence committed in Tasmania to Aboriginals in the early 1800s, Cowie uses the provocative term "genocide" (Cowie, 1982, p. 302) in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* as seen in Source 7.31. This term still provokes debates by historians as to whether it is an accurate interpretation of past events. Interestingly, Cowie's use of the word *genocide* avoided the controversy that surrounded the use of an equally emotive term *invasion* in Queensland in 1994 as detailed in *Appendix A: Contexts*, with the popular media and critics not picking up on Cowie's extensive use of this term.[14] After providing an overview of some

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[14] Similarly, Ian Gray also uses the term "invasion" in *Essentials of history*, in a section on the Frontier conflicts, "this invasion of their land attempt to remove their culture was resisted by the Aboriginal people, and there were continual clashes with whites" (1988, p. 57). The use of the term in Gray's textbook also passed unnoticed by the wider community.

of the early interactions between Tasmania's Aboriginal population and sealers and whales, writing that Aboriginal women had been abducted by them, the textbook then goes over the "...infamous 'Black line' attempt to draw a cordon around the Aborigines and remove them from the island..." (Cowie, 1982, p. 303); before detailing what Cowie calls "genocide in Tasmania" (Cowie, 1982, p. 303). Although such strong terminology is used, Cowie does not attribute an unbridled blame to the government for the situation that saw Tasmanian Aboriginals taken to Flinders Island (their later return to the mainland is ignored in this textbook). Instead, Source 7.31 points out, Cowie represents the situation as being well intended and that the impact of the policy that saw the majority of Tasmania's Aboriginal population die, as "...not readily understandable to Europeans..." (Cowie, 1982, p. 303). Avoiding an analysis of this event through contemporary understandings, Cowie is able to represent the complexities that were present in Tasmania that led to this action by the government. For, although it is completely alien to current concepts of human rights, this action by the government, led by George Robinson was considered by many, to be the 'right' action to take. As the textbook had previously stated, "on the one hand it would remove the troublesome menace to the pastoralist and on the other hand it would protect the remaining Aborigines from white brutality and diseases" (Cowie, 1982, p. 303).

The final rounding-up of the Aboriginal survivors was achieved by George A. Robinson, a man who was inspired, among other things, by a missionary zeal to protect the remnants of the Aboriginal population. Aided by Truganini, an Aboriginal woman who had often been raped by Whites, he persuaded the survivors to accompany him to a new settlement on a smaller island, and in 1836 he reported that all the native people had been removed from Tasmania. The last Aborigines, suffering from influenza, alcoholism and a spiritual malaise not readily understandable to Europeans, died off rapidly on Flinders Island. Their skeletons became the subject of much scientific interest since they seemed to be proof of the Darwinian theories of 'living fossils' and 'dying races'. The skeleton of the last Tasmanian, Truganini, who died in 1876, was displayed for many years in a glass case, in spite of her dying plea not to be treated as hundreds of her race had been. In 1974, the Tasmanian government gave her a state funeral, cremated her remains and scattered the ashes in the sea.

Source 7.31. Extract of section on Tasmanian Aboriginals from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 303).

7.7 Category 4: Federation and the Constitution

7.7.1 Discourses of the 1967 referendum.

The 1967 Referendum is only briefly mentioned in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982; see Source 7.32).

In 1967, two referenda to change the Australian constitution were accepted by an overwhelming majority of Australians—around 90%. As a result, Aborigines were to be counted in the Australian census, and the Federal Government was empowered to legislate for the well-being of Aborigines in any part of Australia.

Source 7.32. 1967 Referendum extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 307)

Similarly, *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) includes a limited amount of information with only one sentence included about the Referendum. Furthermore, the information is incorrect, reading: "it was not until 1967 that Aborigines had the right to vote!" (Power et al., 1985, p. 231). For a History textbook, which has a responsibility to ensure that information provided to students is historically accurate, this presents as a disappointing representation of the reason for the 1967 Referendum (see *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975* for an overview of the purpose of this referendum).

Although *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982), does not go into depth about the lead up to the 1967 Referenda (called in this textbook *referenda* due to two questions being asked on the same ballot), it later reports on criticisms lodged at the Commonwealth government (avoiding party politics by not distinguishing between parties and prime ministers) regarding their "...apparent reluctance to use the powers granted in 1967 to legislate for the well-being of any Aborigines..." (Cowie, 1982, p. 307). Through its criticism, it is clear that the textbook is mitigating its perspective to students of lack of proactive measures to increase quality of life for Indigenous Australians. See Source 7.33 for an extract where this is clearly apparent (in particular the third paragraph).

However, many people consider that *actual* gains by Aborigines have not been commensurate with these legal and economic benefits. Sometimes an apparent gain can bring with it an unforeseen disadvantage. After award wages were made compulsory for Aborigines working in the Northern Territory pastoral industry, for example, many were sacked from the industry despite the fact that they had provided its economic backbone from the very beginning.

Large sums set aside to provide economic benefits have not always been wisely spent. Some ventures have failed because of over-optimism or inexperience, as a result drawing bitter criticism.

Many white and black Australians have been bitterly disappointed with the Commonwealth government's apparent reluctance to use the powers granted in 1967 to legislate for the well-being of any Aborigines in any part of Australia. A prime example of this occurred during the 1978 dispute over the Queensland Aurukun and Mornington Island reserves. When the Queensland government announced its intention to take over control of the reserves from the Uniting Church, both the Church and the Aborigines appealed to the Federal government. Although the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs declared unequivocably that the Federal government would take control, he finally accepted a compromise solution after being out-manoeuvred by the Bjelke-Petersen government, which abolished the reserves altogether. The land has now been leased to the Aborigines—for a 50-year period. The problem lies in the fact that, in the often sensitive area of Commonwealth-State relations, there is little political capital to be made by the Federal government from 'taking on' the states.

Source 7.33. Information about government inaction post-1967 Referendum extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 307).

Given that this textbook was published only four years after the Queensland government abolished Aboriginal reserves, the overtly articulated perspective of criticising the government is unusual for a textbook, where usually criticisms of decisions are made when they are in the distant past (see, for example, the difference in reporting on WWI from the period immediately following the conflict compared with representations 60 to 70 years later as analysed in *Chapter 5: Before and Immediately After WWI* and the analysis covering British heritages further in this chapter).

7.7.2 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as anonymous or token representation.

Source 7.34 provides an example from a textbook that positions Indigenous Australians as an anonymous and token representation. The image, a black and white photograph, is completely out of place in this textbook. Although the image is of an Indigenous man outside Parliament House, and the text around the image covers its opening, there is no reference to Indigenous Australians in the written text (or indeed during any other part of early 20th century Australian history). Additionally, the caption does not fit the photograph. The Indigenous Australian (who remains un-named) appears to be a swag-man, itinerant worker (not uncommon for Indigenous and non-Indigenous men during this era), and accompanied by his dogs does not seem interested in any way with the opening of Parliament House, sitting some distance from the official event and facing the opposite direction. The photograph of the man is almost as a spectacle ‘Other’, a token representation of Indigenous Australians, being the only example of an image of Indigenous Australians in this textbook, and not linked in any way to the text around it.

This Aborigine was determined to see the opening of Parliament House even though no Aborigines were officially invited. *By courtesy of the National Library of Australia*

Source 7.34. Photo of an Indigenous man at the opening of the Parliament House, 1927 from *The Modern World Emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 281).

7.8 Category 5: General civil action led by Indigenous Australians

7.8.1 Discourses of land rights.

The majority of the Indigenous representations content in *The Modern World Emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) is in the Introduction to *Unit 3: Modern Australia emerges*. This one page section, which provides a brief overview of significant milestones leading up to Australia's Federation in 1901, contains a significant portion of content related to Indigenous Australians, covering half the page. Focus is on the relationship Indigenous Australians have with land and how this has been negatively impacted since the period of colonisation. For example, the section starts with the statement "although relations with the Aborigines were at first good, they quickly worsened as it became apparent that the British had not come to pay a visit, or to trade, but intended to deprive the Aborigines of their land" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 274). Indigenous knowledges are also respected in this section, with key phrases such as "Aborigines...did not believe in individual ownership of land. Rather the land belonged to the tribe" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 274) indicative of this. Indigenous Australians are included in this introduction, justified by their relationship with non-Indigenous "British settlers" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 274). Indigenous modern history is only included in relationship to non-Indigenous events; rather than Indigenous history in and of itself. This is articulated

overtly, as the issues of land rights, frontier conflicts and traditional way of life is mitigated through comparison with that of the "new settlers" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 274). To illustrate this point, the entire passage that includes Indigenous Australians is copied below.

> - Although relations with the Aborigines were at first good, they quickly worsened as it became apparent that the British had not come to pay a visit, or to trade, but intended to deprive the Aborigines of their land. Aborigines, unlike the British settlers, did not believe in individual ownership of land. Rather, the land belonged to the tribe. The European settlers did not recognize such ownership of land. They seized the land and gradually drove the Aborigines out of their traditional areas. At least 20 000 Aborigines were killed while fighting to stay on their land. Today Aborigines are attempting, by peaceful means, to regain a small proportion of the land that was originally their own. Laws have been passed by the federal government, and by some state governments, that recognize the Aborigines' rights to the land. The "land rights" issue is a direct result of the European takeover two hundred years ago.
>
> A further cause of poor relations between the Aborigines and the new settlers was the clash of cultures. The British settlers came from a society that was in the process of industrializing and had built huge cities; the Aborigines belonged to a nomadic hunting and gathering society. Most of the new settlers were not interested in the rich mythology of the Aborigines, their complex society, or their close relationship with the land. The settlers assumed their ways were superior, and the Aborigines suffered. The population of full-blood Aborigines, estimated at over 1 million in 1788, was fewer than 60 000 by 1900. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 274)

7.8.2 Discourses of the tent embassy.

The black and white photograph included as Source 7.35, originally published in the *Melbourne Herald* and included in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982) shows a group of people (primarily Indigenous Australians, with some non-Indigenous supporters included) gathered on the lawn outside the then Australian Federal Parliament House. This image demonstrates the participation of Indigenous Australians in contemporary politics and unlike the majority of images across textbooks from this era, represents Indigenous Australians in contemporary society, rather than a stereotyped traditional, tribal environment. The image, taken at about head level showing people informally gathered,

places the viewer of the image ‘in the shot’ as though they are part of the group. Doing so provides a ‘grass roots’ feel to the process of setting up the Tent Embassy. The accompanying questions to the caption reads: “The Aboriginal Tent Embassy set up in front of the Federal Parliament Building in 1972 to demand land and compensation. Do acts like these suggest that there is a growing sense of nationalism among Aborigines? If so, to what sense of ‘nation’ is it directed?” (Cowie, 1982, p. 311). This provides a further stimulus to the written text that discusses what nationalism means to Indigenous Australians as a group—formerly and in more contemporary times. Despite the Tent Embassy being of major importance to contemporary Australian history, it receives little attention in textbooks during this era. Apart from this textbook, it gets a brief mention in *The modern world emerges* through the statement: “Aborigines set up an “embassy” of tents on the lawns of Parliament House to protest against the lack of action on the land rights issue. As the police moved one group off the lawns, another replaced it, much to the embarrassment of the government” (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 377).

Melbourne Herald

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy set up in front of the Federal Parliament Building in 1972 to demand land and compensation. Do acts like these suggest that there is a growing sense of nationalism among Aborigines? If so, to what sense of ‘nation’ is it directed?

Source 7.35. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy image from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 311).

7.9 Category 6: The Wave Hill Station Strike

The *Wave Hill Stations Strike* is included in only two textbooks selected for analysis. One instance is in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982); and the second in the junior high school textbook, *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986). It is in this second textbook that the event is covered in depth, with the entire chapter, *Chapter 11:*

The Wave Hill walkout, covering the Wave Hill Station strike. Due to the large amount of information from this one source, key passages have been selected for analysis. A summary of the key aspects of the overall perspectives, arguments, ideologies and features of the text, including the primary source documents used, is provided. In addition, a number of images are included that support student learning, of which a representative selection have been included for analysis. The topic is covered only briefly in *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982). See Source 7.36 for the full extract.

Aborigines in outback areas also became more outspoken. In 1966, the Gurindji people of Wave Hill Station in the Northern Territory walked off their work to protest against their working and living conditions. They settled at Wattie Creek, their traditional home, and laid claim to a small section of the station as tribal territory. In spite of many hardships they remained on strike until 1972, when the new Labor government promised to grant their claim.

Source 7.36. Wave Hill Station Strike extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 312).

In *Case studies in Australian history*, *Chapter 11: The Wave Hill walkout* (Stewart, 1986, pp. 192-204) is given as much space as the other chapters which also focus on a single episode in history. Also constructed as case studies, a sample of the other topics include: events surrounding Federation in 1901, Sydney's rat plague at the turn of the twentieth century, and the Vietnam Moratorium of the early 1970s. However, how widely spread this particular chapter was used is open to debate. There is no information available to suggest whether it was used extensively or not; however given one of the copies that has been sourced for this research was owned previously by a pre-service educator, and the only chapter circled is *Chapter 11: The Wave Hill walkout,* this does suggest that it was used as a case study in classrooms. Other copies were sourced from university libraries. As this textbook does not form part of the core curriculum content (noting that for this era, there was no core curriculum content mandated for high school grades), it can only be a supposition as to how often it was used. The type of textbook that *Case studies in Australian history* is means that it was most likely *not* used as a core text, instead teachers selecting one or possibly two case studies from the textbook to base a unit of work on, and to use as a type of black line master.

In order to present an in-depth analysis of representations evident in *Chapter 11: The Wave Hill walkout* from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986), four extracts have been selected. Each is representative of the larger discourses operating through the chapter, taken from various parts of the narrative. One is from the background and lead up to the Wave Hill Station Strike; two are during the Strike; with the fourth from the conclusion, after the Strike

had been resolved. In addition, three images have been selected for analysis, also representative of those found throughout the chapter.

7.9.1 Primary source documents.

The topic of the use of primary source documents is so central to the study of the Wave Hill Station strike in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986), a section is included to detail and analyse the selection of primary source documents as learning opportunities for students. What is, arguably, most telling of the underlying ideology present in this textbook, are the primary source documents selected (and their accompanying explanations) to support the historical narrative being told.

Aborigines were never allowed on the same side of the river (sic) as the homestead. It was a matter of shoot on first sight if they did venture across.

From: A. Searcy, *Australia's Tropics*, London, 1895.

We are a bit lucky with the horse tailer[1] here. If any Aborigine knocks the horses about he is into them with the whip.

1. people employed to tend horses.

From: A Northern Territory cattle owner's evidence in *Transcripts of Evidence*, application of North Australian Workers' Union for equal pay in the cattle industry Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, Print No. 830, 1965.

Source 7.37. Example of use of primary sources extract from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 192).

Boxing the primary source documents separately from, but referred to in the main text, forms a significant part of the historical narrative for all the case studies. It is presented in a way that demonstrates to students, discipline-specific ways of studying and learning history, rather than an all-encompassing Social Studies approach, common for this era. Source 7.37, for example, introduces the case study to the reader, in a way that sets the tone for the discourses evident throughout the chapter. Whilst both of the quotes in Source 7.37 position Indigenous Australians as inferior to non-Indigenous people, powerless and victims of gross violence; the chapter does not condone these actions; instead they are placed at the beginning of the chapter to create an impact and point of interest for school students, that is then explored in greater depth throughout the chapter. To conduct an analysis on the two quotes (and other primary source documents) as they are written would be to take them out of the context the textbook author intended for them to be read. However, by presenting the quotes, the

textbook author is presenting for students' knowledge development, attitudes towards Indigenous Australians from two distinctly different historical periods; one from 1895 and one from 1965. Highlighting the discourses of racial inferiority to students through primary source documents enables the author to clearly communicate what is considered to be dominant views towards Indigenous Australians, across time periods. Of particular note, both quotes focus on unreasonable violent acts committed against Indigenous Australians, *based only on their race*; acts that would not be condoned if committed on a non-Indigenous person. Care needs to be taken when analysing primary source documents, as there is potential to take extracts out of context for how they are being used in the textbook. Therefore, analysis of this chapter will focus mainly on the *interpretation* of the primary source documents that the author offers of them, not the primary source document itself.

7.9.2 Discourses of a 'dying race'.

Discourses of a 'dying race', prominent in previous eras, is also visible in school curriculum in the lead up to 1988. However, a significantly different approach is taken towards how it is represented. Throughout Source 7.38 there are distinct comparisons made (even if not always overt) between attitudes, beliefs and actions of the past and those of the current-day; presented more or less as a sub discourse of progress to show that the attitudes, beliefs and actions of the past are no longer applicable in the contemporary milieu. Key terms that express this perspective are, for example, "It *was* the practice…"; "*Before* the 1930s, it *was generally* believed..."; and "…it became *increasingly apparent*" (Stewart, 1986, p. 193, emphasis added). Whereas the author of the textbook presents former views as shameful or unjust or even one of protection (for example, the perspective of journalist and anthropologist Daisy Bates), a distinct discourse of progress is being communicated whereby in *contemporary times*, these views are no longer held by non-Indigenous Australians. This sub discourse of progress is attributed to Indigenous peoples becoming increasingly politically active, and empowered.

Much happened during the 30s to change this situation. Firstly, it became increasingly apparent that Aborigines were not dying out: indeed, they were beginning to organize themselves politically for their own advancement, particularly in Victoria and New South Wales. These stirrings are documented in the film *Dirty Little Sixpence*. Secondly, as anthropology became a recognised university subject, anthropologists, such as E.P. Elkin, began to speak out on Aboriginal questions. Improved communications with remoter parts of Australia also helped to bring Aborigines and their problems to the public's attention.

Source 7.38. Discourses of a dying race extract from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 193).

Stewart approaches the discourse of a 'dying race' from a policy angle. An attempt to re-write history by stating that these opinions were racist does not occur, demonstrating to students an important component of an historians work, which is not to judge past events through current understandings, values and moral perspectives. Considering Indigenous Australians as a 'dying race' was, in fact, not always based on intentional racist assumptions (as seen through the work of Daisy Bates[15], for example). Although there are clear examples of racist attitudes brought to the fore by the text, see for example the statement "It was the cultural practice of many white Australians to ascribe a *lower mentality and manual ability* to Aboriginal…persons, and this was used as an excuse for such treatment" (Stewart, 1986, p. 193, emphasis added); by including a primary source text by Daisy Bates (see Source 7.39), it is demonstrated that this perspective was widespread and sometimes based on care and compassion for Indigenous peoples living in rural and remote parts of Australia.

I shall not see the last of them, but this century will. In living among them here, all that I can do is to make the passing easy. There is no hope for tomorrow . . .

From: E. Hill, *The Great Australian Loneliness*, Angus & Robertson Ltd Brisbane, 1974, first published 1940.

Source 7.39. Primary source document quoting Daisy Bates extract from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 193)

Recognising and then effectively communicating to student readers the distinct dominant discourses present in mainstream society and through government policies is a strength of

[15] Daisy Bates worked for decades with remote Indigenous peoples, detailing languages, customs, religious practices, education and other aspects of Indigenous Australian lives. She lived in traditional tribal communities with Aboriginals in order to gain an insight into their lifestyles, and, although not formally trained as one, is arguably Australia's most well known early anthropologist.

Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations (Cowie, 1982). Within *Chapter 16: Race relations in Australia*, for example, discourses of a 'dying race' in terms of the perceived inevitability of the future of Indigenous Australians is clearly communicated. However, by using past tense, it is clear that the textbook author, Cowie, is not sympathetic with this perspective in a contemporary sense. Instead this discourse and related content is included, legitimised due to its historical importance, and a view that is firmly in the past (in this case from the 1920s). See Source 7.40, for the extract, with primary source included.

There is little evidence that the Australian 'national conscience' was very much stirred by this situation. Many believed that it was a natural condition in a dying race. Many no doubt did not see the problem at first hand. Many were too busy at their own work of establishing a new nation. But there were a few who believed that it was the duty of white Australians to 'soothe the dying pillow' to make the passing of the Aborigines as comfortable as possible.

Extract 172. . . . nothing can stay the dying away of the Aboriginal race, which Providence has only allowed to hold the land until replaced by a finer race. But, while they do remain with us, I consider we are bound to make them as comfortable as we can. They are invariably well treated here. I recommend the issuing of a few hundred pairs of blankets to them every winter.

C. G. N. Lockhart, quoted in Woolmington, M., op. cit., p. 146

Source 7.40. Discourses of a dying race extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 307).

There is also a clear discourse operating of Indigenous Australians as victims of circumstance with pity expressed towards Indigenous Australians of the impact on their lives as a consequence of colonisation. In particular, terms (italicized) used to communicate this discourse of victimhood included, for example: "...*sedentary* life on the fringes...*increased* Aboriginal vulnerability"; "diet, *once* high in protein level, *often* became high in starch..."; "*where once* Aborigines had taken only what they wanted from white society...*they now became totally economically dependent* on it"; and "tribal kinship ties...*became confused* as more half-caste children were born..." (Cowie, 1982, p. 307, emphasis added). For a contextualised reading of these statements, see Source 7.41.

A sedentary life on the fringes of white settlement increased Aboriginal vulnerability to disease, alcoholism and poverty. Diet, once high in protein level, often became high in starch levels. Where once the Aborigines had taken only what they wanted from white society, like tools, they now became totally economically dependent on it. Their lives were often judged in terms of their usefulness to white society—a woman's capacity to please white men, or a man's ability to perform menial tasks, or, as in the case of the far outback, to become stockmen. Tribal kinship ties, one of the bases of their society, became confused as more half-caste children were born, as remnants of different tribes were forced together, and as clan elders inevitably lost their authority.

A decline in the fertility rate caused numbers to drop even further. This resulted from an increase in venereal and other diseases, but also from a growing spiritual poverty caused by a loss of pride, confidence and dignity.

Source 7.41. Examples of discourses of victimhood extract from *Crossroads: Imperialism and race relations* (Cowie, 1982, p. 307).

7.9.3 Discourses of political and civil action.

Viewing Indigenous people as agents for change in unjust situations is strongly communicated through the narrative of the case study in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986). In the case of the strike, two issues were involved. One is the claim of unfair pay of Aboriginal workers and the second is land ownership by the traditional landholders, the Gurindji people. Rather than seeing Indigenous people as passive victims of policy and practice, this narrative strongly asserts that Indigenous people, as a collective, have the motivation and capacity to launch, and the stamina to maintain, strike action in order to achieve stated demands. It is explicit about this, citing other examples when this has not been the case:

> In documenting most cases of Aboriginal-European conflict, Aborigines are poorly placed as far as primary evidence in concerned. At best, Aborigines are represented by sympathetic non-Aboriginal observers. On this occasion, however, *Aboriginal* accounts of the walkout are available. (Stewart, 1986, p. 196)

Where the narrative describes the moment the Gurindji people declared a strike, walking off Wave Hill Station, it is told almost completely through the voice of the leader of the strike, Vincent Lingiari. In a departure from narratives in other textbooks that describe events through a third person, non-Indigenous voice. Source 7.42 stands in stark contrast to this, where Lingiari is quoted at length, through his voice, keeping authentic his grammar style of voiced and unvoiced consonants.

I am Vincent Lingiari from Wave Hill. That's my proper aboriginal name. Tom Pisher and that Bestey mob called me Tommy Bincent. My people are Gurindji. Who live in Wave Hill area . . . The manager of Wave Hill was Tom Pisher . . .

Always when big plant start to go out from station when mustering start, they go out two, maybe three month. Aboriginal men out in bush all time. White ringers come back to station ebry Friday night. That not right. I think to mesel' about that longa time. And think them Bestey mob don't treat Aborigine native people right way. Some them white fellas play bloody hell with black gin women, leave Aborigine natives out in bush for that. When Aborigine stockmen come back they have to pack up and go away again. That not right.

And there was no proper money for Aborigine people. Maybe six dollar a week, but not ebry week. Two months, maybe three months got 'em money. All gone in store. Maybe few quid for races or walkabout time and no chilendowmen money . . .

I remember Dexter came along to hospital one eebning. I was in the hospital. Foot broke: kick by donkey at Wave Hill station. And Dexter asked how the money was at Wave Hill and I said: 'Not too good.' 'And how is the tucker?' and I said: 'Salt beef and bread.' And he said: 'That all?' And I said: 'That all.'

And Dexter said: 'Are you big boss of Wave Hill Aborigines?' 'Yes, I am.' And I told him where I am in Gurindji tribe and he told me where he is in Roper Riber tribe . . .

And Dexter said: 'Well, what you Wave Hill mob going to do if you don't get proper money?' 'Well, I don't know,' I said. 'We sick and tired of Tom Pisher and that Bestey mob living in Gurindji country.' And Dexter said: 'Right way is to finish up with Bestey mob,' and I said: 'All right, Dexter.' And he said: 'Maybe I'll take trip to Wave Hill one day.' . . .

I just bin landing off the plane and I saw Dexter and spoke to him . . .

'What about it now?' he said. 'What you mob going to do?' 'Well, ebrybody's gone to the races.' 'Oh, yes,' he said, 'I know. What 'bout when they come back? What will you say to Tom Pisher?' 'Well, I'm going to say we want more wages, like you said in Darwin.' And Dexter said: 'Righto. All right. Anyway, I'll give you a message.' A letter, I think. Anyway he write it down. He gave me two letters. 'Keep that,' he said, 'and when tribe come back from races you know what to do.' Then Dexter went away from Wave Hill . . .

I went to the station early morning to see Tom Pisher and I said: 'Goodday, Tom.' 'Goodday,' he said to me. And I said to him: 'I believe some them white ringers play hell with black fella gin while me in Darwin.'

And he said: 'No, no,' and I said: 'Oh yes, they tol' me,' and they did tell me. 'Well, look Tom,' I said, 'I bin ask those wages up this time. I want twenty-five quid a week for those stockmen.' 'No, no,' he said. 'You won't get that, you won't get that.' 'All right, if I won't get it I'm walking off today.' And I did.

I didn't know what proper money was, dollars or quids, so I ask for twenty-five quid. Then I bin thinking to mesel' when I walk away from Tom Pisher: 'Where we go now? We can't stay here.' So I went to the native camp. I talked to the Aborigine people there and told 'em what I bin tell Tom Pisher. The people told me: 'You right, old man, we very pleased for you do for we fellas. Only one thing, what 'bout tucker?' 'Oh,' I said, 'don't worry 'bout tucker. Dexter will bring plenty tucker from Darwin later on.' So I said: 'Maybe we go to riber bed near waterhole and stay there. We can't stay here.' So we did go there. We got we swags, billy cans, ebrything we carry — not many things, no furniture, but very heavy load; walk ten mile to river, with lubra, piccaninny, ebrybody, we take it all down there. We make camp there on dry riber bed, good sand and pebbles there, good camp, better than old huts at Wave Hill station.

While we walking over there I bin thinking: What 'bout them letters Dexter bin give me? So next morning I come along to the Welfare Settlement and give them two letters to Bill Jeffrey to send — telegrams, I think. 'All right, I'll fix them up for you,' he said. I walked back to the riber. And Tom Pisher came along with Peter Morris, big white boss of Besteys from that Sydney . . . Peter Morris said: 'Dexter wrong, we can't pay twenty-five quid a week, if he say that. That Newcastle Waters mob went on strike and they got no money now. Change your mind.' But I said to him: 'I can't change my mind. I have to wait for Dexter,' and Peter Morris said: 'You come back to station now but not work.' And I said: 'No, we'll wait for Dexter' . . .

They come back later on and they said: 'We want some men to work at station,' and I said: 'Well, all right, I might give you couple just to give you a help but I can't finish up this strike.' They said: 'What you do for tucker?' and I said: 'Dexter will come back. People in Darwin and down South will help we maybe.' And Peter Morris said: 'You all sacked now,' and they went away again.

From: F. Hardy, *The Unlucky Australians*, Sydney, 1968.
Note: The Gurindji language has no F or V sound. P and B are substituted for these when English is spoken.

Source 7.42. Vincent Lingiari's narrative in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, pp. 196-198).

Source 7.42, a primary source excerpt from one of Lingiari's speeches and the accompanying photograph of him (see Source 7.43) stand in stark contrast to previous representations of Indigenous Australians that portray them as anonymous actors in major historical events. In this case study, not only are Indigenous people named and their tribal grouping attributed, they are also at the centre of the historical narrative, rather than only at the periphery. The photograph of Lingiari serves as a visual reinforcement of representing Indigenous Australians as active participants in their own history.

Source 7.43. Blacks and white photograph of Vincent Lingiari in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 198).

7.9.4 Discourses of policy and legislation.

A significant component of the case study in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986) contains information about government policy, legislation and action surrounding how the federal government responded to the Wave Hill Station Strike, in particular the wider issue of land rights for Australia's Indigenous peoples. By linking the topic of the strike to other civil rights issues of the same time, such as the 1967 Referendum, the author demonstrates to students their interconnectedness. In a rare example of openly criticizing government policy and inaction, the textbook writes of the outcomes of the Referendum in relation to land rights:

> The Commonwealth Government sought the power to make laws on behalf of Aborigines. Ninety-one per cent of formal votes—the greatest 'Yes' vote in

> Australia's referenda history—were in favour of the proposed constitutional amendments. …the outcome was a clear sign of changing attitudes, and of Australia's concern with international opinion…As far as the Northern Territory was concerned, the Federal Government had been responsible for Aboriginal Welfare for 56 years. (Stewart, 1986, pp. 200-201)

Generally textbooks during this and other eras do not openly criticize government actions or policies, with negative consequences not attributed to government policies (see, for example, the narratives of the Tasmanian Frontier Conflicts in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*). Instead, they are mitigated through a discourse of inevitability. Here though, the case study takes a clear swipe at the conservative government of the day by highlighting that the 1967 Referendum should not have played any part in the government decision not to intervene quickly in the issue, as land rights in the Northern Territory were already within the legislative control of the Commonwealth government. It was, the textbook asserts, the public demand for Indigenous Australians to be treated with greater equity that motivated the government to adopt a more proactive approach (see, for example, Source 7.44).

As a result of the referendum, Prime Minister Harold Holt set up an office of Aboriginal Affairs in his own Department, while the Government established a Commonwealth Council for Aboriginal Affairs. After Holt's accidental death his final successor, John Gorton, appointed W.C. Wentworth MLA as Minister-in-Charge of Aboriginal Affairs early in March, 1968.

Source 7.44. 1967 Referendum extract from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 201).

The case study, whilst containing a number of criticisms of the then conservative Liberal Party government, does not then offer the same critique of Labor's Gough Whitlam in relation to land rights once he became Prime Minister, demonstrating party politicking in this textbook. At the time of the 1967 Referendum, Whitlam was Leader of the Opposition, and is reported as stating the following pessimistic statement: "…the referendum result indicated, as Gough Whitlam, then leader of the Labor Opposition had it: 'a change of bookkeeping, not of policy' " (Stewart, 1986, pp. 200-201). Yet when Whitlam became Prime Minister he reneged on his promise to grant land rights to all Indigenous Australians across all States and Territories, instead creating a very limited opportunity for land rights claims to be made by Territory Indigenous peoples only. By omitting this information, students are not presented

with a comprehensive understanding of the wider issues of land rights during the late 1960s and early 1970s, instead their knowledge is marred by the party-politicking (whether intentional or not is unknown) of the author. Whereas in earlier eras there was a clear partiality towards conservative politics, by now privileging left politics, there is still not a comprehensive detailing of various sides and opinions of the issue of land rights, *beyond the case study at hand*. This limits opportunities for students to consider multiple perspectives through fair treatment of primary sources and the interpretation provided in the textbook.

Finally, even when framed in the positive, such as when the Gurindji people received their land rights claim, it seems that Indigenous issues are more often than not couched in terms of government policy and legislation, unlike other histories which are not mediated through government policy at such a minute level. This demonstrates a constant discourse of government intervention in the everyday life of Indigenous peoples, which is potentially disempowering, especially when not concerned with larger issues such as land rights.

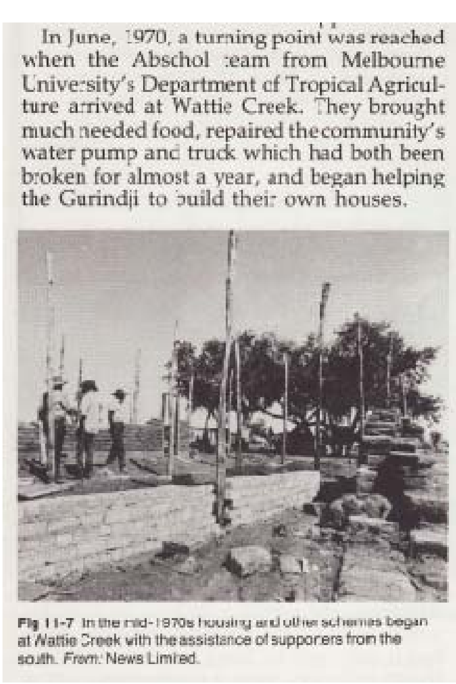
7.9.5 Discourses of resolution.

Concluding the case study of the strike in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986) students are presented with a section on how the strike was resolved. Through a discourse of resolution, key ideas are put forward to describe the conclusion of the strike that had begun in 1966 and ended eight years later in 1975. Unlike the remainder of the chapter which presents the Gurindji people as leaders in the strike, the resolution is achieved, in part, through the assistance of non-Indigenous people from Melbourne and Sydney in particular. In addition, it is through public awareness and support, the narrative indicates, the strike was brought more powerfully to the attention of the land lease holder, Lord Vestey, and the government. This is particularly accentuated through the extract included as Source 7.45.

Publicity and protests were renewed. A 'Save the Gurindji Campaign', later renamed 'The Gurindji Campaign', commenced in Sydney on National Aborigines Day, 10 July 1970, and in August 200 demonstrators marched in front of Vestey's George Street Office near Australia Square. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 1 August 1970, 40 people, including Frank Hardy, were arrested. During the second half of the year, Gurindji leaders travelled to Sydney and Melbourne to rally support.

Source 7.45. Resolution of the Wave Hill Station Strike extract from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 202).

Source 7.45 demonstrates that through partnerships between different groups in raising public awareness of issues, a successful resolution can be achieved. This also demonstrates the important role that groups, significantly geographically removed from the remote site of Wave Hill, can play in what otherwise could be unrelated to their immediate local area. Source 7.46 is another example of this.



In June, 1970, a turning point was reached when the Abschol team from Melbourne University's Department of Tropical Agriculture arrived at Wattie Creek. They brought much needed food, repaired the community's water pump and truck which had both been broken for almost a year, and began helping the Gurindji to build their own houses.

Fig 11-7 In the mid-1970s housing and other schemes began at Wattie Creek with the assistance of supporters from the south. *From:* News Limited.

Source 7.46. Assistance from Melbourne University extract from *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 202).

The visual text referred to in the narrative of Source 7.46 is a black and white photograph at Wattie Creek, at the time part of Wave Hill Station. Running across the foreground are the brick foundations of a house with wooden pole frames in construction. Three Indigenous men—who by their dress of trousers, collared shirts and Akubras appear to be stockmen—are standing in the mid ground, talking or working on the house frame. In the background, there are a few trees. This photograph, which appears in the textbook courtesy of media company, *News Limited,* was most likely included to provide readers with a visual representation of conditions on Wave Hill Station. This image, and others in the chapter, is legitimised for inclusion as it clearly shows to students, who may not be familiar with this area, what the conditions were. A clear perspective demonstrated is that Indigenous Australians are not passive victims of circumstances beyond their control, but rather *actively* involved with improving living conditions. Although this may not be strictly evident from the visual by itself, when combined with the text around it, as analysed in this section, this becomes apparent.

As already broached, the perspective presented throughout this narrative is one of partnership between Indigenous groups in remote communities and Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups in large cities and organisations; articulated non-overtly through language use such as "began helping"; " 'The Gurindji Campaign', commenced in Sydney on National Aborigines Day, 10 July 1970"; "demonstrators marched…40 people…were arrested"; and "Gurindji leaders travelled to Sydney and Melbourne to rally support" (Stewart, 1986, p. 202). Ultimate success of the strike is communicated to students through a primary source document in the form of a commemorative plaque (see Source 7.47).

AT THIS SITE ON 16 AUGUST 1975, MR. VINCENT LINGIARI, LEADER OF THE GURINDJI PEOPLE, RECEIVED FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA, THE HONOURABLE E.G. WHITLAM, Q.C., M.P. AND THE MINISTER FOR ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE LES JOHNSON, M.P., THE PASTORAL

LEASE TO 1250 SQUARE MILES FORMERLY PART OF THE WAVE HILL PASTORAL LEASE.

Source 7.47. Commemorative plaque as a primary source document in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986, p. 202).

Although the strike is considered ultimately successful as the Gurindji people were granted a pastoral lease on part of their traditional land, there is no mention of the wages claim, and the subsequent unemployment of stockmen on Territory stations. Whilst a discourse of hope within the narrative is communicated to students; by only presenting a type of celebratory history, there is a very real risk that students are not exposed to an accurate representation of the end result of this strike. It can therefore be asserted, without being overly pessimistic, that the gaps and silences presented in this case study are as significant as the content that is included. In short, this historical event does not end with a commemorative plaque, but rather has continued since the 1970s with generational unemployment, only recently (in 2009) being redressed through the re-employment of Indigenous stockmen on remote Northern Territory properties.

7.10 Category 7: Indigenous knowledges

Living history (Gurry, 1987) presents as a resistant text to the general representations of Indigenous Australians during this era, in particular for the way it examines the complexities

of Indigenous Australian cultures. As *Unit 7: Aboriginal life before European contact* is very large (covering 42 pages), representative selections of extracts for analysis in this project have been made. This textbook highlights the complexities and differences in Indigenous cultures throughout the Australian continent, by providing written and visual texts that examine multiple perspectives. History is brought alive for students, presenting content really as a 'Living History' through its engaging evidence, both in written and visual modes. This textbook presents Indigenous cultures and knowledges in their traditional environment, which is the common representation of Indigenous Australians during this era. However, unlike other textbooks which position Indigenous Australians as belonging to an unknowable, a-historical and monocultural past; this textbook resists that type of representation by positioning Indigenous cultures and knowledges as current and relevant regardless of the cultural decimation that has been targeted at Indigenous peoples through the process of colonization. From this, a number of distinct discourses become evident, as analysed below.

7.10.1 Discourses of diverse cultures.

Source 7.48 provides evidence that this textbook considers Australian Indigenous peoples as belonging to a range of diverse cultures providing links between cultural activities and geographical locations.

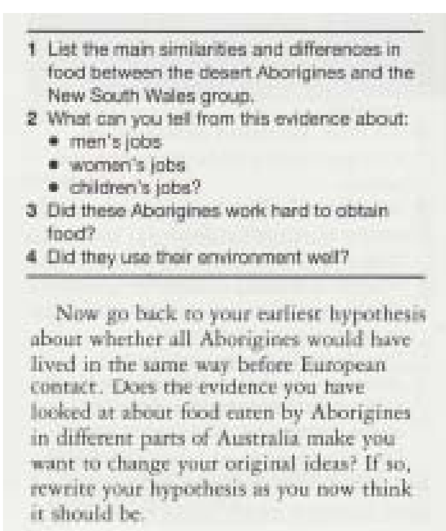
Historians believe that most Aborigines in Australia before European contact lived in much the same areas of the country as most people live in today—near the coast and in the areas around rivers. But some

Aborigines lived in desert areas. Would their food sources have been different? Based on what you have studied so far, make a guess about the sort of food which you *expect* people of desert areas to eat. Then read the evidence below, from the description by an anthropologist of a day in the life of a group of people of Central Australia. (An anthropologist is a person who studies the way other people live.) While the information you are about to read was recorded fairly recently, it is probable that Aborigines in this area have lived in a similar way for many years, and would probably have been living in a similar way before European contact.

Source 7.48. Narrative on diverse cultures extract from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, pp. 105-106).

7.10.2 Discourses recognising Indigenous knowledges as valuable.

An activity *Unit 7: Aboriginal life before European contact* from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987) begins with a summary of a primary source document by Richard Gould, an anthropologist who lived among a desert Indigenous tribe, Yiwara, detailing the day to day food supply requirements of the group. This extract is included in the textbook, justified to demonstrate to students the diversity of Indigenous groups (there are other examples from evidence from students to also consider) and cultures. This is stated overtly by the accompanying questions and activity (see, Source 7.49). Encouraging students to think deeply, rather than gaining only a surface knowledge and understanding of Indigenous Australian cultures is evident by the questions requiring students to identify "...similarities and differences...between the desert Aborigines and the New South Wales group" (Gurry, 1987, p. 106). Furthermore, encouraging students to embrace a change in their own ideas is evident in the activities that follow the questions.



1 List the main similarities and differences in food between the desert Aborigines and the New South Wales group.
2 What can you tell from this evidence about:
- men's jobs
- women's jobs
- children's jobs?
3 Did these Aborigines work hard to obtain food?
4 Did they use their environment well?

Now go back to your earliest hypothesis about whether all Aborigines would have lived in the same way before European contact. Does the evidence you have looked at about food eaten by Aborigines in different parts of Australia make you want to change your original ideas? If so, rewrite your hypothesis as you now think it should be.

Source 7.49. Questions and activities on Indigenous cultures in *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 106).

Indigenous knowledges are specifically represented in this extract as relating to food collection (being one example of many different types of Indigenous knowledges covered in this unit, such as that relating to customs, shelter and seasons). Although the textbook does not specifically or overtly state that the perspective is one of respect for Indigenous cultures, it is evident in a number of ways. For example, Indigenous knowledges are represented solely on their own merit and not mitigated through another culture or explained through the cultural context of any contemporary (and usually unstated) dominant culture. Furthermore,

the 42 page unit of work in a textbook produced by a state-based History teachers' association covering Indigenous Australian cultures and histories; and combined with the number of primary source documents used, including photographs in an attempt to bring history *alive* to students in a way that they can engage with the content more than just through the written word demonstrates the respect for Indigenous knowledges and cultures. Two sample passages where respect for Indigenous cultures is evident are included at Source 7.50.

The women and children walk many kilometres in the sand and the hot sun. They find some special shrubs whose bark can be made into sandals needed to protect the people's feet from the scorching summer sand. They take only what is needed and leave a lot of the shrubs untouched.

As on most days the hunt has been poor, but the collecting successful. Over 50 per cent of the diet of the people is made up of vegetable foods from a list of at least eight main ones, or staples, which ripen and become available at different times and in different places. A number of other plant foods are available in smaller quantities to add variety. Few kangaroo and emu are caught. Lizards are the main source of protein.

Source 7.50. Sample passages demonstrating respect for Indigenous cultures from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 106).

In addition, Indigenous cultures as fluid and continuous is evident through the example of the brittle spear (see Source 7.51), where it is apparent that the author, through the selection of the primary source document, is communicating that Indigenous cultures continue to develop and the people within them continue to learn different skills and strategies, and are not static—as indeed no cultures are where people still practice them. This presents as a significant departure from the way Indigenous cultures are commonly presented to school students through core curriculum content.

The men head off, find a hiding place near some water, and wait for many hours in the hot sun and the flies. An emu finally approaches but the hunter's spear breaks as he goes to throw it. It was made of mulga wood which can be brittle and break unexpectedly. The men realise that they have to make better spears at the first opportunity. On the way back to camp they find a lizard trail, and they find and kill the animal—which weighs about one kilo. The men are pleased with this catch and return to camp to cook it.

Source 7.51. Brittle spear extract from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 106).

9.10.3 Discourses of contemporary representations.

Part of the unit in *Living history* (Gurry, 1987) presents as an anomaly to the common discourses of Indigenous Australians included in textbooks during this era in two specific ways. First, through the inclusion of an Indigenous Australian in a contemporary context and second the representation of a female Indigenous Australian. By far the majority of representations of Indigenous Australians are of Indigenous men in a traditional environment, or a traditional pose (see, for example, Lawrence et al., 1986; Department of Education, 1988a). *Investigation 3* is framed by a photograph of a recent PhD graduate, Wendy Beck, walking in academic graduation dress through her field of study. The research of this Indigenous woman introduces the topic of types of food Indigenous Australians eat, in order to respond to a specific inquiry (see Source 7.52).

Investigation 3

For people to make the best use of the food in their environment, they must have a detailed knowledge of their area.

What evidence have we already seen to show that Aborigines *did* have such knowledge?

Look at the next two pieces of evidence. Do they seem to show expert knowledge by Aborigines of their environment?

Source 7.52. *"Investigation 3"* activity extract from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 107).

Source 7.53, an extract from *Evidence 1* of *Investigation 3,* includes information regarding the continuity of Indigenous people's connections to the land.

In the past four years, in Melbourne and in Arnhem Land, Dr Beck has looked at 691 species of plants, seeds and roots. She has found 68 toxic and 100 unpalatable species. Some are potentially lethal.

Semi-traditional Yolngu tribal Aborigines, with whom Dr Beck lived for a while, rely on cultural training as well as smell, sight and feel to identify toxic foods. Detoxification methods include leaching in water, pounding and roasting, for up to 24 hours.

The cycad palm's woody nut is a notoriously toxic food which the Yolngu use to make a bread known as munbuwa. While cycasin poisoning can be fatal in humans if left untreated, the Aborigines are able to tell a poisonous nut from one that has been lying on the ground long enough to lose its toxicity.

Source 7.53. Continuity of Indigenous people's connection to the land extract from *Living history* (Gurry, 1987, p. 108).

Throughout the unit, traditional knowledges are presented as superior to non-Indigenous knowledges. Although not stated overtly, it is evident through phrasing which positions the PhD student as needing to learn from the traditional custodians of the land, as seen in the second paragraph Source 7.53. Therefore, in this unit, students see non-Indigenous knowledges mitigated through Indigenous knowledges in a way that is not a common school learning experience.

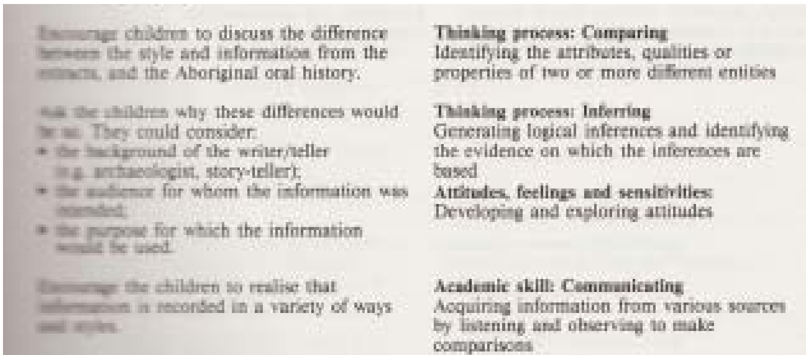
7.10.4 Discourses that foreground oral histories.

Activity B: Theories of Australian settlement in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) introduces students to oral histories as a mode of learning. Respect for Indigenous knowledges and cultures through oral history is limited as this is not extended to content outside of that which is *directly* about histories of Indigenous Australians, with only western knowledges presented for all other topics. So, whilst this can be seen as the beginning of Indigenous knowledges within the core curriculum content, much work needs to be achieved so that this extends beyond topics solely centred on Indigenous Australians, enabling instead a transferability of knowledges that does not yet take place (see Source 7.54). The main activity for students to engage with oral history as a legitimate historical methodology is through learning how Indigenous Australians first came to Australia.

Discuss with children some of the views of Aboriginal habitation of Australia as presented in the teacher information sheets. Children should not be given copies of the information sheets, although teachers may wish to compile a brief summary of relevant points for pupil use. Then play a tape-recorded Aboriginal oral history (or read a written transcription) about the coming of people to Australia.

Source 7.54. *"Activity B: Theories of Australian settlement"* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 15)

The respect for oral histories as a legitimate tool to study Social Studies is mitigated through the non-articulated understanding that oral histories are relevant to Indigenous peoples only, and not to be used for any form of history outside of pre-history. This is asserted in this analysis, as there are no other examples of oral histories or any other alternative knowledges throughout this and other Social Studies sourcebooks. The purpose and function of oral history is potentially missed if teachers decided to have students "read a written transcript" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 15) rather than engage authentically with this mode of learning. The activity outlined in the year 5 sourcebook (see Source 7.55) encourages students to engage thoughtfully with historical processes. It is through Indigenous knowledges that oral histories are justified and considered a legitimate approach to history. This mode of learning is excluded from all other content outside of that explicitly linked to Indigenous cultures and histories, pre-colonisation. Once the period of colonization is covered in the curriculum, oral histories are not included in any activities.



Encourage children to discuss the difference between the style and information from the extracts, and the Aboriginal oral history.

Ask the children why these differences would be so. They could consider:
- the background of the writer/teller (e.g. archaeologist, story-teller);
- the audience for whom the information was recorded;
- the purpose for which the information would be used.

Encourage the children to realise that information is recorded in a variety of ways and styles.

Thinking process: Comparing
Identifying the attributes, qualities or properties of two or more different entities

Thinking process: Inferring
Generating logical inferences and identifying the evidence on which the inferences are based

Attitudes, feelings and sensitivities:
Developing and exploring attitudes

Academic skill: Communicating
Acquiring information from various sources by listening and observing to make comparisons

Source 7.55. Learning through oral history extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 15).

To conclude this category, the following observation of the valuing of Indigenous culture is made. Although the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) pays significant attention to acknowledging Indigenous Australians' histories and cultures, as seen through the introductory topic for *Unit 1: Settlers of Australia*, once viewed

in conjunction with non-Indigenous cultures and knowledges, student understanding then becomes mediated through the other culture, creating a dominant and subjugated culture. In the example that follows, this is not necessarily done to offend or diminish Indigenous peoples and cultures; but could be a reflection of the syllabus as a product of its time and place, a silencing of race that the syllabus and sourcebook writers are unconscious of, as it permeates so deeply through mainstream society. The extract reads:

> Have the children compile a brief record of Macassan and European influences using the following criteria:
>
> - time of contact;
> - lengths of contact time;
> - purpose of contact;
> - interaction with Aborigines;
> - type of culture;
> - aspects of culture taken up by Aboriginal groups;
> - short-term effect on Aboriginal groups;
> - long-term effect on Aboriginal groups. (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 17)

There is no reciprocity mentioned here, as though the Aboriginals have no positive lasting impact on the groups they come into contact with. Instead, it is the Indigenous Australians who are expected to have "taken up" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 17) aspects of the colonisers culture, never around the other way. There is still the underlying presence that represents Indigenous Australians as anonymous actors in, and on the peripheral of, history permeating through the school curriculum, disguised within a curriculum that, on the surface, appears to be culturally inclusive.

7.11 Category 8: Contemporary, General Representations and Special Events

7.11.1 Discourses of National Aborigines' Week.

The inclusion of National Aborigines' Week was new to the school curriculum during the 1980s. Prior to this era, if it was celebrated, it was not widespread and not part of the official curriculum. In the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a), published by the Department of Education to accompany the 1987 syllabus, National Aborigines Week is included in *Unit 5: Special days*. In the sourcebook, teachers are

provided with ideas on how they can teach students about this event. Although, strictly speaking, not part of a History curriculum, it has nevertheless been selected for analysis as it is placed within the Social Studies curriculum, providing an example of Indigenous representations in the early grades of primary school. It also emphasizes the a-historical way Indigenous representations are presented to school students; with no historical context or background provided of this celebration (however it is important to note that the other special days are also represented in this way, so this is not unique to Indigenous representations, *in this case*). Instead, students learn about Indigenous culture through storytelling, instrument playing and the Aboriginal flag (the Torres Strait Islander flag is not included).

In an early example (and the first out of the school curriculum documents selected for analysis as part of this research) of extending student knowledge and understanding of Indigenous Australians, Torres Strait Islanders are given a brief mention, in the introductory note (see Source 7.56). However, in the main content, only Aboriginals are mentioned; demonstrating the beginning of a move towards recognising the multitude of cultures that make up Australia's Indigenous population. Whereas now it is commonplace in Queensland at least, to discuss Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders together when referring to special events or issues, this was not the case in earlier periods, such as in the lead up to 1988.

Special days: National Aborigines' Week—September

Note: Teachers should refer to *Guidelines for studies about Aborigines in Queensland schools*, compiled by the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Consultative Committee (QATSICC) to the Director-General of Education, in February 1980. Copies of the guidelines were issued to all State schools in 1980.

Source 7.56. *"Special days"* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a, p. 131).

Throughout the suggested classroom activities ideas for teachers to select from, Indigenous Australians are still represented only in a traditional cultural environment, with no recognition of contribution to contemporary or mainstream society. Again, this may be due to the age of the students this sourcebook is aimed at, so rather than seeing this as a deficit, it is noted more as an observation of the general representations of Indigenous Australians to this age group. What is apparent is a focus on showcasing Indigenous knowledges and cultures, with a few key phrases indicating this, demonstrated in Source 7.57.

1. Read a variety of traditional Aboriginal stories and discuss the ways that these have been passed down from generation to generation.

2. Illustrate an Aboriginal legend. Divide the class into small groups, each group being responsible for a particular section. Place the drawings in sequence, add sentences to describe the part of the legend illustrated, and display as a wall mural.

3. Listen to traditional Aboriginal songs and instruments. Children could make and learn to use some of these instruments.

4. Show examples of traditional Aboriginal art. Ask the children to identify objects and symbols in the paintings, and to suggest the meaning of some of the artwork examined. Get them to consider what materials have been used for the paintings and to try to produce patterns or drawings in the traditional Aboriginal style.

Source 7.57. Activity ideas for National Aborigines' Week extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a, p. 131).

Actively engaging students with classroom activities in order to develop and deepen their understanding of Indigenous culture is encouraged. This demonstrates the active-learning pedagogical approach employed during this era, far removed from traditional didactic teaching approaches seen in earlier eras. For example, in this unit, students are encouraged to participate in the following way: "Ask the children to make up their own stories/legends to explain day-to-day happenings, e.g.…why the wind blows. Instead of reading their stories, get the children to tell them and act them out as traditional Aborigines would have done" (Department of Education, 1987a, p. 131).

Even though it could be argued that as the only representation of Indigenous Australians in the early years of schooling is included in an optional *Special Days* part of the curriculum, thereby placing Indigenous representations on the peripheral of the school curriculum, as the same unit is covered across grades 1 to 3 it is most likely that the majority of schools would have taught this event at least once in those three years of schooling. This unit also represents the beginning of including Indigenous Australians more consistently, and as part of the core content, in Social Studies and History curriculum.

7.11.2 Discourses of Indigenous Australians 'on-the-fringe' of history.

The only representation of Indigenous Australians in *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) is in the conclusion which includes a few paragraphs on specific issues that have emerged in contemporary Australian society. This is achieved in one paragraph with four accompanying

questions (see Source 7.58 for full extract). This is the only example of Indigenous representations in the textbook *after* the early colonial period. This small extract can be seen as placing Indigenous Australians on the peripheral of Australian history, with very limited—arguably tokenistic—content about Indigenous Australians. The irony of this seems to be lost on the textbook authors who introduce the paragraph with “until very recent times Aborigines were almost a forgotten and very neglected group of Australians” (Power et al., 1985, p. 231). Interestingly, the four accompanying questions are unable to be answered by students by reading the textbook, and further investigation is required, but no direction is provided on where this investigation could begin.

The changing position of the Aborigines
Until very recent times Aborigines were almost a forgotten and very neglected group of Australians. They were generally moved on to reserves or religious missions, and ignored by the majority of Australians. It was not until the 1960s that more Australians began to appreciate the rights of Aborigines, their culture and the difficulties they face from having had a European culture forced upon them. It was not until 1967 that all Aborigines had the right to vote!

EXERCISE 5
A major issue within our society today is the question of Aboriginal land rights.
(1) What is the traditional Aboriginal attitude to land?
(2) Do you think Aborigines should be given permanent grants of land (land rights)?
(3) What are the problems faced by Aborigines in Australian society of the 1980s?
(4) Compare the life expectancy and the infant mortality rate between Aboriginal people and white Australians. (Ask your librarian to help.)

Source 7.58. *“The changing position of the Aborigines”* extract from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 231).

Another example of Indigenous Australians included on the fringe of curriculum content is evident in *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) where little importance is placed on Indigenous Australians and significant historical events which impact on Australian history. For example, there is no mention of the 1967 referendum, despite other referenda in Australia’s history included in this textbook. The information that is provided about Indigenous Australians is both disjointed and not part of the main historical narrative. Rather, it is placed as dot point summaries at the end of sections. The following extract from

Unit 3: Modern Australia emerges constitutes the third of only three inclusions of Indigenous Australians and is representative of the fractured way this topic is written:

> - Aborigines set up an "embassy" of tents on the lawns of Parliament House to protest against the lack of action on the land rights issue. As the police moved one group off the lawns, another replaced it, much to the embarrassment of the government. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 377-78)

And;

> In the elections of December 1972 Whitlam promised, if elected, to immediately:
>
> ...
>
> - Provide finance and support to Aborigines
>
> [then later on the same page in section titled "The Whitlam government (1972 to 1975)]
>
> ...Whitlam and Barnard announced many new regulations:
>
> ...
>
> - Spending on Aboriginal welfare was increased
> - Mining leases on Aboriginal reserves were suspended. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 377-78)

An explanation of the actions of the McMahon government that led to the setting up of the Tent Embassy is not articulated beyond a vague "…to protest against the lack of action on the land rights issue" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 377). Furthermore, the endurance of the Tent Embassy physically positioned on the front lawn of the now-former Parliament House (commonly called *Old Parliament House)* is not mentioned as a point of historical significance. Support the textbook writers have towards the Whitlam Labor government over the McMahon Liberal government is evident from their pointing out of the failure of the McMahon government to provide land rights to Indigenous Australians. However, there is no critique of the Whitlam Government's actions which, although an election promise was made to provide land rights to all Indigenous Australians, was watered-down once in Parliament to include only those Indigenous Australians from the Commonwealth Territories. So, through this partisan perspective in addition to the paucity of information included, students are not provided with an accurate or comprehensive exposure to this period of rapid social and political change in contemporary Australian history. The lack of critique of the Whitlam

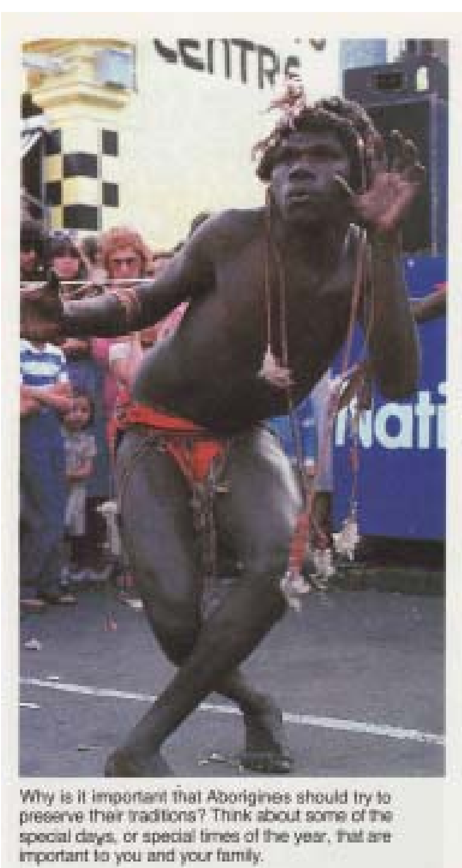
Labor government in this textbook is similar to that in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986), providing a consistent, and not necessarily accurate representation to students that Labor governments care about Indigenous issues, whilst Liberal-National governments do not.

The Modern World Emerges (Lawrence et al., 1986) contains significant milestones of world history during the 20th century. The unit on Australia, which covers approximately a quarter of the textbook, traces significant political events, including Federation, Australia's involvement in WWI, contrasts the 1920s with the Great Depression of the 1930s, Australia's involvement in WWII and finishes with a section titled "Australia since 1945" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 359). Throughout the Australian unit, major events which could be considered as the canon of Australia's modern history are detailed. The exclusion of Indigenous Australians throughout this unit is indicative of the little importance placed on Indigenous histories and events, policies and issues which directly impact on the lives of Indigenous Australians. For example, there is no information about the 1967 referendum, Wave Hill Station Strike or the Freedom bus ride. When content concerning Indigenous Australians is included, it is clearly placed on the periphery, as dot point summaries at the end of sections. This is epitomized through the following extract from a section titled "The first parliament", the second of three content areas of Indigenous Australians included in the textbook:

> the Franchise Act (1902), giving the right to vote to all people over twenty-one who were Australian-born, British or naturalized British subjects. Thus Australia was one of the earliest countries where women won the right to vote. *However, at this stage Aborigines were not allowed to vote. In fact, Aborigines were not even included in the population census.* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 282, emphasis added)

Similar to *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) in representing Indigenous Australians on the peripheral of history, the only visual representation of Indigenous Australians in *Junior secondary History for Queensland schools* (Crisswell & Deoki, 1982) is out of context to any written text. Here, Indigenous Australians are represented through one male dressed in traditional clothing of a loin cloth and headdress in a traditional dance pose in a street parade. The question and statement that act as the caption to the photo require students to respond with knowledge that they could not have gained from the textbook, nor been directed to by the textbook (see image at Source 7.59). By doing this, the authors are positioning Indigenous Australians as a token inclusion—as a curiosity or way to

demonstrate, even at a minor and insignificant level, that Indigenous Australians have been included.



Source 7.59. Colour photo of an unnamed Indigenous male extract from *Junior secondary History for Queensland schools* (Criswell & Deoki, 1982, p. 188).

7.11.3 Discourses of cultures as complex.

Source 7.60 is an extract from an introductory section in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a), that outlines the overall theme for year 5, *The past in Australia,* and details the units of work within this theme.

Note: Aboriginal peoples are the original inhabitants of Australia, having been here since ancient times. Terms such as 'exploration', 'explorers', 'settlements', 'settlers', 'discovery' and 'pioneers', as used in this sourcebook, refer to the non-Aboriginal peoples who undertook exploration and settlement of the Australian continent in modern times.

Source 7.60. Note on *"Aboriginal peoples"* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 3).

This explanatory note (Source 7.60), from the first unit: *Unit 1: Settlers of Australia* demonstrates sensitivity to Indigenous Australians; awareness of Indigenous Australians as the original inhabitants of the Australia continent; and an awareness of the contentious nature of terms and the multiple and various meanings they bring to people. It is as though the curriculum writers understood the complexities and competing interests associated with the

construction of Australian history yet do not go beyond this statement in presenting this as a topic of complexity to students. Given this, it could be viewed as an almost self-conscious disclaimer, as though the textbook writers would like to write more, but are aware of the political sensitivities around doing so. A sensitivity that when ignored six years later in 1994 resulted in significant negative publicity by those in the press when the term *invasion* was used.

7.11.4 Discourse of Indigenous Australians as problem-laden.

There is a distinct discourse of problems operating in *Junior secondary history for Queensland schools* (Criswell & Deoki, 1982) that position Indigenous Australians as the sole bearers of responsibility for "...problems of their own in modern Australia" (Criswell & Deoki, 1982, p. 187). Specific terms used to identify *Indigenous Australians* as having problems include: "their own", "Some find it difficult", "do not want to", "...more poverty, unemployment, sickness and crime among Aborigines" (Criswell & Deoki, 1982, p. 187). Linking with the discourse of policy and legislation already analysed in this chapter, the Government is seen as the liberator of these problems through the statement "the Government provides special facilities to look after Aboriginal people" (Criswell & Deoki, 1982, p. 187). Yet, the causes of the problems are firmly placed as the responsibility of Indigenous Australians, with little contextual information provided beyond a very vague conclusion of: "When white people first came to Australia, there were often misunderstandings between them and the Aborigines. Misunderstandings still cause problems today" (Criswell & Deoki, 1982, p. 187).

As the only representation of Indigenous Australians in the textbook, it is clear that Indigenous Australians are being portrayed as having significant racial deficits through, for example, content related to unemployment and crime. Whilst even a cursory glance at national statistics shows that Indigenous Australians are overrepresented in areas such as poverty and unemployment, rather than looking at systemic reasons for this, such as government policies or community attitudes, this textbook attributes all "problems" (Criswell & Deoki, 1982, p. 187) to Indigenous Australians. Other parts of society are not seen as contributing to the serious issues that are raised, nor is a combined effort seen as a way to address these serious issues. Furthermore, as the only representation of Indigenous Australians in *Junior secondary history for Queensland schools* (Criswell & Deoki, 1982)

students are exposed to no aspects of Indigenous Australian histories or cultures, or any positive representations.

7.12 Category 9: Representations in Social Studies Curriculum

7.12.1 Discourses of Indigenous Australians as monocultural.

Rather than positioning students as having no prior or background knowledge on the topic of Aboriginal life prior to British colonisation, the first activity for *Unit 7: Aboriginal life* in *Living history* (Gurry, 1987) requires students to identify what they know, or think to be correct in a way that engages students in active thinking and re-thinking processes. Interestingly, in this chapter Aboriginals are also overtly referred to as "Australians" (Gurry, 1987, p. 99) rather than only as *Aboriginals, Aborigines or Australian Aboriginals*. Rather than viewing Indigenous Australians as some type of exotic 'Other', this chapter clearly communicates to students that Indigenous Australians are the first inhabitants of Australia—long before British colonisation. For example, a question reads: "One way of starting this investigation will be for you to test yourself—how much do you know about Australians before the arrival of the Europeans?" (Gurry, 1987, p. 99).

All of the thirty questions that make up the first activity, position Indigenous Australians as the topic of focus, not mediated through an understanding of any other cultures, for example a dominant non-Indigenous culture; nor are Indigenous topics included as legitimized through any other cultural knowledges. Sample questions, which students answer true or false to with the accurate answers presented throughout the chapter, include:

> 3 Aborigines used to wander aimlessly all year—they were nomadic
> 11 Aborigines in all parts of Australia lived in the same way
> 23 Aboriginal ceremonies were for amusement only
> 26 Aborigines could only pass on their history and culture in story form (Gurry, 1987, p. 99)

Through these types of questions, Indigenous Australians are clearly positioned as having a variety of characteristics, qualities and features attributed to them, rather than through a monocultural view of traditional Indigenous Australian lifestyles.

7.12.2 Discourses of Indigenous Australians on the peripheral of curriculum. Like other topics in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 7*, overall there is only a very superficial treatment of Indigenous Australians. Overall, students in this year of primary school do not learn from a distinctly *history* curriculum, instead it is a very much a civics and citizenship curriculum approach, quite dull and fairly superficial. Indigenous Australians, both Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, are explicitly recognised as the first inhabitants of Australia, with an activity recommended by the sourcebook: "invite an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander member of the community to talk to the children about his/her feelings on being Australian" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 18). This is suggested in order to meet the curriculum objective: "By listening to a guest speaker, children realize that being Australian means different things to different people" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 18). Within this activity, there are three main points recommended for students to learn, as seen in Source 7.61.

Children could summarise main points arising out of discussion, through artwork and a display.

As part of this display, children might:
- write a poem or piece of prose from an Aboriginal perspective about life in three time periods (traditional, contact and conflict, contemporary).
- list main issues of concern to Aborigines today.
- exhibit Aboriginal artwork, writing, poetry and write about why it is important to the Aborigines that their culture and traditions of the past are preserved.

Source 7.61. Suggested activities covering Indigenous representations extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 7* (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 18).

Of interest, is the first of the points in Source 7.61, which divides Indigenous perspectives into three time periods, "traditional, contact and conflict, contemporary" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 18). A clear discourse is operating that distinctly places Indigenous experiences within three timeframes. By doing so, the curriculum clearly articulates to students that within set historical periods, only prescribed experiences take place. For example, in Australia's early colonial history, "contact and conflict" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 18) is seen as a glove in hand experience, with no space provided for other perspectives—resulting in a reinforced discourse of victimhood or subjugation potentially used to educate students about Indigenous Australians. Finally, in reinforcing Indigenous Australians on the peripheral of history, the information that follows on from *The*

first Australians and *I'm an Australian too,* where there is no Indigenous Australian recommended for study in the 'Notable Australians' activity (see Source 7.62).

Pupil activity sheet: Notable Australians

Name	Country of Origin	Contribution
Daisy Bates		
Edouard Borovansky		
Caroline Chisholm		
Freeman Cobb		
William Farrer		
Sir Howard Florey		
Reverend John Flynn		
Dawn Fraser		
Francis Greenway		
Herbert Hinkler		
Sister Elizabeth Kenny		
Sir Charles Kingsford Smith		
John and Ilsa Konrads		
Henry Lawson		
John Macarthur		
Olivia Newton-John		
Sir Mark Oliphant		
Dick Roughsey		
Baron Sir Ferdinand von Mueller		

Source 7.62: *"Pupil activity sheet: Notable Australians"* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 7* (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 21).

7.13 Categories emerging from analysis: British heritages

The following categories are identified for analysis:

- Category 1: Examples of British Heritages Omitted From the Curriculum
- Category 2: Australia's emotional allegiance to Great Britain
- Category 3: Australia's Dissociation from Great Britain
- Category 4: Foreign Policy Connections Between Australia and Great Britain
- Category 5: World War I (WWI)
- Category 6: Conscription

- Category 7: Reason for Colonisation
- Category 8: Federation

7.14 Category 1: Examples of British Heritages Omitted From the Curriculum

Following a preliminary analysis of school textbooks and other curriculum materials, it became apparent that British heritages did not form a core component of the curriculum during the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial. Therefore in this category, topics have been selected that either *previously* included British heritages in school curriculum (as seen through the first era analysed for this project) and where they are no longer represented in a significant way; or where a topic includes historical events relevant to Great Britain, but where this representation is not evident. Although there are no specific discourses attributed to this category, departing from the usual analysis of textbooks and curriculum documents in this project, it is nevertheless an important aspect of the core History curriculum to identify. In place of discourses, the following topics have been created in order to organise the information analysed from textbooks that fit within this category: recognition of special days and flag symbolism; distinct British heritages representations replaced with terminology of *European* grouping; representations of Australia's early colonisation period; representations of Australia's Federation, 1901; and representations of political leaders.

7.14.1 Recognition of special days and flag symbolism.

To begin this category, *Unit 5: Special days* in the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a) is an optional unit of work that suggests important days for students to learn. Amongst others is Australia Day, Anzac Day, National Aborigines' Week (analysed in the Indigenous representations section of this chapter) and Queensland Day. Across the special days noted, all knowledge of British heritages is mediated through the Australian and Queensland flags, inescapable due to their construction based on the flag of Great Britain, the Union Jack. With no other mention of British heritages, an almost a-historical representation of special events is presented. This is despite some of the special days originating as a result of British heritages, such as Australia Day and Anzac Day. All suggested student activities are related to relatively contemporary culture or flora and fauna, apart from the flags (see, for example, Source 7.63). Consideration is taken into account that this year 3 sourcebook contains activities aimed at school grades 1-3, so age and stage appropriate content needs to be taught. In addition, this is also aligned with how the curriculum has been positioned throughout the 20th century, with history in any form not

being taught until the upper primary grades, so this is not necessarily unusual for this age group regardless of content area.

6. Read children Australian stories and/or poems, and conduct a class discussion about what it means to be Australian. Consider various images such as 'football, meat pies, kangaroos and Holden cars', 'the bronzed Aussie', and 'Norm'.

Source 7.63. Sample student activities for *special days* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a, p. 117).

As stated above, within this unit, two designated *special days* in particular are notable for their absence of significant and sustained British heritages: Australia Day held on 26th January; and Anzac Day commemorated on 25th April. Queensland Day celebrated on 6th June contains some connection to British heritages in the sourcebook. This is surprising as this event celebrates the ceding of Queensland from then colony, New South Wales. Due to the minimal recognition of British heritage across these three *special days*, they are combined here for analysis. Beginning with the first date on the calendar, Australia Day contains representations of British heritages mitigated through information about the flag; not stated overtly. It is through an interpretation of the questions that would indicate that at some stage the teacher would need to provide information to students about the origins of the flag. See Source 7.64 for the wording of the activity.

Ideas

1. Display an Australian flag in the classroom and ask the children questions such as:
- How many colours are on the flag?
- What are the colours?
- What features are on the flag?
- How many stars are there?
- How does the large star differ from the others?
- How many stars form the Southern Cross?
- Where else can you see the Southern Cross?
- How do people salute the flag?
- What should we think about when we salute the flag?

Have children complete and colour the outline of the Australian flag. (See Pupil activity sheet: The flag.)

Source 7.64. *"Ideas"* for special days extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a, p. 116).

The Australian flag activity sheet (see Source 7.65), also recommended for use for Queensland Day activities later in the year, is represented visually through a student worksheet, with students required to draw in the missing parts of the flag, presumably assisted by the teacher.

Source 7.65. *"Pupil activity sheet: The flag"* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 3* (Department of Education, 1987a, p. 118).

7.14.2 Distinct British heritages representations replaced with terminology of *European* grouping.

Another example of the absence of British heritages from the primary grade Social Sciences curriculum is from the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) on the topic presented in "Activity 5: Moreton Bay settlement" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 29) within *Unit 1: Settlers of Australia*, where students "...could undertake further research to understand more fully the reasons for and development of Moreton Bay Settlement" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 29). Throughout this activity, the broad sweeping term of *European* rather than the more specific, *Great Britain* or *British* is used. The wording of the inquiry question is: "What information led to the discovery by *Europeans* of the Brisbane River?" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 30). The activity,

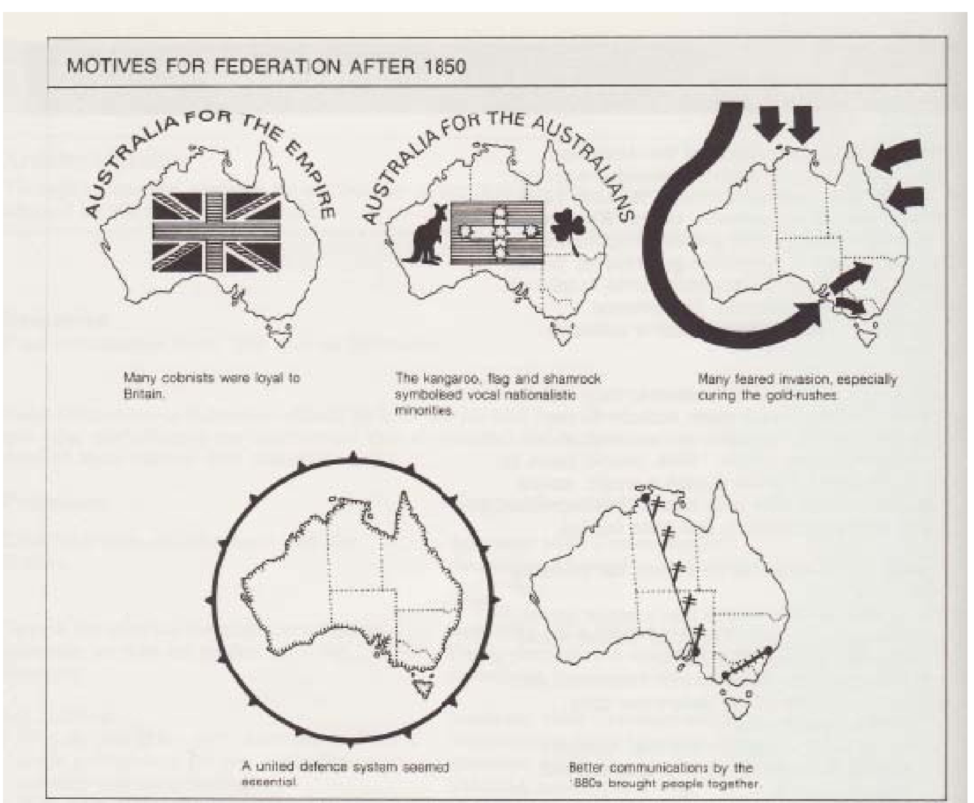
which details the setting up of a colony at Moreton Bay (in the present day Greater Brisbane region), was originally part of New South Wales. As a colony of Great Britain, this means that the Moreton Bay district was also part of Great Britain. So, for this new colony to be referred to as a vague *European* is to distort history, and just as importantly, not provide students with an accurate representation of this aspect of early modern Australian history. Furthermore, by using the term *European*, historical—factual—connections between Great Britain and Australia's national history is excluded.

This example and others like it analysed in this section, where British heritages are seen to be omitted, a type of history denial is occurring, whereby Great Britain is becoming anonymous. However, unlike when Indigenous Australians are treated as anonymous subjects in history (as analysed throughout the analysis sections of this dissertation), this is not done to subjugate Great Britain *in the same way*; but instead can be seen as a general move away from *recognising* Australia's British heritages. Ultimately, this denial of history is damaging to a nation's past. In this specific case, Europe is a vast continent with so many different nations, nationalities and cultures residing in it, often with competing interests to one another. Therefore, to use the term *European* to describe the First Fleet and subsequent colonisation of Australia is to ignore or brush over Australia's modern history in such a way that obfuscates the responsibility school curriculum has in ensuring that students receive an accurate portrayal of the facts of a nation's past.

Demonstrating the marginalisation of British heritages that commonly occurred in curriculum materials during this era is a major activity for *Unit 1: Settlers of Australia*. The colonisation of Australia is referred to as "The first European settlement" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 26). To use the term *first*, would seem to imply that there were subsequent European countries to colonise parts of Australia, when in fact this was not and is not the case, Australia being a rare example of a continent that has only ever had one colonial power. It does not seem historically logical to frame the British colonization of Australia through the term "European settlement" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 26), and it is as though Great Britain is mitigated through an incomplete discourse of *Europe* as a way to minimize acknowledgement of the involvement of Great Britain in Australia's early modern history.

7.14.4 Representations of Australia's Federation, 1901.

When British heritages are included, it is usually in connection with legal and government discourses, with any reference to the cultural influence Great Britain had on Australia (which is very significant, particularly in the early stages of modern Australian history) not mentioned. This is evident in the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a) through a section in *Unit 3: Decision-makers of Australia*, that teaches students about Australian Federation in 1901 and the construction of that Constitution. Here, Great Britain is given no privilege over the influence of the following other nations' systems of governance in forming our national framework: Canada, Switzerland and the United States. This stands in stark contrast to the discourses attributed to Australia's relationship with Great Britain as analysed in *Chapter 5: Before and Immediately After WWI*. There is one minor exception to this, demonstrated in Source 7.66, whereby one of the motives for Federation is attributed to Australians' loyalty to Great Britain. Although it must be made explicit, that rather than being called 'Australians', as occurred in textbooks in the early 20th century, a more detached term, "colonists" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 116) is used.



Source 7.66. *"Motives for Federation after 1950"* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 116)

An example of how British heritages have been significantly eliminated from the curriculum, and therefore from the national history students are exposed to are demonstrated in Source

7.67. Two examples in particular show this from a *Pupil information sheet*. The first is indicative of the way British heritages are significantly silenced during this era.

> As the white population of the Australian colonies grew, the settlers demanded a greater role in their own government. Between 1855 and 1860, all the colonies, except Western Australia (1890), were granted 'responsible government'. 'Responsible government' means that people vote for representatives to take on the task of government. The colonial legislatures had almost complete authority over their own affairs.

Source 7.67. Extract from a *Pupil information sheet* in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 115)

There is no information provided of who "granted 'responsible government'" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 115) or who the "settlers demanded a greater role in their own government" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 115) from, effectively silencing British heritages. The second example is out-of-context to other information the students have been exposed to throughout this unit, with the *Pupil information sheet* containing only one reference to Great Britain, in its concluding paragraph (see Source 7.68).

> In 1900, the British parliament passed an Act that allowed for federation without Western Australia. Not long after the Act was passed, however, the majority of people in Western Australia voted to join. On 9 May 1901, the first federal parliament was opened in Melbourne by the Duke of Cornwall who later became King George V.

Source 7.68. *Pupil information sheet* extract from *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 115).

These two extracts draw attention to a disjointed representation of Federation, notwithstanding the exclusion of British heritages. Not even the date of Federation (1 January, 1901) is included for students to learn—a basic historical fact that students need to be exposed to if the curriculum is to accurately cover Australian history.

Regarding the place of Australia's Federation included in the high school curriculum, in discussing the reasons for Federation, *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) leaves out any mention of Great Britain, which other textbooks from this era (for example Cowie, 1980) recognise as being an important factor in shaping arguments both for and against Federation. These inclusions are analysed in the appropriate section of this chapter. In the decision of

many textbooks and curriculum materials to leave out Australia's Federation, students are not exposed to the deep political and social connection Australia had with Great Britain.

7.14.5 Representations of political leaders.

J.T. Lang, arguably New South Wales' most prominent and controversial Premier, is well known not only for his sacking by the New South Wales Governor, but in particular his pro-Australian attitudes which significantly impacted his decision making as Premier. In the subsection, *Who was J.T. Lang?* within *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) no mention of Great Britain is provided, instead the terms "overseas loans" and "bondholders" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 326) are used. This is despite Lang being quite vocal in his pro-Australian (which has often been portrayed as being anti-British) sentiment towards what he perceived as unfair war loan repayments to Great Britain, with the first point of his proposed plan (that became known as the *Lang Plan*) stating:

> That the government of Australia *pay no further interest to British bondholders until Britain* had dealt with the Australian overseas debt in the same manner as she had settled her own foreign debts with America"...*If Britain agreed* to compound Australia's debts on the same basis, most of our external troubles would be over. (Lang, 1970, p. 100, emphasis added)

Lang's loyalty to the needs of Australia and the unemployed during the economic hardship that was brought on by The Great Depression is further explained in his autobiography as:

> We had been told at the Canberra Conference that the banks were on the verge of default. They could not find £18 million to save the unemployed. They could not carry existing overdrafts. But what had happened when the New South Wales Government had refused to find £700,000 to meet overseas interest payments owing to the Bank of Westminster? The banks had found the money immediately. Where did they get it? The Scullin Government took the money without a word of explanation. They paid it out without a word of explanation. They paid it out to London. Why hadn't they used it to help the unemployed? (Lang, 1970, p. 111)

The textbook mediates Lang's vehement debate about the non-repayment of British war loans through the more passive term "overseas". Why this is the case is unclear, as the textbook includes many examples of Britain being explicitly mentioned in its relationship to Australia,

unlike other textbooks which discuss *Europe*, where *Great Britain* would be more appropriate and historically accurate.

7.14.6 Summary remarks.

Throughout the textbooks analysed for this era, overall British heritages are included in a fairly ad-hoc and abbreviated way, included only where it seems absolutely vital, ignoring the role of Great Britain in both the early colonisation period of Australia beginning 1788 and the move for Australia to Federate in 1901. This is at the expense of accurate information about Australia's political and cultural heritage. During this time, being the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial, it is as though a very distinct *Australian-ness* is being established (which is reflective of dominant public discourses), independent of any overseas influence, *especially* Great Britain.

Unlike the discourses analysed in textbooks from earlier in the 20th century, there is no sense of pride, origin or homing thoughts in textbooks leading up to the 1988 Bicentennial. Instead, where examples of nationalism or patriotism are evident, it is to Australia. However even this is communicated in a very laid-back way, with for example, the focus in the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 7* being a look at "Aussie English" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 28) Australian colloquial language, Australian literature within an activity titled "Our heritage" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 27), and "The 'typical' Australian" (Department of Education, 1988b, p. 34).

Not all textbooks systematically omit British heritages from the core content. For example, in a break away from lack of representations of British heritages commonly found in textbooks during this era, *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) contains numerous examples of British heritages in the curriculum. The influence and impact of Britain on Australia, especially in the early colonial period is clearly communicated to students, and it is not washed over by a vague 'European' terminology. Rather than try to ignore the influence Great Britain has had in Australia, particularly in terms of political and social terms, this textbook includes these without a glorification of this relationship; instead critiquing significant moments in the Australian-Great Britain relationship such as the conscription debates from WWI and Australia's border protection and defence in WWII. The influence of Great Britain is not overstated, nor does it shy away from acknowledging its influence on Australia, particularly in the pre-WWII years.

7.15 Category 2: Australia's emotional allegiance to Great Britain

7.15.1 Discourses of connections and allegiance relegated to the past.

With the legislative changes that occurred in the interwar period regarding Great Britain's move away from its colonies (namely through the Westminster Statute), *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980) identifies the lingering emotional allegiance the wider Australian public, as represented through government policies and decision making, still felt towards Great Britain, post WWI and up to the outbreak of WWII. In particular, the textbook states: "sentiment and tradition also played a vital part in giving focus to Australian attitudes. A potent and deep-seated emotional loyalty to Britain *still* guided both the leaders and the people of Australia" (Cowie, 1980, p. 219, emphasis added). Through terms such as *potent* and *emotional loyalty*, the textbook explicitly articulates a strong connection to Great Britain. However, by using past tense, the textbook infers that this expressed loyalty to Great Britain is relegated to the past, not influencing contemporary government policies or the hearts and minds of Australians. Other terms in the section of the textbook that discuss Australia's participation in WWII, are those such as: "Empire"; "allegiance to the sovereign"; "loyal support"; and "loyalty to the crown" (Cowie, 1980, p. 219). This further demonstrates Australia's connection to Great Britain in the first half of the twentieth century. Through this and other examples in *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980) and other textbooks which also cover Australia's allegiance to Great Britain, such as *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986), the inclusion of British content is justified due to connections between Australia and Great Britain. British history as a standalone topic, unlike in earlier time periods, is rarely included, demonstrating the move away from allegiance to and dependence on Great Britain towards the growth of Australia as an independent nation.

The modern world emerges (Lawrence et al., 1986) includes the following statement, explaining the context of Australia's status as a dominion of the British Empire as:

> A dominion was a self-governing country responsible for law and order inside the country and for assisting in its own defence. Yet in 1901, as a dominion, Australia had no right to a totally independent foreign policy…[therefore]…If Britain declared war on another country, then Australia automatically became involved; if a peace settlement was arranged by Britain, then Australia also had to accept its conditions, whether it agreed with them or not. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 288)

However, although this statement was made, in discussing Australia's decision to support Great Britain in declaring war (WWI) the textbook then discusses this decision in terms of emotional allegiance only, as portrayed through an extract of an historical narrative accompanied by an enlistment song (see Source 7.69).

Australia supports Britain

Australians had watched the events in Europe with great concern. When Britain declared war, Australia was automatically at war. Prime Minister Joseph Cook said,

> Whatever happens, Australia is part of the Empire to the full. Remember that when the Empire is at war so is Australia at war. That being so, you will see how grave the situation is. So far as defences go here and now in Australia I want to make it quite clear that all our resources in Australia are in the Empire and for the Empire, and for the preservation and the security of the Empire.

At the same time the leader of the Labor opposition, Andrew Fisher, said,

> Turn your eyes to the European situation, and give the kindest feelings towards the mother country at this time. . . . Should the worst happen after everything has been done that honour will permit, Australians will stand beside our own to help and defend her to our last man and our last shilling.

When the Australian public first heard of Great Britain's declaration of war, there was overwhelming support. Many had worried that Australia would not have the opportunity to join in and were greatly relieved when it did. Involvement in the war allowed them to prove Australia's loyalty. Generally it was expected that the war would be glorious, exciting and "over by Christmas". At that time no one thought that the war would go on for four years and cause millions of deaths.

In those early years of excitement, people sang songs, waved flags, and generally celebrated Australia's entry to the war. Every political party, most of the newspapers and the churches pledged their support.

Song on enlisting

There has been a lot of argument going on, they say,
As to whether dear old England should have gone into the fray,
But right-thinking people all wanted her to fight,
For when there's shady business, Britannia puts it right.
Rally round the banner of your country,
Take the field with brother o'er the foam,
On land or sea, wherever you be,
Keep your eye on Germany.
But England home and beauty have no cause to fear,
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
No! No! No! No! No! Australia will be there,
Australia will be there.

Source 7.69. *"Australia supported Britain"* extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 292).

The song in Source 7.69 represents the allegiance Australia had towards Britain through key lines such as "For when there's shady business, Britannia puts it right...[and] But England home and beauty have no cause to fear, Should auld acquaintance by forgot, No! No! No! No! No! Australia will be there!" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 292). Key words such as *Britannia* and *England home* are used as *samples of the emotion of the time*, rather than used to communicate to students the sentiments they should, or do, experience as citizens in the 1980s. This is evident by a student exercise that positions the two questions in the *past tense* (see Source 7.70).

Exercises

1. How did Australians view England?
2. How does this poem present Australia's role in the war?

Source 7.70. *"Exercises"* extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al.,. 1986, p. 293)

7.15.2 Discourses of Menzies' loyalty and connection to Great Britain.

Robert Menzies is Australia's longest serving prime minister, achieving this milestone over two separate terms in office. During Menzies' second time as Australian prime minister, the distinct loyalty to Great Britain sentiment often attributed to Menzies is tempered in *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al.,1986). Although British heritages are represented in a significant way, it is not an over-misrepresentation. In fact, an argument could be lodged that Menzies' emotional attachment to Great Britain and the impact this had on Australia's socio-political contexts of the time are significantly moderated. For example, in Chapter 17 *Australia since 1945* in a section titled *Who was Robert Gordon Menzies* the following biographical notes regarding Menzies' allegiance to Great Britain is expressed as:

> He was always extremely loyal to Britain and the queen. On her tour of Australia in 1954 he said, "You may count on us; we are yours."
>
> In 1963 he was knighted by the queen and became Sir Robert Menzies. Two years later he succeeded Sir Winston Churchill as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in Britain, a great honour. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 365)

However, the allegiance that Menzies had to Great Britain is tempered through his policies that created strong connection with the United States in post-war Australia. This is articulated overtly by the textbook authors through the following section:

> Although Menzies was a great supporter of the queen and the Commonwealth, he realized that the United States was now the greatest power in the Pacific. Menzies and his minister for External Affairs, P.C. Spender, were fully aware of the developing "Cold War", a state of international tension brought about by the rivalry of the nuclear powers, the United States and Soviet Union. They believed it was *very important to align with America*. It was for this reason, as well as because of their

> fear of Japan, that the *Australian government sought a military pact with the United States late in 1949*. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 370, emphasis added)

Further examples demonstrating Menzies *not* basing decisions of Australia's strategic national importance around his personal loyalty to Great Britain is the insistence that Australian troops sent to contribute to battles in Europe as part of WWII would do so as *Australian* soldiers, not subsumed within a *British* force. The extract from a section discussing the Menzies government building of Australian defence capabilities reads:

> Menzies appointed Brigadier Thomas Blamey to be in charge of the new army. Blamey insisted that the Australian troops must keep their own identity and not be absorbed into the British forces. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 336)

However, despite this insistence, Australian troops did come under command of the British forces, with the following extract indicative of Australia's close military relationship with Great Britain during this period of the 20th century:

> The 6th division of the AIF had already been sent to the Middle East, where, as in World War I, the British commanding officers made the major military decisions for the Australians. When the 7th Division was also sent overseas the British decided to use these troops, together with others from Britain, India and New Zealand, to attack Italian positions in Egypt and Libya. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 338)

It is unclear why the textbook authors make such an effort to highlight aspects of Menzies' policies that were directed away from British control, as popular Australian folklore concentrates on Menzies' allegiance to Great Britain. Menzies is not held up as any special hero distinct from the other prime ministers profiled throughout the textbook. What it does point to is a commitment by the textbook authors to be as factual and straightforward as possible, selecting relevant facts to balance out any misconceptions students may have formed from popular representations of issues. Interestingly, other aspects of Menzies' loyalty to Great Britain, such as his government's decision to allow nuclear testing in Australia causing extreme ill health to servicemen who were used for trials (not privy to the full facts of the experimentation), and on the local Indigenous populations who were not properly informed of what was happening, that has (and continues to have) had an enormous impact on these people's health and wellbeing and on the safety of the land around the area is not mentioned anywhere in this textbook (the area is situated in the Australian outback of

South Australia and used as a Defence training ground). The reason for this gap is unknown, however due to its controversy, the textbook authors may not have felt comfortable including it, or may have considered it not an important episode in history *at the time of the textbook's publication*.

7.16 Category 3: Australia's Dissociation from Great Britain

7.16.1 Discourses of patriotic dissociation.

The earliest historical example of Australia's dissociation with Great Britain is in *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) where an extract originally by Henry Parkes, who supported Australian federation is included (see Source 7.71).

DOCUMENT STUDY 6:
'A united people'

[One of the strongest supporters of the union of the colonies (**federation**), Sir Henry Parkes, had this to say in 1890:]

> Why should not the name of an Australian be equal to that of a Briton? Why should not the name of an Australian sailor be equal to that of a British sailor? Why should not the name of an Australian citizen be equal to that of the citizen of the proudest country under the sun? All those grand objects would be promoted by a national organization. But there is something more. Make yourselves a united people, appear before the world as one, and the dream, of going 'home' would die away.

(1) What was Parkes's attitude to his country? Describe his feelings.
(2) What type of 'national organization' is Parkes referring to?
(3) What does Parkes see as the greatest benefit if the six colonies were to unite?

Source 7.71. *"Document study 6: A united people"* extract from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 214).

By including the primary source document of Henry Parkes' speech supporting Federation (see Source 7.71), the textbook authors are communicating to students that the dissociation of Australian from Great Britain had roots prior to the 1901 Federation (which would continue throughout the early parts of the 20th century, escalating in the post-WWII years). Whilst this is not articulated overtly, it becomes increasingly obvious through the selection of other historical narratives that are included further in this textbook, such as the involvement of

Australia in both WWI and WWII. The focus of the Parkes extract is concerned with the emotional ties Australians had to Great Britain during this time. For example, Parkes encourages Australians to start seeing Australia as home, rather than Great Britain, through the statement “make yourselves united people, appear before the world as one, *and the dream, of going ‘home’ would die away*” (Power et al., 1985, p. 214, emphasis added).

In *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al.,1986), the discourses of dissociation are seen as an important factor in shaping Australia’s political context and foreign policy decisions of the 20th century. There is significant content over a number of different topics and eras that discuss this category, emphasized in particular during times of international conflict—WWI and WWII.

7.16.2 Discourses of Australia’s growing independence from Great Britain and ‘coming of age’.

The first example for analysis within this discourse is the growing independence of Australia from Great Britain during the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles (the peace treaty that officially ended WWI). This is demonstrated in the senior high school Modern History curriculum, within the textbook *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980), as seen in Source 7.72. In particular, the first sentence demonstrates the intention of the author for students to develop an historical understanding of Australia’s developing independence in the early to mid 20th century: “The growing sense of Australia’s distinctiveness in world affairs was significantly advanced... [because]...she was granted separate-nation status at the 1919 Peace Conference...” (Cowie, 1980, p. 205), and attributing this to the efforts of then-prime minister, Billy Hughes.

III The Versailles Peace Conference

The growing sense of Australia's distinctiveness in world affairs was significantly advanced by the fact that, along with the other dominions, she was granted separate-nation status at the 1919 Peace Conference, signed the Versailles Treaty as a separate nation and gained full membership in the League of Nations. These developments were again largely the work of Hughes, who ignored the cabled advice of his own cabinet that he should be satisfied with representation within a British delegation. On his return to Australia he justified his actions on the grounds that:

> **Extract 64.** Britain has many interests to consider besides ours, and some of these interests do not coincide with ours. It was necessary therefore—and the same applies to other Dominions—that we should be represented, not as at first suggested, in a British panel, where we would take our place in rotation, but with separate representation like other belligerent nations.
>
> *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 89, p. 12169, 10 September 1919

Source 7.72. *The Versailles Peace Conference"* extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 205).

The involvement of Australia in constructing the peace agreement, *The Treaty of Versailles*, provides an opportunity for textbooks to highlight the role Australia played, and in particular prime minister Hughes' attempts to make Great Britain acknowledge Australia's status as an independent nation. *The modern world emerges*, in addition to the extract included at Source 7.72, describes this as "…Hughes fought strongly to be heard as a separate voice, as an independent delegate from an independent nation" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 306). Although this did not eventuate to the degree Hughes wanted it to, something which the textbook skips over in its attempt to highlight the growing independence from and dissociation of Australia with Great Britain, the textbook does allude to this by stating "thus, at the peace treaty discussions, Hughes sat on committees, acted as a delegate for the British Empire, and was entitled to negotiate the terms of and finally sign the peace treaty as the leader of an independent nation" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 306). Aligning *The Treaty of Versailles* with a type of discourse of 'coming of age' for Australia as a nation, Source 7.73 highlights the military involvement of Australia in WWI as more or less fast tracking the process of dissociating from Great Britain in areas of national and strategic importance, namely foreign policy.

Australia had been able to play an independent role in international affairs. There is no doubt that Hughes's stubborn nature was part of the reason Australia gained most of its objectives at Versailles. However, the peacemakers also listened to Hughes out of respect for the effort of Australian soldiers during the war. There is no doubt, also, that Australia's position within the powerful British Empire added weight to his voice.

The years from 1914 to 1918 had an enormous impact on the development of an Australian identity. Australian troops had earned a high reputation; Australia had kept to its own policies on conscription; Australia had insisted on being heard as a nation inside the Imperial War Cabinet and at the Versailles Conference.

Source 7.73. Treaty of Versailles extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 308).

Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs (Cowie, 1980) recognises the complexities of Australia's gradual move away from Great Britain, especially the general trend towards Australia's growing independence, but that the process was not in clearly defined progressive steps. This complexity is indicated through key terms and phrases such as "...revelled in their nation's separate status at Versailles..."; "...on its own Australian would be a small and powerless nation"; and "...part of the British Empire, it could share in the strength of a great power" (Cowie, 1980, p. 214). Building on the 'coming of age' discourses from the WWI section of the textbook, here the textbook explicitly articulates the overall trend in the post-war era of Australia continuing to dissociate from Great Britain in terms of reliance on the former colonial power for defence and foreign policy. And, at the same time recognising that although the general trend was towards increasing independence, there were still strategic reasons for Australia to maintain ties with Great Britain, as expressed, for example, in Source 7.74.

Acceptance of British protection reasonably involved a continuing obligation on the part of the dominions to contribute to the empire's defence needs, and despite the carnage of World War I, this was generally accepted in Australia. From his experiences in the Imperial War Cabinet and from the general trend of discussions at the 1921 Imperial Conference, Hughes felt confident that the principle of consultation between the mother country and the dominions was firmly established, and that any future commitment of forces would be preceded by joint policy making.

Source 7.74. Australia's increasing independence from Great Britain extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 214).

Regarding the aforementioned complexities, the textbook also includes a statement about Australian attitudes to Great Britain (see, Source 7.75).

Australian attitudes to the relationship with Britain in the interwar period were a confusing mixture. On the one hand sentimental and cultural links sustained an emotional loyalty. Although the 1926 Imperial Conference declared that the dominions were autonomous in external affairs (see Volume 1), and the 1931 Statute of Westminster terminated the control of the British parliament over any aspect of the dominions' affairs, the Australian government did not pass its own legislation to confirm the statute until 1942. Total independence was there for the taking, but Australia, mindful of her reliance on the mother country, did not complete the transaction. But reliance on Britain did not prevent criticism of British policy—perhaps it encouraged it. The failure of the League of Nations to protect China from Japan's aggression in Manchuria in 1931, together with Britain's general air of unconcern over the incident (it was rumoured that some British business interests preferred to have the region under Japanese rule), aroused intense anxiety in Australia. Britain was accused of failing to build up the Singapore defence base at the expected rate, and of being reluctant to evolve a co-ordinated defence system for the Empire as a whole. It was said that she was too much concerned with her economic woes and with the affairs of Europe, to give proper attention to Pacific problems.

Source 7.75. *"Australian attitudes to the relationship with Britain"* extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 214).

Illuminating the increasing dissociation Australia had with Great Britain, a sub section titled *The state of the defence forces* in *Chapter 16 Australia at war 1939 to 1945* in the textbook *The modern world emerges,* contrasts Australia's defence spending from the 1920s and early to mid 1930s to that of after 1937. The move away from Navy spending that was seen as important for Great Britain's defence is a very significant strategic decision made by Australia; and would not have been without pressure and concern from Great Britain. The extract reads:

The state of the defence forces

During the 1920s and 1930s Australia had seen its defence role as one of helping in the defence of the British Empire. Therefore, almost all defence money had been spent on the navy, for this was Australia's link with the empire. Between 1924 and 1929 two heavy cruisers, a seaplane, and two submarines were added to the fleet. Very little was spent on the army and the air force. By the early 1930s there were only a handful of officers and a few hundred soldiers in the army. The compulsory school cadet training meant that young Australian males were given basic training, and they, together with 30 000 part-time soldiers, formed the basis on which any future army would be organized.

In the early 1930s it became increasingly obvious that Japan intended building an empire in Asia, beginning with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. *There were growing doubts about Britain's ability to defend Australia if Japan were to attack, in spite of the fact that Britain had a large force stationed at Singapore for the purpose of defending British interests in the Pacific and protecting Australia.*

> The Australian government realized that defence spending would have to be increased. Thus, in 1937 a new three-year programme was begun. A total of 43 million pounds was to have been spent, but, as war appeared a possibility in Europe, another 18 million pounds was added to the re-armament programme to fund the building of new ships and aircraft. Despite these efforts, however, when war broke out in 1939 Australia was not properly prepared or armed for a full-scale war. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 336, emphasis added)

7.16.3 Discourses of dissociation from Great Britain through the Westminster Statute and WWII.

The modern world emerges (Lawrence et al., 1986) provides a summary of Australia's move from a close connection with Great Britain to that of independence. The extract (see Source 7.76) is representative of other textbooks published during this era that seeks to emphasize Australia's increasing dissociation from Great Britain.

> The establishment of the Australian army and navy, however, did not establish Australian control over its own defences in time of war. Part of the agreement reached with Great Britain stated that, although the Australian government would have full control of its ships in time of peace, in time of war control would be transferred to the British government.
>
> Thus, as World War I approached, it was clear that Australia's foreign policy was officially controlled by Great Britain. However, Australians could show an independence that often surprised and sometimes annoyed the British government, as had occurred in the immigration debates and over the annexation of southern New Guinea. This independence would slowly emerge as a major force in Australian foreign policy throughout the twentieth century.

Source 7.76. Australia's increasing dissociation from Great Britain extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 289)

What the extract in Source 7.76 does not establish at this point though is the reason for this change, and this highlights the importance of considering the textbook as a whole, rather than isolated excerpts. The reason for the change from Australia's reliance on Great Britain in areas of foreign policy and defence to Australia's independence as a nation is through the Statue of Westminster (see Source 7.77). This is a topic of utmost importance in terms of national identity, strategic decision making and history; but one usually ignored in textbooks (this textbook being a noted exception) that view Federation as the only time when all policies and systems were set in place to create Australia as an independent nation.

Australia in the empire

While Australia was content to leave foreign policy in the hands of Great Britain, other dominions of the empire were pressing for greater independence from Britain, especially in foreign affairs.

This issue arose at the annual conferences of prime ministers of the empire. In 1921, Great Britain agreed to have a foreign policy in which all the dominions would have joint control and joint responsibility. However, at times Britain made decisions about foreign policy without consulting the dominions, since it expected the dominions' support. This annoyed the dominions, which then pressed for greater control over their own foreign policy.

This was the central issue of the 1926 Imperial Conference of Prime Ministers, held in Ottowa, Canada. This conference drew up the Balfour Declaration, named after the committee's chairman, Lord Balfour. The Balfour Declaration stated that all the dominions of the empire should be considered equal to Britain in every way.

In 1931 the British parliament passed as law the policy of the Balfour Declaration. This law was known as the Statute of Westminster. However, the Statute of Westminster was law only in Britain. To make it law in a dominion, the parliament of that dominion also had to pass it. Canada did so immediately. In Australia, Scullin attempted to have the Statute of Westminster passed in parliament in 1931, but his government fell before this was achieved. The following Lyons government was not interested in passing what it considered an unnecessary law. They felt that rushing the bill through parliament was an insult to Britain. The statute was shelved for ten years, when a Labor government had it passed in parliament in 1941.

Source 7.77. *"Australia in the Empire"* extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 332)

Although not overtly articulated, *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986), does allude to the different perspectives held by Australians on whether Australia should pass legislation that ensured its independence, or whether it should remain as a dominion. Demonstrative of the conservatism of Australia-as-a-whole, perhaps owing to a lack of cultural confidence, in severing ties with Great Britain, it took ten years after the British parliament "…passed as law the policy of the Balfour Declaration…known as the Statue of Westminster" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 332) for the legislation to be presented to the Australian parliament, at which time it was passed. The different perspectives it alludes to incorporate those who wanted to separate from Great Britain as expressed by the following statements "…Scullin attempted to have the Statute of Westminster passed in parliament in 1931, but his government fell before this was achieved… [and]…a Labor government had it passed in parliament in 1941"; vis-à-vis with the following statement: "The following Lyons government was not interested in passing what it considered an unnecessary law. They felt that rushing the bill through parliament was an insult to Britain" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 332). This emotional connection between Great Britain and Australia exists in contemporary history too, with the failure of the 1999 Referendum to create an Australian Republic.

Task 41: Australian foreign policy in *Essentials of history: Using history skills* in Ian Gray's *Essentials of history* comprises an hypothesis statement for students to consider as they read the six sources accompanying the statement—which are a mixture of four primary sources and two secondary sources. Here, the topic of Australia's foreign policy is used as a way to highlight Australia's declining reliance on Great Britain and increased connections with the United States as a way to highlight the dissociation of Australia from Great Britain. The historical skill this task teaches students is the judgment of the reliability of sources in order to test an hypothesis statement (see Source 7.78).

Australian foreign policy

TASK 41 Statement

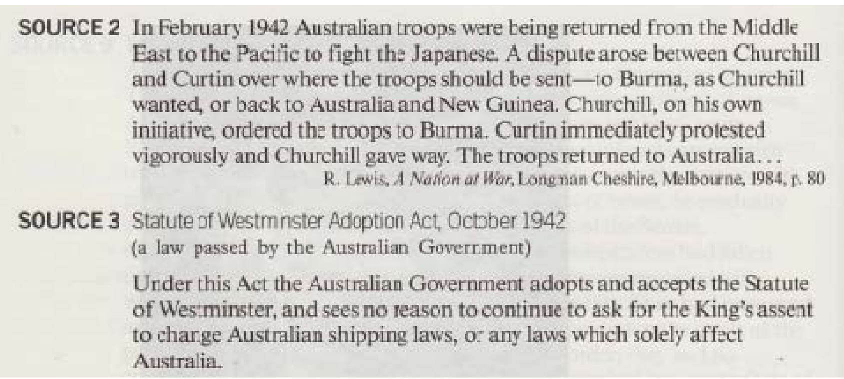
Australia has always relied on another larger power to defend us and make our defence decisions. In this sense we have never really become an independent nation.

1 Read the documents below and decide which would be most relevant if you were to test the accuracy of the statement above.
2 List the documents in order of reliability, then in groups compare lists, discuss them, and create a group list. Finally, compare and discuss group lists as a whole class.
3 Follow the same sequence as in the step above but list documents in order of representativeness.
4 In groups, discuss the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement. Have each group report its decision, with reasons, to the class. Notice that on the evidence available you cannot comment on the period since 1966. Perhaps one group could investigate this more recent history, where they will find, for example, that in 1984 the Australian government voted in favour of nuclear disarmament at the United Nations for the first time ever.

Those who are already familiar with footnoting procedure and essay writing could write a footnoted essay on this topic.

Source 7.78. *"Australian foreign policy"* student task extract from *Essentials of history* (Gray, 1988, p. 78).

The selected documents in particular highlight the dissociation of Australia from Great Britain, both from changes in British laws at the instigation of Great Britain through "Source 1 The Statue of Westminster" (Gray, 1988, p. 78) and from Australia's independent decision as seen in "Source 3 Statute of Westminster Adoption Act, October 1942" (Gray, 1988, p. 78). Difficulties in establishing this independence is highlighted through the selection of a secondary source (see Source 7.79).



SOURCE 2 In February 1942 Australian troops were being returned from the Middle East to the Pacific to fight the Japanese. A dispute arose between Churchill and Curtin over where the troops should be sent—to Burma, as Churchill wanted, or back to Australia and New Guinea. Churchill, on his own initiative, ordered the troops to Burma. Curtin immediately protested vigorously and Churchill gave way. The troops returned to Australia…

R. Lewis, *A Nation at War*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1984, p. 80

SOURCE 3 Statute of Westminster Adoption Act, October 1942
(a law passed by the Australian Government)

Under this Act the Australian Government adopts and accepts the Statute of Westminster, and sees no reason to continue to ask for the King's assent to change Australian shipping laws, or any laws which solely affect Australia.

Source 7.79. Sample secondary source use in *Essentials of history* (Gray, 1988, p. 78).

The dissociation of Australia to Great Britain is marked in *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980) by Prime Minister Curtin's statement that Australia would now rely on America for protection, not Great Britain, dismissing connections of loyalty (see Source 7.80).

When Britain 'stood alone' against the aggression of Nazi Germany in 1941, it was obvious that she could not allocate significant military force to the Asian and Pacific region.

The stark reality of this situation forced Australia to look for another 'protector'. On 27 December 1941, the new Labor Prime Minister of Australia, John Curtin (who had held the office since 7 October that year) dramatically highlighted the breakage of the emotional ties with Britain by announcing that '*Australia looks to America, free from any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom.*'

Curtin argued that the national effort should be directed to repulsing Japan, and since Britain could not contribute to this campaign, full-scale co-operation with the USA was the only sensible course.

Source 7.80. Extract from the introduction of *Chapter 14: Foreign policies 1941-60: 'Australia looks to America'* in *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 221).

Here, the textbook clearly articulates the period during WWII as a defining moment in a shift from reliance or loyalty to Great Britain to reliance on the United States for military defence. This dissociation is illustrated starkly as part of a discussion in *The modern world emerges* of the fall of Singapore to Japan on the Pacific frontier of WWII. The situation that occurred between Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Australian Prime Minister, John Curtin is regarded as a significant moment in Australia's defence; especially Australia's ability to make decisions that Great Britain did not agree with, in a way that had not happened previously. Contrast this, for example, with the case of New South Wales Premier Lang's attempt to cease interest payments on the loan repayments to Great Britain and the ensuing furor that resulted in Lang's sacking by the NSW governor. Represented as much through a struggle of personalities as allegiances between the nations, it is communicated to students from a perspective that supports Australia's actions. This is presented as an aspect of Australia's relationship with Great Britain not portrayed in a positive light—but includes it as a learning opportunity nevertheless. The seriousness of the situation is from Chapter 16 *Australia at war 1939 to 1945*, reading:

> Australia was shocked and frightened by the fall of Singapore. Curtin announced:
>
> > The fall of Singapore opens the Battle for Australia...Protection of this country is no longer that of a contribution to a world at war, but the resistance to an

enemy threatening to invade our shore...Hours previously devoted to sport and leisure must now be given to the duties of war.

When Singapore fell, Curtin demanded that all Australian troops in the Middle East be returned to Australia. The Australian soldiers were loaded onto ships to return home. However, Winston Churchill, the prime minister of Britain, ordered the admiral in charge of the ships to take the troops to Burma, which was now also under Japanese threat. Churchill wanted the Australian troops to keep Burma free from Japanese control, as supplies were being sent through Burma to Chinese soldiers fighting the Japanese. When Curtin found out, he telegrammed Churchill, demanding that that the troops be returned to Australia. After much heated discussion and several telegrams, in which Churchill even involved President Roosevelt to try to persuade the Australian government to change its mind, Churchill finally had to give in an allow the troops to continue sailing to Australia.

Over 46 000 soldiers returned to Australia. It was the first times that an Australian leader had firmly rejected Britain's pleas in a time of crisis. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 344)

Cowie (1980) also includes the disagreement between Curtin and Churchill, positioning it as one of the more dramatic events in Australia's relationship with Great Britain, in particular the breaking of ties with the former colonial ruler. In *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* this is exemplified in Curtin's refusal to grant Churchill's "request" (Cowie, 1980, p. 223) to defend Burma after the fall of Singapore (see Source 7.81).

Disagreement with Britain

Curtin meanwhile acted to bring Australian troops back from the Middle East for the defence of the homeland. In February 1942 however, the Australian government received a request from Churchill that the Seventh Australian division, at that time crossing the Indian Ocean, be diverted to Burma. Curtin adamantly refused to comply. In the Australian view, the Seventh Division, lacking air support, would have been sacrificed in a hopeless task in Burma, just as the forces at Singapore had been. Curtin stressed in a cable to Churchill that such a disaster would have the gravest consequences on the morale of the Australian people. The incident made it clear that Curtin was prepared to disregard British leadership in the conduct of the war, if he thought the interests of Australia were at risk.

Source 7.81. *"Disagreement with Britain"* extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 223).

7.16.4 Discourses of dissociation post WWI.

The continuing dissociation of Australia from Great Britain is recognized in *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980) as continuing post WWII, with the textbook explicitly articulating the reasons for this diminishing of ties (see Source 7.82).

IV Relations With Britain and the Commonwealth
In the decades after World War II, Australia's dependence on Britain diminished steadily. This is not surprising when it is recognised that the two major practical connections—trade and defence—both declined in importance. Australia's trade relations, once overwhelmingly enmeshed with the economy of Britain as both a market and a source of imports, were diversified. Japan displaced Britain as Australia's best customer in 1965, and Communist China became her best market for wheat even before legal 'recognition' was formalised. Britain steadily relinquished any pretence of being able to provide a defence umbrella for Australia, and after 1970 applied a policy of winding down her military commitments 'east of Suez'.

Source 7.82. *"Relations With Britain and the Commonwealth"* extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 227).

It is also clearly articulated that Great Britain did not attempt to prevent dissociation from happening, and although the majority of content focuses on Australia, insinuating that the nation led the way in dissociating from Great Britain—perhaps as an attempt to garner national pride in the students' reading the textbook—the active participation of Great Britain in moving away from these ties cannot be ignored. In particular, Cowie presents the emotional connection to Great Britain as separate to the military and trade relationship and the extract in Source 7.83 highlights the strength of Australians' feelings towards the monarch.

Emotionally, however, the links with Britain remained strong in the 1950s. In her visit to Australia in 1954, Queen Elizabeth II was accorded a fervent welcome, and despite disparaging remarks by Australians about 'whingeing Pommies', the Australian public obviously continued to prefer British immigrants to those from other countries.

Source 7.83. Australians' emotional connection to the British monarch extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 228).

7.17 Category 4: Foreign Policy Connections Between Australia and Great Britain

7.17.1 Discourses of allegiance with Great Britain.

Communicating to students the depth of Australia's allegiance to Great Britain in the years between Australian Federation in 1901 and prior to the outbreak of WWI, Cowie draws focus to Australia's reliance on Great Britain in matters of foreign representation, writing "...in major matters of foreign relations, Australia continued to accept the leadership of Britain. She maintained no foreign embassies, and formed no alliances of her own" (Cowie, 1980, p. 200). Although in 1909 the Australian parliament passed the Defence Act, the strong connection Australia had with Great Britain militaristically is made evident to students through the

following statement: “Political leaders of all parties had agreed, however, to the British condition that in time of war the Commonwealth government would place the ships of the RAN [Royal Australian Navy] under the command of the Royal Navy” (Cowie, 1980, p. 200). However even with the discourse of allegiance demonstrated through military ties, topics demonstrating Australia’s emerging independence as a nation and dissociation from Great Britain are included, even in instances when Great Britain did not agree with the course of action taken by Australia (see, for example, Source 7.84).

> The early federal governments showed they were capable of acting independently from Britain when they adopted a protectionist trade policy. British trading interests were offended by the new tax on their imports into Australia, but were partly mollified by the 'imperial preference' clauses which granted their goods a five per cent reduction in comparison with those from other countries.

Source 7.84. Example of Australia’s dissociation from Great Britain extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 200).

The contrast of topics regarding Australia’s relationship with Great Britain in the early years of federation seems to be included as a way to demonstrate Australia’s growth as an independent nation, justified for inclusion as a way to show that Australia was consciously and strategically moving away from Great Britain.

7.17.2 Discourse of allegiance to Great Britain as a dominion

In a rare example for textbooks published during this era, *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) explains Australia’s dominion status as a nation post-federation, linking foreign policy decisions made regarding this status. Whereas, commonly textbooks do not explain reasons for Australia following Great Britain into conflicts such as WWI other than through an emotional allegiance, *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) explains to students the political-legal reasons for Australian joining Great Britain in declaring war (see, for example, Source 7.85).

After federation, the Australian government had to develop a foreign policy of its own. Federation had made Australia a dominion in the British Empire. A dominion was a self-governing country responsible for law and order inside the country and for assisting in its own defence. Yet in 1901, as a dominion, Australia had no right to a totally independent foreign policy. Australia could not legally:

- maintain independent relations with any foreign country
- declare war or make peace
- participate in any important international conferences.

If Britain declared war on another country, then Australia automatically became involved; if a peace settlement was arranged by Britain, then Australia also had to accept its conditions, whether it agreed with them or not. Therefore the most important influence on Australian foreign policy during the first forty years of Australia's history was that of Britain. Generally Australians were willing to accept British control over foreign affairs. After all, 98 per cent of Australia's population came from Britain or part of the British Empire. Britain was often referred to as the "mother country" or the "old country" or "home". Also Britain provided for Australia's defence. The British Royal Navy, the most powerful in the world, protected the entire British Empire, including Australia. However, Australia soon realized that it would have to accept a share of responsibility for its own defence. Joseph Cook, later to become prime minister of Australia, said:

> We must remember first of all that Australia is part of the Empire, we must recognize both our Imperial and local responsibilities. The Empire floats upon its fleet. A strong fleet means a strong Empire, and therefore it is our duty to add to the Empire. Our first object is the protection of our floating trade and the defence of our shores from hostile invasion or attack. But we have also to share in the defence of the Empire at large, and thus to relieve Great Britain of the burden of defence.

Source 7.85. Political-legal reasons for Australia joining WWI extract from *Chapter 13: The nation is born* reads: (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 288)

Source 7.85 also emphasizes the emotional connection and sentiment expressed towards Britain and the British Empire, providing an explanation for it, rather than seeing it as an unjustified or irrational feeling: "after all, 98 per cent of Australia's population came from Britain or part of the British Empire. Britain was often referred to as the "mother country" or the "old country" or "home"." (Lawrence et al, 1986, p. 288). By referring to both political-legal and emotional reasons for Australia's connection to Britain, it is evident that the authors are trying to put forth a *balanced* or *measured* history narrative; and although it presents all information as a factual truth with no space for knowledge fluidity, at least more than one perspective is included that attributes Australia's allegiance to Great Britain.

7.18 Category 5: World War I (WWI)

7.18.1 Discourses of blame and defeat.

The discourse of blame towards actions taken by Great Britain towards use of Australian troops in Gallipoli is strong in *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986). The following terms are examples of those used to describe failings of actions by British commanders and government: "disaster"; "error"; "underestimated…size and quality of the Turkish forces"; "neither side gained ground"; "hills covered with dead, and the stench of the decaying bodies became unbearable"; "not let them retreat" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 295);

"doomed to failure"; "finally decided to withdraw"; and "disaster" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 296). Contrasted within the same sections of narrative are the following terms used to describe the actions of the Australian soldiers "the Anzacs have fought heroically, and proved themselves"; and an extract from a telegram sent by King George V to the Australian prime minister "splendid conduct and bravery displayed by the Australian troops" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 295). The actions by Australian troops are included as examples of heroism, whereas the perspective of Great Britain is one of highlighting the actions taken by the British commanders and government as being incompetent, with clear *discourses of blame* attributed to Britain's decision making throughout the Gallipoli campaign. Both perspectives are articulated overtly in the narratives, as seen in Source 7.86.

The landing at Gallipoli was a disaster from the outset for two reasons:

- A British navigation error had resulted in the Anzacs landing about 2 kilometres north of the expected spot. Here they were faced not by a gentle slope but by a steep cliff almost 100 metres high.
- The British had underestimated the size and quality of the Turkish forces on the peninsula. Over 42 000 Turks occupied the ridges, trenches and hills of Gallipoli, all highly trained, well-equipped and determined.

…

In the following days more and more troops were put ashore. The British ships lying off-shore shelled the Turkish positions, but neither side gained ground. The hills were covered with dead, and the stench of decaying bodies became unbearable. It was clear to the Australians and the British that the Anzacs' position was impossible, but the British High Command would not let them retreat.

For eight months the soldiers stayed in their trenches, plagued by flies and rats and riddled with disease.

…

As time went on, it became clear that the campaign was doomed to failure. On 7 December, the British government finally decided to withdraw the 134 000 Allied troops that were still in Gallipoli. The last of

…

The Gallipoli campaign had been a disaster. Yet the Anzacs had fought heroically, and proved themselves. King George V telegraphed Prime Minister Fisher: "I heartily congratulate you upon the splendid conduct and bravery displayed by the Australian troops . . . who have proved themselves worthy sons of the Empire."

Source 7.86. *"The landing at Gallipoli"* extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, pp. 295, 296).

The extracts in Source 7.86 are largely lacking emotion, and represent a detachment to the specific nature of trench warfare. This is contrasted with a case study of *The battle at the Nek*

and represents a very emotional discourse of blame attributed to Britain for the military failures of the Gallipoli campaign. Highlighted through the example of this battle (one that is well known by many Australians due to its immortalization in Peter Weir's feature film *Gallipoli*), the case study in the textbook is included as Source 7.87.

The battle at the Nek

At four on the afternoon of 6 August the artillery began a bombardment that intensified early on the seventh, but at 4.23 a.m., seven minutes before time, it ceased. The light horsemen stood still in the silence. In the enemy trenches, Turkish soldiers cautiously emerged from shelter, lined their front two deep, fired short bursts to clear their machine guns, levelled their rifles and waited. At four-thirty precisely the first line of the Eighth Light Horse leapt from their trenches. As their helmets appeared above the parapet, an awful fire broke upon them. Many were shot, but a line started forward. It crumpled and vanished within five metres. One or two men on the flanks dashed to the enemy's parapet before being killed; the rest lay still in the open.

The second line saw the fate of their friends. Beside them lay dead and wounded of the first line, hit before they cleared the trench. But they waited two minutes as ordered, then sprang forward. They were shot down. The Tenth Light Horse filed into the vacant places in the trench. They could hardly have doubted their fate. They knew they would die, and they determined to die bravely, by running swiftly at the enemy. "Boys, you have ten minutes to live," their commanding officer told them, "and I am going to lead you." Men shook hands with their mates, took position and, when the order came, charged into the open. The bullets caught them as before, and tumbled them into the dust beside their comrades. Moves were made to halt the fourth line, but too late, and these men, too, climbed out to be killed.

Two hundred and thirty-four dead light horsemen lay in an area little larger than a tennis court. And as they died, the English troops at Suvla, plainly visible from the Nek, were making tea.

Source 7.87. "*The battle at the Nek*" extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 296)

In particular it is the last paragraph (see Source 7.87) that reinforces the discourse of blame, with the statement in the last sentence "and as they died, the English troops at Suvla, plainly visible from the Nek, were making tea" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 296). This highlights a common belief that many Australians hold towards the part of the British at Gallipoli—that the Australian soldiers were used as 'cannon fodder' with the British officers in command not having a clear perspective on what was occurring. This extract reinforces this view to school students.

Overall, *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) engages students with a narrative that explains some of the realities behind the myths of Australia's participation at Gallipoli.

So strong are the stories of the Gallipoli campaign in Australian folklore that high school students are often surprised and at first disbelieving when told that Australia did not win the front at Gallipoli—but that the Turkish army defending their country did—and that Australian troops retreated after months of battle defeats and significant loss of life. Like most textbooks from this and other eras, the focus of Australia's involvement in WWI is on Gallipoli, rather than the battles of France which as a prolonged campaign saw many more Australian soldiers die and sustain horrific injuries; yet Gallipoli remains as the most high-profile front of the war. The connections to Great Britain are significant and important, especially considering that this was the first international conflict Australia had participated in since unifying as a nation in 1901.

7.18.2 Discourses of military allegiance.

Phrases that indicate Australia's allegiance to Great Britain in the first global conflict since Federation include: "Once Britain was at war, Australia was automatically involved..."; "...no indication that Australians objected to this state of affairs"; and "widespread enthusiasm demonstrated that the decision of the mother country was 'popular in Australia'" (Cowie, 1980, p. 201). The selection of words such as *automatically* and *mother country* are used to convey to students the depth of allegiance to Great Britain, particularly the phrase *mother country*. However, unlike discourses present in textbooks in the first quarter of the 20th century, *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* does not propose that Australians still feel a connection to Great Britain as the *mother country*, and instead positions this allegiance to a distance past, evident through the use of past tense to describe the allegiance (see Source 7.88).

II Involvement in World War I

The manner of Australia's entry into World War I convincingly demonstrated that she did not at that stage exercise a separate foreign policy initiative. Once Britain was at war, Australia was automatically involved without having made a separate declaration of war. There was no indication that Australians objected to this state of affairs. Widespread enthusiasm demonstrated that the decision of the mother country was 'popular in Australia' (see Extract 7[illegible] Volume I); volunteers flooded the recruiting offices to offer their services, and Prime Minister Fisher promised that Australia would support Britain 'to our last man and our last shilling'.

Source 7.88. *"Involvement in World War I"* extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 201).

Discourses of allegiance are also included in *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985). In particular, a focus on Fisher's speech communicates this allegiance (see Source 7.89).

Australia's involvement in World War I

Australia was a member nation of the British Empire, and therefore Australians expected to take part in British wars. Early this century, Australians were eager to fight for Britain. The Prime Minister of Australia at the outbreak of World War I in 1914 was Andrew Fisher: he said: 'Australians will stand beside our own to help and defend [Britain] to the last man and the last shilling.' Britain, France and Russia were at war with Germany and Austria.

In 1914, Australia's population was only 4 500 000, but more than 400000 men volunteered to go to war!

A major war had not occurred in Europe since 1815, and so no one really remembered what a major war was like. Most young men had an unrealistic view of what World War I would be like. They thought that most of the war would be fought on horse-back, and that it would be quickly over.

Source 7.89. *"Australia's involvement in World War I* extract from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 222).

7.18.3 Discourses of 'coming of age'.

By identifying WWI as a pivotal point in Australian history, discourses of coming of age are evident through the topic of Australia's involvement at Gallipoli. This discourse is mediated through criticism of Britain's military decisions that impacted Australia's involvement. In particular, *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* identifies this as "...Australia began to acquire the self-concept of a separate nation...the Anzac legend, born from stoical conduct during the bungled operation at Gallipoli, helped to foster the sense of national pride" (Cowie, 1980, p. 201). *The modern world emerges* also discusses Australia's participation through a 'coming of age' discourse, describing Gallipoli as a "baptism of fire" (Lawrence, et al., 1986, p. 305). An extract from a section titled *The impact of the war* reads:

> Australia, with its population of only 5 million, had sent 300 000 of its 416 000 enlisted men to fight in places thousands of kilometers away from home. Of these, 60, 000 were killed and 150 000 were wounded. This casualty rate was the highest of any Allied force in the war. The Australian troops had earned for themselves a heroic reputation and for the new nation had gained world-wide respect and admiration. It had been a "baptism of fire". (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 305)

Moving beyond a simplistic discourse of Australia 'coming of age' in WWI, *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* links Australia's involvement in WWI to a more complex discourse of dissociation with Great Britain through a very emotive evaluation of British battle field decision making. First, the textbook discusses Australia's "relations with the Mother Country" (Cowie, 1980, p. 204) as contributing to Australia's growing national independence through the war time prime minister Hughes' ability to convince the British government to allow Australia representation in war decision making (see Source 7.90).

During the war Hughes won for Australia the right to a voice in Imperial war policy at meetings of the British War Cabinet and at Imperial War Conferences. This established the principle that 'consultation' between the mother country and the dominions would occur before major decisions on Imperial foreign policy were made, or before Imperial troops were assigned to combat.

Source 7.90. Australian representation in decision making during WWI extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, p. 204).

The textbook then applies an increased level of emotive language used to communicate reasons for the increasing dissociation of Australia from Great Britain (see Source 7.91).

The dreadful carnage of the war destroyed much of the sense of patriotic enthusiasm with which Australians had previously supported the British cause. Australia's contribution to the military policies of the Empire involved the loss of 59 000 men killed and 212 000 wounded. As these lives were squandered in the muddy battle fields of France and Belgium by the unimaginative and suicidal tactics of British generals, the Australian people began to doubt the wisdom of following the mother country without question.

Source 7.91. Emotive language to communicate Australia's increasing dissociation from Great Britain extract from *Crossroads: Asia and Australia in world affairs* (Cowie, 1980, pp. 204-205).

Using emotive terms such as "dreadful carnage"; "destroyed...the sense of patriotic *enthusiasm* with which Australians had *previously* supported the British cause"; "...lives squandered in the muddy battle fields"; and "unimaginative and suicidal tactics of British generals" (Cowie, 1980, p. 204), this textbook overtly articulates to students a perspective of blame to the British for wrong doing and this then acts as a justification for Australia dissociating from Great Britain. The use of such emotive language is unusual both for this author, Cowie and for the genre style of textbooks more broadly which are usually more staid in their language use. Although Cowie does not overtly articulate his perspective, through the choice of words used, it is clear that all blame for Australia's losses is attributed to Great Britain, in particular through the emphasis of failure of battles through the term "suicidal" (Cowie, 1980, p. 204).

7.19 Category 6: Conscription

7.19.1 Discourses of rejecting British requests and dissociation through conscription referenda.

The modern world emerges (Lawrence et al., 1986) includes an overview of the two referenda held during WWI to decide whether Australia should compulsorily conscript men into the armed forces for overseas service. The two referenda, the first held in 1916 and the second in 1917 were both initiated by Prime Minister Billy Hughes as a result of pressure from Great Britain to provide more troops for the battles in Europe (see Source 7.92 for an overview of conscription issues).

When the war had started Australian volunteers had come forward in their thousands, but when the posting of the dead at Gallipoli went up all around the country, the attitudes quickly changed. People who had lost brothers, sons, fathers, husbands, fiancés and friends realized that war was not a game but a horrific and tragic experience. The number of volunteers dropped sharply. Hughes wanted to increase the number of Australian troops by introducing conscription for overseas service. Until then, Australian conscripts, men called up to serve in the armed forces, were reserved for home service. Hughes explained his intentions when he said:

> This is a war to the death, a fight to the finish. The future of Australia and the hopes of Australian democracy hang upon victory. We are called upon to do our share. . . . For September of this year 32 500 are required, and for each subsequent month 16 500. . . . This is the task before us, and from it we ought not, must not, dare not shrink.

Source 7.92. Overview of the conscription issues extract from *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 302).

Connections to British heritages, as represented in this textbook, relate primarily to the two sides of the conscription debate—those who opposed and those who supported conscription. In particular, the point made by the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix highlights the complexities of Australia's relationship with Great Britain, with the textbook stating: "The ruthless suppression by the British of the Irish during the rebellion in Ireland in 1916 was reason enough not to support the war effort" (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 300). No further information of this suppression or rebellion is mentioned, however it does point to a multitude of perspectives related to Australia's connection—emotional and political—to Great Britain. *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) also briefly covers the conscription issue. Pressure from Great Britain requesting extra troops is not mentioned and barely alluded to in an extract that discusses the two conscription referenda held during WWI. Although the extract states the conscription debates were "...one of the most bitter arguments in Australia's history" (Power et al., 1985, p. 224) little information is provided of how these debates played out and little connection to British heritages apart from one dot point, stating "Irish

Nationalists, opposed to the British, who still ruled all of Ireland" (Power et al., 1985, p. 224). Overall, a disjointed narrative of the conscription debates, in relation to British heritages is demonstrated in the above two junior secondary Modern History textbooks.

7.20 Category 7: Reason for Colonisation

7.20.1 Discourses of 'settlement' and 'invasion'.

In an overview explaining to students the "motives for settlement", in *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5*, a number of reasons that led to Britain "settling Australia" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 23) are provided. These are: the refusal of the United States to take any more convicts; Britain's interest in setting up a trading port; the need for timber and flax for shipbuilding; and as a penal colony. By using the term "settling Australia" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 23) to describe the British government's decision to send the First Fleet to Australia, a very neutral tone is attempting to be set that ignores the impact this decision had on Indigenous Australians, despite there being a the bridging topic for this unit that centres on Indigenous Australians. Whereas in the textbooks from the 1960s and 1970s, the occasional use of the term *invasion* was used to describe the action of the British arriving in Australia, for primary students in the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial, *settlement* remained the preferred term. The use of this term is mediated through providing students with information on why there was a "need" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 23) for Great Britain to colonise the continent. High school students during this era are exposed to the term "invasion" on occasion, for example, in *Essentials of history* the following statement is made: "This invasion of their land attempt to remove their culture was resisted by the Aboriginal people, and there were continual clashes with whites" (Gray, 1988, p. 57). *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985) identifies additional reasons for the decision to send the First Fleet (see Source 7.93).

The new penal colony
Sir Joseph Banks recommended that convicts from the hulks should be sent to Botany Bay. After considering such places as the West Indies and the south-west coast of Africa, the British Government agreed with him, and decided on Botany Bay for the site of a **penal colony** (colony set up mainly as a prison).

The British Government thought that the new colony might provide other advantages, such as:

- Growing flax to make canvas for sails
- Providing ports for use by English ships in the South Pacific Ocean
- Providing timber for the masts of ships.

Source 7.93. *"The new penal colony"* extract from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 182).

In a section titled *Topic: The First Fleet* in *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986); only one reason is outlined for Britain's presence in Australia. This is to establish Australia as a penal colony—a place to transport British citizens due to the overcrowding of British jails. The two other reasons often cited (with primary source documents to support claims), for Botany Bay to act as a trading port and Australia as an area to build sails from flax are not mentioned. Ignoring these important reasons for the voyage of the First Fleet fails to communicate to students the complexity of the considerations that were taken in making the decision to set up Australia as a colony of Great Britain. In addition, it fails to provide an accurate representation of the facts of the colonisation, instead reinforcing common Australian folklore that sees the transportation of convicts as the sole reason for colonisation.

7.21 Category 8: Federation

7.21.1 Discourses of multiple perspectives.

Discussing Australia's Federation in 1901, Great Britain is presented as the leading factor used in debating both for and against the type of Federation Australia would finally form. The extract reads:

The political system

Before 1901, there were two distinct groups pushing for a united Australia:

- those who believed in maintaining close ties with Britain and keeping the British monarch as the head of a united Australia
- those who believed in cutting ties with Britain, having no monarch, and setting up the new nation as a republic. The *Bulletin* magazine strongly supported this group. (Lawrence et al., 1986, p. 276)

This demonstrates the importance Great Britain had in Australia's political landscape, with various debates engaged with during this time that sought to either uphold that attachment or to pull away from it. By giving equal weighting to both sides of the debate, the textbook authors communicate to students that each perspective is equally legitimate as an important consideration for Federation.

In the analysis of textbooks throughout this project, it has been demonstrated that on many occasions, historical events are represented through one point of view only, that being the view that was ultimately victorious. However, *The Modern World Emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986) demonstrates, albeit briefly, that opposing views were held by groups that ultimately wanted Federation to occur. Interestingly, those who did not want Australia to Federate, but instead to remain as separate colonies—of which there was a large group, as indicated by the Referenda held in the lead up to Federation—are not included in this textbook. Perhaps this is due to the era the textbook was published in. Leading up to 1988 Bicentennial a discourse of celebration of the nation's past, especially one as significant and momentous as Federation was thought to be appropriate. On the other hand, it could also be that the textbook authors had limited space in which to construct the nation's history, therefore selection had to take place of what to include and exclude. By providing two perspectives on Federation, at least there is a demonstration of the competing views and interests of the people of the time.

7.22 Resistant text

As there are no significant intersections of British heritages and Indigenous representations in the core History or Social Sciences curriculum, *Babakiueria* (pronounced Barbecue Area), written by Geoffrey Atherden, a short firm produced in 1986, acts as both a resistant text and an example of the intersection between British heritages and Indigenous representations for this era. While there are examples of resistant or counter readings of the exemplar topics throughout parts of the selected textbooks, and have been included in the above analysis; *Babakiueria* (Pringle and Featherstone, 1986), produced through the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) provides a satirical insight into relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians (that is in this case, Anglo Australians). This stands out as an example of a resistant reading to common and dominant discourses of Indigenous representations, with the subject matter a clear intersection of British heritages and Indigenous representations. Through its extensive use of satire, the film presents as a resistant text for

the 1980s general celebratory discourse, providing a counter reading to the dominant discourses of Indigenous representations in Australian history and culture. Even though other sources, such as for example, David Stewart's *Case studies in Australian history* (1986), incorporate the perspectives of Indigenous Australians, *Babakiueria*, stands out for its consistent and aggressive perspective, at the expense of the dominant non-Indigenous discourses operating at the time.

Babakiueria at the time of its release was described as:

> A critical and popular success, this 'reverse angle' probe into racial inequality in Australia has developed a considerable cult following. It approaches its subject with humour but is no less effective for that, perhaps more so.
>
> The white Australian lifestyle is seen through (patronising) Aboriginal eyes within a pseudo-documentary format, written by Geoffrey Atherden of *Mother and Son* fame.
>
> Aboriginal actors Michelle Torres and Bob Maza (*Heartland*) are supported by a number of familiar faces, including Cecily Polson (*E Street*) and Tony Barry, who scored major ABC TV hits in *I Can Jump Puddles* and his Penguin award-winning *Scales of Justice*. (Pringle and Featherstone, 1986, n.p.)

There are two significant reasons for *Babakiueria* to be named as a resistant text. First, the genre-style is political satire, an approach uncommon in school texts both then and now. Although, it is important to point out that *Babakiueria* was not produced specifically for schools, it was used to quite a large extent in schools, particularly for high school students in Social Studies and History classes. Second, the content is significantly uncommon for this era, with topics such as the so-named 'Stolen Generations' broached. Although this, and other terms, now forms the common lexicon of Indigenous discourses, in the mid to late 1980s, this term would be very alien to the majority school students (as well as the general public). It was not until the *Bringing them home: Report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families* government commissioned report released in 1997 that 'Stolen Generations' as a term and concept

entered mainstream public consciousness. Given the fringe content that is included in *Babakiueria*, this film would need considerable expertise displayed by a teacher to mediate this audio visual for students in order that an historically accurate placement of the text could take place. The image included as Source 7.94 is taken from the beginning of the film, demonstrating a counter-reading of British colonisation, whereby in this case Indigenous Australians, with the imagery of the Aboriginal flag, are dressed in military regalia take sovereign possession of the land.

Source 7.94. Opening scene of *Babakiueria* (Pringle and Featherstone, 1986).

7.23 Conclusion

The following sub-sections make up the final analysis and conclusions that have been formed from the analysis presented throughout this chapter. These topics include: unpredictable and inconsistent representations; curriculum as a learning opportunity for teachers; narrative style of school curriculum; critical use of sources; on being Indigenous; and representations of British heritages.

7.23.1 Unpredictable and inconsistent representations.

A strong conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of textbooks, when looked at holistically, is the unpredictability and inconsistent representations of the exemplar topics. For example, in terms of Indigenous representations, on the one hand there are emancipatory discourses evident through narratives on the Wave Hill Station Strike (Stewart, 1986); inclusions of other contemporary representations of the 1960s to 1970s (Cowie, 1981); and

celebration of National Aborigines' Week (Department of Education, 1987a). Yet, on the other hand there are some very outmoded, and otherwise obsolete, expressions used. For example referring to Indigenous Australians: as "natives...a constant problem, stealing tools and animals and menacing the convicts" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 31); and "...Dampier described the Aborigines as 'the miserablest (sic) people in the world" (Power et al., 1985). Combined with representations of Indigenous Australians as being passive participants in their own history, finding a coherent representation of Indigenous Australians is difficult (as seen for example in the *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5*, Department of Education, 1988a introductory unit on the migration of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders to Australia, described solely from a scientific perspective). This perhaps points to the impact and continued rise in profile of Indigenous Australians in mainstream public discourses, with the school curriculum having a difficult time reconciling this by altering the types of discourses that had dominated the curriculum for so long. This is the case especially in relation to the periods of early colonisation, Dutch contact with Indigenous Australians on the Western coast of Australia, and Indigenous histories pre-1600s.

If within the same unit or topic or chapter different perspectives were presented in a way that enabled students to carefully weigh up the pros and cons of historical topics in order that they arrive at their own informed conclusions, the unpredictability of the curriculum could be understood. However, this is not the case. Instead between different curriculum materials, or within different sections of the same curriculum materials, perspectives and underlying ideologies are presented to students in such a way that promotes confusion through binary perspectives that are not mediated or explained.

7.23.2 Curriculum as a learning opportunity for teachers.

Unlike other eras, where school curriculum is written in a way that considers teacher knowledge already exists or assumes that knowledge outside of the written text is not required, this is not always the case in textbooks for this era. For example, the *Social studies for year 5 sourcebook* (Department of Education, 1988a) does not presume that teachers hold the required background knowledge to effectively teach their students. Instead, several parts of the sourcebook are addressed directly and solely to the teacher—not as a way to direct, inform or suggest pedagogical approaches—but rather in a way that provides learning opportunities for teachers in key content areas. Examples of content include pre-1788 contact between Indigenous Australians and overseas traders. Two extracts from the sourcebook that

explains the purpose of including *Teacher information sheets* read: "It is recommended that teachers work through the in-service component of these materials before using the sourcebook activities with their classes" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 1); and "where specific information is needed to complete an activity, teacher information, pupil information or pupil activities sheets have been included" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 5). By providing *Teacher information sheets*, it acknowledges that primary teachers, who generally do not specialise in a curriculum area, need support, being unreasonable to expect that they would have deep knowledge about all topics covered in the curriculum. By providing a summary of the research related to key topics addressed in the syllabus, teachers are able to access background information they can use to inform their teaching. Teacher autonomy is then encouraged by suggesting teachers to exercise their discretion in summarising the *Teacher information sheets* to construct into student worksheets, through the following statement:

> Discuss with children some of the views of Aboriginal habitation of Australia as presented in the teacher information sheets. *Children should not be given copies of the information sheets, although teachers may wish to compile a brief summary of relevant points for pupil use* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 17, emphasis added).

7.23.3 Narrative style of school curriculum.

Unlike the primary school Social Studies curriculum of the previous eras analysed, during the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial era, the curriculum lacks a similar type of vitality and story-making, and instead presents as very boring. Gone are the personalities of history that could potentially really engage students and in its place is a Social Studies curriculum that is presented as 'factual' and almost encyclopaedia-like that it would require high levels of pedagogical creativity on the classroom teacher's part to create an interesting curriculum. In particular, for a year 5 student, national history is presented in such an unimaginative way with a focus on civics and citizenship rather than history, that unless the teacher was either a) an expert or had a deep interest in History or b) was aware of Social Science pedagogies, this curriculum presents as exceptionally tiresome and boring; especially when compared with the narrative style of the curriculum in the two previous eras analysed. In the example provided at Source 7.95, although Sir Henry Parkes is mentioned, there is no background information provided of this exciting statesman nor the personalities involved in the vibrant debates that were held in the few decades leading up to Australia's Federation in 1901. This reads more

like a review sheet, yet it is not. It is suggested to students as the only resource for the topic "The story of Federation" (Department of Education, 1988a, p.114). Although one of the most important events of Australia's developing nationhood, it is treated with such brevity, presented as an unimportant period in Australia's history as though there is no need for students to have any sustained engagement with this topic. The curriculum appears to be so concerned with presenting itself as 'factual' and 'impartial' that to have curriculum materials that are explicitly 'voiced' would be to not present an accurate or valid history. However, it is argued here that being devoid of character does not in itself make a curriculum any more, or any less, historically accurate.

Pupil information sheet: The story of federation

As the white population of the Australian colonies grew, the settlers demanded a greater role in their own government. Between 1855 and 1860, all the colonies, except Western Australia (1890), were granted 'responsible government'. 'Responsible government' means that people vote for representatives to take on the task of government. The colonial legislatures had almost complete authority over their own affairs.

While the colonies were separate they each developed their own trade, defence forces, postal systems, transport and systems of communication. By the 1880s, people began to believe that Australia needed a single, central government to take over many of the complex and expensive services that were needed.

Some things that also concerned the colonists included:

- defence — they feared that a major power (Germany, Russia, France or Japan) would threaten Australia's security;
- immigration — workers were concerned that new migrants would undermine their working conditions;
- nationalism — people felt that Australia needed to establish its own identity, and take pride in it.

In 1889, Sir Henry Parkes, who was Premier of New South Wales, began the slow process of uniting the colonies. In 1891 each of the colonial governments sent seven delegates to the National Constitutional convention in Sydney. The politicians could not agree. Over the years, many discussions and votes took place as the people and politicians worked on ways to form a federal government that would be acceptable to the majority of people.

In 1900, the British parliament passed an Act that allowed for federation without Western Australia. Not long after the Act was passed, however, the majority of people in Western Australia voted to join. On 9 May 1901, the first federal parliament was opened in Melbourne by the Duke of Cornwall who later became King George V.

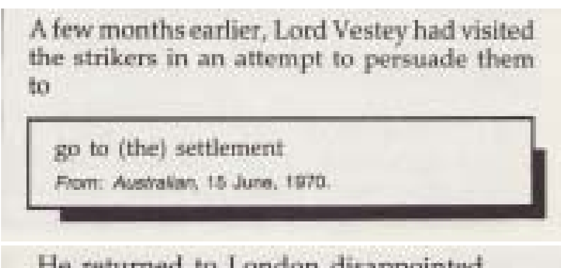
Adapted with permission from: Aitken, D. & Jinks, B., *Australian political institutions*, Longman Cheshire Pty Limited, Melbourne, 1980 (originally published by Pitman Australia).
and
Bereson, I. & Rosenblat, S., *Inquiry Australia*, 2nd edn, Heinemann Educational Australia, Richmond, Vic., 1985.

Source 7.95. "*Pupil information sheet: The story of Federation*" extract from *Primary social studies sourcebook year 5* (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 115).

7.23.4 Critical use of sources.

The example of critical use of sources for this era is drawn from *Case studies in Australian History* (Stewart, 1986). The case study of the Wave Hill Station strike presents as an emancipatory discourse in the way that it describes events leading up to the strike, positions the historical context of violent and unjust acts committed against Indigenous Australians,

and narrates the action initiated and led by the local Indigenous people. Overall, these factors point to the case study being a quality example of including a previously subjugated group in mainstream history. However, what this case study fails to do is consistently present multiple perspectives to students, so that they can consider the evidence themselves and form their own conclusions. This is considered an important factor in inquiry learning, the approach taken throughout this textbook. Instead of providing a detailed account of both the Gurindji perspectives and the landholder's and employer's perspectives, the majority of the chapter is taken up with only the Gurindji perspective. For example, the only time a landholder perspective is provided can be seen in the statement at Source 7.96.


A few months earlier, Lord Vestey had visited the strikers in an attempt to persuade them to

go to (the) settlement
From: Australian, 15 June, 1970.

He returned to London disappointed.

Source 7.96. Lord Vestey's perspective extract from *Case studies in Australian History* (Stewart, 1986, pp. 201-202).

Whilst it could be strongly and legitimately argued that this is done to redress the imbalance of other and previous curriculum documents that exclude any Indigenous voices; by providing such a one-sided account students are not able to form their own informed judgments. In addition, by only providing one perspective (consistently throughout the chapter, with only rare exceptions), it would be possible to surmise that this chapter is coaching students to agree with the perspective of the author, by not creating opportunities for debate, disagreement or alternative viewpoints. This is a factor that possibly discourages students from learning and taking an empathetic view of histories of subjugated peoples.

7.23.5 On being Indigenous.

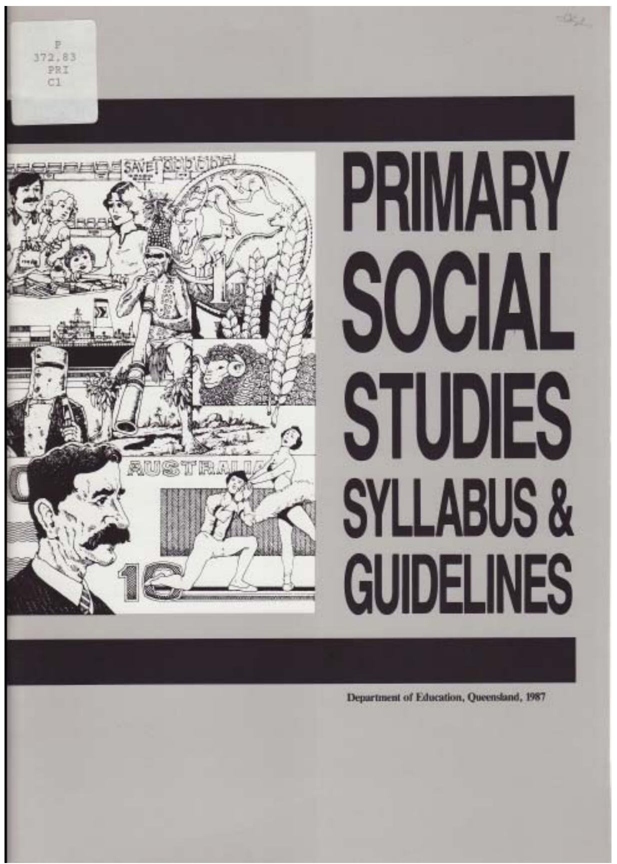
Given that the majority of Indigenous representations included in textbooks occur in the primary school grades and then senior high school curriculum, it is clear that most students will leave school with an elementary understanding of Indigenous histories and cultures. This includes the comparatively small number of students who went on the study Modern History in years 11 and 12 and the even smaller number of teachers who would have selected Indigenous histories as the focus topic in the race relations unit. Whereas British heritages, although not included to a great extent in the primary grades, and only a very vague

terminology of *European* is stated where *Britain* would be more appropriate and historically accurate (for example the colonization of the Australian continent by Great Britain marked by the arrival of the First Fleet); they are included in much greater depth in the junior high school years.

This presents as an example of the dichotomy in History curriculum and the silences that operate. It is not overtly stated, and nor is there an overt comparison between British heritages and Indigenous heritages, whereby one is placed above the other as superior or more important. However, the hidden messages of the curriculum become obvious when conducting an analysis of textbooks across school grades in the same era and the two exemplar topics are tracked consistently. Here it emerges that British heritages are considered far more important than Indigenous representations, effectively placing British heritages in the canon of Australian history (so far as school curriculum goes) and Indigenous representations firmly on the fringe of history content, usually included as bridging topics to units of work (see, for example *Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5*, Department of Education, 1988a). Indigenous histories are *interesting* to learn, whereas histories of British heritages are *important* to learn is the dominant perspective communicated, *when viewing the curriculum in its entirety*, not as individual textbooks or school year levels.

One of the most significant and constant changes that can be seen in textbooks during this era, is that representations of Indigenous Australians are no longer mediated through their inclusion with stories of other historical events, for example the way Indigenous Australians had been included on the fringe of stories of early inland exploration in previous eras. Instead Indigenous Australians during this era were included as having their own, legitimate history as a distinct group, much in the same way as other groups were represented in History textbooks during this era, whether categorised by racial grouping, such as the case with race relations in the USA; or some other demographic, for example emancipation of women (see, for example, Cowie, 1982). However, this also has a downside in that Indigenous representations are still not being represented anywhere else in the curriculum outside of Indigenous specific content, maintaining the positioning of Indigenous Australians on the peripheral of history. Indigenous Australians are located distinctly by themselves, and the only times Indigenous representations are included are during specific units about Indigenous peoples, cultures of events. So, Indigenous representations are not seen throughout the general curriculum, in images of families, celebrations, and other support images. On the rare

occasion Indigenous representations are included with non-Indigenous topics; they are still generally portrayed *only* as belonging to a very traditional environment (see for example, the front cover of the 1987 *Primary Social Studies syllabus and guidelines* at Source 7.97).



Source 7.97. Front cover of the 1987 *Primary Social Studies syllabus and guidelines* (Department of Education, 1987b, n.p.).

The curriculum in the primary grades still positions Indigenous Australians very much in a traditional environment. They are not part of mainstream society, as urban dwellers or anything else of the sort, nor do they play a role in any aspect of modern Australia (that is anything that is post-1788). Instead they are still only included in units of work that specifically, and solely, cover aspects of Aboriginality, often in such an a-historical way (for example kinship and moiety systems) that it does not strictly fall within the discipline of History. It is not until students enter high school that Indigenous Australians are represented in a variety of ways, such as for example, the Wave Hill Station Strike (Stewart, 1986; Cowie, 1982), and the 1967 referendum (Cowie, 1982). Indigenous peoples are still represented as something other than ‘normal’; as an anomaly, something different, as the ‘Other’. So, although there is evidence of significant changes in discourses, overall there is still a sense of Indigenous Australians existing only on the peripheral of History curriculum.

7.23.6 Representations of British heritages.

As discussed throughout the analysis, there is an obvious absence of British heritages represented in national history, even when topics are included that lend themselves to have British heritages extensively included. More often, British heritages are included significantly disjointed from the main point of the given historical narrative, included as random anecdotes or footnotes to history narratives, rather than an important component of events. Instead of discussing any British roots or framework in modern Australia, history is very much presented as only 'Australian' without the influence of Great Britain in the past or present.

Two representations of British heritages in particular emerge from the analysis of this era, prominent in school curriculum across grade levels. First, British representations are significantly absent and sometimes omitted from Australian history. Second, is that these representations are often included in content, for example The Treaty of Versailles and post WWII policies, as a way to point out the increasing dissociation of Australia from the former colonial power. Unlike Indigenous representations, examples of British heritages in textbooks do not speak so much of a *British culture* or the actions and attitudes of *British people and groups*. Instead, a global view of British heritages is evident that presents British systems and processes, such as for example, Australia's parliamentary system influenced by Great Britain. The inclusion of British heritages in Australian national history is legitimised by featuring Great Britain as the leader of systems, processes and institutions (for example, parliamentary systems, governance and military power), with Australia copying parts of these and greatly influenced by the once-imperial power. In early 20th century history, this is viewed through an ideology of British superiority, with Australia following or complying with Great Britain. However, there is a marked shift in this—especially evident through the narrative in the textbook *The modern world emerges* (Lawrence et al., 1986)—whereby Australia ceases to position Great Britain as a superior nation or empire and makes decisions independent from, and not always aligned with the views of Great Britain. It is as though in celebrating the 1988 Bicentennial, Australia is attempting to establish a distinct 'Australian' identity through selective history narratives, at the expense of British influence and participation, with discourses of multiculturalism replacing British heritages.

To conclude, analysis of textbooks and other school curriculum documents for this era demonstrate that *discourses of celebration* related to the exemplar topics, British heritages

and Indigenous representations, in the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial are not consistently or strongly evident. Instead, any celebratory discourses of Australian history focus on multiculturalism, at the expense of both British heritages and Indigenous representations. Aspects of early modern Australian history that cover British heritages are generally either ignored or significantly mitigated through a vague discourse of 'European' settlement. Indigenous representations, particularly in the primary curriculum, demonstrate an a-historical representation of Indigenous Australians. Doing so potentially leads to an inaccurate representation of national history taught to school students.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The three eras selected for analysis each demonstrate a period of rapid social change, significant for quite divergent reasons, but with the common thread that they have each made a significant contribution to Australia's history, and in terms of national identity, continue to do so. They have each been examined through a selected exemplar topic: British heritages in the case of the WWI era; Indigenous representations in the 1964-1975 era; and both British heritages and Indigenous representations in the 1988 Bicentennial era. Textbooks from each of these periods approach national history to varying degrees of difference, and it is through the analysis conducted that conclusions are able to be made about the curriculum approach to history that school students have been expected to learn.

A potential limitation of this project is that although the representations of British heritages and Indigenous Australians, as they occur in History textbooks has been identified, their *immediate and long lasting* impact on school students has not been able to be established. Additionally, whilst this project has not looked at the changing pedagogical trends nor given consideration to the change in psychological or sociological approaches to teaching school students across the eras studied, particularly from the early 1970s onwards, it nevertheless has significant value as it has tracked, through *curriculum content*, the changing representations within this subject area. What this offers as an area of original contribution to the study of textbooks and curriculum generally is an awareness raising of the political nature of curriculum in schools, regardless of how *neutral* it purports to be through language features used to communicate knowledge. This then has relevance to current debates about education and curriculum where increasingly government interest and policy making is shaping the content of school curriculum. This is especially the case in Australia through the proposed implementation of the national curriculum, which has plans to extend more rigorously into assessment practices, including external examinations for primary (elementary) and high school students.

8.2 Final Stage Analysis: *Obstacles to be Tackled*

This chapter now turns to conduct the final stage of the analysis, articulated through Fairclough's stages four "identify possible ways past the obstacles" and five "reflect critically on the analysis" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 124). It does so by identifying and discussing the

findings of the analysis through articulating the various curriculum approaches that have been deployed in History curriculum across the selected eras; and by reporting on the general representations of British heritages and Indigenous representations through the History curriculum.

The historical analysis of History textbooks that has taken place in this project, highlights the complexities of History as a school subject, and can be contextualised within current issues facing this curriculum area. The first of the issues identified is one that was repeated throughout the duration of the history/culture wars; an increasingly crowded curriculum and one which marginalises History at the expense of an all-encompassing SOSE (or, as in previous eras, Social Studies). As a distinct issue, this can really start to be seen in the 1980s, with an a-historical and multicultural approach that Social Study took *at the expense of* accurate historical information and narratives. Instead, content was subsumed within emerging dominant socio-political discourses of the time (buoyed by government policies and initiatives). This saw the privileging of a vague multiculturalism as the nation's historical narrative, rather than a depiction of the past based on history discipline concepts. Although Social Studies has long been a subject taught during the primary school years in Queensland schools, this subject had previously maintained distinct History and Geography discipline dimensions. The point here is not to form a criticism or evaluate the usefulness of a multicultural policy or approach; but rather to point out that from the data collected and analysed for this project, it appears that a 'multicultural' perspective has replaced a coherent 'historical' approach in this curriculum area.

A second obstacle is the perception that young people are ignorant of Australia's national history/ies. This has surfaced through a number of examples in both the public arena and in school debates (see Taylor, 2008a for a succinct overview on this topic). There is a deep concern held by some in the community (as detailed in *Appendix A: Contexts*), that school students are leaving school without an adequate grasp of their nation's 'History' (and it is often a singular history debated). The concern of students' ignorance of national history is arguably negatively impacted by the binary of history that has been established through reporting of the history/culture wars, as either a 'three cheers' or 'black armband' view of the nation's history. This has not impacted positively on school curriculum debates, with Taylor writing:

> ...the single most important obstacle to the constructions of a sound and sustainable national history education curriculum is political interference. By that I mean attempts by both sides of the education debate to characterise history education, which is particularly susceptible to political interference as a form of indoctrination. (2008a, p. 28)

A third and final concern or *obstacle* to note, and one that links directly with the point above is community concern over the type of History school students should learn, and the approach taken to teach students this history. As noted specifically in *Appendix A: Contexts* and related to curriculum theory more generally in *Chapter 2: Literature Review*, is the issue of whether students should learn dates and facts within a traditional approach, or whether students should be immersed in an open inquiry and progressivist approach to learning. Much of the debate is concerned with a *traditional* versus *progressive* education (even if these terms are not always used). Like other aspects of the history/culture wars, a binary between the two is established, whereby it is perceived that only one approach can form the pedagogical content approach of History curriculum. In all, these three concerns highlight the contentions that exist in the History curriculum and how they have surfaced in the curriculum throughout various eras in the 20th century.

8.3 Representations of British Heritages and Indigenous Australians in National History: *A critical reflection.*

What follows in this and the following sub-sections, and in consideration of the points listed above, is the final stage of Fairclough's approach, being the stage of "reflect critically on the analysis" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 124). This reflection covers a final analysis of the two exemplar topics, British heritages and Indigenous representations across the three eras investigated: *Before and immediately after WWI*; *Black movement in Australia 1964-1975*; and the *1988 Bicentennial era*. To avoid repetition, as each of the eras has already been extensively analysed within their relevant chapters, what is included here is a summary critical reflection.

Across the three eras studied, it became apparent that the perspective attributed to historical events and people was presented in a way that reflects the dominant or (especially in the case of the 1980s curriculum) the *emerging* dominant socio-political discourses of the time. Whilst this is not a great revelation, what is of interest is that these views are reflected in the school

curriculum in such a way that the history presented is not an accurate depiction of the ideologies, views and events *of the era in which they occurred*, rather they are mediated through the *ideologies of the present*. This results in an inaccurate and at times a-historical narrative or reporting of events that do not sufficiently acculturate students into accurate or critical historical thinking and literacy; nor does it provide an historically-contextualised History curriculum. Instead, students are taught to view issues of the past with the eyes of the present. Examples of these, as covered in depth in the data analysis chapters include, Australia's Federation in 1901. Looking at how this event including its lead up is reported in textbooks from the *Before and immediately after WWI era* to the *1988 Bicentennial* era, there are distinct changes that occur. The further away from the event of Federation in terms of time lapse, the less focus there is on the role of Great Britain as a significant player in the lead up to this process. So, whilst the details of Great Britain's role are included in the early 20th century, including its major influence in Australia's decision to federate; by the late 20th century these details are omitted and Great Britain is excluded from this historical narrative, with a distinct and not wholly accurate 'Australian-ness' attributed to Federation.

Another example, this one related to Indigenous representations can be seen in the constructions of narratives of Indigenous Australians' interactions with explorers. In the early 20th century, interactions between Indigenous Australians and explorers are presented in textbooks. Although this is presented in a way that subjugates Indigenous Australians by describing them in words that denote primitive and savage imagery; this group is however at least included in the historical narrative; including, importantly, some descriptions of resistance by Indigenous Australians (even though this is couched in terms that marginalise their contribution). At the very least, Indigenous Australians are not excluded from the narrative, although their inclusion is constructed based on a passive and subjugated identity. However, when textbooks from the latter part of the 20th century are analysed, interactions between explorers and Indigenous Australians are ignored. Here, stories of exploration are rarely accompanied with any information about Indigenous Australians. Whilst it was no longer acceptable in the later parts of the 20th century to describe Indigenous Australians in the same way as they had been in the early 20th century, their omission from textbooks indicates a kind of *Terra Nullius* attitude. With little or no inclusions of Indigenous Australian resistance or participation in the early exploration, students do not learn factual accounts of the nation's past. Instead, a *white wash* of history takes place that sees Indigenous Australians continue to be silenced and omitted from their own national history experiences.

The two examples provided here, one from British heritages and the other from Indigenous representations are intended as overviews as both the examples summarised above have been included in greater depth within analysis chapter of the relevant era. Through these examples, which are representative of the history content in textbooks analysed for this project it is apparent that, as Pinsent (1997) points out, the ideological assumptions within these textbooks are implicit, subsumed within the dominant descriptive language of the relevant era.

Before commencing a more specific critical reflection for each of the three eras, a final reflection that considers the link between dominant socio-political discourses and History curriculum is raised here. Whilst school curriculum remains static over considerable periods of time and, except in rare cases, does not present knowledge as contentious; the public discourses operating in the same time periods, covering the same topics as analysed in the textbooks, are in a state of flux. In order to focus on specific topics from textbooks and to frame them within the dominant socio-political discourses of the time, there has been a "...need to go outside the text, using academic and non-academic sources to get a sense of its social context. One's sense of what the major contemporary social problems are comes from a broad perspective on the social order" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 129). The problem in this case is the naturalising of discourses related to Indigenous representations and British heritages in school History textbooks, communicating an unproblematic, closed and authoritarian version of events, through the implicit ideologies present in specific parts of the History curriculum. This connection between public discourses and school curriculum has occurred for each of the three eras analysed.

Although public discourses are generally directed at an adult—rather than a child—audience, it remains that in times of rapid social and political change the variety of perspectives for and against issues is significant in the public arena. Yet, within the school curriculum, perspectives remain static. Therefore, topics are represented as in a state of flux when directed at adults, and as stable and constant when children are the main audience. This creates something of a dilemma for educators. It would not be educationally sound, when taking into consideration developmental stages of children, for the world to be presented in a continual, constant state of flux; particularly in the primary and junior secondary year levels. However, on the other hand continuous unproblematic reproduction of dominant discourses

(and at times former dominant discourses) serves to reinforce or create prejudices, continues the silencing of marginalised groups and tells only part of the story of the nation. In having a curriculum that presents knowledge as unproblematic, a view of the world as homogenous is presented to school students. The impact of this is that in a sense an 'Other-ing' occurs for those who do not fit within this created homogenous view of the world, regardless of the ideology underpinning the construction of the curriculum. The far reaching consequences of this are that students then bring those static views of the world with them into adulthood. Therefore, it seems that a sense of pedagogical balance needs to be struck that enables students to view the world through a variety of lenses, in the safe learning environment of a classroom.

8.3.1 Before and immediately after WWI.

The curriculum approach during this era is overwhelmingly clearly a traditional approach, with the emphasis on grand narratives, the 'truth' and a Whig version of progression traced through history. This is epitomised through the following examples, categorised within a discourse of progress. *The children's book of moral lessons: Third series*, in a section titled *Lesson XXIII Looking Backwards* under the subsection, *Bad deeds of the pa*st, reads:

> Of course, many of the ideas and customs of the Past were bad, and it is good that we should drop them. The old English took great pleasure in robbery; they sailed the sea in their wooden ships, and landed on coasts where they thought they could obtain booty in gold, corn, prisoners, etc. After Oliver Cromwell's death, his body was not allowed to rest in peace; his enemies dug it up, and suspended it by chains to a gibbet such as criminals were hanged on; but no one would wish to do such a coarse deed to-day. An Englishman, Sir John Hawkins, was the first to engage in the negro slave trade, and his coat-of-arms bore the picture of a black man tied with a cord; but you may be sure no man to-day would care to have such a coat-of-arms painted over his doorway or on his window. Such thoughts and habits as these we are glad to cast aside. (F.J. Gould, 1909, p. 115)

Furthermore, an example of the curriculum approach being traditional can be read from the syllabus itself (see Source 8.1).

The Syllabus prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction specifically states: "In dealing with the events enumerated, care should be taken to give the pupils a connected story, and to trace the development of great movements and changes, noting carefully their **causes** and **results.**" History "is to be taught in such a way as to show a connected story of progressive development."

Source 8.1. Curriculum approach extract from *New syllabus history for sixth grade* (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932b, n.p.).

Aligned with the type of history that views society as comprising 'bad' and 'good' deeds within an overall discourse of progress, Gilbert as part of analysis of an instruction given to school teachers by the Victorian Education Department in 1901 states:

> Of course, the Department's writers did not think it necessary to spell out what 'good and brave' deeds were, or what might happen if patriotism led to tyranny, or why the duties of the citizen were mentioned but their rights ignored. While Australian democracy at the turn of the 20th century was relatively progressive in areas like the universal franchise, it was still able to promote class distinction and virulent forms of racism. The cultural supremacy of white Australia and the trustworthiness of our leaders were taken for granted, and obedience to God, Queen and country were seen as equal moral absolutes. So was the role of schools in instilling these views into students, and ensuring that they accepted their place and obligations in society willingly. (2004, p. 10)

8.3.2 Black movement in Australia 1964-1975.

This era is characterised by type of mixture of traditional and progressive curriculum approaches, present within the same curriculum documents. On the one hand there are clear grand narratives presented to students, especially evident through the stories of Indigenous peoples' interactions with explorers; with the representations of actions of the Indigenous peoples largely on the peripheral of history narratives. However, there is also a clear attempt to engage with the students' prior and background knowledge in order for students to construct *parts* of their own learning. The following two extracts from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* provide examples from both these approaches. The first is an example of a traditional curriculum approach. This extract, along with an analysis is included in *Chapter 6: Black Movement in Australia 1964-1975*.

> During his journey down the river, Sturt met tribes of aborigines who made their camps on the banks of the stream. He was always kind to the

natives and often gave them presents. *It was fortunate for him that he had won the friendship of these people*.

...

His [Sturt's] rescuers were aborigines with whom he had made friends farther up the river. It was not long before Sturt was in the middle of an excited crowd of natives who wished now to be his friends. *His kindness to the natives had brought its own reward*. (Department of Education, 1954/ 1963/1966, pp. 113-114, emphasis added)

The second example (see Source 8.2), demonstrates the increasing progressive approach to curriculum, whereby the two characters, both school aged, ask questions (although not shown explicitly in this extract) of adults to aid their learning experience, which interestingly, occurs outside of the classroom.

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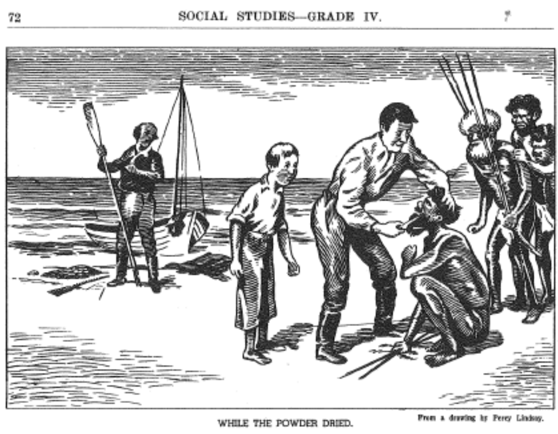
"Governor Hunter was very pleased with their work and was willing for them to set out the next year on another voyage south. The boat that they used this time was only a little larger than the tiny *Tom Thumb*, and so they gave it the same name. Before long they were short of water. When they saw a place where it seemed likely that there might be fresh water, Bass swam ashore with a cask. As he was trying to lift the cask of water aboard, a wave swamped the boat. Their muskets were wet and the powder was soaked. The explorers landed on the beach. Two natives came along and the white men were worried when more appeared. They knew that they would not be able to defend themselves until they could dry their powder and muskets.

"The powder was spread in the sun and a start was made to dry and clean the muskets. The natives did not like the look of these muskets; so the explorers stopped working on them. Flinders thought of a way to keep the natives' attention off Bass, who was looking after the powder. Much to the delight of the natives, he took out a large pair of scissors and began to cut their hair and beards. While he was doing this, the powder was drying.



WHILE THE POWDER DRIED. From a drawing by Percy Lindsay.

"It was a serious position, but I have often thought that Bass and his comrade must have felt amused, just the same. Snip, snip, snip went the scissors, and while the other natives gazed in wonder, the one being barbered rolled his eyes, half pleased, yet half afraid. You can imagine him, when his beard had been trimmed, proudly showing it off and saying in his own way, 'Next, please.' When the powder was dry, the white men loaded their boat and boldly pushed out to sea.

"On the homeward journey the brave explorers were caught in a storm but succeeded in reaching Sydney, safe and sound. Their voyage had shown what the coast was like south of Sydney. It had made Bass anxious to sail still farther south. Two years later he set out in a whaleboat on another voyage, which made him sure that Van Diemen's Land was not part of the mainland."

The children were looking very tired but Jim said, "Thank you, sir, for your stories. We have enjoyed them."

"I'm very glad to have been able to tell them," replied their friend. "Off you go to bed now. I'm sure you'll want to see more of Sydney tomorrow."

Source 8.2. Social Studies example narrative extract from *Social studies for Queensland schools grade 4* (Department of Education, 1954/1963/1966, pp. 71-72).

In particular, this second example, which is representative of the narratives generally found in the Social Studies textbooks, shows that textbooks are not always, as Issitt writes "painful and...boring" (2004, p. 684). This is not to contradict Issitt, as there are many textbooks that

do meet this description, however for this era the textbook content and style deployed were quite interesting. It seems an effort was made by the Departmental curriculum writers to engage and sustain the interest of school students. Through informal conversations held with adults who used these textbooks as school students in the 1960s and 1970s I have learnt that they remember quite fondly these textbooks as pedagogical devices and can also remember some of the narratives—demonstrating the long lasting impact curriculum has on students post-schooling.

8.3.3 1988 Bicentennial era.

This era presents a largely contradictory curriculum approach. Although with a surface look it is couched within a seemingly progressivist view, that is one that presents "curriculum as open process... [and]... curriculum relevant to contemporary issues" (Gilbert, 2003, pp. 6-7). However, an argument against categorising it in this way is that overall, and in many examples from primary and high school year levels, it is not progressivist, nor inquiry, in a way that encourages students to adopt perspectives that may differ from those of the textbook authors. Instead, students are directed, through skilful manoeuvre and selection of primary source documents to arrive at distinct, predetermined conclusions. Whereas students may be encouraged to engage in discussion and ask questions, there is a clear direction that they are guided to take, epitomised by the primary source documents that are available in the sourcebooks and textbooks. This is evident, for example, in *Case studies in Australian history* (Stewart, 1986). Here, a conservative Prime Minister (McMahon) is criticised for his handling of the issue; whereas the Labor Prime Minister (Whitlam) that followed him was praised for his dealing with the issue despite backing away from his election promise of granting land rights to Indigenous Australians. In addition, primary source perspectives other than those of the Gurindji tribe and their sympathisers, such as the landholder and the government are excluded; resulting in a one sided view of the issue presented to students. Exchanging one overarching view for another, applies to the curriculum approach taken, a point made by Gilbert: "To promote participation in the system as if it was open and fair would be to disguise injustice, not much better than the indoctrination of Queen and Country of earlier times. It would also betray the less powerful...by neglecting the need to make the system more open" (2004, p. 12).

Aspects of traditional approaches are also evident through the teacher information sheets and pupil information sheets from the Social Studies sourcebooks. With knowledge presented as

finite and 'true'. In particular, and as analysed in *Chapter 7: 1988 Bicentennial Era*, an unmediated quote by Dutch explorer William Dampier in the year 8 textbook *Spanning time*, provides an example of this (see Source 8.3).

- In 1688 and 1689, **William Dampier**, an English sea captain, chartered the north-west coast of Australia (now Western Australia). He held the same views of the land as the Dutch held: that the land was dry and sandy, and lacking water and useful vegetation. As well, Dampier described the Aborigines as 'the miserablest people in the world'.

Source 8.3. William Dampier quote: extract from *Spanning time* (Power et al., 1985, p. 179).

The 1988 Bicentennial era provides the sharpest contrast in the representations of the exemplar topics: both *between* the two exemplar topics; and *across* the same exemplar topic between eras. The curriculum in 1988 has as its prevailing representation of Indigenous Australians one of an inclusion of values, beliefs and systems. This occurs strongly across curriculum materials from a variety of school year levels. For example, kinship and moiety systems are covered from year 5 (see, for example, Department of Education, 1988a) through to senior high school (see, for example, Cowie, 1981). However the inclusion of this type of content is not done to challenge or critique dominant discourse, nor is it provided as a way to engage deeply with other aspects of Indigenous cultures (from Australia or elsewhere). Instead, a consistent a-historical approach is taken towards such topics despite units they reside within being very date-specific; as seen, for example, in the Primary Social Studies sourcebook year 5 (Department of Education, 1988a). Although increasingly part of the core of curriculum, residing less on the fringe, but often still as bridging topics within a larger unit of work; knowledge of Indigenous Australians in the primary years of schooling is presented in an 'of general interest' approach rather than as a meaningful way to engage with beliefs, values and systems that may differ from those of the dominant culture. Here, the 'mentioning' that Apple (2000) discusses, outlined in *Chapter 2: Literature Review*, is evident.

British heritages as presented in the 1988 Bicentennial era presents as an interesting reading and analysis due to the dramatic changes it has experienced between the eras; culminating in an identity crisis in the 1988 Bicentennial era curriculum. Acknowledging both the diversity of the Australian population and the independence of Australia as a nation, representations of

Great Britain have diminished significantly, replaced with an increase in topics related to multiculturalism and cultural diversity (see, for example, Department of Education 1988b). Especially in the primary years, students are exposed to very little information about Australia's past (or current) connections with Great Britain. Other than a unit in year 5 that briefly includes information about the reasons for the British colonisation of Australia and the beginning years of colonial history, there are no other explicit examples of British heritages in core curriculum. Even when content specifically related to actions by Great Britain is included in the Social Studies or History curriculum, it is mitigated through terminology of an undefined *Europe*, not recognising that (especially during the period of history events that form the curriculum occurred—the late 18th century), Great Britain did not refer to itself as *Europe*, but as a distinct nation and imperial empire, as did the other nations in Europe. To describe British colonisation as "The first European settlement" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 26) is to ignore basic facts of history, namely first only Great Britain colonised the Australian continent; and second to attribute recognition of the role Great Britain played in Australia's early colonisation period. Instead, students receive a type of anonymous version of Australia's national history that does not aid in equipping them with an accurate representation of the facts of early colonial history, however positive, negative, celebratory or shameful these representations are.

The following statement by Gilbert explores some of the criticisms that can be lodged at a Social Studies or History curriculum that emphasises personal and social development at the expense of other curriculum considerations. He writes:

> While the adoption of a structured disciplinary approach was one reaction to rote learning and moralising, another was to see the social studies as a context for students to personally explore their own values, self and social relationships. Dominated by a concern for relevance to personal issues and social experience, this approach led to emphases on life skills, interpersonal skills and social issues.
>
> While students need studies that connect with their experiences and raise issues of concern for their personal lives, the difficulty in this version of social education is the lack of a clear foundation for such a study. How is the study of personal development to avoid moralising and indoctrination? What conceptual or analytical tools and thinking skills can such a course offer students? Would the focus on individual experience and self lead to the neglect of a broad social and environmental

> understanding? This last point is of concern to those who see the solution to students' social needs not in developing their inner selves, but in involving them in society's decision-making processes where they may be able to meet these needs. (2004, p. 11)

By ignoring the involvement of Great Britain in Australia's early colonial history and up to the mid 20th century, students are not presented with an accurate portrayal of the complexities of modern Australian history. Instead with significant issues associated with monumental milestones ignored, students are presented with an inaccurate partial history. In particular, this can be seen, for example, in the following national events: reasons for Federation; participating in WWI; repayment of war loans post WWI; and Australia's Bicentennial. Overall, the Social Studies curriculum significantly limits exposure students have to learn the historical literacy and threshold concepts of this discipline.

8.4 Closing remarks

As the writing of this dissertation comes to a close, it is noted that the political and educational landscapes in terms of history teaching have changed considerably over the four year period this project has been studied (commenced in 2006). The vehement public debates that characterised the history/culture wars, and conducted so prominently in the pages of the nation's leading newspapers, have given way to a governmental bureaucratic management of school History curriculum as the proposed national History curriculum enters final planning stages. However, although such consistent attention and at times vitriolic debate has, at least for the moment, subsided in the post-history/culture wars context; interest in History teaching and curriculum in schools is still present, albeit in a different way, with far less reported discord. In the immediate future debate will most likely be shaped through the structure and content of the proposed national curriculum.

In this post-history/culture wars context, and in consideration of the direction History curriculum is currently taking in Australia, the role of textbooks as a curriculum and pedagogical tool posits as an important topic. As Davis writes, "I firmly believe that increased knowledge about textbooks can and will facilitate understanding of the actual school curriculum in practice" (2006, p. xi). In view of this statement, one of the many challenges for educators in teaching a national curriculum will be the selection of textbooks across the school year levels and across state boundaries, as both pedagogical and economic considerations will undoubtedly be taken into account (see, for example, the United States

context as discussed by Apple, 1988; 2000, 2004; and D. Hamilton, 1990). This project, then offers a timely analysis of History curriculum from past eras through representations of Indigenous Australians and British heritages. What it offers pre-service teachers, teachers, curriculum decision makers and syllabus and textbook writers is an account of the power language has in articulating perspectives of a national history—an important consideration in shaping historical narratives for school students, particularly a subject which seeks to teach narratives of the nation's past.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Contexts

A1.1 Introduction

In recent times, there has been a worldwide emergence and rise of neo-conservatism. Located within a 'Western' paradigm, competing views of how national histories have influenced present cultural understandings of citizenship in individual nations have received widespread attention from the press, politics, education institutions, popular culture and the public in general. The impact of the rise of neo-conservatism appears to be significant in charting changes to education. In defining this emerging political ideology, it can be seen that neo-conservatism; pursues economics-based ideologies to further the influence of developing global capitalism. Fairclough explains the impact of language use in the increasing promotion of neo-liberal policies and actions:

> The term 'neo-liberalism' can be understood as referring to a political project aimed at removing obstacles (such as states with strong welfare programmes) to the full development of capitalism (Bourdieu, 1988)…a particularly important aspect of neo-liberal discourse is the representations of change in the 'global economy' which are pervasive in contemporary societies—representations of economic change as inevitable and irresistible, and something we must simply learn to live with and adapt to. (2001, p. 128)

An influential aspect of neo-conservative politics is their ability to achieve ideological success over the minds of ordinary citizens. So, even when physical conflicts are not being clearly won, for example the United States' involvement in the Middle East, the ideological battles can be waged and won. Kincheloe links this with the culture wars by writing "those corporate advocates of privatization and empire may not be winning in Iraq, but they are certainly finding success in their preemptive strikes in the knowledge wars" (2008, p. 12).

This overview looks at a period of a little more than a decade in order to situate the broader research that has been completed in this dissertation within a definitive time frame. Whilst the data for this project was derived from across an almost hundred year time period, this overview is written to establish a background context for the importance of History curriculum as a topic of investigation in its contemporary cultural and political environment. This issue has become a topic of importance due to a shift in educational thinking in some sections of the community of *what* history is and *how* it should be taught in schools. In

particular, this includes taking on a more critical approach; versus other sections of the community who want History curriculum to retain a very traditional, singular perspective approach.

Whereas it is the case that many active participants in the history/culture wars, from both sides of the debate, engage in personal (sometimes vindictive) verbal assaults, this overview investigates the ideologies behind this superficiality by charting key stages of the debate. In doing so, this overview recognises the key contributors in the commencement, continuation and proliferation of the history/culture wars devoid of what Mason describes as "...scholarly debate and discussion which, it is to be hoped, will not be accompanied by the invective and verbal violence that has given prominence to the History Wars" (MacIntyre & Clark, 2003, p. viii). The verbal attacks launched between for example, academics, journalists, and prominent public persons is noted by others too (see, for example, a three-day email correspondence disagreement between Stuart MacIntyre and Gerard Henderson in G. Henderson, 2008a; and C. Pearson's account of an ideological contest between Wilfred Prest, Michael Connor and Henry Reynolds, 2006). John Kunkel writes, "anything that gets people talking about (and hopefully reading) Australian history has to be a good thing. The *accompanying spectacle of name-calling and academic bitchiness is surely a bonus*" (2003, p. 2, emphasis added). Marwick disagrees, describing this type of debate as "...sometimes tainted with self-glorification and the sheer joy of battle" (2001, p. xiv).

This overview is structured to present: an outline of the debates conducted in other nations; a preliminary establishment of the main focus of debate over the years 1993 to 2007; and a discussion of the areas of the history/culture wars debate that include and impact on school education. Focusing on the Queensland experience then sets the scene for the data analysis, which uses Queensland's History curriculum across the 20th century as the case study for the links between school curriculum and public discourses.

A1.1.2 Australian timeframe.

Commonly referred to as the history/culture wars, these very public and ongoing debates between historians, academics, journalists, commentators, politicians and other high-profile public figures are concerned with the ideologies that underpin particular versions of Australian national history recorded and published and made easily accessible to the general population. They are mapped in this overview from 1993 to 2007, a period of time that saw

the commencement and proliferation of these very public debates. Originating as a result of the contestation of the different versions of the impact on Indigenous Australians of British colonisation, particularly issues of land and cultural displacement commencing from 1788, and whether this period in Australian history should be seen as settlement or invasion, the debates broadened significantly as more key stakeholders became involved. The debates can now be seen to encompass a variety of topics including those between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, such as land rights, social justice and equity; experiences of minority immigrants; Australia's relationship with Asia; and topics of national interest relating to cultural events such as Anzac Day and Australia Day. These debates have become so significant outside of the usual closed academic doors that their impact on schooling, particularly curriculum, across Australia has occurred in significant ways. Where the debate intersects with public discourses and school curriculum (often controversially), is of particular interest here.

The timeframe of this overview begins with historian Geoffrey Blainey's April 28 1993 Latham Memorial Lecture, "The Black Armband view of history" (Blainey, 2005, pp. 30-37). This now-historic lecture was instrumental in starting a prolonged series of debates about both the accuracy of published historical facts and the appropriateness of the historical facts selected to represent Australia's past. Blainey created a divide between politically left and politically right historians, explicitly and overtly politicizing discussion on Australian history through provocative statements such as:

> To some extent the Black Armband view of history might well represent the swing of the pendulum from a position that had been too favourable, too self-congratulatory, to an opposite extreme that is even more unreal and decidedly jaundiced... (Blainey, 2005, pp. 32)

The divisive language used by Blainey, through selection of wording such as *Black Armband* (referring to historians who only saw Australia's past as negative) and *Three cheers* (referring to historians of the past who recorded Australia's history as wholly positive) created an environment that enabled the history/culture wars to flourish, forcing historians to select a side of the debate to belong to, inhibiting and silencing perspectives other than the Black Armband or Three cheers view.

The mapping of these debates concludes with the defeat of Prime Minister John Howard at the November 24, 2007 Federal Election, a date that arguably spelled the end of the history/culture wars (at least in the form they had taken up until that point). During his prime ministership, John Howard was instrumental in continuing the history/culture war debates, being an ardent conservative and high profile supporter of Blainey. Howard holds a view of Australian history that seeks to celebrate Australian progressive historical milestones and to marginalise aspects of the nation's history that seek to profile negative or collective shameful aspects. This approach to history and public memory-making has become known as "the Three Cheers view" (Blainey, 2005, p. 30). Its direct binary is the Black Armband view, an approach that considers only negative aspects of Australia's past, especially in relation to Indigenous Australian histories. With the 2007 defeat of John Howard after 11 years as Prime Minister, the newly-elected Prime Minister Kevin Rudd did not contribute to the debates surrounding this topic, instead choosing to (generally) avoid making statements about and responding to questions regarding the history/culture wars. By framing the history/culture wars in a specific timeframe, this project seeks to provide a mapping of the significant junctures of the debates as they occurred at that time.

There is a multitude of published texts adding new perspectives or providing in depth analyses covering the history/culture wars (see, for example, Melleuish, 1997; MacIntyre and Clark, 2003; Manne, 2003, 2004; Blainey, 2005; H. Reynolds, 1998, 2001; Windschuttle, 1996, 2004; Donnelly, 2007a; Parkes, 2007; and A. Clark, 2002a, 2002b). Given the myriad of information already available, the main arguments having already entered the general public domain, the intent of this overview is not to replicate these debates. Nor is the intention here to provide an in-depth analysis of the many political perspectives which have influenced this debate on a number of levels. Instead, this overview provides a general overview and explanation of the history/culture wars that have been occurring on a national level in Australia between historians, educators, governments, journalists and media commentators since the early 1990s. How the major shifts of the debate intersect with school curriculum is the primary matter of interest.

A1.1.3 Transnational contexts.

Ongoing public debates significant for creating shifts in understanding and facilitating deep thinking about the perspective on and selection of events in national and cultural histories are carried out across a number of nations. For example, nations such as the United States of

America, Germany, Japan, Canada, United Kingdom and Austria have over the past twenty years engaged in debates similar to those in Australia. Where events in each nation's historical past which could be described as shameful have largely been omitted from mainstream or dominant national history discourses over time, and a case for their inclusion by some sections of the community has been made, controversy has often resulted in specific, localised nation-focused debates. So, a feature of the history/culture wars in a global sense is that they remain uniquely nation-specific. However, despite this, similar themes of aligning national histories and cultural values with discourses related to the 'progress' and nationalism in a Western paradigm of thinking have emerged. A brief overview of similar debates in other nations is included here; with the nations selected to profile those that have been engaged in their own history/culture wars over a protracted timeframe. Doing this enables the Australian-specific debates to be situated within an international context, demonstrating links to the history/culture wars outside the nation's borders. Although in the Australian context, the history/culture wars are at times concerned with immigrant experiences, Australian relationships with the Asian region or the Anzac [16] legend-making; the debates overwhelmingly centre on the topic of Australia's Indigenous peoples, Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. The history wars and culture wars carried out in other countries have also extended beyond an interest in national history by being concerned with other overtly politically driven decisions, such as the United States' involvement in the Middle East, especially the Iraq War (Kincheloe, 2008).

The history wars have also on impacted schooling, and as particularly relevant for this research, the formal History curriculum. Examples can be found over a sustained period of time in a wide number of countries including Australia and others such as Germany, Canada, Japan, United States and the United Kingdom (see, for example, Wodak, 2001; Tampke, 2006; Moughrabi, 2001; Issitt, 2004; Osborne, 2003; Cope 1987; Brawley, 1997; an overview of the broader arguments in the United States in Wineburg, 2001; and an overview of a number of national contexts in Ahonen, 2001).

[16] Anzac is an acronym for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. During World War I, Australian and New Zealand troops engaged in battle as a united force, under the military control of Great Britain. Anzac legend-making is expanded in *Chapter 7: Before and immediately after WWI*.

A1.1.4 Terminology.

The term *history/culture wars*, has been selected here for use over other terms also used to describe "...the battle of ideas between political conservatives and leftists about how the past and the present should be viewed..." (G. Henderson, 2006a, para. 1). A significant reason for this is because although 'history wars' and 'culture wars' are used separately and extensively, creating a combination of the two is relevant as they can be seen as intertwined in the Australian context. In particular, Australian cultural understandings including issues of national identity have heavily influenced perspectives on historical events and can be aligned with specific shifts in the history/culture wars debates.

Less common terms also used by various commentators provide insight into what they feel the priorities of the debates are. For example, historian Neil Morpeth used the term "history quarrels" in his workshop, *Thucydides and history of ideas: Numbers, war and understanding* (History Teachers' Association, 2007). This term is used to indicate the types of actions that have been undertaken by historians and media commentators and is perhaps a simplified (although not simplistic) way to understand and relate to those aspects of the history component of the history/culture wars that are more academically oriented and conducted between academics. The idea of the history/culture wars being described as a quarrel is one that Curthoys and Docker take up in *Is history fiction?*, where they assert that the general public want a *truth* in history, writing:

> Public audiences want what historians to say to be true, and do not like it when historians disagree among themselves or suggest that a true answer may never be found. If the question is important, there must be a correct answer; to say there are many truths sounds like obfuscation, fence-sitting, and avoiding one's public responsibility. (2006, p.4)

In a Canadian context, this issue has been raised by Osborne (2003), who in quoting the historian Foner, writes "historians view the constant search for new perspectives as the lifeblood of historical understanding. Outside the academy, however, the act of reinterpretation is often viewed with suspicion, and 'revisionist' is invoked as a term of abuse" (as cited in Osborne, 2003, p. 586).

The cultural aspects of the history/culture wars when linked with education often see the English, rather than History, curriculum critiqued. This has attracted sustained interest since

the inclusion of critical literacy in the curriculum, with commentators arguing for a return to an often undefined 'basics'. One such commentator, then-Archbishop (now Cardinal) George Pell claims critical literacy is causing dominant discourses to be "undermined by a...focus on 'texts' which normalise moral and social disorder" for school students (Rowbottom, n.d., p. 1). The word "normalise" as used by Pell is linked to the conservative, politically right values which, in his opinion, the community *should* hold and schools held responsible to instill in students. The influence commentators such as Pell try to exert on the curriculum is not limited to literacy, but often cross into other areas of schooling such as values education. This has led to a larger debate surrounding educational outcomes and testing at schools; perhaps influencing former Prime Minister John Howard's wife, Janette Howard to call it a "Standards War" (Devine, 2007, para. 10).

Adi Wimmer describes the history/culture wars as being a "paradigm wars" (2002, p, 2) providing an apt description of the two sides of the debate that have emerged as significant contributors to this ongoing conflict about national history and its impact on national identity and culture. The paradigms, either from a conservative modernist or from a postmodernist perspective have underpinned the major shifts in the debate, as is illustrated in *Figure A1.2: Timeline of major shifts in the history/culture wars 1993-2008*.

A1.2 Transnational Contexts: History/Culture Wars Debates

As in Australia, history/culture wars debates have emerged in other nations, along similar lines of a binary between politically left and politically right, debated within a Western, modernist, 'progressive' framework of neo-liberalism. So significant are these debates that they have entered both the general public discourses and academic fields of debate. This section will look through the lens of the academic debates of other nations. Whilst Australia too has academic debates on topics related to the impact of national history on contemporary culture (see, for example, Clendinnen, 2006; Curthoys and Docker, 2006; Carter, 2006; Teo & White, 2003; Curthoys, 2003; and Windschuttle, 1996), the focus on the Australian section will be on public discourses influencing the history/culture wars debates and the subsequent impact on schooling. The purpose of this section then is to provide an overview of the history/culture wars as played out in a variety of nations in the same or similar timeframe as the Australian history/culture wars, rather than a detailed, in-depth critique of the finer points of each of the featured nations' specific debates.

The similarities of the debates across nations is emphasized by Alan Luke who writes,

> …which version of history, morality and ethics should count, in whose interests, and to what ends. The debate is underway in an unprecedented array of local textual sites, ranging from more traditional academic and print media forums, textbooks and journals, to radio and television talk shows, internet chat groups and websites…. (1997, p. 343)

The United States is widely regarded as being the first nation to engage in very public debates concerning the nation's history as applicable to current understandings of a national culture and then linking those to education. Beginning prior to the Clinton presidency, and gaining momentum through his time in office (1993-2001), the culture wars of America can be seen as a division between the politically right and the politically left. Deeply nation-specific issues such as gun ownership, censorship and role of government played an important part in the ideologically-driven debates. This is arguably most visible through the United States' involvement in the second Iraq War, and as explained by Kincheloe (2008), there is significant importance on focusing on winning the ideological contest in this.

Other nations have also engaged in their own specific history/culture wars. Briefly, some examples include: Austria's treatment of immigrants and refugees in contemporary times, particularly by elected Parliamentary representatives, against the backdrop of the treatment of Jewish people during the World War Two (WWII) era (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000); Japan's remembering of events in the Pacific Battles of WWII especially regarding what is known as the Rape of Nanking and related to current issues of Japanese sovereignty and impact current relationships with neighbouring nations, such as China and South Korea (Fogel, 2002).

A1.3 School Connections

Taking the types of issues related to a nation's cultural history and linking these to the school curriculum a clearly identifiable timeline is made of intersections between public perspectives of curriculum content and changes in the school curriculum. This can then be used (and has been by critical education researchers) as a way to investigate curriculum changes, or at the least identify the source of pressures to change the curriculum, as a result of nation specific history and cultural wars. Regarding the role of critical discourse analysis in this, Woodside-Jiron writes that this:

> ...draws attention to particular texts, discourse practices, and social practice issues that are particularly relevant to thinking about the engineering of social change through language and practice. In working to understand how policy and power fit together in creating change, Fairclough (1995a, 1995b) referred to *cruces tension points* as moments of crisis. These are times when things are changing or going wrong. What is significant about these moments in time is that they provide opportunities to deconstruct the various aspects of practices that are often time naturalized and therefore difficult to notice. (2004, p. 176)

The countries of the examples listed below have, like Australia, engaged in these *moments* where school curriculum is analysed against emerging and traditional ideas of nationhood and national culture. Examples of the impact on school curriculum of these nation-wide debates, and an indication of the widespread interest in the topic, can be seen in the growing quantity of published literature on this topic, both academic and popular (for an overview of this type of educational discourse, see van Dijk, 1993).

Two specific examples of other nations' links of their history/culture wars to school History curriculum are included here, in order to demonstrate the transnational context of the Australian experience. Beginning with Canada, which in many ways is similar to Australia, being a part of the Commonwealth of British colonial nations, Montgomery analyses examples of racialised History textbooks taught in Canadian schools across a time period from the 1960s to 2000. In recognising the wider transnational importance of this topic, Montgomery writes:

> While the specific focus of the paper is on Canadian history textbooks, the study is about national mythologies in general. That is to say, my efforts are directed towards illuminating some of the ways in which nation states, and particularly white settler colonies such as Canada, enable the reproduction of racism in the present through narrativizations of their past. (2005, p. 428)

He then goes on to connect school textbook content with broader issues of race present in Canadian society within his established timeframe, for example in 1999 when education and public debates collided. Montgomery writes of an issue not dissimilar to that experienced in Australia at the same time. A textbook about Canada's national history "was published...in the midst of a volatile debate about the representation of high school Canadian history and impassioned demands for *traditional historical knowledge* of the nation to take precedence

over...an overrun of *divisive multicultural rhetoric*" (Montgomery, 2005, p. 429, emphasis added).

Creating links between public debates and school curriculum has also featured in recent times in Malaysia. Although Cullip's research focuses mainly on structures of language within a school textbook, he does broaden his scope to connect non-school understandings of history to that found in Malaysian textbooks by writing,

> ...to make history work as a 'discipline', the building and organization of its meanings would need to take place with minimal contest from nationalistic and paternalistic forces...Reform, if serious, must recognize the trade-offs that will need to be made between disciplinary and pedagogical objectives and conservative ideological and socio-political motivations and purposes. This will be the dilemma for a rapidly-changing society struggling with the accommodation of diverse ideologies, and purposes. (Cullip, 2007, p. 210)

What has been presented here is a very brief overview of an emerging field of study, particularly of interest to researchers in the field of functional linguistics and CDA. There are many more examples of the application of school History textbook content to specific, narrowly focused public debates, such as Tampke's (2006) investigation of modern German history; Moughrabi's (2001) link to Palestinian history; and Foster and Crawford's (2006) collection of research essays from a diverse range of nations addressing contemporary issues of national identities within textbooks.

A1.4 Major Shifts in the History/Culture Wars

Two distinct sides of the history/cultures wars debates are encapsulated through the following statements by leading commentators, historian Geoffrey Blainey (see quote on page 440) and former Labor Prime Minister, Paul Keating.

> Those who militantly defend the conservative orthodoxy in Australia see all change as an affront to the past, especially their view of the past. Whereas, knowing the past and seeing it for what it is with all its blemishes, allows us to divine our destiny for our appointment with reality. Paul Keating, Keating's history wars, 5 September 2003 (Keating, 2003, p. 2).

Major shifts in the history/culture wars are depicted in *Figure A1.2: Timeline of major shifts in the history/culture wars 1993-2008*. Criteria for the identification and selection of these major shifts are:

1. When a new point or perspective entered the public domain; and
2. When this point received widespread response; including
3. Key people who have consistently been part of the ongoing debate.
4. Major political events that are seen to contribute to the continuation, proliferation or end of the history/culture wars; and/or
5. School contexts (including those related to curriculum) seen to be impacted by debates.

Figure A1.1: History Wars Keating Manning Clark Blainey.

Leading up to the Black Armband speech, where Blainey called for a "swing of the pendulum" (Blainey, 2005, p. 32), national history had already entered public imagination with discussion influenced by, amongst many other things, the following issues: Australia's 1988 bicentennial celebrations; Paul Keating's 1993 Redfern address; and Manning Clark's publications on Australian history in the decade leading up to the 1988 bicentennial. So, although Blainey's speech provides a starting point for the history/culture wars, it can be seen within a larger socio-political national context, the three significant issues mentioned (although not necessarily directly influencing this speech) form part of the larger discourse that this speech influenced and ignited the history/culture wars. Between the major shifts of the history/culture wars, debate momentum was sustained in the main from continued media, political and general public interest. Representing the two sides of the debate were Manning Clark and Paul Keating on the politically left or 'Black armband' side and John Howard and Geoffrey Blainey on the politically right or 'Three cheers' side, depicted by well-known

political cartoon satirist, Peter Nicholson, in *Figure A1.1: History Wars Keating Manning Clark Blainey* (Nicholson, 2003, n.p.), originally published in *The Australian* on September 27, 2003. It is interesting to note, that some historians, such as Curthoys considers there are ways other than the creation of binaries in constructing informed views, writing of the public debates, "...there are other, much more valuable, ways of thinking about the past, and that the prevalent focus on the nation as a discrete entity, whether positive or negative, leads to a very limited sense of history" (2003, p.22).

A1.5 Key Dates Establishing History/Culture Wars

Year	Events
1993	**April 23:** Geoffrey Blainey's 'The Black Armband view of history' Latham Memorial Lecture
1994	**February:** Wayne Goss, Queensland school curriculum and "invasion" **November 30:** Report of the Civics Expert Group, "Whereas the People...Civics and Citizenship Education"
1995	
1996	**March 28:** John Howard election victory/Paul Keating defeat **October and November:** John Howard enters history/culture wars debates as Prime Minister
1997	**May 27:** John Howard's Australian Reconciliation Convention speech **November 14:** Henry Reynolds coined the phrase 'white blindfold'
1998	
1999	
2000	**Tony Taylor's report on History education "The future of the past" (included in education section)**
2001	
2002	
2003	Stuart MacIntyre and Anna Clark's book *The History Wars* enters the debate to wide academic and general public interest
2004	**Failure of critical literacy:** Wayne Sawyer, Editorial in *English in The Australian*
2005	
2006	**January 25:** John Howard Australia Day Address to National Press Club **March:** *Humanities Alive 2* textbook and terrorism controversy **August 18:** Bob Carr statement predicting end of SOSE October: National History Summit **(included in education section)**
2007	**February 7:** Launch of *Dumbing down,* written by Kevin Donnelly **November 24:** John Howard election defeat/Kevin Rudd election victory (included in end of history culture wars section)
2008	**February 13:** Prime Minister Kevin Rudd issues a National Apology for the so-named "Stolen Generations"

Figure A1.2: Timeline of major shifts in the history/culture wars, 1993-2008 (green font indicates direct connection to education contexts)

A1.5.1 April 23, 1993: Geoffrey Blainey's 'The Black Armband view of history' speech.

Blainey used his speech at the Latham Memorial Lecture (April 23, 1993) to assert his view that there was an overemphasis on the negative aspects of Australia's past at the expense of celebratory milestones. Two key phrases set up as binaries to create a polarisation between historical perspectives held by historians and non-historians alike can be attributed to Blainey's speech. The 'Three Cheers view' and the 'Black Armband view' of Australian history have been instrumental in establishing two separate and distinct perspectives of what versions of Australian history should be published.

Blainey was motivated to begin this national debate on versions of Australian history, by his disappointment that the celebratory grand narratives of Australia's past achievements were being ignored. In part, he spoke of this Black armband view of history as follows:

> In recent years it has assailed the generally optimistic view of Australian history. The black armbands were quietly worn in official circles in 1988, the bicentennial year. Until late in that year Mr Hawke rarely gave a speech that awarded much praise to Australia's history. Even notable Labor leaders from the past – Fisher, Hughes, Scullin, Curtin and Chifley – if listening in their graves in 1988, would have heard virtually no mention of their name and their contributions to the nation they faithfully served. Indeed the Hawke Government excised the earlier office slogan, 'The Australian Achievement', replacing it with 'Living Together' – a slogan that belongs less to national affairs than to personal affairs...
>
> ...Manning Clark, who was almost the official historian in 1988, had done much to spread the gloomy view and also the compassionate view with his powerful prose and his Old Testament phrases. (Blainey, 1993, n.p.)

Statements, such as the following excerpt from a speech to the members of the Canberra press gallery from then-Treasurer, later Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating at Canberra on December 7, 1990 is a clear demonstration of the perspective Blainey was explicitly criticising.

> *Now Curtin was our wartime leader, and a trier, but we've never had that kind of leadership*. And it's no good people saying, 'But there's 230 million people in the US.' There weren't 230 million people when Thomas Jefferson was sitting in a house

> he designed for himself in a paddock in the back of Virginia writing the words: 'Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. There weren't 230 million when they were getting the ethos of the country together; when they were getting their great architectural heritage together; when they were rooting their values in the soil. *They had leadership, and that's what politics is about. Now we are leading this country, and I don't think any of us thinks that we're up to the Lincolns or the Roosevelts or the Washingtons.* There [start p. 126] are no soldier-statesmen lurking about this city but, the fact is, we're doing our best. (2005, p. 126-127, emphasis added)

This view of lack of strong leadership is also held by others, and still asserted in more recent times. See, for example, an extract from John Carroll's Deakin Lecture *Australia's equanimity is a mystery* delivered on 12 May 2001 at Capitol Theatre, Melbourne. Where Carroll differs from Keating, is that he is not necessarily using it as a criticism of Australian citizens' political decisions, more as part of a wider observation of Australian culture and way of life. Carroll asserts:

> This country is refusing the great leader archetype – from Moses to Abraham Lincoln –invited the people themselves to preside. The choice was not for lack of candidates of stature, starting with the political visionary in whose honour these lectures are named. (Carroll, 2004, p. 57)

A1.5.2 February 1994: Wayne Goss, Queensland school curriculum and *invasion*.

The Queensland curriculum attracted widespread media attention and public interest when it was reported that a Social Studies draft curriculum document endorsed by the state Labor government, contained the word "invasion" to describe the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788. Wayne Goss, then Premier of Queensland, responded to the emerging furor by demanding that the word be removed. Of this issue, Goss stated, "I think just about all Australians would not regard what happened in 1788 as an invasion" (as cited in A. Clark, 2002b, p. 5). Over the next month, major newspapers, broadsheet and tabloid, carried this issue along with opinion pieces, editorials and letters to the editor either strongly supporting or vehemently attacking the view of the 1788 arrival being termed as an "invasion" (for an in-depth coverage of the polarisation of views expressed over this issue, see Anna Clark's *Teaching the Nation*, 2006).

After an initial furor, this curriculum issue remained dormant for the next thirteen years, emerging again in early 2007 during debates about instituting a national curriculum of which then-Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd supported (Editorial: The advantages of a national approach, 2007). It re-emerged again in late 2007 after Rudd became Prime Minister and speculation mounted about an Apology to Indigenous Australians for the Government's policy on removing children from their homes (N. Pearson, 2007). Reports recollected that Rudd demonstrated a conservative view of Australian history in school curriculum, working to replace the word "invasion" with other such as "colonisation" and "settlement." Ferrari and Wilson reported of the 1994 issue:

> The resource for teachers said terms such as settlement, explorer or pioneer were not acceptable and the preferred term was invasion. After intervention by then premier Wayne Goss, the cabinet office, *of which Mr Rudd was then head, produced a replacement book*, which said many Aborigines interpreted the First Fleet's arrival as invasion but *"colonisation" or "settlement" also accurately described the same event*. (2007, para. 10, emphasis added)

This one-topic issue is an example of the cross over that can occur between school-based issues and the history/culture wars, with the topic gaining widespread interest both in 1994 when it was first reported and then in 2007 when it resurfaced. Whereas in 1994 it was used as an example to make a point about alleged school curriculum 'bias' on a single State platform, in 2007 this was extended and used as an example to mount a case for the national curriculum to be implemented, with *The Australian* newspaper arguing "giving the federal government central control of the nation's curriculum would also serve to increase accountability and transparency in a system that is too often deliberately opaque and unfriendly when it comes to involving parents" (Editorial: The advantages of a national approach, 2007, para. 1).

A1.5.3 November 30, 1994: Civics Expert Group report, *Whereas the People: Civics and Citizenship Education*.

Written by the Civics Expert Group established by the Keating government in the early 1990s, and chaired by Stuart MacIntyre the report, *Whereas the people: Civics and citizenship education* (Civics Expert Group, 1994) took stock of existing citizenship and civics curriculum and made several key recommendations to foster the improvement of the citizenship and civics teaching across Australia. Unusual for any issue related to social

studies, civics or History, this report garnered widespread support. For example, Kevin Donnelly, otherwise a critic of MacIntyre wrote this of the report:

> Anyone interested in the Australian education scene, in particular the school sector, will find much of value in the report. The report acknowledges the mistakes in educational practice and theory over the last 25 years and, while I do not agree with all its recommendations, the report offers a valuable starting point for the debate about what we need to teach our young about civics and citizenship education. (1996/1997, p. 21)

An outcome of the research that informed the report was an identified deficit in civics and citizenship knowledge and understanding, with the report stating "...there is a low level of understanding across the community about Australia's system of government and its origins..." (Civics Expert Group, 1994, p. 12). The report then made the following recommendations for what would need to be done to ensure an effective level of civics knowledge about Australia's government:

- the basic liberal democratic values that sustain our system of government and enrich its operation
- not just formal knowledge of the system of government but appreciation of how it works in practice and how the operations of government affect citizens
- the role of non-government organisations as well as government agencies in public affairs
- the rich diversity of Australian society, the ways in which the different sections of the society are able to live together, and the principles that enable them to do so with tolerance and acceptance
- what it means to act as a citizen – the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the opportunities for exercising them. (Civics Expert Group, 1994, p. 7)

The impact of this report in developing a knowledge base of civics and citizenship education in schools, both at the time of its release and in the years following, is significant. This occurred, arguably most visibally, through a set of classroom resources, *Discovering Democracy*, developed as a result of the report and distributed to all Australian schools.

A1.5.4 October and November 1996: John Howard enters history/culture wars debates as Prime Minister.

In many ways, the history/culture wars debates and associated neo-conservative views of Australian history and culture can be viewed as a key defining issue of Howard's eleven years as Prime Minister. He expressed his views on Australian history prior to his election victory in March 1996, and continued with the same conservative, *Three cheers* view throughout his three terms; influencing and in many ways defining the nature of the associated debates, assisted by a large number of conservative journalists and commentators in the mainstream press, who are ideologically aligned with Howard. It was during his first nine months as prime minister, that Howard first started using the term originally coined by Blainey in 1993, the "black armband view of Australia history" (Howard, 1996, p. 6158.). It is regarding Blainey's speech that Sally Warhaft writes retrospectively,

> What he described as 'historical realism' was subject to unprecedented attack, although his 1993 speech on 'The black armband view of history' attracted little attention until Prime Minister John Howard borrowed the phrase three years later. Then it 'took off like a rocket' and entered the vernacular, although its originator contends that most of its critics 'had no idea what it signified'. (2004, pp. 267-8)

It is during two key speeches delivered two weeks apart, that the *black armband* term was used by Howard, quickly appropriated by both sides of the debates in the history/culture wars to assert their viewpoints on which perspectives and versions of Australia's past should be remembered. The first use of the term was on Wednesday, October 30 in the House of Representatives, where in introducing four statements affirming Australia's racial tolerance and equity (developed as a bipartisanship undertaking) and in one further point specifically denouncing racial intolerance, and perhaps channeling a distinct opposing view of former Prime Minister Keating, Howard stated:

> ...I profoundly reject with the same vigour what others have described, and I have adopted the description, as the black armband view of Australian history. *I believe the balance sheet of Australian history is a very generous and benign one*. I believe that, like any other nation, we have black marks upon our history but amongst the nations of the world we have a remarkably positive history.
>
> I think there is a yearning in the Australian community right across the political divide for its leaders to enunciate more pride and sense of achievement in

> what has gone before us. *I think we have been too apologetic about our history in the past. I think we have been far too self-conscious about what this country has achieved and I believe it is tremendously important that we understand...that the Australian achievement has been a heroic one, a courageous one and a humanitarian one*. Any attempts to denigrate that achievement I believe will derive the justifiable ire and criticism of the Australian community, however people may lie in the political spectrum. (1996a, p. 6158, emphasis added)

The sentiment of this statement, supported by then-Opposition Leader Kim Beazley through a parliamentary response, was repeated two weeks later by Howard at the 1996 Menzies' Lecture. During his speech on this occasion, Howard was overt with his criticism of Keating and as newly elected Prime Minister established his difference from the former Prime Minister on the issue of Australian history (for a more detailed overview of Keating's perspectives in the early years of the history/culture wars than what this overview provides, consult Brawley, 1997). Also of importance, during this time period, ultra conservative politician, Pauline Hanson had been elected to Parliament House. Her provocative, reactionary statements on Asian immigration and Indigenous Australian rights and social justice issues had caused a national debate which in turn gained significant international attention. In view of the immediate past events (Paul Keating's defeat) and current events (rise of race debates which attracted significant numbers of disgruntled conservatives), Howard stated,

> I have spoken tonight of the need to guard against the re-writing of Australian political history...
>
> There is, of course, a related and broader challenge involved. And that is to ensure that our history as a nation is not written definitively by those who take the view that Australians should apologise for most of it.
>
> *This 'black arm band' view of our past reflects a belief that most Australian history since 1788 has been little more than a disgraceful story of imperialism, exploitation, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination.*

> I take a very different view. *I believe that the balance sheet of our history is one of heroic achievement and that we have achieved much more as a nation of which we can be proud than of which we should be ashamed.*
>
> In saying that, I do not exclude or ignore specific aspects of our past where we are rightly held to account. Injustices were done in Australia, and no-one should obscure or minimise them.
>
> We need to acknowledge as a nation the realities of what European settlement has meant for the first Australians, the Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, and in particular the assault on their traditions and the physical abuse they endured. (1996b, n.p., emphasis added)

Combined, these speeches represent the view Howard held throughout his Prime Ministership of Australian history and how it should be remembered (although it could be argued that his perspectives gradually became even more politically conservative, with a lesser emphasis on remembering any negative aspects of Australia's history particularly in the context of school curriculum debates). Reactions for and against these types of statements and perspectives held by Howard are examined in greater depth in the *Continuation and proliferation of the history/culture wars* section of this overview and demonstrate how this view pervaded public debate over the eleven years from 1996-2007. It has, therefore, been necessary to quote Howard at length here, so that an accurate portrayal of his views can be presented, enabling a strong critique of his, and other conservatives', views on this topic with the history/culture wars.

A1.5.5 May 27, 1997: Howard's Australian Reconciliation Convention speech.

The *Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation*, set up through an Act of Parliament from 1991 to 2001, was legislated to address the following objective:

> The object of the establishment of the Council is to promote a process of reconciliation between Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and the wider Australian community, based on an appreciation by the Australian community as a whole of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and achievements and of the unique position of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders as the indigenous peoples of Australia, and by means that include the fostering of an ongoing national

> commitment to co-operate to address Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander disadvantage. (*Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Act 1991* Part 2, s. 5)

In May 1997, the national council hosted the Australian Reconciliation Convention. John Howard created national attention and wide-spread controversy in the eyes of some and praise by others for his commitment to a process of practical reconciliation (as distinct from an official government apology) through offering the following opinion of Australian history in his Opening Address,

> ...all Australians - indigenous and otherwise - need to acknowledge realistically the interaction of our histories. Our purpose in doing so should not be to apportion blame and guilt for past wrongs, but to commit to a practical programme of action that will remove the enduring legacies of disadvantage. At the same time, we need to acknowledge openly that the treatment accorded to many indigenous Australians over a significant period of European settlement represents the most blemished chapter in our history. Clearly, there were injustices done and no-one should obscure or minimise them. (Howard, 1997, n.p.)

This part of his speech, particularly the mention of injustices experienced by Indigenous Australians over an extended time period as a "blemished chapter" caused many of the delegates to stand up and turn their backs on Howard while he was delivering his speech; an act which generated wide spread media coverage. This then fed into the already established history/culture wars, further fuelling division in the community, a polarisation in many ways created by and mediated through the media, over whether or not the Australian government as representative of all Australians should formally apologise for past injustices towards Indigenous Australians. It is largely through the context of the history/culture wars debates that this issue was sustained in the public arena, with commentators still discussing the issue some four years later (see, for example, Carney, 2002).

A1.5.6 November 14, 1997: Henry Reynolds coined the phrase *white blindfold*.

Henry Reynolds' speech *Aborigines and the 1967 referendum: Thirty years on* can be seen as contributing three key elements to the history/culture wars. First, was his use of the term "white blindfold" (1998, p. 64), a term that as a result of this speech entered the common vernacular. Second, he introduced a personal and personality dimension to the debate, one that would continue to gain momentum through personal attacks between contributors to the

history/culture wars in the public arena. Third, he situated Australia within the international arena, as one of many nations currently engaged in ongoing debates about their past and how this informs current and future understandings of nations' pasts. Combining these three elements, H. Reynolds asserted his position in the debates by stating,

> ...I have an investment in the black armband version of history, I mean I clearly have made my reputation by peddling it. I think it is important in Australia as a corrective to what went before, which I like to call the white blindfold version of history. And I think it is a process of history we had to go through, as many countries in the world are going through, a process of truth-telling and reconciliation. All over the world this is happening...Now I think the black armband view of history was critical in reaffirming old truths which people were quite happy to talk about in the nineteenth century. Where political correctness, it seems to me, did have an important and deleterious effect was the political correctness of the early twentieth century which wrote out much of the story of conflict and dispossession. Now, in a way, it is the problem we have that generations, including myself, grew up with a far too heroic picture of Australia's history. I think soon we should be in a position where we can throw away both the white blindfold and the black armband because I think we are getting to a stage where we can accept that there are good things and bad things and they are not mutually exclusive, they do not cancel one another out. (1998, p. 64-65)

The first element, coining the phrase "white blindfold" can be seen as a direct retaliation to Blainey's 1993 speech that introduced the term "black armband" and "three cheers" (Blainey, 1993) views of Australia's past, and to Howard's adoption of this term in 1996 (Howard, 1996a, 1996b). The second element present in H. Reynolds' speech indicates the personal and personality dimension of the debate, particularly in his choice of words where is indicates that he is "peddling" (1998, p. 64) a particular view of Australia's past. Of further significance to the broader history/culture wars debates, H. Reynolds began to connect both current topics and specific historical events within an historical debate framework, rather than keeping the debate as an abstract historical argument, with no specific anchor points.

A1.5.7 2003: MacIntyre and Clark's: *The History Wars* enters the debate to academic and general public interest.

Authored by Stuart MacIntyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (2003) provides an overview and critique of the political and social impact of the ongoing history/culture wars

debates as played out in Australia. A. Clark's chapter then connects this to aspects of History curriculum in schools. *The History Wars* was launched in 2003 by former-Prime Minister, Paul Keating and with his trademark tenacity, launched into a lengthy criticism of supporters of Howard's and Blainey's perspective stating,

> I have never understood why the Howards and the Blaineys et al are so defensive. So resistant to novelty and to progress. They are more than conservatives. They're reactionaries.
>
> Conservatives gradually, if somewhat reluctantly, accept change. Reactionaries not only resist change, they seek to reverse it. Understanding and acknowledging the past and moving on to bigger and better things is anathema to them. (Keating, 2003, p. 2)

Keating was able to place the originally solely academic history/culture wars debates within the larger public sphere they had entered, highlighting the importance such debates held, stating the book "...sheds light on the political battle which is carried on in the pubs and on the footpaths about who we are and what has become of us. For the protagonists and antagonists in academe are now surrogates in a broader political battle about Australia's future" (Keating, 2003, p. 2). MacIntyre had already established himself within the debate, and for A. Clark, at the time a research higher degree student of MacIntyre; this presented a high profile entrance into the debate, a topic that she has continued researching, particularly investigating current History and SOSE curriculums (see, for example, A. Clark, 2006).

A1.5.8 Failure of critical literacy: Sawyer's editorial in *English in Australia.*

Entering the history/culture wars debate in late 2004, Wayne Sawyer (then-English Teachers' Association of NSW President) claimed in an editorial published in the Association's journal *English in Australia*; that as a result of the Howard election victory, an even greater need for critical literacy to be included in the school curriculum had been demonstrated. This editorial was picked up by *The Australian* in February 2005, and a major public debate regarding the teaching of school children ensued. So significant was this, that the topic of the debate which originated from Sawyer's comments was subsumed within a larger one dealing with left-wing ideology in school curriculum and perceived brainwashing students by teachers and as a continuation of a debate regarding public education versus private education (Maiden & Harris, 2005). The debates were then linked to the larger history/culture wars, by drawing

parallels between ideologies present in the English curriculum and those in the SOSE curriculum. Key players in this debate included academics, teachers, regular history/culture wars commentators and politicians with the general public playing a significant role through letters to the editor. In addition to this debate attracting widespread responses from traditional print media, the emerging electronic media of personal blogs and wikis also featured and were used as a way for the general public to express views on this topic. See, for example, Ambit Gambit (n.d.) and Online Opinion (n.d.) for a variety of responses to this issue. A brief overview of the debate as it unfolded is included in this section, highlighting the significant shifts that occurred over a very short period of time, as reported in *The Australian* from February 9, 2005.

Particular aspects of Sawyer's editorial that were the subject of controversy include:

> We're told that the government was re-elected by the young. If so, a fair proportion of that group by now must have graduated from a 'critical' education...What does it mean for us and our ability to create a questioning, critical generation that that kind of language gets itself re-elected?
>
> 'Non-core promise' has passed into colloquialism and all the generations that ever studied English have apparently bought it...What does that mean for us and our ability to create questioning, critical citizens? We went to war in Iraq after the weapons inspectors told us there were no WMDs –and then were fed the absolutely laughable proposition that going into Iraq has made us safer from terrorism. So, what does that mean for us and our ability to create questioning, critical, analytical citizens? We knew the truth about Iraq before the election. Did our former students just not care? We knew before the election that 'children overboard' was a crock, but, as it was yesterday's news, did they not care about that either?...Has English failed not only to create critical generations, but also failed to create humane ones? (Sawyer, 2004, p. 3)

When this was editorial was picked up by *The Australian* a few months later, it was reported that:

> Radicalised teacher who preach politics to pupils did their professions a "great disservice" and were driving parents out of the public system.

> The attack on teachers was launched yesterday by John Howard... "That sort of comment just feeds a growing view in the community that the system has become radicalised through the attitudes of some teachers." (Maiden & Harris, 2005, p. 3)

The editorial in the same edition of the newspaper supported Maiden and Harris' front page story, and then extended the debate by very clearly linking to the history/culture wars by including criticism of Manning Clark, stating in part,

> It has been going on for years—the creeping, insidious politicisation of our educational institutions by the cultural left—but seldom have we seen it laid out so clearly...This...from someone in charge of teacher training at a supposedly serious university...the intellectual sons and daughters of Manning Clark have held sway for decades. (Editorial: When teaching turns into indoctrination, 2005, p. 10)

In the following days, many others entered the debate, and indicative of its polarisation in the minds of the general public, the letters to the editor page of *The Australian* (Teachers' role as classroom brainwashers, February 10 2005, p. 10) and then *The Weekend Australian* (Kids force-fed a diet of indoctrination, February 12-13 2005, p. 18) featured many letters highlighting the controversy Sawyer's statement caused. Of the 14 letters to the editor published in these two editions, only one was in support of Sawyer. Linked with the history/culture wars, two letters to the editor which represented the divergent views of the public, include:

> Parents will no doubt be shocked by *The Australian*'s revelations this week of the abuse of the teaching of English in our schools...
>
> Studies of Society and the Environment curricula are replete with the biases of political correctness...Right is wrong and Left is right, so write left and you'll be right, is the message the students get at school and later at university. (Wilson, 2005, p. 18)

The second letter to the editor, links general teacher incompetence with overtly politically charged curriculum, and is illustrative of the many people from the politically-left who were appalled by comments made by Sawyer. Mark Eastaugh of Toowoomba, Queensland wrote:

> I am astounded by what is happening in our schools. Kevin Donnelly (Opinion, 9/2) makes an excellent point about trends in modern school education that turn students

into “politically correct new age warriors”. It is appalling that we tolerate the concepts and the politics behind this thinking.

It is also appalling that Wayne Sawyer considers that because he has certain views they are automatically correct...

And just for the record, I had really expected and hoped John Howard would lose the election. (2005, p. 10)

So significant was this issue that it continued to be discussed three years later by educators in the field of English teaching and education studies more broadly. For example, the following statement, which appears to support Sawyer’s editorial, is from an extract of a paper presented at the 2007 annual conference of the Australian Teacher Education Association. It reads:

> Sawyer’s editorial generated hardy reactions from among the antagonists in the critical literacy campaign and is still used to advantage whenever an example of ‘extremist thinking’ among teachers is required to support their argument. Newspaper columns written by opponents of critical literacy began to appear quite frequently from early 2005 including appeals against such “…post-modern theories and academic jargon” and other “…marginal theories” (Slattery, 2005a)... (Wilson, 2007, pp. 667-668)

A1.5.9 January 25, 2006: Howard’s Australia Day Address to the National Press Club.

Howard continued to feature prominently in public debates, including setting the tone of the debates; his position as Prime Minister affording him significant influence on this issue. His Australia Day Address at the National Press Club presented as an opportunity for Howard to not only continue the history/culture wars debate, but to add to it, clearly aligning the issue within schooling contexts. In calling for a reinvigoration of Australian history in school curriculum, Howard stated:

> Quite apart from a strong focus on Australian values, I believe the time has also come for root and branch renewal of the teaching of Australian history in our schools, both in terms of the numbers learning and the way it is taught. For many years, it’s been the case that fewer than one-in-four senior secondary students in

Australia take a history subject. And only a fraction of this study relates to Australian history. Real concerns also surround the teaching of Australian history in lower secondary and primary schools. Too often history has fallen victim in an ever more crowded curriculum to subjects deemed more 'relevant' to today. Too often, it is taught without any sense of structured narrative, replaced by a fragmented stew of 'themes' and 'issues'. And too often, history, along with other subjects in the humanities, has succumbed to a postmodern culture of relativism where any objective record of achievement is questioned or repudiated.

> Part of preparing young Australians to be informed and active citizens is to teach them the central currents of our nation's development. The subject matter should include indigenous history as part of the whole national inheritance. It should also cover the great and enduring heritage of Western civilisation, those nations that became the major tributaries of European settlement and in turn a sense of the original ways in which Australians from diverse backgrounds have created our own distinct history. It is impossible, for example, to understand the history of this country without an understanding of the evolution of parliamentary democracy or the ideas that galvanised the Enlightenment.

> In the end, young people are at risk of being disinherited from their community if that community lacks the courage and confidence to teach its history. This applies as much to the children of seventh generation Australians or indigenous children as it does to those of recent migrants, young Australian Muslims, or any other category one might want to mention. When it comes to being an Australian there is no hierarchy of descent. Whether our ancestors were here thousands of years ago, whether they came on the First Fleet or in the 19th century, or whether we or our ancestors are amongst the millions of Australians who have come to our shores since the Second World War, we are all equally Australians – one no better than the other. (Howard, 2006, n.p.)[17]

The speech attracted many and varied responses, and has remained a defining feature of the cross over between the history/culture wars and education contexts, known colloquially as the

[17] It has been necessary to quote this part of the speech at length, in order that individual statements can be read within the context of the speech, rather than as isolated examples.

Root and branch renewal of history speech. One response to the debates that developed in the days and weeks following Howard's Australian Day Address was:

> McKenna accuses the Prime Minister of seeking a "comfort history...packaged, devoid of a critical eye and without any capacity to threaten national myths" as part of an "attempt to nail the national creed to the door at a time of national anxiety over cultural difference". "This is the last thing that will attract young Australians to studying Australian history," he says. (Hope, 2006, p. 27)

The speech garnered a significant amount of public attention with commentators levering from this speech examples of state-based curricula seen as lacking intellectual rigor. Donnelly, in agreement with John Howard of the state of History curricula in Australia, asserted that History teaching has been in decline since the 1970s, due to the view that "...left-wing academics, education bureaucracies and professional associations have embarked on the long march through the institutions to overthrow more conservative approaches to education" (Donnelly, 2006e, n.p.). Drawing a sensationalised connection between these academics and Mao's long march is then further reinforced by Donnelly's linking of the SOSE and History curriculums to Holocaust denial stating that due to the alleged view "...that different versions of the past are of equal value...allows revisionist historians to judge past actions in terms of what is now considered politically correct" (Donnelly, 2006e, n.p.). Unfortunately any potential constructive contribution to the debate of the intellectual values of the SOSE and History curriculums and the inclusion of Australian history content (both very important topics) is lost by sensationalist claims such as "taken to its logical conclusion" (Donnelly, 2006e, n.p.) topics such as Holocaust denial will be taught in Australian classrooms.

In an almost rare praise of teachers, Queensland History education academic, Deborah Henderson responded in a letter to the Editor to *The Courier Mail* writing,

> Howard needs to sit in a history classroom. There he would observe young Australians not only engaged in rigorous intellectual work but also learning more about the processes of causation, continuity and change that have shaped their nation and world. He would see students posing questions, weighing up evidence, making decisions and debating points of view. Then he might realise why the skills of historical inquiry are such valuable life skills. If he spent time in the classroom, Howard might also note the levels of empathy and understanding students develop

> for people in other places and times and their genuine joy of learning about the past. *In so many classrooms history teaching and learning are alive and well*. (2006, n.p., emphasis added)

A1.5.10 February 7, 2007: Launch of Donnelly's *Dumbing down*.

Influential conservative commentator on the history/culture wars and general critic of current school curriculum, particularly SOSE and Outcomes Based Education (OBE), Kevin Donnelly authored and published a book, released in early 2007, titled *Dumbing down: Outcomes-based and politically correct—The impact of the culture wars on our schools*. In it, he criticised what he considered to be the politically correct nature of schooling across states in Australia. John Howard, in launching the book, took the opportunity to make criticisms of State government Departments of Education, and included a brief criticism of SOSE by stating, "...there is something both deadening and saccharine in curriculum documents where History is replaced by 'Time, Continuity and Change' and Geography now becomes 'Place, Space and Environment'" (Howard, 2007, p. 2).

Despite criticisms that Donnelly's book was superficial at best and contained "...slipshod argument, poor scholarship and meretricious presentation" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 12), it proved to be both popular and significant in continuing to maintain the relationship between the history/culture wars and education, particularly school curriculum. The relevant arguments contained in Donnelly's books are echoed in his regular newspaper columns, and covered throughout this overview.

A1.6 Continuation and Proliferation of the History/Culture Wars

Proliferation of the history/culture wars during the time period 1993-2007 occurred through many different modes: public speeches, newspaper articles, letters to the editors, and other media such as political cartoons. Robert Manne, in his Alfred Deakin Lecture at Capitol Theatre, Melbourne on 20 May 2001, commented on the ongoing history/culture wars, demonstrating the extent to which it had entered general public discourse, stating:

> Having belatedly discovered something which Charles Rowley, Bill Stanner and Henry Reynolds could have taught me twenty years before, the historical questions concerning the dispossession and the political questions concerning reconciliation have become dominant preoccupations over the past few years. (Manne, 2004, p. 67)

Further in his lecture, Manne then refers to the phrases coined by Blainey eight years prior to making this speech, further demonstrating the extent to which these phrases had entered the common lexicon. Manne commented on the polarising effect Blainey's 'Black armband' and 'Three cheers' phrases had on the general Australian population.

> At present, on the Aboriginal question, Australians are polarised between what we have come to call the black armband and the white blindfold points of view. If I can put this division in Cold War terms –while the left is churlish about the great achievements of Australian history but clear sighted about the Aboriginal tragedy, the Right understands the genuine accomplishments of Australian civilisation but is incapable of acknowledging, without equivocation, the self-evident truths about the terrible wrongs inflicted on the Aborigines in the building of the nation.
>
> In Australian history very great achievements and very great injustices occurred. Neither column in this moral ledger will cancel the other out. It is my hope that one day the large majority of Australians will be able to accept the ambiguity at the heart of our history without the need to flinch and turn away. (Manne, 2004, p. 68)

To further demonstrate the way that the history/culture wars have entered public interest and debate, the ABC Radio National's high profile annual Boyer Lectures series has often been used as a way for the invited presenter to discuss issues of significance to Australian social and cultural history. In particular, in the period from the Australian 1988 Bicentennial, nine series of lectures have concentrated on this topic. Blainey's 2001 lecture series, *This land is all horizons: Australia's fears and visions*, picks up on his 1993 assertion of the misrepresentation of Australian history through an overemphasis on negative aspects of Australia's past (especially colonial history). In the opening statement of his first lecture in the 2001 Boyer series, Blainey stated:

> For much of my lifetime - and long before it - there was one dominant vision for Australia. Expressed in a short sentence: all of the vast continent had, somehow, to be filled with people...
>
> You may say - and you are entitled to - that you are not impressed with this old-time, optimistic point of view. Certainly, this goal of national development is now in decline. Its decline is one of the main ideological changes within Australia in

> the last 30 years...Likewise the tensions between city and country have been sharpened by the decline of this belief, in nation-wide development. Curiously in South-east Asia, most people share - for their country - this vision that we now are putting to one side. (2001, para. 1, 3)

In a 2004 *The Weekend Australian* feature on Anna Clark, the following comments were made emphasising her own position in the history/culture wars as one of linking contemporary understanding of the world to historical research as being an unavoidable product of the work of an historian (a view in itself that could be considered contentious), and to call for what A. Clark terms *balance*:

> …Clark makes the point that calls for balance and demands that scholarship should not ignore the heroic achievements in the nation's past are as much based in contemporary political disputes as calls for a focus on the effect of European settlement on indigenous Australians.
>
> "History is alive today, it sparks passionate debates," she says. "We all try to be honest about how we write, but it is very difficult to separate current debates from historical research – we are interested in the past because it touches us – there has to be a connection for history to have a bite." (Matchett, 25 February 2004, para. 8-9)

Reporting on John Howard's address to Quadrant's 50th anniversary celebration, Dennis Shanahan writes that Howard "...marshalled his allies on the intellectual Right" (Shanahan, 2006, para. 1) by adding an extra topic for the debate in the ongoing history/culture wars. In addition to education, history and Australian cultural values more broadly, as part of the common topics, Howard introduced "...Islamic extremism's threat to democracy" (Shanahan, 2006, para. 3). Therefore, a claim can be made that through the discourse of the history/culture wars, when a populist idea emerges, it has been appropriated into the debate, suiting the political purpose of the person who uses the topic as a case in point within the larger discourse. See, for example, Kunkel's call for "a new front in the History Wars" (2008, p. 3) by including economics. In this way, after thirteen years of debate, the history/culture wars can be seen as encompassing more than the original topic of frontier interactions between Indigenous and Non Indigenous Australians; and as a result casting a wider net for people entering the debate.

Throughout the years that the history/culture wars debates continued and proliferated, energized debates continued to be constructed by both the politically-left and politically-right, a point taken up by Anna Clark who drew parallels between the hysteria caused during the Cold War era and the oppositional debates exchanged by those from differing ideological standpoints:

> The belief that a dangerous revisionism was descending over the nation was widespread. Like red communist arrows advancing across 1950s maps of Asia, an insidious ideological threat was seeping into homes throughout Australia via newspapers, television and even school texts. Critical history was harmful, wrong and increasingly prominent. (A. Clark, 2002, p. 3)

A1.6.1 Representations of the ANZAC legend.

It would be remiss, in an overview charting the significant aspects of the history/culture wars, not to mention the impact of the debates on the so-named ANZAC legend[18]. There are many other topics that have also infiltrated or indirectly influenced the history/culture wars, such as the Republican Movement, Australian relationships with Asia, and recent arrival immigrant experiences in Australia. However, it is the ANZAC legend that is especially significant for the profile it has had in the conduct of the history/culture wars and its connectedness to the general Australian public. The raised profile of the ANZAC legend (and in particular contextualised in the role of the infantry of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in Gallipoli, Turkey during WWI) can largely be attributed to John Howard, as aligned with his 'three cheers' view of Australian history. It is evidenced through a number of key activities undertaken by a growing number of Australians each year. First, travelling to Gallipoli which is increasingly portrayed as being a rite of passage—a type of pilgrimage—for young Australians; and second, increased attendance at annual ANZAC day events, services and commemorations, in particular the sombre Dawn Service.

[18] ANZAC Day is held annually on April 25. The Australian War Memorial describes it in the following way, "...is probably Australia's most important national occasion. It marks the anniversary of the first major military action fought by Australian and New Zealand forces during the First World War. ANZAC stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps…Although the Gallipoli campaign failed in its military objectives of capturing Constantinople and knocking Turkey out of the war, the Australian and New Zealand actions during the campaign bequeathed an intangible but powerful legacy. The creation of what became known as the "ANZAC legend" became an important part of the national identity of both nations. This shaped the ways they viewed both their past and future." (Australian War Memorial, 2009, ¶ 1, 3)

Participating in Anzac Day activities is increasingly aligned with a normalised 'Australian' way to demonstrate patriotism broadly, rather than solely as a remembrance of Australian war service. The emotive language used to describe this broad patriotism of which Australians are expected to connect with through Anzac Day, established and proliferated by John Howard, as seen through his 2003 Anzac Day address continued with Kevin Rudd's prime ministership as evidenced by his 2008 Anzac Day address, his first as Australian Prime Minister. First, a key statement from Howard's 2003 speech:

> And I think as all of us marvel at the way in which the young of Australia in increasing numbers embrace the Anzac traditions. And we ask ourselves why is it that this great tradition has strengthened and cemented its hold on the affections and the emotions of the Australian people. It is not, as is rightly said on every Anzac Day, about the glorification of war. It is about the celebration of some wonderful values, of courage, of valour, of mateship, of decency, of a willingness as a nation to do the right thing, whatever the cost. (Howard, 2003, para. 2)

Second, key statements from Rudd's 2008 speech:

> What is it about their stories that wrenches us still – fully 90 years after the Armistice that ended the war to end all wars.
>
> I think it is this.
>
> That whatever the comforts of our modern age; whatever its distractions and whatever its disillusionments – that there is something unique about this land Australia and the ideals for which we Australians stand.
>
> That this is a place of unparalleled beauty.
>
> That we are a good people who want for the good of others.
>
> That we stand for a deep sense of liberty for which our forebears fought and which should never be surrendered – whatever the cost.
>
> That we are a people who by instinct cannot stand idly by and be indifferent to the suffering of others.

> A people with a sense of a fair go for all carved deep into our national soul.
>
> A people also alert to the needs of our friends and allies.
>
> These are the values which summoned forth the sons and daughters of ANZAC over the last 100 years from our smallest towns, our greatest cities and our most remote outback. (Rudd, 2008, lines 19-29)

The portrayal of the ANZAC legend (within the context of the history/culture wars in education) can be seen to have reached a pinnacle in 2006 with the selection of an image of the well known WWI soldier, Private John Simpson Kirkpatrick[19] and his donkey for the Australian Federal Government's Department of Education, Science and Training poster, *Values for Australian schooling*, mandated by the Australian Government to be posted in a prominent place in every school across Australia (see Naylor, 2007 for a detailed response to the selection of Simpson and his donkey and the ensuing debates). The decision made by Education Minister, Dr Brendan Nelson to have Simpson as the face of values in Australian schools was one which within itself caused controversy, not much less the debate surrounding the actual nine values selected for Australian school children to learn.

The debate surrounding Simpson and his donkey, this time unlike most other major turning points in the history/culture wars, originated from school discourses and then entered the public domain. So fierce was the debate surrounding whether Simpson and his donkey represented core Australian values, with a renewed call for Simpson to be awarded the Victoria Cross made by one side of the debate and the other side against a soldier representing Australian values in schools. The poster survived the public debates, a triumph for the conservative Howard government. This did not go unnoticed by conservative-minded commentators, such as Gerard Henderson, who in an article titled 'A legend wins the culture wars' and printed on Anzac Day, wrote:

[19] John Simpson Kirkpatrick has become the 'face' of Anzac Day, representative of Australian soldiers and a more broad understanding of 'mateship'. Nominated for, but did not receive, a Victoria Cross for Bravery, Kirkpatrick, known most commonly as *Simpson and his Donkey*, taxied wounded soldiers on the back of a donkey from the battlefield of Gallipoli to receive medical attention on the beach of Anzac Cove. He was killed by gunfire within four weeks of landing at Gallipoli. He has since become synonymous with courage as part of the Anzac legend mythmaking.

> It is unlikely that self-proclaimed expert opinion will change the accepted view of Simpson and his donkey. In other words, it seems that the Nelson interpretation will prevail. The fact is that, whatever his background and whatever his views, the values which Simpson demonstrated at Gallipoli are much admired - from the bottom up. (G. Henderson, 2006a, para. 13)

How the Anzac legend and WWI more generally act as examples of British heritages in school History textbooks, is the focus of *Chapter 5: Before and Immediately After WWI*.

A1.6.2 End of the history/culture wars?

Leading up to the federal election of 24th November, 2007 the history/culture wars had widened in scope to, as Wimmer described, a paradigm wars focusing significantly, almost solely, on the impact on education of the ideological struggle between the conservative right and (so-called) progressive-left. Miranda Devine, a journalist for *The Sydney Morning Herald* and supporter of John Howard and the conservative right approach to the history/culture wars, particularly its application to school contexts, interviewed Howard and his wife Janette. During the interview, the topic of history/culture wars and their impact on schooling was broached. This topic was seen as so important to the Prime Ministership of John Howard that on the eve of contesting what could have been his fifth term as Australian Prime Minister he considered it a topic in need of discussion. Reporting on the aspect of the history/culture wars that surfaced in this interview Devine writes:

> Rudd's party has long been hostage to the education unions and educationists of the so-called progressive left, who persist with 40-year-old radical theories such as whole-word reading and student-directed learning, despite a generation of conclusive proof they do the most harm to the underprivileged children they profess to care most about. As Janette Howard, a former teacher, said during my interview with her husband at Kirribilli House, education is the ground zero of the culture wars, which she prefers to call a "standards war".
>
> In her travels with him on the campaign trail she has found that "people are concerned about what [children] can't do anymore, that they can't spell, they can't add up … or they don't know enough history".

"There's real anger about that," agreed the Prime Minister. (November 22, 2007, para. 9-11)

Rudd, on the other hand, avoided engaging in the history/culture wars debate, seeming to engage only with practical topics such as the national curriculum, about which he had expressed his perspective early in 2007 in consideration of the federal election later that year. One reason for his decision (undoubtedly strategically considered) not to enter any history/culture wars debate can be found when responding (as the new Prime Minister, having defeated Howard) to why he presented an apology to Indigenous Australians of the so-named Stolen Generations. In February, 2008 G. Henderson wrote, "...the Prime Minister declared that his position on the apology had nothing to do with the culture wars which he dismissed as "abstract intellectual academic theoretical debates"" (2008c, para. 12). Even before the 2007 federal election took place, and in the days leading up to it, the end of the history/culture wars was being discussed. Certainly post the 2007 federal election, this debate seems to have largely disappeared from the public domain.

The end of the history/culture wars (perhaps) called prematurely in 2006 by various commentators. For example, journalist Michelle Grattan wrote an article in *The Age* with the headline reading "Howard claims victory in national culture wars" (2006, p.1); and Inga Clendinnen's wrote "the 'history wars' might be over, but history is in the news again because the Prime Minster has put it there" (Clendinnen, 2006, p.1). The election defeat of Prime Minister John Howard on 24th November, 2007 saw a more rigorous assertion that the end of the cultural wars had arrived, or if not the end, then it was hoped the newly elected Rudd government would "…signify an important cultural realignment for the nation" (Soutphommasane, 2007, para. 8), moving away from Howard who "...yearned for the certainties of the old Australia" and a "'relaxed and comfortable' national identity" (2007, para. 9). Whether this is actually the case or not is a debatable point, and one which Noel Pearson took up in his *The Weekend Australian* column the weekend following Howard's loss. Discussing the resumption of parliament led by a new government, and the issue of saying *sorry* for injustices of the past towards Indigenous Australian, N. Pearson wrote that this "…draws the new PM and the Labor government immediately back to ground zero of the Australian history and culture wars of the past decade and a half" (2007, p. 23). There were favourable recollections from conservative commentators, even internationally, of Howard's

stance towards history curriculum during his time as Prime Minister, as seen, for example through comments made by Canadian journalist Mark Steyn,

> And that brings us to the Coalition's next great strand of strategic clarity. At his 2006 education summit, Howard called for "a root and branch renewal of Australian history in our schools, with a restoration of narrative instead of what I labelled the 'fragmented stew of themes and issues"'.
>
> As he explained at the Quadrant 50th anniversary celebration: "This is about ensuring children are actually taught their national inheritance." The absence of a "narrative" and an "inheritance" is a big part of the reason that British subjects born and bred blow up the London Tube, why young Canadian Muslims with no memory of living in any other society plot to behead their own prime minister.
>
> You can't assimilate immigrants and minorities unless you give them something to assimilate to. It's one thing to teach children their history "warts and all", quite another to obsess on the warts at the expense of all else. The West's demographic weakness is merely the physical embodiment of a broader loss of civilisational confidence. (Steyn, 2007, para.14-16)

The claim made that the end of the history and cultural wars had arrived is a convenient place to conclude the mapping of them for this dissertation. Whether a cessation of hostilities continues remains to be seen, however even if these debates continue, they will take on a different direction and focus, as someone, according to N. Person, who potentially holds himself as "…transcending the polarities…" (2007, p. 23). It would appear, with the advent of the new style Labor parliamentarian, it is doubtful the history and cultural wars will cease, but rather continue albeit in a different direction, with less focus on polarisation of views, and more on what could be practically actioned, especially in the field of education.

Perhaps the final curtain in the history/culture wars, or at least this iteration of it, came with Kevin Rudd's apology to the Stolen Generations. In terms of media coverage, it can be seen as, if not the end of the history/culture wars, certainly the close of a chapter in the ongoing debates. During the speech Rudd criticised the Howard government and others who had participated in the ongoing debates, stating:

> These stories cry out to be heard. They cry out for an apology...

> Instead, from the nation's Parliament, there has been a stony and stubborn and deafening silence for more than a decade.
>
> ...
>
> A view that instead we should look for any pretext to push this great wrong to one side, *to leave it languishing with the historians, the academics and the cultural warriors as if the Stolen Generations is a little more that an interesting sociological phenomenon*. (as cited in T. Jones, 2008, para. 3, 4, 6, emphasis added)

Although this and other events were reported as a continuation of the history/culture wars (T. Jones, 2008; and Ferrari's, 2008 link to the national curriculum); given the paucity of coverage on these debates since that time, a case can be mounted that asserts the end of the history/culture wars had arrived. An exception to this is the August 29-30 editorial in *The Weekend Australian* where Rudd is criticised for comments made during a speech to launch Thomas Kenneally's book *Australians: Origins to Eureka* that were "...so innocuous as to be useless in a serious debate about our past" (Editorial, 2009, p. 16). However, as this Editorial did not gain any momentum, it cannot be considered as a serious resurgence of the debates. Amongst other accusations, the newspaper claimed that Rudd was avoiding any robust debate about the nation's past, and brought up the national curriculum as a reference point for the importance of public debate. Although the newspaper could be accused of being less than objective in their reporting of the history/culture wars, the column finished with a terse:

> Mr Rudd is wrong when he talks of 'arid intellectual debates' of the past and counsels us to agree to disagree about our history. Calling for a truce in the history wars ignores the fact our knowledge about the past is constantly evolving. The historical record is based on facts but it is not fixed in stone. (Editorial, 2009, p. 16)

A number of questions can be seen as remaining. Was there a winner of the history/culture wars? If there was, who was it? Does the election of a Labor government mean in and of itself that the conservative side has lost? Given the conservatism of the Australian Labor Party and the at times bipartisan support of these ideologically-driven debates, this may not be the most significant indicator of success and failure. G. Henderson called the loss by the conservatives of the history/culture wars as far back as 2006, writing "...there is only one area where the Coalition has failed to have a significant impact – namely, in what some have termed the 'culture wars'" (2006b, p. 12). G. Henderson still maintained his praise of

Howard's intentions, adding, "Mr Howard has attempted to present a more positive interpretation of the Australian achievement" (G. Henderson, 2006b, p. 12). Reinforcing the view that Howard (and therefore some might argue, the conservative right) lost the history/culture wars, G. Henderson repeated his view two years later, writing "Agree or disagree with the Howard Government, it made some tough decisions on economic, foreign and social policy. However, its impact on the so-called culture wars has been grossly exaggerated" (2008b, para. 2).

A1.7 Education Contexts: History/Culture Wars and School Curriculum

Since the initial SOSE syllabus implementation in Queensland schools in 2000, there have been a number of sustained campaigns critical of the new curriculum. An indication of the impact the history/culture wars has had on schooling can be seen in the print space devoted to the topic in major newspapers. Queensland-based *The Courier Mail*'s reprinting of the entire SOSE Syllabus is one example of this. *The Weekend Australian*'s decision to include five articles plus an editorial in the September 23-24, 2006 edition, on the asserted failings of curriculum is also an indication of the perceived importance and generated public interest of this topic on a nation-wide scale. The syllabuses derived from the SOSE Key Learning Area (KLA) of all states have been at the centre of much public commentary, such that it becomes apparent that it is the area of social learning broadly that attracts attention, and not narrowly state-specific characteristics of specific syllabuses.

SOSE syllabuses have many commonalities across the various Australian states, and thus a national focus on this issue has been convenient and relatively easy to generate, as broad generalisations can be made based on curricula that have similar theoretical groundings. Representations of SOSE through public discourses have been varied; at times on the attack, sometimes supportive, usually surrounded by controversy and seemingly always topical. This section maps the debates at sections where the history/culture wars connect with education by highlighting key personalities who have consistently maintained an interest through public commentaries on the SOSE curriculum and present counter arguments presented by educators to dominant criticisms since 2000.

A1.7.1 Public contexts: Commentaries and responses.

Prominent criticisms of the SOSE curriculum fall into two clear categories. First, the nature of the curriculum in terms of its underpinning values and specific content often forms the

basis for critical (and often derisory) public commentary (see, for example, Kelly, 2006; Donnelly, 2005; Bolt, 2000). Second, the rationalising of social sciences, especially the separate disciplines of history and geography, has drawn much criticism from education sources, such as those involved in school curriculum development and the delivery of tertiary courses in these areas. Although connections have been anecdotally made (Millar & Peel, 2004) attributing declining numbers of students studying history and geography in senior school to the impact of SOSE, taught in each school stage to year 10 in an integrated fashion where the boundaries between previously discrete disciplines are dissolved to a large degree there is no evidence of this in Queensland schools at this point in time for Modern History. The numbers of students studying this subject as a percentage of total senior school students has remained at a steady average of 12.42% (SD=1.025) between the years 1997-2005. This time period covers sufficient years to track the number of students studying Modern History prior to and during implementation of the SOSE syllabus, and to take into consideration yearly fluctuations. However, this information does not take into consideration the decline of students taking History over the past thirty plus years. For a more detailed analysis of this, see Teese and Polesel (2003) who claim that the decline in students taking History can be attributed to, amongst other factors, students "...transferring their efforts from history to other fields. Their allegiances switched to subjects of greater vocational or strategic value" (2003, p. 83). Teese and Polesel (2003) further attribute the decline in student numbers to the broadening of subjects available for student selection under the umbrella of Humanities.

The *National Inquiry into School History* headed by Tony Taylor identified the following possible reasons for the (purported) decline in students studying history. Published in 2000, the issue of the Queensland SOSE syllabus data mentioned above is not relevant and Taylor's statement considers the issue Australia-wide.

> Notwithstanding the patchy nature of SOSE provision in Australia, one of the major Australian curriculum controversies of the past five years has been an apparent decline in numbers of students studying history at the senior school level...This seeming decline in school history has also received the attention of other commentators and is sometimes laid at the feet of uncaring educators (The Sunday Age, 5 July 1998), sometimes at hands of rival disciplines (The Australian Review of Books, 20 December 1997) but more frequently at the door of SOSE (for example Price, 1999; Wagg, 1999). If we eschew such a non-historical, single-cause explanation (blaming SOSE for a decline in history teaching), we may find that the

> more likely scenario is that history has declined for a variety of reasons. (Taylor, 2000, Ch. 2, p. 6)

The controversy surrounding the SOSE Syllabus was so significant, due in no small part to the widespread misinterpretation of this Syllabus from the time of implementation that the Queensland Studies Authority (QSA) took the proactive step of refuting some of the comments reported by *The Courier Mail*. This is an unusual activity to occur over a syllabus, but is a testimony to the controversy and confusion that has encompassed it. The eight-page response presented a detailed look at the information presented to the public, and then proceeded to offer "the verifiable facts" (QSA, 2000, p. 1), taking away the vague content of attacks on the curriculum by presenting information taken directly from the Syllabus. A dominant feature in the response by the QSA was to clear up the misconceptions which had been generated by journalists who misunderstood that this Syllabus does not set down a prescribed curriculum, but rather offers flexibility, enabling teachers to determine the content to be taught, provided this meets the requirements of the SOSE Syllabus outcomes. For example, in responding to claims that figures of national historical importance like Sir Robert Menzies and Lieutenant/Captain James Cook are not included in the SOSE Syllabus the QSA states:

> The Years 1 to 10 Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) syllabus emphasises the study of a range of key concepts, such as 'people and contributions'...The individuals mentioned by the article are taken out of context. Within the syllabus, names are provided only as examples that teachers could choose...Other examples not cited by Thomas include Matthew Flinders, John Flynn, Michelangelo and King John. Other curriculum support materials available on the Council website included reference to many more individuals. (QSA, 2000, p. 1)

In addition to the QSA writing to defend the SOSE syllabus, the Parents and Friends Association (PANDF) also wrote to dispel the myths perpetrated by *The Courier Mail*. In discussing the new approaches to education, the response states:

> The consultative approach of the Queensland School Curriculum Council to curriculum development is to be applauded. There will always be criticism of organisations who seek new ways of discovery. A system that promotes the status quo is one doomed to failure and despair. We must give our children, our, future,

> valid reasons for living and hoping in an ever changing and challenging world. (PANDF, n.d., p. 4)

Former NSW Premier, Bob Carr, consistently vocal in his criticism of the integrated curriculum model that has developed within the SOSE KLA, maintains that schools should teach students subjects of the social sciences as separate subjects, for example Geography and History, rather than combined with a range of other subject areas and disciplines. At a keynote address at a History Teachers' Conference while still Premier of NSW, Carropened with a very clear statement of his preference for how History should be taught, dismissing the range of studies that SOSE encompasses by asserting "History is not social studies. It's not cultural studies. It's not civics. It's not anything else. It's history...It's the science of knowing where we've been" (B. Carr, 2001, p. 8). The separation, rather than integration, of humanities subjects has been at the centre of much controversy and was reignited in 2006 by then-Federal Education Minister, Julie Bishop, who touted the introduction of a mandatory Australian history subject for all Australian schools within the national curriculum (Bishop, 2006).

Another significant issue related to school education during the time period of the history/culture wars, can be seen by the increasing direct control of the Federal government in state-based education. Although this continued with the Labor government, it is not (at this point in time, but antagonism is increasing, particularly with the controversial publication of school data on a website, which has led to the construction of league tables) at the antagonistic level it reached between Labor state Department of Education ministers and the-then Liberal Federal government in the early-mid 2000s. During this period, the relationship between the Federal and State Departments of Education disintegrated to such a degree, newspapers were reporting on it. For example, *The Australian* ran a headline "Nelson 'feral', claim ministers" (McNamara, 2005, n.p.), reporting on the relationship breakdown between then-Education Minister Dr Brendan Nelson and the various state Ministers of Education. Queensland Education Minister, Rod Welford described the actions of Nelson as "It's becoming a matter of increasing concern that Nelson's antics are not consistent with what is needed to improve the system" (as cited in McNamara, 2005, para. 8). The discontent between the federal and state governments can be seen in light of the rise in profile of school curriculum, standards, reporting and one-off topical issues through media reporting during this time period. The reporting of disagreements points to the continuation in the public

consciousness through the media of the contentions surrounding schooling and the pattern emerging of Federal government intervention on the perceived inadequacies of the States' running of education.

Despite a conservative federal government for eleven years and conservative state Labor governments, state-based education departments retained syllabuses that were largely of an ideology different to the government of the day. This can be viewed as testament to the independence of the state based syllabus committees, despite significant pressure from the Federal government, including linking curriculum changes with funding. Whether the curriculum of the respective states is as strong and relevant to students' learning needs as it needs to be is another point, but a national curriculum in and of itself would not create a school curriculum that leans more to one political ideology than another, a point often missed by proponents and critics alike of the push for a national curriculum.

A1.8 Significant Points of Debate on School Curriculum

A conflict of differences between how people perceive the world *should* be (through the lens of personal values) is a significant factor in the ongoing SOSE debates. Criticisms of SOSE and debates about values in the school curriculum are closely linked. For example, when criticisms (or allegations) of subversive or non-existent values allegedly taught in classrooms are published in the media and presented by political leaders such as John Howard and former Federal Education Minister, Brendan Nelson (Crabb & Guerrera, 2004; Nelson, 2002). On this issue, one-time Acting Minister for Education, Peter McGauran stated "...too many government schools are either value-free, or are hostile or apathetic to Australian heritage and values" (Riley, Doherty, & Burke, 2004, p. 3). Neo-conservatism can be seen as transcending traditional boundaries of politics with politicians from both ends of the political spectrum agreeing on conservative approaches of content-driven curriculum. The overall criticisms of the neo-conservatives towards SOSE have been summarised by Deborah Henderson, "according to recent neo-conservative critiques, SOSE is ideologically driven and flawed for not providing the sort of knowledge students require..." (2005, p. 311). Since the introduction of the SOSE syllabus, the same argument has been used repeatedly, of teachers indoctrinating students into neo-Marxist views of the world (Donnelly, 2005, p. 57). Knowledge that students should be learning, according to those who hold neo-conservative views, invariably means very traditional, transferable teaching, and requires thereby a

"centrally prescribed curriculum based on declarative knowledge" (D. Henderson, 2005, p. 311).

The ideologies of school curriculum with a broader neo-conservative political climate are highlighted in the two subsections that follow, framed within a values discourse; similar to that surrounding the aforementioned Simpson and his donkey; through two case studies to illuminate the issue. First, debate surrounding the inclusion of provocative questions in SOSE textbooks, and second the ongoing national curriculum debate concerning school History curriculum.

A1.8.1 Crusades and September 11.

A significant debate within the history/culture wars entered the classroom domain on March 8, 2006 with reporting, first in *The Australian* and followed by *The Weekend Australian*, that students were expected to draw comparisons between the medieval Crusades and the September 11 New York terrorist acts. The story broke with the following lead paragraph: "A textbook widely used in Victorian high schools describes the Crusaders who fought in the Holy Land in the Middle Ages as terrorists, akin to those responsible for the September 11 attacks" (Ferrari, 2006e, p. 1). The textbook at the centre of the controversy was *Heinemann Humanities 2: A narrative approach*. Although published in Victoria specifically for the Victorian Essential Learning Standards (VELS) with a significant portion of the content specifically for Humanities standards, many Queensland schools use this textbook with teachers adapting the VELS to match the Queensland SOSE syllabus outcomes. The aspect of the textbook taken to task was in an activities section, with a suggested topic of discussion being: "Those who destroyed the World Trade Centre are regarded as terrorists. Might it be fair to say that the Crusaders who attacked the Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem were also terrorists?" (Ferrari, 2006e, p. 1).

Debate of the appropriateness of this topic as a discussion area for year 8 students centred on "...the comparison as meaningless and historically inaccurate, saying history should not be taught to place 21st-century morals on events of the past" (Ferrari, 2006a, p. 28) and quoting historian Ernie Jones two days later "One of the basics of studying history is that you are not a moral judge. It's an utterly different society and with totally different morals, customs and traditions" (Ferrari, 2006c, n.p.). The pedagogical practice and usefulness of a *devil's advocate* approach to classroom discussion was largely ignored, with only one sentence written on this topic, summarising the response of an un-named teacher, "teachers defend the

exercise as being deliberately provocative to stimulate a debate a teach students how to mount an argument" (Ferrari 2006a, p. 28); and in the next day's edition of *The Australian* as "The comparison...was deliberately provocative and designed to spark debate" (Ferrari, 2006d, 1). Historians, who had previously not publically engaged with the history/culture wars, now contributed comments (see for example, Ahmad Shboul from University of Sydney, Ernie Jones from University of Western Australian, John Moorhead from University of Queensland, Barry Collett from Melbourne University as reported by Ferrari, 2006a, 2006c, 2006d, 2006e), largely criticising the expectations placed on year 8 students of making comparisons between the medieval Crusaders and the September 11 terrorist attacks.

So significant did *The Australian* consider this topic, it was the subject of the Editorial in the March 9, 2006 edition of the newspaper. Taking the view that the discussion point in the textbook was "completely relativistic" and "Humanities Alive 2 seems more than happy to promote ignorance of...critical facts" (Editorial: Teaching bin Laden, 2006c, p. 13), the Editorial proceeded to provide a summary of the Crusades. A link between the textbook content and what teachers teach in the classroom was then made, criticising which versions and facts of history were being taught to school students with the provocative statement, "Teachers monkeying with history to suit their own agendas is nothing new" (Editorial: Teaching bin Laden, 2006c, p. 13); criticising at-the-coal face teachers in a general, sweeping way that had the potential for far-reaching negative consequences for teachers, even those who did not use this discussion point or textbook. An aspect of the debate followed by Ferrari in the next day's edition of the newspaper this time quoting Paul Thompson, Principal of Kimberly College (Queensland), as saying, "at least you will get a reaction, rather than a yawn...It's a perfectly legitimate and honest thing to do. In the hands of a skilful teacher, it's a way of showing respect for what students think as opposed to the indoctrination I suffered as student all the way to year 12" (Ferrari, 2006c, n.p.).

The (largely) unspoken dynamic of this particular debate was the presence of then-US President George W Bush's policies in the Middle East, particularly the Iraqi conflict and Australia's involvement in it. Although Ferrari did briefly mention this 10 days after the debate commenced writing, "Only days after two hijacked planes crashed into the World Trade Centre in New York, killing almost 3000 people, US President George W. Bush invoked the image of a religious war, describing the fight against terrorism as a crusade" (2006a, p. 28). Donnelly used the issue as an opportunity to discuss (and criticise) the moral

relativism in school curriculum, specifically in relation to religion and history which he views as encompassing "...a postmodern view of the world, one where there are no absolutes and where knowledge is subjective, students are also told that historical understanding is multiple, conflicting and partial..." (Donnelly, 2006b, p. 12).

A1.8.2 National curriculum.

Criticisms of the impact of the history/culture wars in school classrooms have boosted support from conservatives (politically right-wing) and non conservatives (politically left-wing) alike for the implementation of the proposed national curriculum. The emergence in the current plan to implement a national curriculum (commenced by the Howard Government and continued by the Labor Government), can be seen in relation to the sustained criticism of state-based syllabuses, particularly those of English and SOSE. Since the National History Summit held in Canberra in August 2006, there has been sustained interest in the school History curriculum, evident through media reports and other publications. The summit was held, due to Howard's view that school history was "...taught...as some kind of fragmented stew of moods and events, rather than some kind of proper narrative" (Salusinszky & Ferrari, 2006, p. 1). The outcome of the summit was a communiqué providing an overview of a proposed Australian history curriculum. It stated that "Australian history 'should be sequentially planned through primary and secondary schooling and should be distinct subjects in years 9 and 10' as an 'essential and required core part of all students' learning experience'" (Kelly, 2006, p. 20).

A direct relationship between the history/culture wars and education is made evident with Kevin Donnelly's welcoming of the Howard government's proposed national curriculum. Writing in *The Weekend Australian*, Donnelly; who appears to have amnesia from his prior statement in *The Weekend Australian* of "...judged by the attempt already under way, represented by the Australian Statements of Learning in maths, English and civics, *there are dangers in imposing a national approach*" (2006c, p. 24, emphasis added); now asserted "Prime Minister John Howard's intervention in the culture wars, represented by the proposed Australian history guide for years 9 and 10 of high school, has drawn a chorus of criticism from the usual suspects" (Donnelly, 2007b, p. 24). Here, Donnelly attempts to create or at the very least prolong argument that in order to revert the influence of the "cultural Left" (Donnelly, 2007b, p. 24), a national curriculum needs to be established so that, unlike the current state-specific SOSE syllabuses, History is taught as a "...stand-alone subject, and its

authors bite the bullet and stipulate in details a series of topics, milestones and essential content that all students need to learn if they are to understand and appreciate the nation's past" (Donnelly, 2007b, p. 24).

It is claimed that the national history summit, aside from the obvious politicking of school education, was set up as a response in part:

> ...of a sense, shared by many teachers on the ground, that the narrative context of history generally, and Australian history particularly, has been lost in our schools and that the subject, to quote John Howard...'is taught without any sense of structured narrative, replaced by a fragmented stew of themes and issues'. (Salusinszky, 2006, p. 25)

Politicians with a deep interest in History teaching in schools such as John Howard, then-federal Education Minister Julie Bishop, then-federal Opposition Education spokesperson Jenny Macklin, former federal Education Minister Brendan Nelson, retired former NSW Premier Bob Carr and others, have contributed significantly to the national curriculum debate, by attending summits and voicing their opinions in other public domains. Demonstrating the bi-partisan nature of this debate both Julie Bishop and Jenny Macklin publically supported the proposed implementation of Australian history as a distinct subject within the national curriculum. Bishop, in emphasising the perceived need of teaching History as a separate and distinct subject, is quoted by Kelly as stating, "We should seriously question, for example, the experiment of mushing up history in studies of society and environment. There is a growing body of evidence that this experiment is failing our children." Macklin supported this reflecting on the "...history summit as 'an important opportunity to do something lasting and positive for the teaching of Australian history'" (Kelly, 2006, p. 20).

Disagreements between historians and history educators on the best approach to teach history in schools were prolific during the time period of 2006 onwards. Played out in *Letters to the Editor* pages (see, for example *The Weekend Australian*, 19-20 August 2006; 28-29 January 2006), there was much debate about the relative merits of narrative approach, thematic approach, and History versus Social Studies. Key players of this aspect of the history/culture wars on a national level such as Tony Taylor and Greg Melleuish and those on a Queensland level such as Deborah Henderson expressed their views through this channel. Melleuish,

supporting PM Howard's call for a "...root-and-branch renewal of the teaching of Australian history" (Melleuish, 2006, p. 15) disagreed with Taylor's and D. Henderson's view describing it as a "...commitment to lowest-common-denominator, social-studies history" (Melleuish, 2006, p. 15), referring to D. Henderson's letter to the editor, where she describes "during the past 30 years, the teaching of history in Australia has been transformed from rote learning...which students were expected to recall in examinations—to an emphasis on inquiry-based learning...This has provided a corrective sense of balance.." (D.Henderson, 2006, n.p.)

After the national history summit was held, Donnelly published his own recommendation of what should form the basis of an Australian history curriculum starting with "pre-European settlements" and concluding with "1975: Dismissal of the Whitlam government..." (Donnelly, 2006d, p. 21). Greg Melleuish, a participant of the history summit also contributed an overview of what should form the national curriculum, starting with "At the beginning of the European presence" and ending with "Australia since World War II" (2006, p. 21). He went on to recommend when students should study history, stating "I suggest that Australian history be taught over two years: Year 9 dealing with the 19th century and Year 10 with the 20th century" (Melleuish, 2006, p. 21). Primary school students, Melleuish asserted should deal more with local and state history, writing:

> We should not just want to have a simpler version of the curriculum for primary schools
>
> ...
>
> Study of Australian history at primary school would have fairly modest aims. It should provide students with basic knowledge on which they could build when they come to study Australian history in secondary school. (2006, p. 21)

The issue of a national curriculum attracted sustained interest not just from leading and high-profile historians and educators, but also from the general public and at-the-coalface teachers. The sustained interest generated is evident, in part, by the quantity of *Letters to the Editor* published in both *The Australian* (see, for example, The Weekend Australian, 2006 October 7-8, p. 16) and as relevant to the Queensland context, *The Courier Mail*. In these forums a variety of viewpoints are expressed divorced from party political spin. As an example, Jack Gould a retired teacher from Ashgrove, Queensland supports the creation of a national curriculum from what he calls mismanaged state education, writing:

> Thank you. Your newspaper's exposure of the mismanagement of state education authorities should be welcomed by every parent and student in Australia. As a retired teacher, I have witnessed at least one generation of teachers and students confused and misdirected by unaccountable state education departments with their minds set on objectives other than learning. Keep up your persistent and insightful attach on the charlatans in our systems. Our students deserve nothing less. (J. Gould, 2006, p. 16)

Others called for the current system to be abolished, for example John Hill of Pearce, ACT writes, "Why don't we depoliticise the business of setting high school curricula by adopting the International Baccalaureate everywhere? Then we'd know our secondary education was internationally competitive" (2006, p. 16). In the same edition of this newspaper the editorial clearly expresses its views on what it calls a "crisis in education" (Editorial: Students left behind, 2006b, p. 16), calling for an end of the "...outcomes-based education and politically correct curriculums in our schools" and placing the blame on teachers' unions, writing "the excess of teachers' unions must be curbed, by the federal government if need be, to allow rank-and-file teachers to do their jobs properly" (Editorial: Students left behind, 2006b, p. 16).

Included in the October 7-8 2006 edition of *The Weekend Australian*, in addition to the *Letters to the Editors* and Editorial feature, an additional three articles were included focusing on the national curriculum debate. Reflecting the diverse views held and expressed by the public (see, for example, the Letters to the Editor) on the topic of the national curriculum the newspaper included features articulating and reflecting these views. Individual teachers were held up as examples to be followed in History teaching, with their own professional concerns for the current state of History teaching and curriculum reported. For example, Mike Goodwin from Mackay North State High School who had attracted positive media attention (through, for example, ABCs *Australian Story*, newspapers, news telecasts) for his taking school students on excursions to Australian battlefields, such as Gallipoli, was interviewed a week prior to the national history summit taking place and is reported as saying "Apart from what they've learned from Anzac Day, the facts of our role in all conflicts are patchy and inconsistent...They don't have a big understanding of the social impact the wars had" (Salusinszky, 2006, p. 25).

The politicisation of the curriculum, a topic raised by John Hill (2006, p. 16) in his letter to the editor, was also broached in articles of the same edition of the newspaper written by Kevin Donnelly titled *No place for politics in national narrative* (2006c, p. 24) and Judith Wheeldon in an article titled *Learning to lose our diversity* (2006, p. 24). Donnelly not only persists in declaring that education *can* be politically neutral, citing the United States as his example, "...the US approach to curriculum is firmly based on the academic disciplines, politically impartial, succinct and teacher friendly..." (2006c, p. 24); he also admonishes what he calls a "left-leaning...politically correct" (2006c, p. 24) approach, adhering to the idea that curriculum can be politically neutral all the while ignoring the irony that Donnelly is himself imposing his politically constructed ideas of how schooling should be enacted in Australia. As an aside, Gee refers to the existence of ideology as "to many people, ideology is what other people have when they perversely insist on taking the 'wrong' viewpoint on an issue. Our own viewpoint, on the other hand, always seems to us simply to be 'right'" (1996, p. 1). Interestingly, Gramsci (whose work is used in the theoretical underpinnings of the methodological approach selected for this project as detailed in *Chapter 3: Methodology, Research Design and Conduct*) wrote of the perception of the term *ideology*, "the bad sense of the word has become widespread, with the effect that the theoretical analysis of the concept of ideology has been modified and denatured" (SPN, 376-7 (Q7 §19); Forgacs, 1988, p. 199). Wheeldon in advocating against a national curriculum on curriculum grounds and attempting to dispel the myth that curriculum can be politically neutral (without explicitly expressing this term), writes "defining what will be taught in schools unavoidably communicates the social values of our communities. Values are therefore an unavoidable part of the curriculum, whether clearly spelled out or implied" (2006, p. 24).

Donnelly does identify the pitfalls in a national curriculum, if it follows the current civics and citizenship/social studies route favoured by the current SOSE KLA, identifying that without clear direction for teachers to follow regarding specific people, events and issues to cover, it will be too easy for teachers not educated in history to "...ask students in history and social studies classes to do projects on Peter Brock or Steve Irwin on the assumption that learning should be immediately relevant and contemporary" (Donnelly, 2006c, p. 24). However, the constructive points he makes are generally lost in the sensationalist claims he makes of the so-called *politically correct* educators.

Criticising the proposed management of the national curriculum, Judith Wheeldon herself an experienced school educator, contemplates:

> Schools...are a state or territory responsibility, as federal Education Minister Julie Bishop constantly reminds us. That she is not actually responsible for any schools is apparent from some of the arguments she uses. *How is it that a national curriculum would be more open to scrutiny than eight different curriculums with closer local audiences who have easy access to their state or territory minister?* I don't get it. (2006, p. 24, emphasis added)

Another advocate against the national curriculum reported in the same October 7-8, 2006 edition of *The Weekend Australian* is education journalist Justine Ferrari reporting that the proposed national curriculum "...to develop a uniform school curriculum was insulting and an arrogant grab for power by the Howard Government that would lower standards" (2006b, p. 4). In echoing Wheeldon's assertion that "...the growing knowledge of contemporary teachers who study their subjects and pedagogy seriously and have much to contribute to developing curriculum and keeping it updated" (2006, p. 24); Ferrari quotes Mary Bluett from the Australian Education Union writing, "Teachers are not ideologues or fad followers; they are educated, committed and caring professionals" (2006b, p. 4).

So politically significant is the proposed implementation of the national curriculum, that Kevin Rudd used it as an (as yet unrealised) election promise; committing eight months prior to the election being held to "...introduce a back-to-basics national curriculum in maths, science, English and history within three years of winning office" (Maiden & Ferrari, 2007, p.1). This appears to be part of a sustained campaign by then-Opposition Leader Rudd to prominently assert himself within the ongoing school debates. Other points of entry into this debate, along similar topic lines, included "...calling for sharp improvements in school performance" (Milne & Passmore, 2007, p. 20), although careful not to put teachers off-side by including the statement, "...teachers were "dedicated professionals [who] deserve our support—not our condemnation" (Milne & Passmore, 2007, p. 20). This statement is clearly an attempt to separate himself from commentators such as Bolt and Donnelly who routinely criticise the standards and actions of teachers, but on the other hand as Milne and Passmore point out this was "...a clear attempt to demonstrate his conservative credentials on school standards—an issue Prime Minister John Howard has nominated as a priority for his

Government in the rundown to the end-of-year federal election" (Milne & Passmore, 2007, p. 20).

This section on national curriculum has highlighted some of the debates from the period beginning 2006, as a way to contextualise the broader impacts of the history/culture wars on education, and more specifically, the History curriculum in schools. Any national curriculum of history, or more realistically an insistence of a requirement for funding that the states adopt a compulsory, discreet and separate History curriculum can be seen as a failure of the John Howard government to implement. Although funding was linked to a very hasty adjustment of student achievements' reporting, which all the states complied with; the History curriculum (whether separate or as part of the SOSE KLA) remained unchanged throughout the time it entered sustained public interest in the mid 2000s. Linking of a History curriculum to funding was an issue others thought would happen, with Salusinszky writing one week prior to the national history summit,

> Bishop wants compulsory, stand-alone history subjects from kindergarten to Year 10, with Australian history the focus in the final two years. If the states hear the message, well and good. If not, it will be amplified through the megaphone of the next quadrennial education funding agreement, which will deliver them about $40 billion of commonwealth money. Just as it has with report cards and flagpoles in school grounds, the Howard Government is prepared to micro-manage the way state education systems do history. (2006, p. 25)

A1.9 Queensland Contexts: Historical Background of Development of SOSE

Curriculum framing document, *The Adelaide Declaration on National Goals of Schooling in the Twenty-first Century* (commonly known as *The Adelaide Declaration*) (MCEETYA, 1999) superseded the previous agreement, the *Hobart Declaration of Schooling* (MCEETYA, 1989); which was an attempt by the Education Ministers of Australia's states and territories under the direction of the Commonwealth Government to provide "a framework for cooperation between schools, states, territories and the Commonwealth" (MCEETYA, 1989, p. 2) and in doing so provide common elements in school curriculum across the various education jurisdictions. The Adelaide Declaration developed these statements further, with agreed curriculum and other education goals for all states. This Declaration saw all states and territories agree to collaborate on a number of national schooling goals.

Of significance here is Goal 2 of the Declaration which includes curriculum directions, in terms of eight national key learning areas (KLAs). One of the curriculum areas agreed to by all Australian states and territories was Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE). This Declaration can really be seen as a watershed in initiating public discussion of the SOSE curriculum and related topics. Since this time, there has clearly developed different and often opposing perspectives on the relative merits of SOSE and its value in schools. It is important to know and understand that the specific subject are, called SOSE as it is taught up to Year 10 in Queensland schools, is supported through and based on the goals of *The Adelaide Declaration*.

Replacing the former Social Education strand in Queensland schools, SOSE, as a core subject, was introduced in Queensland schools as a result of the recommendations made in the *Shaping the future—Review of the Queensland School Curriculum Report* (commonly known as *Shaping the future*) (Wiltshire, McMeniman & Tolhurst, 1994), chaired by Kenneth Wiltshire. Here, it was recommended that all eight KLAs be implemented as "core areas of the curriculum" (Wiltshire et al., 1994, p. xi), with the eight KLAs having originally been agreed on in *The Hobart Declaration* (1989). Elements of the structural elements and inclusions of the SOSE syllabus such as the "futures perspective" and "critical thinking skills" (Wiltshire et al., 1994, p. ix) came from recommendations made in *Shaping the Future*. SOSE continues to form a part of the core learning areas of school education in Queensland, and continues to provoke considerable interest, controversy and disagreement.

A1.9.1 Queensland SOSE, History and Geography debates.

Direct connections between the history/culture wars debate and school curriculum entered the public domain in Queensland with conservative journalist Andrew Bolt's article in the only state-wide newspaper, *The Courier Mail*, starting a Queensland-specific debate by focusing on the then-new school syllabus for the Key Learning Area (KLA) of Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE). The impact of this article was widespread, influencing opinions of the general public, including parents of school age children, and providing a reference point for commentators, academics, journalists, and persons with prominent public profiles to enter and contribute to the debate. The article, *Class Revolution*, criticised the ideology Bolt believed to be behind the syllabus, calling the syllabus writers "ideologues" (2000, n.p.) in an attempt to cast suspicion on the motivation of the writers, particularly within the Queensland School Curriculum Council and the Queensland Department of Education. Beyond the

oversimplified and shallow analysis of the syllabus, intended for a popular audience, Bolt's main concern over the syllabus is the left-wing ideologies that present overtly in the syllabus, citing examples such as "…students in Year One and Two are already being blooded in the war against sexism, being told to study *"perceptions of gender roles in various settings", "equality of opportunity"* and *"stereotypes related to work roles"* (2000, n.p., emphasis in original). In his commentary, Bolt criticises and blames the Beattie Labor government for the syllabus, writing:

> …the Beattie Government's education experts have launched the most radical attempt in Australia to indoctrinate children in key Left-wing-values.
>
> Or, as the syllabus itself puts is, teachers much teach the "key values of democratic process, social justice, ecological and economic sustainability and peace."
>
> Teach the good opinions. And don't fuss too much about facts. (2000, n.p.)

The Queensland response to Bolt's article sustained attention on this curriculum issue, a significant point given that school topics are usually included in media reports as one topic issues. On September 16, 2000 *The Courier Mail* published a response, written by leading history educators in Queensland universities, who, in acknowledging the controversy surrounding the SOSE syllabus, offered an alternative perspective to the one that had become publicly dominant. Hoepper et al., while considering debates over curriculum not negative in essence, wrote "...debates, when rigorous, informed and balanced, are valuable" (2000, p. 19), but noted that the multiple perspectives which had been forming on the merits of the SOSE syllabus were focused on three main issues of the curriculum (which they claim had become intertwined) that had attracted particularly high levels of criticisms and confusion: the place of history and geography in schools; the need for rigor in the curriculum; and developing understandings of the purposes of education.

Bolt maintained his criticisms of the SOSE syllabus and other areas of the school curriculum he believed to be linked with the ongoing history/culture wars throughout the time period to 2007. His views were buoyed perhaps in part by then-Prime Minister John Howard's conservative approach to education and 'three-cheers' view of Australian history, and enjoying popularity due in part to the dominant discourses of conservatism, supported by

both the Liberal party Prime Minister and leaders of the Labor party, such as then-New South Wales Premier, Bob Carr and then-Queensland Education Minister, Rod Welford. B. Carr, who sees "...history as a superior intellectual discipline" (Salusinszky, 2006, p. 25) kept it as a separate school subject in NSW. In asserting the need to maintain History as a distinct, separate and interesting school subject, B. Carr expressed the following opinion in a radio program interview *Sunday Profile* with then-ABC journalist (now Federal Labor politician in John Howard's former seat of Bennelong in Sydney, New South Wales) Maxine McKew:

> One is, we've got to teach it better. And when the History teachers came to see me as Premier and said: Look, great idea, but these two compulsory years aren't working as we wanted, we revised the syllabus and made it, I think, made it more exciting.
>
> I think, second, we've got to look at the ideas advanced by an American who wrote a book called: The lies my teacher told me. *History shouldn't be an uplifting civic narrative, it should have controversy, and confusion, and argument, and bloodshed*. (Sommer, 2006, emphasis added)

Although Bolt tried to establish the debate as partisan, making in total five explicit comments in the one article, such as "the Queensland Education Department is indoctrinating our children with Left-wing values…" and "…the Beattie Government thought it could get away with this devastation of education in this state" (2000, n.p.); the criticisms of the SOSE syllabus and the impact of the history/culture wars on school curriculum can be seen as bi-partisan. Rod Welford criticised the curriculum and "vowed to get rid of 'postmodern mumbo jumbo' in year 12 English" (Eunson, 2006, para. 6). Whilst this comment received widespread support from conservative aspects of the mainstream press and emerging e-media (see, for example, Ferrari 2007b; Burk 2005), the English curriculum remained the same in Queensland after the retirement of Rod Welford in 2008. In an attempt to maintain a non party political approach to the debate, B. Carr prior to attending the national history summit of August 2006, was careful to say "I go there a little cautious, however, about embracing an agenda from one school of history writing. I'm not prepared to see the egalitarian strand in Australian history junked in a bit of neo-con spring cleaning" (Salusinszky, 2006, p. 25).

It is the case that the SOSE syllabus was—and remains—controversial, with people who Bolt would otherwise claim as being left-wing ideologues also criticising the syllabus content. There are those from both sides of the debate who call for a return to single subjects, rather

than the combination of history, geography, business studies and citizenship education into one, general school subject that SOSE encompasses, for reasons beyond party politics. Bolt points the decision to combine subjects as "who knows for sure, but it's allowed education ideologues to drop content-based teaching of traditional subjects and switch to teaching of mere opinions without alerting to what they are up to" (2000, n.p.).

This type of statement ignores that a significant body of criticism of the SOSE syllabus comes from specialist teachers, adhering to the academic discipline approach, and who, while not necessarily disagreeing with the strands, values and general content of the SOSE syllabus, may disagree with integrating a variety of social science subjects into one. Some see this as resulting in a loss of specialty skills required in their disciplines, as they consider SOSE to be too broad and general—given time restraints in schools—to deal with skills and processes effectively. However, in a practical sense, it is a difficult issue to resolve, due in no small part to an increasingly crowded curriculum that places more and more demands on teachers. Reinstating Geography and History as standalone subjects is suggested by some educators, in order to return academic rigor and disciplinary skills to schooling. Those, such as John Lidstone[20] (Lidstone & Lam, 2001; Lidstone, 2000), base assertions on more concrete and educationally-relevant (as distinct from populist) arguments and claim that the SOSE syllabus, with its focus on strands rather than disciplines has resulted in a deskilling of the school population, further intensified by the demands of an ever-increasingly crowded curriculum.

Speaking from a geography discipline perspective, Lidstone argues that the splitting of the school subject Geography has resulted in the subject being "...severely weakened...as the integrative study of patterns on the world's surface and threatened to undermine much of the vital scientific basis to environmental understanding (Lidstone & Lam, 2001, p. 65). Lidstone and Lam also assert that the current Queensland SOSE syllabus does not cater adequately for the development of specific discipline-derived skills in students. There is emerging evidence—mostly anecdotal at this stage—to suggest that students are not being equipped with the specialist skills required for humanities disciplines, but further research may indicate the degree to which university students, including pre-service teachers, struggle with

[20] Associate Professor in Education at Queensland University of Technology and co-chair of the education committee of the Royal Geographical Society of Queensland at the time of making his initial statements criticising the SOSE syllabus.

specialist skills. A summary of four significant concerns of Lidstone (also shared by others) include:

1. Lack of discipline specific information is seen as a major downfall of SOSE, with gaps emerging in students' knowledge and understanding of the specific disciplinary knowledges of history and geography;
2. Even though optional syllabuses have been created for Geography and History for years 9 and 10, Lidstone claims they are "...based, not on the logic of the respective disciplines but on their own generic learning outcomes" (2000, para. 3);
3. SOSE is an incomplete version of a school subject that students should be studying. Focusing on the subject areas of Geography and History, Lidstone writes, "SOSE encourages parochial thinking. Queensland students are being fed a watered-down diet of the two Internationally recognised subjects that can help them to understand global and international trends" (2000, para. 9); and
4. Lack of rigor is also cited as a reason why SOSE should not be implemented, with the two separate subjects, History and Geography, touted as the option to implement in schools. Lidstone writes, "SOSE, with its tendency to deteriorate into studies of current '*good causes*' with no internationally agreed standards of rigour, has little potential for seeding a lifelong love of learning" (2000, para. 15).

D. Henderson, outlines the main arguments against the SOSE syllabus, as put forth by commentators who see SOSE as being an arena for indoctrination into politically correct, left-wing beliefs. From this, D. Henderson argues that the main critiques of SOSE are "...flawed in their assumptions and misrepresent the nature of the SOSE curriculum framework as a vehicle for preparing young Australians for the future" (2005, p. 307). SOSE as a stand-alone subject, rather than just a KLA, has received so much negative attention that it is the view of some that SOSE as a subject will be abolished, perhaps within a National curriculum, to be replaced by discrete humanities subjects once again:

> The other alternative, which appears to be achieving growing support, is a refocusing on individual disciplines, especially history and geography. However, the new discipline approaches promise to be different – by incorporating higher order thinking activities and a greater emphasis upon generic skills. Perhaps...the SOSE title [will] become nothing more than a convenient label for school subjects. (Marsh, 2004, p. 8)

Language used by opponents of the current curriculum approach to SOSE included "indoctrination" (Donnelly, 2005, p. 56) and "...experiment of mushing up history...failing our children" (Bishop, 2006, p. 4). Offensive to many teachers of SOSE, is the inference that they are not competent to teach this KLA as they teach from a one-sided view, interpreted from a flawed, ideologically driven syllabus. Mason asserts that SOSE "substitutes propaganda and indoctrination for basic knowledge. It teaches our children the wrong lessons about the past. It teaches our children to be morally blind" (as cited in D. Henderson, 2005, p. 308). At the very least, this statement is offensive as it assumes an homogenous view of the teaching profession, ignoring the rigorous discussions and debates educators have with each other about the most appropriate content and pedagogy to adopt in classrooms. It also makes the assumption that classrooms are sites of negative indoctrination, and all the negative repercussions this brings, rather than sites of learning through a critical inquiry approach.

A1.10 Curriculum Contexts: Contemporary Debates

The History curriculum is not the only area of schooling that has come under sustained intense and close scrutiny. There has and continues to be mainstream media focus on the incorporation of critical literacy in the English syllabuses by attacking its relevance, complexity and perceived political agenda. Whilst some of the commentators are intentionally sensationalists (see, for example, Donnelly, 2006f; Editorial: Deconstructing the loony fringe, 2006a which contained the sensational headline "Deconstructing the loony fringe", p. 16), others are respected educators, see, for example, Wiltshire (2006), who genuinely see pitfalls and deficits for school students in the push to include postmodern critiques of literature and the incorporation of everyday, common use texts as opposed to an established canon in the English curriculum. Wiltshire argues that critical literacy on-the-whole is not appropriate for schooling, for whilst it "...is certainly on strong ground in arguing for the development of critical thinking skills" (2006, p. 23) other aspects of critical literacy:

> ...is at best negative and at worst nihilistic...it would seem to belong at honours level in university degrees. School is for basics and knowledge, certainly accompanied by critical thinking, but not in a milieu where all is relative and there are no absolutes for young people who do not have the intellectual maturity to cope with the somewhat morbid rigour of constant criticism and questioning of motives. (2006, p. 23)

Unfortunately and as similarly experienced by the connection of the history/culture wars debate into at the coalface teaching, the debates have caused polarisations of perspectives (see, for example, extensive coverage of this issue in *The Weekend Australian* September 23-24, 2006). A diverse range of commentators outside of journalists, columnists and educators also participate in this ongoing debate of critical literacy and postmodernism incorporated in school classrooms. For example, Australian playwright David Williamson, although otherwise a "fierce critic of John Howard" (Donnelly, 2006f, p. 8), stated "...to treat our best literature as being nothing more than ideology would seem to be abandoning our greatest repository of human wisdom" (Donnelly, 2006f, p. 8), suggesting that human, universal truths should be retained in the school curriculum asserting "what great writing does is identify the enduring truths about human nature that cross time and culture" (Donnelly, 2006f, p. 8).

Common attacks outside of any specific syllabus include topics such as a decline in standards (Giles, 2006), or as reports "Ms Bishop, who released a report this week showed a lack of national consistency in classroom curricula...it made 'a *compelling case for higher standards* and greater national consistency in schools'" Madigan (2007, p. 7, emphasis added); low literacy standards (Ferrari, 2007a; Bantick, 2006; Livingstone, 2006; Lawrence 2006); "...the needs for plain-English report cards" (Donnelly, 2006a, p. 17); educational basics missing, for example as reported by Brown and Rowbottom, "teachers and academics claim students are being taught 'sandpit science' dictated by the dumbed-down syllabus that ignores basic scientific training" (2006, p. 7); the negative impacts of outcomes based education (OBE), cited as a "destructive impact" (Donnelly, 2006a, p. 17) with the reversal of Western Australia's OBE to criteria based curriculum welcomed due to claims that "...an outcomes approach to learning that focused on what students should achieve and assessed what they learnt rather than traditional syllabuses that focus on content and how and when it is taught" (Ferrari, 2007c, p. 3); and a general claim that "...the state education system has been "dumbed-down" by education departments and teacher unions to the detriment of students" (Williams, 2007, p. 52).

Even the radical suggestion of education vouchers has been suggested as "...the best way to strengthen schools, raise standards, and in an increasingly competitive and challenging international environment, ensure that more Australian students perform at the top of the league table" (Donnelly, 2007c, p. 28); and the more sensational idea that "militant Islam

invades school curriculum" (Lane, 2006, n.p.) running as a headline before contextualising the topic within the NSW Higher School Certificate (HSC) religious studies syllabus. Added to the mix of reported education woes is the assertion that pre-service teachers lack sufficient literacy and numeracy skills to teach effectively, with some news reports citing overseas research (rather than local research) in order to make this assertion (see, for example, Elite uni students not up to scratch, 2006, p. 11) reporting "the English review...shows teenagers are securing places at top universities without even being able to use an apostrophe." This overview, albeit brief, demonstrates the sustained public and media interest for a diverse range of topics related to schooling, particularly in the timeframe 2006-2008; which in turn demonstrates the diversity of views related to this topic.

A1.11 Conclusion

This overview has aimed to provide a synopsis of the debates within the history/culture wars and to link those debates, where appropriate, to the school context particularly in Queensland. The research, then, that forms this dissertation than can be seen within a particular contemporary context, one that is directly influenced by the history/culture wars particularly in the period between 1993 and 2007, which then acts as a contextual screen to describe history curriculum in Queensland schools across selected time periods of the twentieth century. Therefore, in order to situate the research of this dissertation within a commonly understood context, it has been necessary to establish an overview of the featured and significant debates of this ongoing ideological struggle.

Despite claims made by Ferrari that "hidden ideologues" (2009, n.p.) control education and have made changes in secret, it is asserted here that, despite the binaries often created and sustained by writers in newspapers such as *The Australian*, it is encouraging that the press has brought these issues to the attention of the general public, and in doing so has raised the profile of school curriculum and other educational issues. Doing so provides parents and community members not only up-to-date information about the development of curriculum debates, but also provides an outlet for discussion and airing of opinions through, for examples, letters to the editor pages and in more recent times, posting comments on online news sites.

It is asserted here that criticisms and controversies of the SOSE curriculum (as a component of the history/culture wars) drive an oppositional approach to the debate, creating an

unnecessary binary and at times stifling productive debate. One reason for this, particularly in the case of teachers, is because those who support the curriculum generally, but may have reservations about parts of it, are not confident to voice these opinions, in case they are misinterpreted or their comments misused by those who are vocal in their disagreement with the underpinning and explicit values, processes and so forth of the SOSE syllabus and curriculum. Whilst public debate and interest in the school curriculum and other aspects of schooling is in itself a healthy sign of a strong democracy, they become unhealthy when they are debated in such binary ways, as has been illustrated throughout this overview. Having the general public (including parents) interested in school curriculum can potentially contribute to an enriched curriculum, and one that people otherwise disconnected from school curriculum decision making can feel a part. On the topic of the polarisation caused by the history/culture wars, Australian novelist Tom Keneally states of the created binary, “you have to choose celebration or lamentation, triumphalism or black grief, but it’s possible for it to be two things at once” (Hope, 2006, p. 27).

Appendix B: Textbook Annotated Bibliography

Appendix C: Preliminary Data Analysis Template

Title:
Author/s:
Year:
Publishers:
Size of document:
Pages:
School age group:
Evidence of use in Queensland schools:
Sourced:

Exemplar topic:

Data Analysis Questions:

Preliminary Analysis (table)

1. How are individuals, events or groups of people named and referred to linguistically (that is, what is the language used to describe people and events, in relation to the two exemplar topics, Indigenous representations and British heritages)?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them (that is, in describing the two exemplar topics, what is the language used in the sentences around the linguistic description and how is ideology evident in the information selected to be included in the text)? (adapted from Wodak, 2004, p. 207)

Intermediate Analysis (table, description and notes)

3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?
4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attribution and arguments exposed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated. (Wodak, 2004, p. 207)

Written text:

Paragraphs and Pages (quantity)	Specific phrases (Questions 1 and 2)	Ideological underpinnings (Questions 3-5)	Notes

Visual text:

Paragraphs and Pages (quantity)	Specific images (Questions 1 and 2)	Ideological underpinnings (Questions 3-5)	Notes

Description and Notes (Intermediate Analysis):

Appendix D: Sample Data Analyses

Title: New Syllabus History for Seventh Grade
Author/s: E.J. Dunlop and A.E. Palfery (District Inspectors of Schools)
Year: 1932
Publishers: William Brooks and Co, Brisbane
Size of document: Data not gathered (image of title page included below)
Pages: Data not gathered (over 200)
School age group: Grade 7
Evidence of use in Queensland schools: It is most likely that this textbook (and its series) was used widely and frequently across all of Queensland. There are several reasons for this: First, Brooks was a very well known and respected company and its textbooks were tailored for different Australian state curriculums. They are a Queensland based company. Second, the title page reads: SPECIALLY COMPILED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE 1930 SYLLABUS OF THE QUEENSLAND EDUCATION DEPARTMENT Third, copies of the whole series is kept by the National Library of Australia, indicating its importance as a school text. Fourth, during this time period, a variety of textbooks were not in abundance (due in part to cost, wide geographical spread of Queensland, and low population), therefore one that is written by Queensland based authors that specifically addressed the Queensland syllabus would have been widely used.
Sourced: National Library of Australia

Exemplar topic: British Heritages

BROOKS'S QUEENSLAND SCHOOL SERIES.

New Syllabus
HISTORY
FOR
SEVENTH GRADE.

(1) AUSTRALIAN HISTORY
(2) BRITISH HISTORY

SPECIALLY COMPILED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE 1930 SYLLABUS OF THE QUEENSLAND EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

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Data Analysis Questions:

Preliminary Analysis (table)

6. How are individuals, events or groups of people named and referred to linguistically (that is, what is the language used to describe people and events, in relation to the two exemplar topics, Indigenous representations and British heritages)?
7. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them (that is, in describing the two exemplar topics, what is the language used in the sentences around the linguistic description and how is ideology evident in the information selected to be included in the text)? (adapted from Wodak, 2004, p. 207)

Intermediate Analysis (table, description and notes)

8. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?
9. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attribution and arguments exposed?
10. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated. (Wodak, 2004, p. 207)

Written text:

Paragraphs and Pages (quantity)	Specific phrases (Questions 1 and 2)	Ideological underpinnings (Questions 3-5)	Notes
Entire section on WWI, in terms of Australia's involvement mediated through BH: pp. 105-128.	**Passage 1:** Collecting vast supplies and huge armies, Germany launched a great offensive on the Western Front in March, 1918. The Germans broke through and once more reached the Marne within forty miles of Paris; further north they almost captured Amiens. If it had been taken the British and French armies would have been separated, but a brilliant attack by the Australians who had been rushed up to the danger point, stopped their progress. Further north still, the British line that protected the Channel ports, was badly bent, but never broken. (p. 104) **Passage 2:** AUSTRALIA'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR. Before narrating events that followed the signing of the Armistice, we must give some attention to the part played by Australia in the terrible conflict that had just ended. When Britain declared war on Germany on the 4th August, 1914, Australia, as part of the Empire, also was at war. The response made by the Commonwealth, and indeed by all of the British Dominions, was instant and remarkable. Australia at the time had very few trained soldiers. In her small fleet were submarines and destroyers and, most important of all, the battle cruiser "Australia," whose great speed and huge guns made her much more powerful than any enemy ship in the Pacific. The Prime Minister, Mr. Joseph Cook, sent a cable to the British Government offering the whole of the ships of the Australian Navy and 20,000 soldiers, for any service that the Empire might require. Mr. Andrew Fisher, who later became Prime Minister, declared that Australia would support the Mother Country "to the last man and the last shilling." (p. 105-106) **Passage 3:** Volunteers were called for. From the cities, the farms of the coast, the mining fields, the cattle stations and sheep runs of the west, and the scrub lands of the north, men untrained in war came forward and enlisted. Altogether 416,000 troops were raised in Australia, and of these 330,000 were sent overseas. They were volunteers. No man was compelled to join the army. In 1916, and again in 1917, the people of Australia were asked to vote whether there should be conscription—that is, whether men should be forced to become soldiers and serve outside the Commonwealth. The majority of electors voted against conscription. (p. 106) **Passage 4:** The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (the capital letters in the name make the word ANZAC) soon had work to do in Egypt. The Turks, who were on the side of Germany in the war, made an attempt to capture the Suez Canal in order to cut Britain's communication with India, Australia, and the East. A number of battalions of Anzacs assisted British troops in the defence. The Turks were beaten off with a loss of nearly 4,000 killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. For the remainder of the war the Australian and New Zealand troops played an important part in the destruction of Turkish power in the Sinai Peninsula, Palestine and Syria. (p. 108) **Passage 5:**	Analysis too lengthy to include here, so it is written at the bottom of this table.	Interestingly, this is in the section of the textbook (and remembering that this textbook reflects the syllabus) about British History, called "British History: Growth of Empire" (n.p.). Even though a significant part of this 'British History' concerns Australia's involvement in WWI, with the 8 of the 17 chapters concerned with Australia's involvement in WWI (note: chapters are very small—usually only 3-4 pages, are not numbered. They are more like mini-chapters or sections). So, Australian history is being contextualised/understood though British Heritages. The chapter, as they appear in the contents pages are: BRITISH HISTORY : GROWTH OF EMPIRE— War with Revolutionary France The Napoleonic Struggle Nineteenth Century Events Edward VII. and the "Entente Cordiale" Causes of the Great War The Great War, 1914-1918 Australia's Part in the Great War The Gallipoli Campaign The Australians in France The Australians in Egypt, Syria and Palestine Australian Losses in the Great War The Armistice and the Peace of Versailles The League of Nations Australia and the League of Nations The Army The Navy Important Dates (n.p.) So, the event, widely regarded as Australia's 'coming of age' or 'birth as a nation' (refer to public discourses of the time) is still regarded, as far as the school curriculum is concerned as part of, closely aligned with and as a result of GB and BH. Given the vast amount of content on this topic, selections have had to be made, representative of the discourses of BH evident throughout the chapters/sections on BH in Australian history in relation to WWI. Unlike the Cramp book (1927), this textbook, the first available since the new 1930 syllabus, contains a substantial amount of information of WWI and makes a somewhat stronger attempt (although overall still very weak) to describe the differences of opinions on issues of the war, for example conscription (p. 106). So, because the syllabus was slow to change, so was the school curriculum content, despite really obvious socio-political changes. Students had to wait over a decade (in this case 13 years) from the end of WWI to learn about it

The total attacking force was under 70,000. It consisted of the 29th Division sent out from England, the Royal Naval Division, the Australians and the New Zealanders in Egypt, and a French Division. The troops were assembled at Lemnos, an island near the coast of the Peninsula. General Sir Ian Hamilton was in command of the whole British force; General Birdwood commanded the Anzacs. At dawn on the 25th of April the attack was launched. The 29th Division were to land at five places near Cape Helles at the toe of the peninsula, and the French at Kum Kale on the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles. In the face of terrific fire and after appalling losses, the 29th Division, by magnificent heroism, effected a landing and held on at Cape Helles. The French also were successful at Kum Kale, but next day, according to plan, they withdrew and re-joined the British.

Let us now follow the fortunes of the Anzacs. They had been given the task of landing on the west coast of the peninsula, a little to the north of a headland called Gaba Tepe.

(p. 110)

Passage 6:

Let us now follow the fortunes of the Anzacs. They had been given the task of landing on the west coast of the peninsula, a little to the north of a headland called Gaba Tepe.

Between one and two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 25th, the warships and troopships carrying our men assembled at a point some distance from the headland. The first landing party of 1,500 who had come from Lemnos in the warships "Queen," "London" and "Prince of Wales," were now transferred to strings of cutters towed by pinnaces or small steam boats. Before dawn they moved towards the shore, followed at some distance by destroyers laden with a covering or supporting party, transferred from the troopships. In the darkness, by great good fortune, the pinnaces approached the shore, not at the appointed landing place, and where a large force of Turks was waiting for them, but at a point about a mile farther north. This bend in the beach afterwards known as Anzac Cove, was held at the time by a less powerful body of the enemy.

As day broke the Turks opened fire on the crowded cutters from two trenches on the beach and the scrub-covered cliffs inland. Another force of about 1,000 Turks ran along the beach from the direction of Gaba Tepe and also opened fire. As the cutters reached shallow water the Australians leapt overboard and rushed ashore. In a twinkling they carried the trenches and made for the cliffs, killing or putting to flight the Turks who opposed them. After reaching the high ground they continued their way inland over ridges and down valleys in the face of hidden gun and rifle fire.

(pp. 110-111)

Passage 7:

Meanwhile the British and French at Cape Helles had failed to drive the Turks from their entrenched positions. Then a German submarine appeared off the coast, sank the warships "Triumph" and "Majestic" by torpedoes and forced battleships to seek the protection of a harbour. Success in the campaign seemed impossible without a huge number of reinforcements.

Another great attack, however, was made and was nearly successful. While the British at Cape Helles and the Anzacs from their position stormed the Turks' trenches with almost unequalled ferocity, a force of 20,000 new British troops were landed at Sulva Bay, north of Anzac Cove. This landing was not expected by the enemy, who probably had not more than 4,000 men in the locality. Instead of pushing inland after landing and linking with the Anzacs who had won their way north-east after heavy fighting, they wasted valuable time and as a consequence the attack failed. The heroic Helles and Anzac troops lost nearly 30,000 men.

If the Suvla Bay force had been more resolutely and efficiently led and had displayed the attacking spirit of the troops in the first landing of the 25th April, the Gallipoli peninsula might have been won.

(p. 112-114, p. 113 a picture not relevant for analysis)

Passage 8:

comprehensively as a topic of national history.

	Thus ended the Gallipoli campaign. The total British (including Australian) losses in killed, wounded, or missing was nearly 120,000, while 100,000 were forced to leave the peninsula through sickness. The Australians killed numbered about 8,600, while 19,400 were wounded. It is estimated that the Turkish killed and wounded numbered about a quarter of a million. From the moment that the Australian and the New Zealanders landed on Gallipoli under a storm of shot and shell they established for themselves a reputation for valour, sustained and made imperishable by later deeds in France, Syria, and Palestine. The 25th of April is Anzac Day. On this day in the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand we pay homage to our heroic dead, who went forth voluntarily to save our hearths and homes and the free institutions of the British Empire. "On Fame's eternal camping ground Their silent tents are spread, And Glory guards with solemn round The bivouac of the dead." (p. 115) **Passage 9:** AUSTRALIA A NATION. Since 1901 the Commonwealth has made substantial progress. The population which then was less than four million is now about seven million; there has been considerable increase in primary production, important secondary industries have been built up, and national sentiment has developed. It has been said that the Great War made Australia a nation. Before 1914, the majority of Australians were inclined to think of themselves as Queenslanders, or Victorians, or Tasmanians, and so on, rather than as Australians. The war changed all that. The sacrifices made by every part of the Commonwealth in the terrible conflict made Australians realize more fully the meaning of Sir Henry Parkes' historic phrase, "the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all," and formed a tie that binds. A short account of Australia's part in the war is given in the British History section of this book, but a few events connected with preparation for defence must be mentioned here. (p. 159)		
		Themes emerging: Federation (including leading up to)	Primarily, issues of Federation are only to describe the mechanics of the workings of the constitution and Parliament. Also, topics described are removed from GB's involvement, therefore analysis of these passages not necessary. This could be a point to make in the final analysis when looking at other textbook representations of federation from earlier times.

From WWI section of the textbook, pp. 105-128.
Themes emerging: WWI
Discourse: Australian involvement as soldiers/raw power, not strategists or decision makers.
Australia is regarded as valuable due to the raw power of its soldiers, rather than for any involvement in decision making. This is made obvious through the statement: "The Germans broke through and once more reached the Marne within forty miles of Paris; further north they almost captured Amiens. If it had been taken the British and French armies would have been separated, *but a brilliant attack by the Australians who had rushed up to the danger point, stopped their progress*." (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 104, emphasis added) <see passage one in table>. Here, the perspective that Australians are involved in this battle of WWI only in a support role capacity is made clear. Australians providing assistance to GB is also clear in other sections of this wider narrative. For example, the following description is provided of The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzac) soldiers: "The Turks...made an attempt to capture the Suez Canal in order to cut Britain's communication...For the remainder of the war the Australian and New Zealand troops played an important part in the destruction of Turkish power in the Sinai Peninsula, Palestine and Syria" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 108). So Australian national history is represented mediated through their participation with GB in major events.

Discourse: Australia as part of GB by agreeing to participate in WWI
Even though this is a Queensland History textbook for Australian students, that closely follows the syllabus, Australia's involvement in WWI is portrayed more as a footnote to the entire conflict. Whilst it is important not to overstate Australia's contribution to this conflict, which in comparison to other nations, was quite small, given the audience, the expectation was that there would be more Australia-centric content. In one way it is

probably good that this was not case, as C.E.W. Bean states about over-stating any one country's involvement is more or less to falsify the facts <go to Vol 1 of Bean's works and quote for final analysis>. However, to place this important aspect of Australia's history, within the section on British History, demonstrates the lasting connection Australia had with GB, given the syllabus this textbook was produced from was instigated in Queensland schools from 1930, 11 years after the end of WWI.

The inclusion of Australia's involvement from the perspective that it was a minor player, is demonstrated in the following statement: "Before narrating events that followed the signing of the Armistice, we must give some attention to the part played by Australia in the terrible conflict that had just ended" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 105).

This passage then goes on to discuss reasons for Australia's involvement, as "When Britain declared war on Germany on the 4th August, 1914, Australia, as part of the Empire, also was at war. The response made by the Commonwealth...was instant and remarkable" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 105)

This statement is then supported by describing the actions of two political leaders. First, the then-Prime Minister, "...Joseph Cook, sent a cable to the British Government offering the whole of the ships of the Australian Navy and 20,000 soldiers, for any ser-[end p. 105] vice that the Empire might require" (pp. 105-106); and Andrew Fisher, who was also a Prime Minister during WWI, "...declared that Australia would support the Mother Country "to the last man and the last shilling" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 106).

Both these descriptions are included in order to illustrate Australia's loyalty to GB. There is no mention of any dissenting views, such as those from Archbishop Mannix, a prominent dissenter of the time.

Discourses of Conscription
Note: Link this closely with the dissenting public discourses that surrounded the failed referenda. Also see how it is brought up in the 1960s-70s era, considering the issues of conscription surrounding the Vietnam War.

A very complex issue in Australia's post-Federation history is the topic of conscription, yet it is described only very briefly in this textbook, with the description: "No man was compelled to join the army. In 1916, and again in 1917, the people of Australia were asked to vote whether there should be conscription—that is, whether men should be forced to become soldiers and serve outside the Commonwealth. The majority of electors voted against conscription" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 106).

Here, the rejection of conscription is not contextualised to any broader socio-political activities or people of the time, instead it is put forth in a very matter-of-fact way. It is difficult to gauge the view of the curriculum on this matter, it is so devoid of detail. It is curious why more attention was not paid to the debates and referenda over conscription, given that the referenda for Federation is explained in significant detail, with opposing views presented, and detailed results; in the same textbook (see, in particular, Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, pp. 52-54).

Discourses of nationhood.
Although often mediated through the experience of GB, there are sections of the textbook whereby the discourse of a nation independent is put forth, separate from needing to defer to GB. Here, specific words are used such as, "magnificent heroism", "fortunes" and "General Birdwood commanded the Anzacs" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 110) articulates the beginning of an emergence of an *Australian-ness*, hitherto not seen in the textbooks outside of an interior context (eg, exploration, 'the bush'). Whilst in the examples of words provided above are only minor, later this developed into a stronger argument, and as evidenced from the extract below (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 159) WWI is overtly attributed to Australians creating a sense of nationhood, from the perspective of patriotism. Here, nationhood is attributed not to a separation of Australia from the emotional ties to Great Britain, but rather because all the separate states (which only two decades previously had been separate colonies) became closer as a result of a unifying event. Of this, the textbook describes: "It has been said that the Great War made Australia a nation. Before 1914, the majority of Australians were inclined to think of themselves as Queenslanders, or Victorians, or Tasmanians, and so on, rather than as Australians. The war changed that" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 159). The connection to GB is still maintained, and a quote from Henry Parkes, widely regarded as the 'Father of Federation' (he dies before Federation occurred, but did a lot to support and grow the movement beforehand) is used to maintain the Australian connection to GB, by including: "The sacrifices made by every part of the Commonwealth in the terrible conflict made Australians realize more fully the meaning of Sir Henry Parkes' historic phrase, "the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all," and formed a tie that bonds. So, on the one hand Australian states came together to form a nation, but the 'Britishness' of Australians was also maintained. The excerpt in its entirety reads:

AUSTRALIA A NATION.

Since 1901 the Commonwealth has made substantial progress. The population which then was less than four million is now about seven million; there has been considerable increase in primary production, important secondary industries have been built up, and national sentiment has developed.

It has been said that the Great War made Australia a nation. Before 1914, the majority of Australians were inclined to think of themselves as Queenslanders, or Victorians, or Tasmanians, and so on, rather than as Australians. The war changed all that. The sacrifices made by every part of the Commonwealth in the terrible conflict made Australians realize more fully the meaning of Sir Henry Parkes' historic phrase, "the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all," and formed a tie that binds. A short account of Australia's part in the war is given in the British History section of this book, but a few events connected with preparation for defence must be mentioned here.

The idea of the birth of a nation as a result of Australia's participation in WWI is given further weighting by the following passage from the textbook (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 115):

Thus ended the Gallipoli campaign. The total British (including Australian) losses in killed, wounded, or missing was nearly 120,000, while 100,000 were forced to leave the peninsula through sickness. The Australians killed numbered about 8,600, while 19,400 were wounded. It is estimated that the Turkish killed and wounded numbered about a quarter of a million.

From the moment that the Australian and the New Zealanders landed on Gallipoli under a storm of shot and shell they established for themselves a reputation for valour, sustained and made imperishable by later deeds in France, Syria, and Palestine. The 25th of April is Anzac Day. On this day in the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand we pay homage to our heroic dead, who went forth voluntarily to save our hearths and homes and the free institutions of the British Empire.

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

Here, due to participating in WWI, alongside GB, Australia (along with NZ) is legitimized as an independent nation, with a day for commemoration declared as a consequence of arriving at "...Gallipoli under a storm of shot and shell they established for themselves a reputation for *valour, sustained and made imperishable* by later deeds in France, Syria, and Palestine" (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 115, emphasis added). The perspective here is that it is through military deeds that nationhood and pride is established. Although not articulated overtly, the word choice of "valour" and accompanying poem at the end of the narrative legitimize this nationhood, that is still however part of GB, with the textbook finishing the narrative of Gallipoli with:

> "The 25th of April is Anzac Day. On this day in the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand we pay homage to our heroic dead, who went forth voluntarily to save our hearths and homes and the free institutions of the British Empire.
> "On Fame's eternal camping ground
> Their silent tents are spread,
> And Glory guards with solemn round
> The bivouac of the dead." (Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, p. 115)

Overall, a very unemotional account of WWI is provided. Considering this was the world's largest conflict ever and involved a significant portion of the world's population, it is surprising the 'factual' and 'non emotive' way this conflict is reported in the textbook. This surprise is furthered, as the public discourses around the time of WWI were very emotive (for example, arguments for and against the conflict, for and against conscription, protecting the empire).

The following excerpt is of interest as it describes the landing of the Anzacs at Gallipoli, one of the first points of military action experienced for the Australians in WWI. This could possibly be used in conjunction with public discourses for this era during the final analysis.

The total attacking force was under 70,000. It consisted of the 29th Division sent out from England, the Royal Naval Division, the Australians and the New Zealanders in Egypt, and a French Division. The troops were assembled at Lemnos, an island near the coast of the Peninsula. General Sir Ian Hamilton was in command of the whole British force; General Birdwood commanded the Anzacs. At dawn on the 25th of April the attack was launched. The 29th Division were to land at five places near Cape Helles at the toe of the peninsula, and the French at Kum Kale on the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles. In the face of terrific fire and after appalling losses, the 29th Division, by magnificent heroism, effected a landing and held on at Cape Helles. The French also were successful at Kum Kale, but next day, according to plan, they withdrew and re-joined the British.

Let us now follow the fortunes of the Anzacs. They had been given the task of landing on the west coast of the peninsula, a little to the north of a headland called Gaba Tepe.

Between one and two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 25th, the warships and troopships carrying our men assembled at a point some distance from the headland. The first landing party of 1,500 who had come from Lemnos in the warships "Queen," "London" and "Prince of Wales," were now transferred to strings of cutters towed by pinnaces or small steam boats. Before dawn they moved towards the shore, followed at some distance by destroyers laden with a covering or supporting party, transferred from the troopships. In the darkness, by great good fortune, the pinnaces approached the shore, not at the appointed landing place, and where a large force of Turks was waiting for them, but at a point about a mile farther north. This bend in the beach afterwards known as Anzac Cove, was held at the time by a less powerful body of the enemy.

As day broke the Turks opened fire on the crowded cutters from two trenches on the beach and the scrub-covered cliffs inland. Another force of about 1,000 Turks ran along the beach from the direction of Gaba Tepe and also opened fire. As the cutters reached shallow water the Australians leapt overboard and rushed ashore. In a twinkling they carried the trenches and made for the cliffs, killing or putting to flight the Turks who opposed them. After reaching the high ground they continued their way inland over ridges and down valleys in the face of hidden gun and rifle fire.

(Dunlop & Palfrey, 1932a, pp. 110-111)

Visual text: no relevant images.

Description and Notes (Intermediate Analysis):

Preface reads:

85823

PREFACE.

28 JUL. 1932

This book has been written to cover the History requirements of Grade VII. The History prescribed for this grade deals, in the main, with "movements" and the development of the people industrially, politically, and socially. In teaching it, the arrangement of subject matter is all-important; as stated in the Notes to the Syllabus "each topic should be dealt with in a series of lessons." Any other arrangement leads to a muddle and fails to to cultivate in children a sense of time.

The British History portion of the book is divided into three sections, the Growth of Empire, the Growth of Liberty, and the Growth of Industry. The grouping of the Syllabus topics within these sections provides a distinct background while a sense of direct continuity is preserved.

A Programme of Work divided into ten monthly periods is given on pages 7 and 8. It will be noted that in planning it attention was given both to continuity and concurrence of events, also that some of the passages in the book are marked "for reading only."

The value of Time-lines is considerable. Although considered almost indispensable in teaching, they are not included in the book; they are of most use if made by the child as his knowledge grows, and if kept by him in the history book for ready reference. Half-a-dozen horizontal and parallel lines (say, one inch representing 100 years), with each line given to a special subject or topic, are easily drawn. Read horizontally, they show sequence of events; a vertical section shows concurrence of events. A more elaborate coloured chart for wall or board should be gradually built in the same way from month to month.

A.E.P.
E.J.D.