

Centre For Aboriginal Studies

**Strengthening the intergenerational transmission of Intangible Cultural
Heritage within a Noongar Kinship group**

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study, received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262). Approval Number # HR08/2010.

Signature

Date: 17 January 2018

Abstract

Project Title: "Strengthening the intergenerational transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage within a Noongar Kinship System".

This research was the initiative of senior women of a Noongar kinship group of the South West region of Western Australia. The aim of this thesis is to show how an Aboriginal kinship group (in this case Noongar) can assume greater control over the production of their Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), supported by the resources of research, goal-directed activities and a framework of expansive learning (EL). The study examined the Participants' reflexive practices and strategies for strengthening the processes of intergenerational cultural transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) within their Kinship Group. This study is significant because it demonstrates how strengthening the relational basis of the production of ICH within a kinship group can be achieved. The study articulated and applied a research design that combined a Kinship Research Methodology (KRM) with Activity Theory (AT) theory, resulting in a relational, decolonising and constructivist approach to the production of ICH. The principles and practices of the KRM ensure its transferability to other kinship groups for their own use to achieve their own development goals.

Two units of analysis were examined: i) the impacts of history and policy on processes of cultural transmission through the intergenerational involvement of participants in Aboriginal theatre, and ii) goal based, tool mediated activities conducted by the Kinship Consultant to facilitate the development of a "four stages of life" (4SL) framework of transitional ceremonies: naming, coming of age, marriage and passing on. These activities engaged family and kinship group members in processes of intergenerational learning of kinship roles and responsibilities across the developmental life span. They enabled the collection of data for a Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) analysis that can inform further research and service development to support the resilience of Aboriginal kinship systems.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This research was the initiative of senior women of a Noongar kinship group of the South West region of Western Australia. The aim of this thesis is to show how an Aboriginal kinship group (in this case Noongar) can assume greater control over the production of their Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), supported by the resources of research, goal-directed activities and a framework of expansive learning. The study examined the Participants' reflexive practices and strategies for strengthening the processes of intergenerational cultural transmission of ICH within their Kinship Group. It is significant because it demonstrates the relational basis of ICH within a kinship group how strengthening the processes of its production can be achieved. The study articulated and applied a research design that combined a kinship research methodology (KRM) with Activity Theory (AT) resulting in a relational and decolonising approach to the production of ICH. The principles and practices of the KRM ensure that it is transferrable to other kinship groups to apply to achieve their own development goals.

1.1 The Research Question

The aim of this thesis is to show how, given the resources of research, goal-directed activities and a framework of expansive learning, an Aboriginal kinship group (in this case Noongar) can assume greater control over the production of their Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). The aim is significant because, by controlling the production of their ICH, the kinship group can also assume a greater degree of autonomy from the meta-production of Aboriginal ICH in the public sphere. The significance of the present research is enhanced by the regionally innovative development of a kinship research methodology (KRM) designed to investigate the importance of intergenerational transmission of knowledge. When combined with socio-cultural theory, this methodology produces a relational and decolonising discourse of the production of ICH. The methodology is also transferrable to other kinship groups.

The Senior Participants gathered to discuss their concerns about the influences of past policies and their further complication by the effects of globalisation. They formulated two primary concerns:

1. The capacity of each of us (women) within our families to respond effectively to our children and grandchildren if they claim that they have no Noongar cultural elements to pass on to the next generation, and to mark the stages of transmission for our children or grandchildren as they progress to adulthood.
2. The information that we will need, given the changed and rapidly changing world, to develop cultural transmission processes that will ensure our identity as a Noongar kinship group for future generations.

The Senior Participants invited a non-indigenous family member and researcher (the author of this thesis) to collaborate as an investigator in the research. They requested that this research identify the means for strengthening the continuity and development of kinship practices so that these can be transmitted to younger generations within their Kinship Group. The Senior Participants' overall aims were to strengthen the locus of control over, and responsibility for, those factors that constitute the socialisation and enculturation of their younger generations in order to strategically plan for the future viability of their Kinship Group. Specifically, the Senior Participants' objectives included the following:

- identifying appropriate transmission processes
- strengthening the identity of younger and emerging generations and prepare them for transition periods across the life stages
- developing appropriate methodologies for the transmission and transformation of ICH for uptake by younger and future generations.

The Senior Participants and the author then reframed the aims and objectives as a research question: *How can the intergenerational transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) be maintained and strengthened within a Noongar Kinship group?*

The research question addresses the practices intergenerational transmission of ICH across generations within the Kinship Group through the Participant's past and present actions to identify and construct preferred processes of ICH development and transmission to current and future generations.

1.2 The Research Context

Noongar notions of kinship, a core principle of their cultural-linguistic identity, have survived the 190 years of colonisation since the late 1820's. In the early colonial period (1826 -1850), Noongar society experienced the disruption of their socio-cultural and economic systems, previously unknown diseases, and depopulation. Research that reconstructs the impacts of the first 50 years of colonisation on Aboriginal family groups in the Goulbourn region, which extrapolates from later historical sources drawn from South-West Australian data, is unequivocal about the impacts on Aboriginal social structures (Taylor, Schmitt and Roy 2003). European expansion in the modern period extended the reach of colonisation and the Western Australian (WA) assimilation policies and legislation (*the WA Aboriginal Act 1905, the Native Administration Act 1936*) imposed systemic practices, such as the removal of children from their families, to undermine the cultural viability of the kinship structure of Noongar society (Haebich 1992; 2008). Increasing urbanisation and globalisation have continued the process of dispersal of kinship groups and weakened the socio-cultural means of the transmission of identity and practice.

The interruption of tradition through the passing of senior knowledge holders, the impact of government policies that enforced loss of country, and the separation of children from their families and kinship groups, produced the rapid socio-cultural change that challenged the resilience of the relational identities of Noongar people. Despite this however, Noongar kinship roles and practices continue to shape and determine the interaction and identity of members of particular kinship groups. Senior Participants of the Kinship Reference Group (KRG) wanted to identify transmission practices and processes that could be strengthened and passed on to current and future generations. Significantly, a number of the Senior Participants use the term 'relational knowledge' to refer to the implicit understandings underpinning interaction within and between families. Developmental activities undertaken as a part of the research aimed to strengthen the relational processes and practice base of the transmission of kinship based ICH for future generations.

1.3 Framing the Approach of the Thesis

The research project was conceived, designed and managed by the KRG in collaboration with the author. In this way, the Senior Participants maximised their leadership and control over the identification and framing of the research problem to ensure it conformed to their own epistemology and practical priorities. The Kinship Consultant played a leading role and provided a number key contributions: she identified the research problem, provided advice to academic and KRG planning processes, was principle informant, coordinated researcher / participant engagement, identified the potential for the use of the KRM and implications for the research design and lead the development activities of the 4SL Framework. She also proposed the use of the policy guidelines of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) *Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH 2003)* to facilitate the developmental process and research activities.

The UNESCO Convention emphasises a product-identifying, or inventory making approach sometimes supported by cultural mapping techniques to identify and strengthen Indigenous ICH. After some deliberation and active reinterpretation of the Convention's framing of heritage and its emphasis on the inventorying of ICH products, the Senior Participants shifted their focus to the relational processes for producing ICH within the Kinship Group. This process orientation to ICH resulted in the development of the conceptual-theoretical and analytical framework to better address the complexity of the issues associated with the production of ICH within the particular kinship context.

This study thus explores a socio-cultural approach to ICH as theoretically informed, goal-directed activities. It applies a framework grounded in the relational process of participants, drawing on Indigenous, decolonising, gendered, constructivist and activity based research approaches. It identifies and uses a KRM and the few published studies (Kawamura et al. 2008; Lin and Yudaw 2013) that specifically apply socio-cultural theory arising from Vygotsky's research in cultural psychology (Vygotsky 1978) to the production of Indigenous ICH.

The KRM proposed by the Kinship Consultant and approved by the KRG was combined with a socio-cultural and constructivist approach and applied to the relational production and transmission of ICH. Activity Theory (AT) supports this approach since it considers human activity as an appropriate unit of analysis for research (Leon'tev 1981, 2009; Vygotsky 1978;

Stetsenko 2008). AT informed the theoretical approach and Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT, or third generation Activity Theory) was used to analyse the developmental activities and relational processes of cultural production of the intergenerational transfer of knowledge.

1.4 Significance of the Research

This thesis uniquely develops and utilises a kinship methodology in combination with CHAT (Tharp and O'Donnell 2016) to analyse the production of Indigenous ICH in an Australian Aboriginal context. It then compares the methodology to international research which uses a similar approach (Kawamura et al., 2008; Lin and Yudaw 2013). There is a dearth of literature that links CHAT based approaches both to ICH and its application to Indigenous cases. The minimal international literature that does exist provided critical theoretical support to this thesis (Daniels 2004; Gretschel et al., 2015; Hedegaard 2009; Tharp and O'Donnell 2016; Toth-Cohen 2008). It also supported the close alignment of the Senior Participants' goals to strengthen multiple genres of ICH, and allowed for comparisons, particularly between language revitalisation and the development of the Four Stages of Life (4SL) Framework. The activity based theory supported action oriented, developmental component of the research activities which detailed for analysis the relational processes for strengthening kinship based ICH.

The KRG understood that the KRM they have adopted could have significance for other kinship groups who may wish to adapt it for strengthening ICH and to achieve their own developmental goals. A further significance of this methodology is that its principles can be adopted by service agencies for improving their capacity to work effectively with Aboriginal families and communities.

Finally, the research design and the outcomes of the study can be applied to support kinship based, participant lead research and development to suit their context, needs and aspirations and demonstrates the processes and results of expansive learning (Engestrom 1999) that shaped the research and its outcomes.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the study participants, the project management process and the methodology of the research. The KRM is described and its significance for shaping the research design in the relational setting is discussed. The participating families were represented by the KRG which worked closely with the Kinship Consultant to manage the project. The membership and roles of the KRG are detailed in this chapter.

2.2 Who are the Participants?

Study participants were from the Noongar Aboriginal people who live in the South West of Western Australia (see Figure 1), a distinct cultural-linguistic group consisting of 14 different language dialects at colonisation, and whose descendants today continue to share a common identity, customary norms and practices.

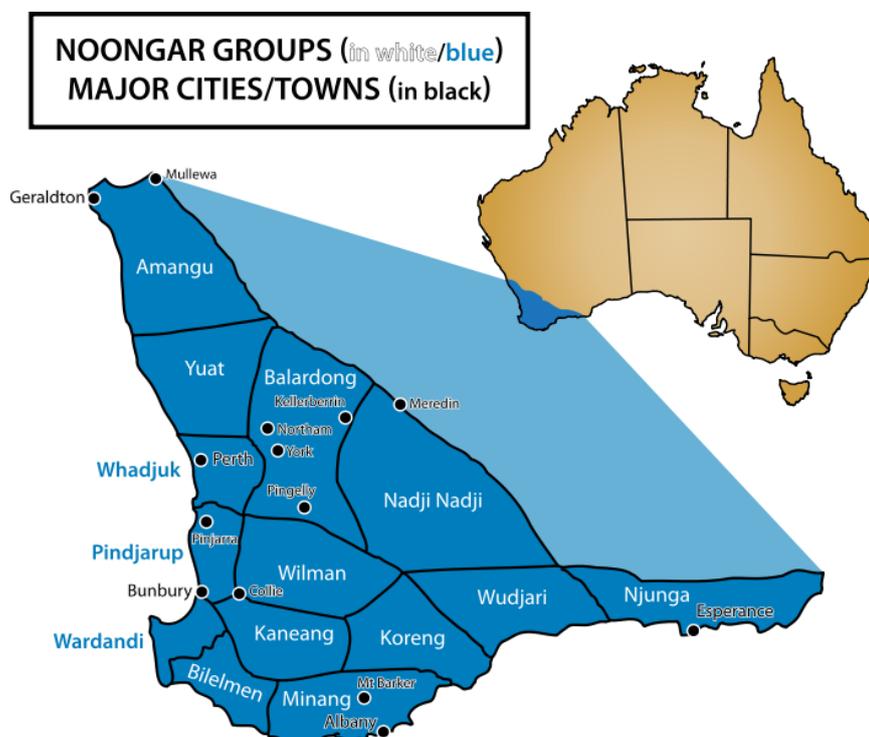
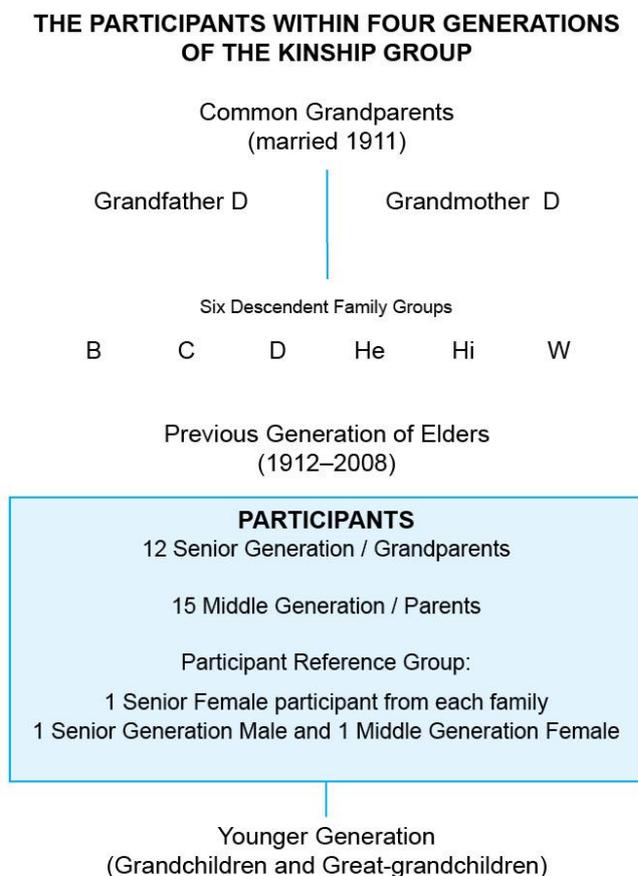


Figure 1. Map of major Noongar traditional lands and dialect groups.

The participants are drawn from the two adult generations and each of the six families of the Kinship Group. They are either members of the current senior generation and grandparents, or their adult children, members of the middle generation of participants. The

senior generation’s parents are referred to as elders of the previous generation, and are all deceased. Their contributions were accessed through their written work and family documents, and drawn from interviews which include their reflections of the Senior Participants of how the previous elder generation passed on kinship identity through their socialisation practices. Members of the younger generation were mostly minors at the commencement of the study and were not formally engaged as participants although some observations of their interaction and views are included. Of the six family groups, five families live in urban centres of southern Western Australia and one family lived in the northwest of the state. The positions of the participants and the elder and younger generations within the generational structure of the kinship group are represented in the figure below:

Figure 2. Generational positioning of study participants.



2.3 Research Process and Design

The passing of the last member of the previous elder generation immediately prior to the commencement of the research lead to discussions among members of the senior generation about their roles and responsibilities for cultural transmission. A senior female of one of the families, the Kinship Consultant, encouraged others of her generation to question how they intended to effectively address the strengthening, practice and transmission of their family's cultural heritage to younger generations. As a result of the discussions a KRG consisting of mainly Senior Participants was formed. One family did not have a senior female living in the metropolitan area and so had no representation on the KRG. A senior male from one family group represented the male interests of the six family groups. One second generation female participated in a number of the KRG meetings representing the interests of the second generation.

Each of the senior representatives of the KRG informed their family members about the study and communicated with them about the research question, goals, activities, issues and processes. The KRG performed the project management responsibilities to enable the participant lead enquiry (using CHAT) to be conducted on behalf of the Kinship Group, while accessing the postgraduate research resources available to the researcher. The KRG authorised the Kinship Consultant and the researcher to undertake the formal research activities utilising the academic process. Four meetings of the KRG guided the development of the research design and managed the implementation of the project.

The KRG deliberated over many relational issues in order to clarify and strengthen the methodology to ensure it was the most effective way of working within the context of the Kinship Group. The diversity of kinship practices of ICH within and among families, generations and across genders within the Kinship Group, was always respected. The Kinship Consultant strongly advocated to the KRG that the project should prioritise their families' processes as the basis of the methodology detailed herein, and in order to apply the "best fit" approach to aligning the research aims, processes and the engagement of participants. It was expected that this would improve the opportunity to meet the participants' and KRG's high expectations for outcomes relevant to the families of the Kinship Group. The Kinship Consultant provided the rationale that:

Indigenous research methodologies and this kinship methodology are transformative and transferable research practices that use our own ways of strengthening the research process and contributing to the outcome. (Kinship Consultant)

Issues of gender and decolonisation were addressed by the KRG, as were the implications arising from the location of this research in a doctoral program, which would allow outsiders to scrutinise the Kinship Groups' relational processes of production of their ICH. As a result of these deliberations the KRG decided that the research thesis should focus its public reporting on the development of the research processes and their application to ICH production, rather than on the content of forms of ICH, cultural practices or their meanings. The KRG stipulated that the research could publically focus on the processes of the development their ICH. This offers the broadest access to the research outcomes including families of the Kinship Group, other kinship groups, and other stakeholders with an interest in social research, development and policies.

Despite such useful clarification of the research purpose provided by the KRG, problems arose with definitions and understandings of key concepts of ICH that were key to the research question: terms such as "culture" and "tradition", "tangible" and "intangible", the conceptualisation of forms, content and meaning of ICH and the certainty of ideas and processes of their transmission. Following discussion with the KRG the Kinship Consultant proposed changing the initial focus of the research from the inventorying of ICH to the relational and developmental process of ICH production, or "*actions that would directly support local cultural reproduction rather than on creating metacultural artefacts such as the list*" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 56) of cultural practices. The research focus tightened to examine ICH processes and interactions with possible transmission outcomes and capabilities. This provided an opportunity to refine the research methods, conceptual framework and analysis. The KRG agreed to trial a development of a 'four stages of life' transmission framework between senior, middle and younger members of the Kinship Consultant's own family, to which they were invited to participate.

2.4 Investigator and Participant Standpoint and Ethics

A number of important ethical issues to the research process had to be addressed. Engaging a non-Indigenous male researcher (the author) from one of the families was potentially problematic for the academic integrity of the research process. The following reflective questions became critical: what are the ethics and consequences for the research of engaging a non-Indigenous PhD researcher and partner to the Kinship Consultant from within the KRG? This issue was discussed in the early KRG meetings and as part of the process of gaining research ethics approval at Curtin University. The KRG was asked to consider whether it would be better for the research process and outcomes to use a researcher external to the kinship group. The KRG and the Centre For Aboriginal Studies representative to the Curtin University Ethics Committee decided on preserving the opportunity for research collaboration between the PhD researcher, the Kinship Consultant and the KRG, but also emphasised the need for clear identification and separation of roles.

The differences of gendered, cultural and research standpoints and their implications for researcher's reflexive practices were also discussed at length. All ethical questions raised were resolved to the satisfaction of the Curtin University Human Ethics Committee and the KRG and ethics approval was obtained for the research, notwithstanding the close relationships of the Kinship Consultant, PhD researcher and KRG, as risks were considered to be manageable. The KRG's reflexivity, clarity and responsiveness to these issues of research ethics and planning had a positive impact on the project processes and outcomes.

As the researcher these deliberations heightened my reflexive process with regards to relational, community and academic positioning, allowing me to critically address taken-for-granted or privileged assumptions of ethnicity, power or gender, and to better understand the range of views, aspirations, ideologies and standpoints held either individually by myself as a member of the kinship group and as the researcher, or individually or collectively by the participants. The discussions helped me to improve my awareness of these issues, and how they were influencing or potentially could influence the research process and outcomes, and my responsiveness to the tensions between familial and academic obligations when conducting research in a relational setting. To acknowledge the political nature of the research being conducted, the potential bias that my kinship obligations to the participants and Kinship Consultant could have, including the potential that the failure to manage these

ethical issues could have on the research, was critical to the integrity of the processes and the outcomes.

Other ethical questions were raised in the course of the research, specifically by reflecting on the challenges occurring in similar research (Lin and Yudaw 2013). Did the researcher and Kinship Consultant, or those the participants who were involved in academic work or discourse, influence or preclude the standpoint of those participants without the same involvement? Did all participants feel they had the opportunity to contribute regardless of their level of knowledge of academic discourse? Did the use of AT and a CHAT analysis improved the agency of the participants and maximised the opportunity for equal and inclusive participation? (Lin and Yudaw, 2013). This led to discussions about the selection of data collection methods and activities to support equal participation and effective use of participant's contributions. Similar issues are also raised by Lin and Yudaw (2013):

When villagers are positioned as collaborators, teachers, or policy-makers, are they given the right tools to exercise their agency? Or, are they confined by the artefact mediated social organization which has been taken-for-granted by the privileged class? (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 451)

The ethical questions that arose in the course of the research were addressed as they occurred. Issues of sensitivity were treated confidentially and were not extolled, however the participant group's family and cultural protocols were always respected.

2.5 What is a Kinship Research Methodology?

This section presents the kinship methodology used to achieve the aims of the participant lead research. The Kinship Consultant's identification and proposal to use a KRM to address socio-cultural transmission was the most significant factor influencing the design of the research. It allowed for the research design to refocus and prioritise a practice-to-theory approach which assisted in the identification of Activity Theory as critical to the research theory and design. Both Indigenous (Fejo-King 2013; Wilson 2008; ShadowWalker 2006) and non-Indigenous researchers (Etherington 2006; Bastien et al., 2003; Cochrane 2009) have given priority to kinship processes and practices in the choice of methodology of research in Indigenous settings:

The methods of collecting data as the basis for knowledge are the most important aspect of research in Indigenous methodology (Abolson, Willett 2005; Smith 1999). This means that the way in which researchers collect their data and engage in the process of knowledge construction is more important than the outcome of the research (Cole 2002). The emphasis on the process as being important discourages researchers from continuing to recreate colonialist practices through the way in which they gather their knowledge. Further, it contrasts with Western research methods in that theory does not drive methodology. (Cochrane 2009: 44)

Participants' relational processes are integral to the selection of methods in Indigenous research. In this study the methodology was instrumental in determining the theory which emphasises the socio-cultural or relational boundaries determined by kinship processes amongst Noongar people since pre-colonial times. The methodology was devised by using the KRG's relational knowledge to guide the overall research design and select appropriate research methods. Through their participation the KRG were able to place relational practices at the heart of the research process. The use of research as a developmental activity is an indication of the commitment to support while examining the relational processes of the production and transmission of Indigenous knowledge.

A kinship methodology relies on the relational authority established by kinship lineage, that is, by the continuity of intergenerational processes of socialisation of the individual in the context of a collective, kinship identity. Kinship structures include internal legitimation processes within their relational domain that delineate the responsibilities for socialisation processes of cultural transmission. Family and kin based socialisation and enculturation practises are based on principles that emphasise the need for internal self-regulation within kinship groups, which in turn set principles for ordering relationships and interaction with other kinship groups and for broader community interaction.

The adoption of a KRM demonstrated and affirmed that the Kinship Group has its own internal process of establishing authority for exercising relational responsibility, a process that is recognised and prioritised in protocols of broader interaction within Noongar society. The methodology prioritised kinship groups as the domain of socio-cultural production and as holding self-regulating social processes for interaction within and across kinship groups, and in doing so conformed to the often-utilised Noongar protocol of '*speaking only for one's own*'. Thus, developing a kinship methodology is assisted partially through defining the

relational range of its authority with respect to other groups and the broader community. To the extent that these relational structures and processes continue to define kinship identity through descent and intermarriage, they have remained foundational to the way in which Noongar family, social and community structures are based on kinship identity and maintain the legitimisation processes of kinship authority.

Precisely because of the relationally binding and differentiating principle of kinship, the methodology can be applied as a process by other Indigenous kinship groups (Tharp and O'Donnell 2016). However a defining limitation is that while the methodology is potentially transferable with respect to process for undertaking developmental activities of ICH, its application in other research settings will be determined by the aspirations of kinship groups with respect to their own ICH development. Thus it is the relational process as a research foundation that is potentially transferable to another kinship group. This premise is a key feature and strength of the participant driven process, enabling kinship groups to continue to *"speak for their own"* through managing their own research decisions. And since the kinship methodology is context sensitive, there are greater limitations on its application in research beyond kinship configurations.

2.6 "We Are the Methodology": relational knowledge as a methodological foundation

Establishing congruence between the participants' relation knowledge, the research methodology and the conceptual-theoretical framework of the research involved a developmental process. The participant-driven research methodology was the basis for aligning the research objectives with sociocultural theory. The sociocultural conceptual framework, which is detailed in the next chapter, has been applied to address the KRG's concerns about intergenerational transmission within the Kinship Group. The methodology assumes that the family interaction and transmission practices are implicit in the production of ICH.

'Relational knowledge' is a preferred term used by some of the Senior Participants to refer to implicit understandings between members of the kinship group and the shared protocols that determine appropriate behaviours across generations, genders and families. Relational knowledge and implicit understandings inform the practices of reciprocal obligations, and are a measure of cohesiveness. It is a form of social epistemology (Kögler 1997; Gulick 2016) and so therefore is the basis for interaction across kinship groups and interculturally with

the broader community. Relational knowledge is the 'social glue' of kinship based society and when its implicit understandings are at risk so is the relational means for the production of ICH.

A kinship research methodology recognises the importance to social and developmental research of relational practices that kinship members use to generate a collective identity based on kinship. The researcher and Kinship Consultant sought to share their understandings and practices of research with all the participating families. The relational processes in kinship interaction justified the Kinship Consultant's statement that "*We are the methodology*". This emphasises the implicit understandings included in the relational authority for determining the process of decision making within and between families of a kinship group and between kinship groups. The KRM was developed from this sociocultural standpoint and applied to address the research question in the relational and context driven social epistemology (Kögler 1997; Gulick 2016) of the participants.

The KRM developed for this project is similar to initiatives undertaken by other Aboriginal kinship groups in their regions and relational contexts (Fejo-King 2013; Etherington 2006) highlighting the methodological principles that can be further adapted and applied to support the strengthening of ICH among other Aboriginal families and kinship groups. A comparative example of a relational approach to research design was used by Fejo-King (2013) a Larrakia social worker and researcher in a northern remote community of Northern Territory. She discusses how kinship relationships underpinned the cultural permission necessary for her to undertake research and how the design was significantly determined by governance issues: "*The Aboriginal kinship system is also part of Aboriginal governance, which is different to western notions of governance*" (Fejo-King 2013: 67). The authority inherent within kinship structures influenced her research design by opening up: "*avenues to insider knowledge and culturally congruent and safe practice by harnessing specific protocols*". (Fejo-King 2013: 67) Fejo-King identifies governance, kinship, protocols, spirituality and naming practices as critical to the design of research in the relational context of her research and elaborates using the metaphor of the fishing net as a symbol to convey socio-cultural knowledge in research where the:

"skill needed to cast the net was shown in the way that the research was completed in an Indigenist framework"...(also the)... "...weights that hold the net to the bottom of the river illustrated how various concepts as protocols, spirituality, kinship and skin names grounded the research and provided stability". (Fejo-King 2013: 23)

Both the net and the research process are instruments for gathering the necessities, the tangible services (Sveiby 2009: 349), that sustains community life. Indigenous research requires a purpose designed net for gathering information from the social context in which research is being conducted and for its intended application. Fejo-King's reflections show how local knowledge, specifically access to authority and relational processes, are critical to shaping the particular "weave" of research design for the kinship and community setting of her study. Relational understanding also implies a high degree of social accountability. Wilson (2008) states that this relational accountability in Indigenous research settings:

...means that the methodology needs to be based in a community context (be relational) and has to demonstrate respect, reciprocity, and responsibility (be accountable as it is put into action). (Wilson 2008: 99)

In summary, the key principles of the present KRM are:

- It is based on established relational practices and processes of the kinship group
- It is participatory, drawing on adult members of the kinship group
- It is context dependent, relying on a minimal separation of the research problem from the application of the participants' own culturally contextualised methods of research and developmental activities for examination and strategies for resolution
- Its protocols are determined by those participants holding authority based on their standing within the kinship group
- It is transferable to other kinship groups who can adopt it to their own research and development needs.

2.7 Methods and Units of Analysis

The data collection methods of this qualitative, relational, constructivist and socio-cultural enquiry included:

- Six family group meetings
- two participant workshops with Senior Participants

- ten one on one interviews with participants and four paired interviews with senior female participants were vice recorded and analysed using NVivo data analysis software
- six second generation participant meetings for each participating family group
- two family group activities for planning and development of the Four Stages of Life Framework documented by the use of video, notes and participant observation and were analysed using the CHAT framework.

Two units of analysis were chosen. A unit of analysis is defined by Vygotsky as a '*joint artefact-mediated action*' (Vygotsky 1978; 1987) and by Wertsch as '*tool mediated, goal-oriented action*' (Wertsch 1985: 202). Defined more broadly a unit of analysis is:

a conceptual tool for guiding investigators to engage in meaningful and systematic observations and analyses ...(and)...can be individuals, groups, artifacts, interactions among individuals, or any other bounded system defined by the investigator.
(Yamagata-Lynch 2013: 4)

Two units of analysis of the participant's ICH were selected that were "*broad in scope, emergent and situational to the study*" (Yamagata-Lynch 2013: 17), choices that were in line with Berliner's recommended distinction between two components of analysis of transmission processes:

the 'reflexive theory of transmission' (the way people perceive and verbalize the process of transmission and loss itself) and the observable 'processes of transmission' through which knowledge, emotions, and practices are actually passed down. (Berliner 2012)

The first unit of analysis was a historical reflection in which the Senior Participants reviewed the socialisation processes of the previous generation of elders during and after the assimilation period (1905-1967). During that period opportunities for creative expression opened up for the previous elder generation resulting in the development of Aboriginal theatre in the south-west of WA from the late 1970s. Senior participants analysed the the previous elder generation's actions related to the development of Aboriginal theatre, its importance for representing family history, and the formation of their own kinship identity.

This provided a means to reconceptualise developmental activities for the transmission of ICH to the second and younger generations. The second unit of analysis examined the tool mediated, goal-oriented action undertaken by the Kinship Consultant to develop a cultural framework for planning and conducting transition ceremonies within the four stages of life framework in her family. The family group's planning and performance of a coming of age ceremony – its components, activities and communications – were analysed using the CHAT framework (subject, object, instrument, rules, community and division of labour: see Table 2).

3.0 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical approach developed for the study was chosen as a means of framing the participants' reflections of cultural transmission across three generations and their goal-directed activities to develop contemporary practices that mark the transition across the four stages of life. The Kinship Group's practices of identity formation are strongly supported by Vygotsky's cultural psychology (Vygotsky 1978). The methodology combined the Senior Participants' conceptualisation of relational processes with AT into an appropriate overarching conceptual-theoretical framework. In this study knowledge is viewed as primarily relational and interactive (Stetsenko 2008: 477); that is as a social epistemology. (Kögler 1997; Gulick 2016)

3.2 Defining Key Socio-cultural Concepts

Before proceeding to a discussion of Indigenous socio-cultural theory it is necessary to define some key concepts. Socio-cultural theory is a theory of human learning derived from society or culture in which social interaction is seen as fundamental to the development of cognition. Vygotsky's socio cultural theory, or Activity Theory, is engaged with understanding the means of social-cultural transmission from historical circumstance to future ends:

Vygotsky's future-oriented psychology viewed individuals as part of collective life that develops its means of engagement with the world through historical practice and is directed toward teleological ends. Its focus on the future therefore relies on means of cultural engagement that will continue to propel it toward a satisfying future according to a collectivist framework for concurrent personal and social growth. His belief in a future that follows from established cultural pathways, and that is grounded in meta-experiences that in turn frame new experiences, suggests the roles of two related factors in human development: telos, a sense of optimal outcome for individuals and their societies. (Wertsch 2000; in Smagorinsky 2012; 2012b: 75)

This KRM allowed for the articulation of a participant lead examination of the Kinship Group's socio-cultural reality as relational processes of development. The kinship methodology was suitable because the:

objects under investigation are seen in context, as a part of a whole. Their meaningfulness is determined not by the characteristic properties, attributes, or essences of the thing itself, but rather with reference to the field of objects, practices, or activities within which they are embedded. (Mohr 2015: 101-102)

Finally the communication of cognition is learned via processes of mediation, or more specifically as culturally mediated action which involves:

sociocultural process where human beings interact with artifacts, cultural tools, peers, and social setting...(and)... human learning and development is complex, organic, reciprocal through mediated action ...and...is inseparable from context. (Yamagata-Lynch 2013: 6-7)

3.3 Indigenized Sociocultural Learning

Indigenous learning theories involve holistic ways of teaching and learning that embrace the fundamental role of storytelling, while socio-cultural theory explores the contribution of society and culture to the development of people (Daniels 2004; Tharp and O'Donnell 2016; Cochrane 2009; ShadowWalker 2006). The theoretical framework used for this study was informed by these theories and emphasises the process of enculturated individuals emerging through interaction with others.

The Indigenous researchers who have informed the approach favour socio-cultural theory to support Indigenous epistemologies because both approaches emphasise the relational practices and socio-cultural contexts at the centre of Indigenous processes of learning (Cochrane 2009; ShadowWalker 2006). Cochrane (2009) coined the term '*Indigenized Sociocultural Learning*' to describe the linking of socio-cultural theory with the concrete practices and relational processes of Indigenous learning. This approach is "*an articulation between an Indigenous theory and a sociocultural theory that is culturally-responsive and reflective of Indigenous epistemologies*" (Cochrane 2009: 47).

ShadowWalker (2006) states that socio-cultural theory's idea of:

socially shared cognitive is parallel to cognitive development theories in indigenous cultures, it's most visible form is story telling. The dynamic exchange between the elder/teacher and the child/apprentice occurs when the memory is accessed and constructed through the dialog between them. This exchange is the social context that Vygotsky saw as vital to cognitive development. The social context of being present and participating is vital in understanding Indian communities and acquiring access to their knowledge domains;... In the Vygotskian model, cognitive development is social and not individualistically contained within a single organ. ...what makes ideas 'real' is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located... (ShadowWalker 2006: 8; 25)

Socio-cultural theory, as a historical-material theory of development, is a particularly useful tool to generate understanding of the mediation of cultural tradition in the shifting context of historical change:

Although sociocultural theory is a Western theory, it foregrounds the role of cultural practices, worldviews, and cultural tools in a society as the primary catalysts for individual development and learning. (Vygotsky 1978) By stressing the social origins of language and thinking, Vygotsky was the first modern psychologist to suggest the mechanisms by which culture and biology are interwoven to form a person's history. (Cochrane 2009: 49)

According to Gergen and Zielke (2006) socio-cultural theory enables:

a supporting rationale for action, provide useful terms for coordinating practitioner communities, alter the existing terms of description and explanation so that new forms of action are invited, and place existing practices under critical reflection. (Gergen and Zielke 2006: 307)

Cultural-historical factors that intersect with traditionally and historically situated contexts are present in the production, consumption, transmission and transformation of ICH. Based on ethnographic research in Central Australia Myers (1997) advocates for:

a dialectical model of construction that I identify more with the activity theory and Vygotsky ... or Piagetian notions of construction... that emphasizes operations and practices that mediate between a subject and the world. I find these models to be most productive for understanding how environment is constituted socially...The Vygotskyian subject is himself or herself also constructed out of activities...whose perception is guided by the instruction or tutelage that Vygotsky's 'zone of proximal development' ...allowed. (Myers 1997: 78)

Socio-cultural theory holds the externalist view shared by Dewey, Vygotsky, Nietzsche, Derrida and later Wittgenstein that the mind emerges from social and historical activity (Russell 1993; Saran 1953). The enculturated person emerges as result of social interaction and “societies precede, form and constitute the individuals who together compose society itself...(rather than)... society as outcome of decisions made...by pre-social individuals” (Mulhall, 1995: 103).

In accordance with the KRG’s express wishes, the research objectives did not involve analysing the ‘content’ of participants’ beliefs related to ICH. The focus was therefore directed towards lived relational interactions as the sociocultural basis for the processes of transmission and goal based activities for strengthening and developing of ICH. Thus, AT was chosen as the theoretical framework for this research, since it does not isolate the participants’ spiritual beliefs for examination, resulting in either contradiction or approval, but acknowledges the central importance of historical impacts on how historical factors are addressed in the current thinking and actions of a community or society (Vygotsky 1978) to influence the processes of cultural-historical reproduction.

Kunoth-Monks (2007) includes historical impacts in her assessment of contemporary cultural production and identity in Central Australia:

there is no longer a strong framework of land and culture to provide for and sustain the harmony and responsibility we were known for in the past...The irony is that the nostalgic view of Indigenous people is that we survived through adaptability and resilience—yet in the face of globalism we appear unable to adapt.... So what is it

that is important to retain in this process of change? ... if we are to accept change then it must not come at the expense of identity. The concept of identity is complex and includes the symbolic importance of land and culture but it also allows for an individual response to change.... we need new knowledge and the situations we face are new situations. The knowledge of the past is captured in the land and cultural practices that bound it together and made sense of it. Our knowledge for the future requires more than this ... we need to know our culture to whatever level is appropriate for our particular living circumstances, but then move on to the decisions we have to make. (Kunoth-Monks 2007: 8-9)

A realistic and pragmatic assessment such as this suggests that there are benefits to examining theories of historical intervention and socio-cultural continuity from kinship perspectives and for considering the impacts of historical influences on contemporary actions to protect the relational means of cultural and symbolic production. This understanding of survival in the context of historical change is addressed by the first unit of analysis of this study. The second unit of analysis addresses participants' necessary decision making around the development of appropriate means of the transmission of ICH in the current cultural-historic situation.

3.5 The Four Stages of Life Framework (4SL) and CHAT Analysis

CHAT analysis provides an effective way to analyse the processes of the intergenerational transfer of knowledge within the kinship setting due to its capacity as:

a realist theory that enables systematic analysis of social activity in context: it highlights the most important factors that affect the activity and provides a language with which to analyse these. (Cripps Clark 2013: 162)

Further, the planning and performance of the naming and coming of age ceremonies was linked to a CHAT analysis, which is:

a framework for systematically analysing human activities in context: “a powerful analytic tool that helps to reveal the fundamental aspects of social practice, and support structured, meaningful interpretations of empirical data. (Kaptelinin, Miettinen 2005, in Cripps Clark: *ibid*)

A framework for representing Noongar views of transition through stage of life is represented in the Minditj Kaart-Moorditj Kaart (MKMK) Framework (see Figure 3), developed as part of the *Looking Forward Program* (McKinney and Mckinney 2015; Wright et al., 2015). It represents the sequences of life-stage development linked to the six Noongar seasons accompanied by a set of attributes and ethical principles of socialisation.

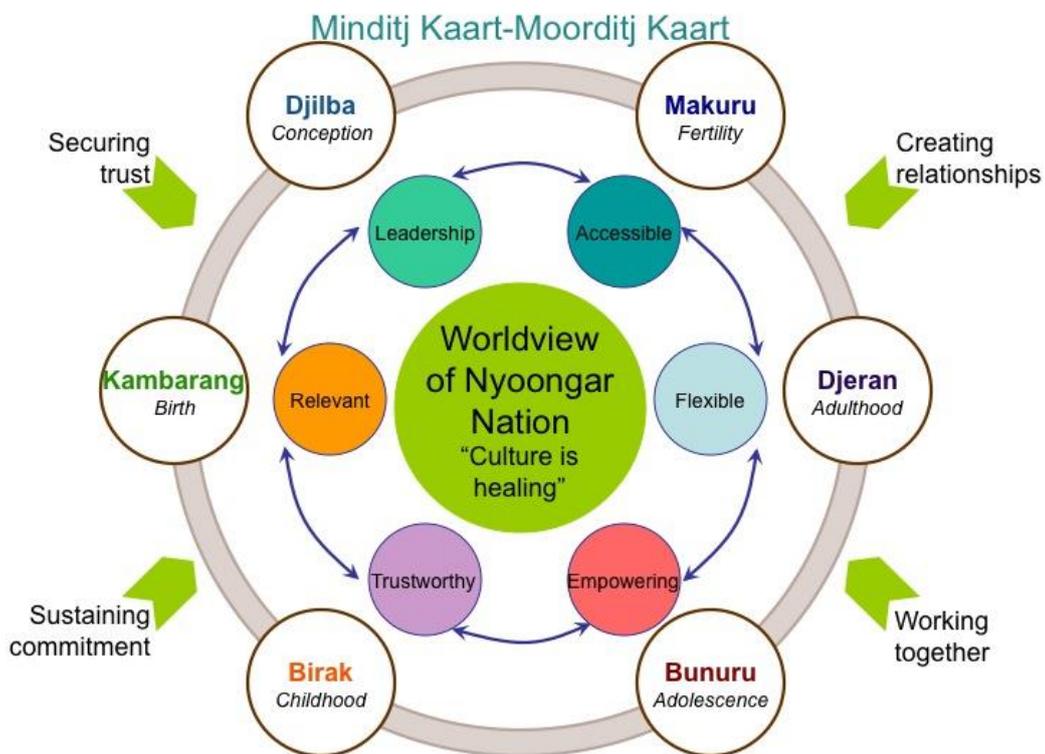


Figure 3. Minditj Kaart-Moorditj Kaart Framework (Wright et al. 2013: 15)

The developmental nature of the research provided the Kinship Consultant and KRG an opportunity to plan goal-based activities for constructing the Four Stages of Life process as the second unit of analysis. The process was well supported by the MK-MK framework (see Table 1). The framework provides a visual form of the goal-based activities undertaken as a contemporary remediation of cultural transmission. Table 1 outlines the value of the Four Stages of Life Framework (hereafter known as the *4SL Framework*) to guide strategies to progress initiatives around the intergenerational transfer of knowledge whilst incorporating the lived socio-cultural practices represented in the MKMK Framework.

Four Stage of Life (4SL) Framework	Developmental Life Stage
Naming Ceremony	Birth (Kambarang), Childhood (Birak), Adolescence (Bunuru)
Coming of Age Ceremony	Adolescence (Bunuru)
Marriage Ceremony	Fertility (Maruku), Adulthood (Djeran)
Passing on Ceremony	End of Life

Table 1. Four Stages of Life Framework in relation to the Minditj Kaart-Moorditj Kaart Framework

A demonstration of the relevance of the *4SL Framework* to the adaption of revitalised knowledge is that two members of the younger generation have been previously been given seasonal terms as their names at birth and one was accompanied by a naming ceremony which set a precedent for the developmental activities of the *4SL framework*.

3.6 Relational Knowledge As Epistemic Authority

A relational theory of learning and artefact mediation in cultural transmission is required to understand how socio-cultural and cognitive practices circulate within a network of kinship:

a theory of artefacts, including representational artefacts, is needed to understand the dynamics of the change in practices....;...In activity theory and in the dialectical

tradition (Ilyenkov 1977b; Lektorsky 1980) the objectification of activity into artefacts is emphasized as a key mechanism in the development of culture. A human being creates him/herself in the process of changing a part of the world and a culture, with a corresponding transformation of the mediational means. (Miettinen et al., 2012)

As discussed previously, some Senior Participants identified ‘relational knowledge’ as the basis of kinship identity in Noongar society and a core priority for intergenerational transmission. Families and kinship groups are socio-cultural learning environments from which individuals emerge through interaction in collective processes of transmission. This takes place through actions and statements of interaction that circulate and reinforce processes of relational ordering and in the process of introductions between members and that reiterate collective understandings in response to questions of identity: *“What do I say when someone asks me who is my tribe?”*, or in such statements as *“Don’t forget where you come from”*; *“It is not shame to ask ‘Who are your people?’*, and to questions of identity elicited by others, *“Who is your family?”* and *“Where are they from?”*.

As new social networks emerge kinship networks are increasingly subject to competing sources of cultural mediation. Cultural-historical markers of identity such as *“Who is your family?”* and *“Where are they from?”* mix with more current means of identification such as *“What do you do?”* or *“How many friends do you have on Facebook?”*, often with conflicting effects of identity across generations and cross-cultural domains.

The Kinship Consultant emphasised the need for a relational and practice based approach to the research design and the framing of ‘relational knowledge’ as the means by which individuals and families of the Kinship Group generate shared identity. The justification for the claim *“We are the methodology”* is based on the lived experience embodied within a kinship group, and the authority to maintain relational identity within age cohorts, and between families and kinship groups through the injunction that *“you can only speak for one’s own”*.

A theoretical ‘best fit’ was needed to align with the kinship methodology and required a search for a suitable conceptual-theoretical framework. Socio-cultural theory emerged as a highly constructive pairing with the kinship methodology, and given its relevance to social learning, provided a benchmark for a critical comparison to other theoretical approaches

that were considered. It also matched well with the Kinship Consultant's prior understandings of constructivist theories of learning and development in formal education, notably Vygotsky and Piaget (1978).

Vygotsky's theory of cultural-psychology demonstrates that the emergence of the individual in the context of socialisation occurs firstly through externalised expression with more experienced members of the group and then becomes internalised within the individual:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals. (Vygotsky 1978: 57)

Holland and Lachicotte (2007) develop this further:

In Vygotskian terminology, an identity is a higher-order psychological function that organizes sentiments, understandings, and embodied knowledge relevant to a culturally imagined, personally valued social position. Identities formed on personal terrain mediate one's ability to organize and perform the intention of one's activity in the locales and "occupations" of cultural worlds...The ability to organize oneself in the name of an identity, according to a Vygotskian perspective, develops as one transacts cultural artifacts with others and then, at some point, applies the cultural resource to oneself. (Holland and Lachicotte 2007: 113)

Socio-cultural theory examines the processes of how an enculturated individual emerges through interactions within the sociocultural environment. Watson says that '*In going through the stages of natural psychology, mediated activity and internalization, the child's mind is transformed*' (Watson 1995: 62). Understanding the processes of cultural mediation has been identified as critical to Indigenous socialisation and learning:

Much of Indigenous learning occurs through the mediation and internalization of cultural symbols.... (which)... can be used within an Indigenous sociocultural approach to theorize how cultural symbols transform cognition and affect in learners. (Cochrane 2009: 100)

Relational processes of kinship emphasise the reciprocal ethics of belonging and provide the means for learning and cultural mediation in which knowledge can be defined as a 'social relation' (Kelly 2009: 2) of the context from which it emerges. Relational principles structure and reproduce the knowledge of traditional and post-traditional forms through remediated and intergenerational processes. Engaging in the development of strategies involves a dialogue with traditional and historical epistemologies that enables emerging generations to continue to learn their cultural heritage from the processes of intergenerational transmission. Bastien et al (2003: 34) have shown that the epistemology of the Niisitapi from southern Alberta Canada emphasises relating, knowing and the 'transfers':

the theory of knowledge that all knowing comes from the source of life and through kinship alliances. It is through a complex web of relationships that Niisitapi "come to know." Inherent in knowing is the responsibility of living the knowledge; and living the knowing is a fundamental aspect of identity and the source from which "self" emerges. These characteristics become the essential elements for interpreting the environment and for experiencing the world. Transfer, a'poomo'yiopi, is a process of renewing the alliances of kinship relations. Transfers are found in ceremony. The ceremonies take the form in which a common sense of transformation and transcendence is experienced, and the people (Harrod, 1992, p. 67) share the meanings associated with the transfer. (Bastien et al 2003 : 34)

This study adopts a constructionist approach to demonstrate the social basis of production of ICH practices *"as diverse, emergent constructions rather than fixed, inherited practices (Bronner 2011)*. The Cultural-historical circumstances of rapid social change challenge kinship authority as one among many varieties of epistemic authority:

Analogously, parents have the experience their children lack, customs and traditions embody proven methods of survival in natural and social environments, religion grants transcendental validity to human behavior, language provides reliable tools for mental operations such as identification, conceptualization, classification, and inference, science supplies the basis of technologies that work, and ideologies of policies that are presumed to work. The ...(underlined)...expressions...refer to epistemic warrants that yield epistemic legitimacy and thereby endow teacher, family, tradition, religion, language, science or ideology each with its brand of epistemic authority. (Dascal 2009: 3)

The question as to who holds the responsibility and capacity for mediating the socio-cultural practices that underpin identity formation and the production and transmission of ICH is critical for the future of Indigenous family and kinship groups. Depending on the issues and circumstances, daily decisions need to be made by participants in response to the various sources of legitimation arising from interaction with the broader society. Each has the potential to either support or undermine the legitimacy of kinship authority which:

forms the place, the condition, the field of emergence, the authority to differentiate between individuals objects, states or things and relations that are brought into play ...; ...it defines the possibilities of appearance and delimitation. (Foucault, in Bhabha 2012: 168)

Research conducted by Etherington (2006) to support the goals of elders of Kunwinjku speaking people of Western Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory to align formal and cultural systems of education. It raises the mediating role of ceremony for determining the roles that Kunwinjku families play in primary socialisation and how this articulates with broader enculturation. Ceremony links the socialisation undertaken by the “*hearth family*” to processes of enculturation across broader social relationships:

The pedagogic point of Ceremony is to graduate a Kunwinjku individual socially. Socially, it articulates the hearth family with other structures. Social learning has been preparatory to social adulthood. (Etherington 2006: 275-6)

As the immediate family provides the socio-cultural interaction through which an individual's identity emerges, these relationships are extended to allow individuals to increase the range of interaction in the field of relationships within the broader social domain. Across the life span individuals emerge toward fuller participation and assume their relationally extended roles and responsibilities within their kinship group and broader community. Norms of social organisation, knowledge, gender and relationships regulate the sharing of knowledge within and between kinship groups. A contemporary accommodation of this theory involves the relational processes in the production of art as:

contingent upon the stories they contain. More than this, they coalesce space, time, and the Ancestors' wanderings in a form that is navigable to those who know its conventions. In this sense, they manifest as cultural heritage survival maps also. The conventions are localised but transferable and extensible by agreement with adjacent clan societies. (Bardon 1999; Wyeld 2008: 439)

In summary, this chapter discussed indigenous socio-cultural learnings and traditions in relation to cultural identity and the importance of intergenerational transfer of knowledge to indigenous peoples. It introduced a newly developed framework (*4SL Framework*) based on the ceremonies that celebrate major stages of life being: naming; coming of age; marriage; and passing on situating it in the Minditj Kaart-Moorditj Kaart representation of the Noongar worldview.

The *4SL framework* developmental process was introduced to conceptualise the research problem in more detail as the second unit of analysis. (It will be shown in a later in chapter six that the developmental process used to strengthen the 4SL closely correlate with the Engestrom's (1999) Expansive Learning Cycle). The combined processes were used to develop contemporary practices that could be used to maximise the intergenerational knowledge transfer through the development of contemporary ceremonies to mark major life stages for members of the Kinship Consultant's family. A CHAT analysis was conducted of the development process as goal-directed activities for strengthening the relational production of ICH.

4.0 BACKGROUND: ABORIGINAL HERITAGE AND DECOLONISATION

4.1 Aboriginal social structures, work and culture

According to Dodson, Indigenous kinship systems traditionally provided a range of positive social functions in Aboriginal society:

In indigenous societies, the extended family or kinship system traditionally managed virtually all areas of social, economic and cultural life. It regulated the distribution of food and property, the use of and the rights and responsibilities to land, relationships between people (including marriage and the responsibility for children), the education of children and the transmission of knowledge at all stages of life, the transmission of culture and language, all aspects of the law including criminal and family law, and relations with other kinship groups. The family was, to speak comparatively, the legislative assembly, the court system, and the agency for service delivery. (Dodson 1994: 34-41)

Historically, social anthropology viewed kinship systems as a primitive form of social organisation. Over the previous century government policies of biological and cultural absorption suppressed the socio-cultural transmission of identity and practice and created a racialised and under skilled service class as a source of labour (Haebich 1992, 2008). Destruction or significant alteration of the material-economic basis of a society in which the modes of production and the social means of exchange are grounded also significantly alters the relationship of artefact mediation (tools) and semiotic mediation (signs) of Aboriginal practices.

Aboriginal peoples' structural position in the economy relies of their marginal forms of participation such as indentured labour and welfare dependency. While many now have sustainable economic participation, the result has been an increasing separation of the economic and cultural spheres of activity which were traditionally closely linked:

Aboriginal production was much more than food and tools – above all they produced services such as information, education, diplomacy, maintaining order, entertainment, ... art and ceremonies for death and marriage ... the Aboriginal pre-contact economy functioned rationally to cater for a high demand for services (intangibles) rather than material goods (tangibles). (Sveiby 2009: 349)

Apart from the genealogical proof required to support Native Title claims, Australia is not, in current policy or economic terms, broadly supportive or accommodating of Aboriginal kinship systems. However in the Native Title era kinship systems have a new instrumental value although it has not exceeded the narrow forms of liberal discourse of Aboriginal social structures:

The Aboriginal family recognized by the Australian Parliament and courts as the basis of indigenous property is a typological projection of classic British structural-functional accounts of “kinship societies”. (Povinelli 2002: 227)

Kinship practices that have survived the policies of segregation and assimilation when viewed as occurring within a “traditional family” are most likely to be recognised by the Australian Parliament and the native title courts as evidence of continuing cultural practice. Crowe and Pohl (1994) adopt Smith’s notion of Aboriginal kinship groups as ‘self-governing units’ (Smith 1989) within existing social structures and cultural-linguistic regions. However the social and policy context of assimilation attempted to undermine the value of distinct forms of authority and knowledge by marginalising the relational base of their cultural practices (Smith 1989; Dobson 1994).

In the current circumstances shaping domestic, cultural, occupational and gendered identities there is increasing pressure on the resilience of kinship groups’ epistemic authority. Globalising systems of governance, economy and the public mediation of culture, the legacies of history and the conditions of postmodernity are arrayed before Aboriginal kinship groups as challenges that require daily negotiation. An ongoing epistemological crisis exists through the dilemmas created by colonisation, modernisation and globalisation, particularly as to how kinship groups can maintain their relational practices of identity and re-establish control over the array of change factors in order to continue to support the relational production of ICH.

Aboriginal kinship groups and families are increasingly diverse in their occupational and social mobility, ethnicity of partners, household type, explicit sexual preference and the extent of urban and regional dispersal (Taylor 2005). There is a diversity of circumstances that exists due to the impact of particular regional, cultural and historical factors.

Anecdotally, Indigenous women's discussions in private and public forums converge around managing the complex realities of their lives with respect to the competing priorities of work, culture and family while trying to maintain the resilience of their families and kinship groups. Aboriginal grandparents and parents face tensions associated with approaching contemporary cultural transmission in the circumstances of emerging globalisation, as succinctly analysed by Appadurai:

Because both work and leisure have lost none of their gendered qualities in this new global order but have acquired ever subtler fetishized representations, the honor of women becomes increasingly a surrogate for the identity of embattled communities of males, while their women, in reality, have to negotiate increasingly harsh conditions of work at home and in the nondomestic workplace. In short, deterritorialized communities and displaced populations, however much they may enjoy the fruits of new kinds of earning and new dispositions of capital and technology, have to play out the desires and fantasies of these new ethnoscapas, while striving to reproduce the family-as-microcosm of culture. As the shapes of cultures grow themselves less bounded and tacit, more fluid and politicized, the work of cultural reproduction becomes a daily hazard. (Appadurai 1996: 45)

Arising from these complex factors is the investment of time and capacity needed to address the intergenerational transmission of cultural and symbolic systems of meaning balanced with the procuring and sustaining the economic means of survival. The interweaving of these issues have been clearly analysed in a recent research study undertaken in the Pilbara region (Taylor and Scambary 2005):

Also, amongst the regional Indigenous polity there is clear evidence of ambivalent responses to the potential cultural assimilation implied by their increasing integration into a market economy and its monetisation of many aspects of social life. Such ambivalence is not confined to those who can't engage with the industry, but is an attitude held by many Indigenous people who possess the necessary

prerequisites but who elect to dedicate themselves to employment or activities that are focused on the maintenance of customary institutions, or at least outside the mine economy. Importantly, however, there is a corollary to the dismal picture of Indigenous capacity provided by the statistical analysis above. Many Indigenous people still possess and practice diverse skills and knowledge associated with the customary economy that is not accounted for in any measurement of social indices.

Altman, Buchanan and Biddle (2006: 152), for example, have outlined the extent of hunting, fishing, art and craft production and the contributions that such activities make 'to Indigenous people's livelihoods that are not reflected in standard statistical collections'. Such activities have tangible economic outcomes, and are integrally associated with social phenomena in the realm of producing identity and distinctiveness. The desire to maintain and enhance customary livelihood practices, and the skills, capacity and knowledge that they entail is a critical Indigenous aspiration that arises in the Pilbara, and across the three field sites of this study. Such aspirations reflect an understanding of the historical and contemporary experience of mainstream economic exclusion, and positively prioritise the known strategies for surmounting the scarcity that such exclusion creates. In the Pilbara the desire to access mining agreement derived resources to support these strategies, in combination with access to mainstream economic opportunities, and citizenship rights, is suggestive of a deeper understanding of a sustainable future than currently accommodated in standard mining agreements such as the YLUA. (Taylor, Scambray 2005: 184-185)

Every driver of social change presents positive and negative affordances to individuals and families within kinship groups. This change process requires a contemporary system of semiotic and practice based mediation capable of bridging both economic and cultural priorities. The implication for how effectively Aboriginal people are able to balance the multiple complexities of culture and work in the public sphere is critical to the choice of new occupational identities and the maintenance of socialisation processes that address both tangible and intangible needs. Enrolments of Aboriginal students in higher education are highest in health and humanities, that is, in the area of greatest relevance to their communities and it would be easy to conclude that younger people are responding to the older generations' modelling of identity maintenance through choices that centre on the

ethics of social support needed to sustain the well-being of families, kinship groups and communities. The relational ontology of Aboriginal families, “*Who do you belong to*”, is under competing pressure from a dominant socio-economic order that requires an occupational definition of self to the question “*What do you do?*.”

Indigenous people’s views of appropriate support for their families consistently return to the issues of socio-cultural context and processes:

First Nations leaders have linked the improvement of developmental conditions for children to: —the reconstruction of their cultural identity, revitalization of intergenerational transmission of culture with accessibility to modern education, culture and traditional language, and reproduction of culturally distinctive values and practices in programs for children and youth. (Ball 2004: 455)

Confronting the Senior Participants of the Kinship Group, indeed all kinship groups, is the challenge and the imperative of addressing global pressures by developing a framework of responses that can accommodate the range of influential factors that compete with their responsibilities for socio-cultural reproduction. This research approach seeks to match cultural production to the contingencies of urbanisation and globalisation which require leading, contesting and clarifying ideologies of cultural production.

Senior Participants can model younger members of the Kinship Group in the transmission of culture alongside various forms of economic and socio-participation, advising them from experience on the risks and opportunities associated with contemporary living. They guide younger members of the Kinship Group toward balancing the multiple influences of contemporary culture and globalisation. They are constantly concerned about the sustainability of contemporary cultural practices and whether there are adequate transmission processes for these to continue across generations, not just by symbolically reminding younger generations of the losses, or anticipating the possible further losses yet to be realised by each generation, but by demonstrating how to address emergent possibilities of cultural transmission for current and future generations.

The challenge to grandparents and parents is to incorporate effective responses to history, strategically plan for the future, to manage the convergence and divergence of intergenerational standpoints and the influence of dominant positions and the competing priorities of both cultural and economic sustainability:

Why is the study of cultural emergence important? It is important because cultural change is a constantly occurring phenomenon. The study of culture is not an established pronouncement of what happened in the past. It is not a body of knowledge that has been relegated to an analysis ... as defined by cultural experts. Culture is dynamic. It is changing and redefining itself from one generation to the next. It creates a new future (new-present) while redefining its past (old-present). This new future is a directional marker. It merely identifies the new forces that are taking place in the present and that will continue to take place in the future. In order to make a transition into this new future, the old past has to be redefined. It must be broken down and reorganized so that it can be understood in the cultural present. (St. Clair 2007: 54)

4.2 ICH, Institutions and Aboriginal Aspirations for Self Management

In early planning conversations for this research, some of the Senior Participants reflected how the impact of the shift in federal government policies under the Howard government led them to reconsider their active involvement in Aboriginal servicing. In the early 1990s the formation of the federally constituted and elected representative body the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Committee (ATSIC)(1990-2005) was adopted through the passing of the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act 1989 (the ATSIC Act)*. Together with the Mabo Native Title decision of 1993, ATSIC represented a decentralising of the political process of national Aboriginal policy and funding. ATSIC's rise as the centralised policy and funding body of Indigenous affairs, which shared with government the responsibilities for Indigenous development, indicates that Indigenous institution-building was occurring at the national level. However after 15 years of operation the Howard Liberal government disbanded ATSIC in 2004, weakening the Aboriginal services sector and its agencies and programs by mainstreaming social services at the same time as it amended the Native Title Act 1993. While overseeing the closure of the government funded ten year National Reconciliation process the Howard government also rejected the calls for a national apology to the Stolen Generations later granted by the Rudd Labour government in 2008.

Indigenous people's insistence on the right to define and manage their own ICH has been a consistent focus of attempts to negotiate heritage matters and to address their imbrication in state institutional frameworks over which they have little direct control. In 1991, the

Aboriginal Interests Working Group, State Task Force for Museum Policy (WA) final draft report, entitled *“Towards a Co-ordinated Aboriginal Heritage Policy for Western Australia”*, and drawing on the Royal Commission Into Aboriginal Deaths In Custody (RCIADIC) report, proposed heritage initiatives and policies aimed as redressing the consequences of colonial dispossession. It proposed significant restructuring of cultural heritage institutions and by prioritising intangible components of heritage pre-empted UNESCO’s 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH 2003). The Taskforce envisaged a program for Aboriginal inclusion through institutional reform based on the values of *“cultural rights, self-determination and mutual respect of different cultural groups in our society”* as the *“fundamental principles on which future policies and strategies should be constructed”*. (AIWG 1991: 5)

The Taskforce approach was integrated, holistic, participatory and community centred. It pre-empted the CSICH 2003 designation of heritage as ‘living’ later adopted by UNESCO’s protection of intangible ‘*values, behaviour, speech, language, oral history, folklore, creativity and adaptability*’ (UNESCO 2003: 31). Within the broader scope of its aims, it planned to maximise the use of federal policy pluralism through a strategic alliance with the federal policy of Multiculturalism. The proposal for co-ordinated heritage policy was intended to support local communities to participate in the management of their cultural heritage within a framework that would shape the institutional function of heritage bodies, academic departments and government while being monitored through international conventions. It proposed a national Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Commission (ACHC) operating through Community Cultural Development Regional Centres and an Australian Academy for Indigenous and Multicultural Arts and Heritage Sciences (AAIMAHS). The Taskforce proposal sought to build an institutional framework to support self-determination of Indigenous heritage management, reflecting the aspirations of Indigenous leadership of the time for civic participation on the preferred basis of separate, equal and shared institutional access at the level of the nation’s cultural institutions. In 1997 the facilitator of the Taskforce forum which produced the final draft report stated that its operations would be:

characterized by indigenous community cultural action. The project is initiated by community cultural specialists such as elders and other keepers of culture and activists working for community cultural development. Indigenous people control the cultural project and its development. It provides a voice for Indigenous community cultural leadership and cultural reclamation. Expertise is a corporate community

heritage system. This enables the continuity and adaption of cultures from generation to generation with the strengthening of community cultural self-esteem. Through such community cultural action and self empowerment, indigenous people are able to continue in the mainstream of emerging post-colonial societies. (Galla 1997: 152)

However, in the 25 years that have transpired since the Taskforce proposal, little has actually been realised of the plan. The current picture is one of a lack of access to centralised political means to support the growth of community cultural development related to the management of Indigenous cultural heritage, other than through a federal government department.

More recently, the continuous existence of customary practice in Noongar country, including the Perth metropolitan area, was established by court action in 2006 (Law Reform Commission of Western Australia 2006). The State of Western Australia appealed, maintaining that Noongar culture practices underpinning traditional ownership were extinguished, until the High Court rule overturned its challenge and a Noongar Native Title Agreement was signed in 2015. In the emerging post-Native Title settlement era the provision of services in Noongar country will be significantly reshaped by the formal recognition of registered groups of Traditional Owners as key bodies that will have a range of functions less encumbered by government.

www.dpc.wa.gov.au/lantu/Agreements/Pages/default.aspx

4.3 Decolonising Intangible Cultural Heritage

The explicit purpose of the Aboriginal protectionist and assimilation policies from the 1880s to the late 1950s was a system of governance that maintained the goals of biological and cultural absorption and the bureaucratic will and administrative and legal measures to achieve them. (Commonwealth and State Ministers Australia 1961). Kinship systems, which provided the mechanisms that enable institutional and cultural reproduction (Dodson 1994: 34-4) and a broad range of intangible social services (Sveiby 2009: 349), were divided by “protectionist” regimes of separation, policing, incarceration, economic exclusion and institutionalisation (Bastian et al. 2003; Haebich 1992, 2008; Taylor et al. 2003; Wright et al. 2013). Essentialist semiotics of primitive, evolutionary redundancy justified the pseudo-

scientific collection and removal of bodily remains and cultural objects (David et al. 2006). The persistent use of tropes of traditional 'semiotic remainders' (Povinelli 2002: 61), accessible via 'authentic' material artefacts and traditional beliefs which continue to essentialise Aboriginal cultures.

Decolonising heritage discourse struggle against simplistic concepts and definitions that separation tangible from intangible heritage, protectionist based regimes which influence meta-construction of ICH:

All over the globe, evidence suggests that cultural transmission and loss have become politicized issues, as the concepts are primarily used by politicians, local elites, UNESCO experts and some anthropologists. The trope of the 'disappearing culture' is also deployed by ordinary men and women in a world seen by many as globalizing and uprooting. In various societies, however, UNESCO's naturalist project of collecting and preserving does not correspond to the way cultural transmission and loss are conceived by locals.interviews with locals revealed that they do not long for the return of what seems to some foreign experts and tourists lost for ever, and that they do not share many of the traits of their cultural alarmism. (Berliner 2012)

Cultural practices may have become marginal within the repertoire, only tenuously practiced, anachronistic or no longer able to be transmitted, while others change developmentally. ICH is frequently tacit, involving pre-linguistic understandings of felt experience and relationships, and so defies easy public articulation in its defence. A multiplicity of perspectives and interests contest the presentation of Indigenous culture for public attention:

Safeguarding can be interpreted as a mechanism through which the cultural elements of everyday life are assigned patrimonial value and so transformed into meta-cultural realities; in other words, they become official representations of current representations and practices. It follows from this that documentation, promotion and dissemination of such elements may be anthropologically interpreted as ways of staging heritage and therefore enacting the social identities and cultural differences that it represents. (Arantes 2013: 39)

Decolonising approaches to cultural heritage management seek to counter at least some aspects of the influence of multiple parties participating in the meta-cultural production of Indigenous peoples' heritage, the 'politics of recognition' (Povinelli 2002) generated by Native Title, and the protectionist staging of cultural heritage. Theatre is a useful counter means, both as a practice and as a form of social criticism, to reframe the real world staging of ICH at the intersection between Indigenous, state and international institutions of heritage protection. For example Sophocle's play 'Antigone' has informed concerns about the discourse of Native American survival and the repatriation of funerary remains. Hirsch (2014) comments are pertinent to moving beyond representations of Indigenous people as beneficiaries of state recognition which rely on descent based theories of kinship rather than affiliation:

The Antigone is about those who embark on generative projects ...that...hinge on disclosing imaginative reinventions of justice, freedom and kinship;..... Affirming indigenous survivance means attenuating the bloodrites of recognition, and with it the markers of membership boundaries and constructions of racial difference historically prescribed by the settler state. Survivance means repudiating the essentializing, power-saturated, and endlessly recolonizing practices recognition politics espouses. (Hirsch 2014: 22-23)

A decolonising heritage discourse counters the unwanted effects of protectionist heritage management systems grounded in a binary separation of the tangible from the intangible. In the present research, during the process of engaging the participants to understand their views of the impacts of history, modernity and globalisation' the Kinship Consultant utilised Article 2.1 of UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 (CSICH) as a strategic tool to discuss the transmission of ICH to current and future generations. Article 2.1 defines ICH as:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with

a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (UNESCO 2003)

It was however presented as a beginning point to facilitate critical reflection and soon raised issues about the conceptualisation of ICH forms, practices and transmission and processes of contemporary development. However flexible CSICH 2003 aims to be through facilitating the inventorying and mapping forms of ICH, the convention is nevertheless based on western:

“typological or classificatory approaches to indigenous knowledge” ... (which in turn emphasise)... content at the expense of form, meaning and context for Indigenous knowledge, as a framework for developing a protection-based regime. (Davis and Martin 2008: 28)

Such typological projections narrowly theorise ICH of Indigenous peoples and requires an Aboriginal process of deconstructing and reconstructing. Socio-cultural theory provides a context sensitive approach for enquiring about forms of ICH not limited to reiterative practices or the perceived absence of *“traditional-tangible culture”*. ICH also includes tacit understandings of those forms, meanings and contexts which might be passing away and those that are emerging. Such tacit-ness partly explains both its vulnerability and durability. Also:

the landscape of cultural transmission is itself the result of complex historical processes....cultural transmission never happens in the same way twice. Passing down is an inherently heterogeneous and creative operation. Failures, blockages, contradictions, inventions, constitute the norm. (Berliner 2013: 73)

The case for the continuous existence of customary practice in Noongar country, including the Perth metropolitan area, has met the required definitions of the Native Title Act 1993 (Cth) and is now legally established. In the emerging post-native title settlement era, the provision of services in Noongar country will be significantly reshaped by formal recognition of registered groups of Traditional Owners. While Noongar people may benefit from legal recognition of customary practice it is a political social paradox that in the course of negotiating a settlement with parliament that they will be required to cede future claims to

other forms of government support. As always, there will be multiple stakeholders contributing to the public reconstruction of ICH in the post-native title era due to the “*vast juridical-psychological-sociological network ... (that)...labours ceaselessly to map out, identify, and police the socio-cultural field*”. (Kapferer 2003: 148) In the pursuit of self-determination Indigenous individuals and groups will continue to act independently to develop decolonising, transformative and sustainable approaches to the production of culture. Hemming and Rigney (2008) and Hemming (2010) have applied a decolonising and decentring critique to the ‘*colonial archive*’ and ‘*bureau-professional culture*’ by negotiating Indigenous interests to challenge “*through the lens of culture and tradition*” (Hemming and Rigney 2008: 94-96):

the colonising tendencies of contemporary invocations and performances of Aboriginal heritage in a series of related management regimes; ...reinvigorating a colonising network of power relations between researchers, the state and Indigenous people ... in a space of almost no power and from a location of constructed, cultural extinction...(but which can however be) ...open to transformation if new stories, new histories and new futures are strategically inserted. (Hemming and Rigney 2008: 93; 99)

and

this means a commitment to an engagement with Indigenous social, political, economic and research programs aimed at improved Indigenous well-being, nation building and cultural sustainability”. (Hemming and Rigney 2008: 94)

Decolonising strategies have also used Actor Network Theory to undertake transactional analysis of ‘protectionism’ by various interested groups in Indigenous heritage management (Hemming and Rigney 2008). This provides:

a richer characterisation in which the network approach ...illuminate(s) the transactional nature of the system and Activity Theory ...to characterize the various functioning of the system and further illuminated pervasive tensions. (Barab et al. 2004: 210)

Grey, from the perspective of a Native American academic specialising in the decolonisation of ICH, calls for the:

the active and critical interrogation of the cultural logics and power dynamics associated with colonial norms in knowledge production, anthropological practice and western legal frameworks — is necessary if nation-states, policy-makers, academics and practitioners are to adequately deal with Indigenous peoples rights and claims to tangible and intangible cultural heritage in theory and in practice.
(Grey 2014: PhD thesis)

Where the dominant authority remains internalised the socio-cultural legitimisation system has been displaced to the margins of remotest possibility unless critical and decolonising strategies can identify the obscuring the effects of internalised authority and everyday concepts and identifying solutions. Wright describes the effects of colonisation:

Just as a fish does not 'see' the water in which it swims, we too cannot 'see' colonizing practices and structures, because we 'live' them. But as we become more aware of them, we can no longer be blind to them and can see how the ethos of colonization shapes and impacts our beliefs, attitudes, choices, behaviours and knowledge. (Wright 2013: 16)

Aboriginal decolonising approaches (Hemming, Rigney 2010; Mitchell et al. 2013) provide a counter standpoint to state based heritage management which has historically privileged patrimonial, monumental and tangible approaches to defining heritage. An important part of conserving understandings from history and tradition is also the practice of *“creative, contested, gendered, changing and contextual readings of ‘cultural significance’*. (Clifford 2004: 152 in Hemming and Rigney 2008) The present research adopts relational and constructivist standpoints to heritage development and advocating for recognition of the processes of sociocultural instruction which are:

always in the making, and consisting of the unique make-up of cultural practices, modes of communication, and physical environment, for a particular community...

...including its values and language... (which)... are not static... Indeed, reviewing and reforming traditional practices is part of decolonization. (Cochrane 2009: 97)

4.4 Activity Systems of Participants and Institutions

Botha (2012) documents the use of CHAT as joint activity systems of Indigenous knowledge and formal education in South Africa which could also be utilised to engage Aboriginal people in the restructuring a range of services, including education, health and heritage organisations:

their formal structures, institutions and modes of learning and teaching could be seen as constituting one system of educational activity, and indigenous communities with their knowledge holders, institutions and practices as another knowledge-making activity system. Each of the knowledge activity systems would have an 'object 1' of isolated learning. For the formal education system, this could be the Learning Outcomes as well as knowledge and skills with which to negotiate a modern western society. Similarly, for the indigenous system, 'object 1' could be the acquisition of knowledge and skills needed to function well as a member of that community. The activity of 'object 1' becomes redirected toward a new objective, 'object 2', which aspires toward a more collaborative and culturally meaningful pedagogy. (Botha 2012: 63)

A participant lead exploration of these issues helps to build a reflexive relationship between self-identified groups, their diverse concerns and the potential for activities that can aide the decolonisation of heritage institutions. In the case of Indigenous people's actions to strengthen their ICH, the application of a co-constructivist theory of cultural artefacts and relational processes of cultural mediation may be a significant conceptual-theoretical step. It recognises that:

Vygotsky built a bridge between the internal and the external when he conceptualized development as the transformation of socially shared activities into appropriated processes. For Vygotsky (1978) the mediation with both signs and tools was the medium to connect the external and the internal, the social and the individual. In sociocultural theory individuals and artefacts are comprehended as

aggregates embedded within sociocultural activities. Artefacts are thus understood as extensions of the individual. (Prawat, in Postholm et al. 2001)

This chapter provided the background to the research question including a brief overview of the history of Aboriginal peoples following colonisation, the loss of fundamental rights and the impact of government policies on their ICH. These factors require a decolonising approach to address heritage issues in the context of Aboriginal social structures, economic participation, previous and ongoing attempts to be self-determining in the Aboriginal heritage sector and the potential contribution of Activity Theory to support such goals.

5.0 THE KINSHIP GROUP'S ENGAGEMENT IN NOONGAR THEATRE: Unit of Analysis 1

5.1 Introduction

This section presents the Senior Participants' reflections on the actions of the previous elder generation, as well as their own, in adapting theatre to represent history from an Aboriginal perspective. This historical unit of analysis, derived primarily from semi-structured interviews which allowed three Senior Participants to critically reflect on their involvement in Aboriginal theatre from the early 1970s during the period of the federal government's Self-Determination policy in Aboriginal Affairs. Opportunities in the arts for Aboriginal people in the south west of Western Australia opened up for Noongars following partly from the literary efforts and the cultural brokering activities of the Noongar poet and playwright Jack Davis (1917-2000).

Davis was a well-known human rights activist, poet and playwright of the Noongar people of Western Australia. He used his poetry and plays to highlight the experiences of Aboriginal peoples since colonisation, particularly race relations and the importance of the connection of land and people. Davis was awarded the British Empire Medal and an Order of Australia for his services to his people through his writing. He was clearly a leader of Indigenous performing arts in Australia.

The current senior generation's reflections on cultural maintenance are heavily influenced by their experiences of Davis as an elder member of the Kinship Group and as a creative force at a time of political change. In this research, it is important to note that the legacy of Jack Davis is based on the experiences of those within his own kinship context who were directly involved with the production of the plays. These reflections and 'lived experiences' are captured within the analysis.

One of the Senior Participants noted that prior to the 1967 Referendum there were few publicly accepted transmission processes for Noongar culture:

the reality of our history was there was total suppression of any forms of transmission so you had to be pretty sneaky and cluey about how you survived that very negative and complex environment that prevented us from using our language and culture. The reality of our history was there was total suppression of any forms of transmission but old boy was um, I think after the 1970s around the Gough

Whitlam era, there was an explosion of opportunities that people began to realise that suppression era was somehow over, we didn't know how or what to do with this... but...Jack Davis was writing plays and he was a perfect leader in defining how to do this I think. (Participant DC)

However, the senior female participants also offered a critical view of Davis's *modus operandi* based on their own contributions to the success of the productions that bear his name. Theatre, in the minds of three Senior Participants, is seen as a vehicle for the oral reiteration of the events of history and intangible aspects of identity and of culture heritage which connected individuals, families and generations of the participant's Kinship Group. The narrative of the plays drew on the Davis's families' experiences and members of four generations of the Kinship Group acted in the plays while others provided support to the productions. Many later went on to become producers, board members and community theatre educators through Yirra Yaakin, a government health funded Aboriginal theatre organisation that has delivered community education in the form of theatre and the performing arts to promote community health and wellbeing throughout Western Australia since 1997 until the present.

The early plays provided a platform for both the emergence of Aboriginal theatre in WA in the post-assimilation period as well the formation of Yirri Yaakin which was directly funded to produce specialised Aboriginal theatre. In the same period there was interaction with another site of theatre activity which operated on similar processes of community and family involvement to produce musical theatre based on the writing of Jimmy Chi of Broome, notably '*Bran Nue Dae*' (1990) and '*Corrugation Road*' (1996). There was a degree of exchange and support between these two similar but distinct sources of Aboriginal theatre in WA.

Yirra Yaakin's heavily sponsored program of theatre productions was an effective medium for communicating social messages embedded in government policies delivered as community education throughout the state. Members of the senior generation of participants had significant experiences in the forming and governing of Yirri Yaakin and its producing of theatre based community education which gave members of the middle generation access to employment as actors, administrators or other work supporting the touring of the productions.

The interviews document Senior Participants' recollections and interpretations of the development of Aboriginal theatre and the implications for the shaping of identity within the Kinship Group. The interviews address the senior generation's response to living under assimilation policies; the female participants' contributions within the highly gendered dynamics of theatre production; the ways in which theatre experiences have influenced the interactions between the generations and the significance to the transmission of ICH within the Kinship Group. Quotes from participants provided have been de-identified and are presented in italics.

5.2 Noongar Theatre as History, Experience and Reflection

Beginning in the 1970's in WA, Jack Davis wrote, directed and performing in his plays depicting the history of Aboriginal political displacement from perspectives located within south west. This section examines the Senior Participant's recollections of the middle 1980s when the plays were at the height of their influence, nationally and internationally, touring as part of the World Theatre Festival at Expo '86 in Vancouver, and Ottawa and London in 1988 for Australia's Bicentenary Celebrations. The interviews enabled the three Senior Participants of the generation born post World War II to reflect on and to discuss their involvement in theatre performance, education and cultural transmission.

The emergence of Noongar theatre served several functions for the Aboriginal people and of the south west. First, it provided a narrative of cultural identity which it purposefully referenced Noongar and other Aboriginal people with pride. Second, it enabled the actors to examine the effects of the history of the paternalistic policies of protectionism and assimilation under which they had live in WA and to present these views to Aboriginal and mainstream audiences. In particular it offered members of the Kinship Group and audiences generally an opportunity to access history based on experience of the suppression by the Aboriginal people who lived through it. Third, it presented a distinctive Noongar narrative *style*, including a particular Aboriginal form of humour and irony. Fourth, it gave voice to a *range* of personal Noongar experiences which had not previously been presented and an opportunity for members of the Kinship Group to reflect on their own families experiences of history:

Uncle Jack and Mum couldn't say what they knew to us, they couldn't afford to share their knowledge because it was it was both dangerous and a precious resource to tell...we had a corporate – generational consciousness and its loss can be compared to a holocaust where the memory of Pinjarra brings up generational pain and anger. (Participant DC)

The plays utilised the story telling genre of oral tradition while making a pointed selection of subjects and themes to explicitly represent the historical narrative to address the previously unspoken:

even in the now of that moment I can understand, it crystallised, it firmed up what was never said by people who often talked alone in the dark as parents about cultural things, so there were events that happened that we couldn't understand, this whole thing brought it out, so for us it was hearing things that were really important that made sense to us. (Participant DC)

Seeing his parent's generation, his mother, uncles, aunts perform on stage was for him:

a revelation...and an affirmation for who we were, it was a powerful mechanism, a powerful process that collected a whole range of unexpected results through it, so it became less for me important for wadjellas to hear this story in one sense, that was a spinoff benefit that was a political thing, than the idea that it takes me much closer to my connectedness to my culture, my family and my parents particularly, that I could see their pain, I could understand their pain of being oppressed and now having this vehicle to say things, that you could y'know, you could almost go away and cry about, that's much more than a play to me, that's my mum talking, my family talking, my people talking, and its important, and its important because its not just me, I'm part of a whole, of a history, that goes back into the dim past and you see the struggle of that history and your people performing it. (Participant DC)

5.3 Noongar Women in the Theatre

The first group of actors who performed in Jack Davis' play 'Kullark' included, among others drawn from amateur and often first time actors in the broader Aboriginal community, a sister, a niece and her young children. Members of the Kinship Group continued to perform in Davis' plays including in the 'The First Born' Trilogy which consists of 'The Dreamers' (1982), 'No Sugar' (1985) and 'Barungin: Smell the Wind' (1988). The plays were drawn largely from the life experiences of the Davis family members. In her biography, Nanna D presents a picture of the harmony that a close family life in the country at that time could bring:

The Pingelly show would come around every year, and it was important for us to find a way of getting to the show. Pingelly was about 12 miles from Brookton, so we would just walk. It was really a sort of meeting place for the Noongars to get together. When we arrived we would make a windbreak out of bulrushes and bushes, and throw our rugs over them and that was enough to keep us warm for the time that we were there. The old people would get their two-up game going again while us kids played our games. Through the day we would go and pull in a lot of bushes and wood, or old car tyres, as at night we would hold dances. That old dust would be flying around from this very strenuous activity. A lot of Noongars played the piano accordion and they were pretty good at it. Then there was the mouth organ, and a lot of romance going on in the bushes, which the old people would turn a blind eye to, as long as it wasn't our own relations. When it was all over we would walk all the way home again, killing rabbits on the way. Pretty tired, but thinking about the good fun we had and what else we had done while there. The kids would mostly have to walk, but some of the old people would go by in their borrowed horse and spring cars, and pick up the stragglers and give them a ride. Believe it or not, some the young boys would be riding their Malvern Star bikes (those who were lucky enough to have one). (Collard and Hacker 2003)

Nana D also left an image of the ever present forces of surveillance that could intervene at any time, telling of the very real risk that was ever present from the authorities:

It was pretty funny when the policeman would come upon us. All of a sudden you would hear someone shout out "aliwah", "grey horse, grey horse" (the policeman used to drive a grey horse and sulky) and those Noongars and us kids would just scatter. That two-up ground would be cleared in no time. Someone would be putting a billy on the fire, someone else would be pretending to sweep around the camp (really sweeping away the evidence of a two-up game). All of us would be finding something to do, and going about our business. Then just as soon as the policeman left we would be shouting, playing around and into the two-up again. (Collard and Hacker 2003)

Once married, in the 40s and early 50s, the Davis women often shared the raising of their children in an environment of mutual support, living and working together within the towns and farms of the Central Wheat-belt and Great Southern districts. Nanna D records the following scenes:

My husband and his father were clearing contractors and we would be out in the bush most of the time, as our kids were too young to go to school yet. By this time I had four or five kids. The eldest were put on a bus and sent to school in town. I tell you we had some real beaut camps. Most places would just put up mia-mia's and put bull rushes in them to sleep on, or take out tents with us wherever we worked. We would sweep all around the camps so we could notice any snake tracks and see if they had made their way inside. Then we would make a big fire in the front of our camp and sit and have a good feed of kangaroo and damper. So here we were back in the bush again and away from the city. After we had finished work for the day we would sit back and listen to our serials on the wireless. Some of these serials I remember were When a Girl Marries, Dossier on Demetreus, Dad and Dave Courtship and Marriage. There was of course the Lux Theatre every Sunday night. All these were simple things but we enjoyed them and never had any trouble with our little ones. We would just let them run in the bush and around the trees. Sometimes all the family would work at one job and we would all camp together. (Collard and Hacker 2003)

In reminiscing, Nanna D revealed her eye for the dramatic form: of show time and dances, of radio soap operas and two-up schools, of danger from without and family normality within. All of these references in her narrative, written later in life, seem to indicate certain influences on her imagination as a girl and young women which would be revealed when she adopted the stage in her middle sixties. While these passages reflect the comic, there is plenty in her memoir that reflects the harsh reality of life and the impact of history. Reflecting of her own mother's passing in 1947 she states:

Just after my first son was born my mother was killed in an accident. I packed my bags and was going down to see her that night. Something was telling me all wasn't right, because I had seen this frog again. I was about to board the train and John persuaded me to stay the night and we would both go to see her the next day. But she passed away before I could see her. I was very sad about this and I cried for days after. If only I could have seen her before she died. When the funeral was held all the family and our people got together again. I got to thinking after that how hard she had worked for us girls when we were going to school. How she used to do the washing, ironing and scrubbing floors for the white people. Telling those very same people "where to go" when they tried to put it over her. (Collard and Hacker 2003)

This passage contains reoccurring schemas of kinship identity: a sense of a relationship and spiritual interaction with the natural world in the form of the green tree frog which is regarded as a family totem. She highlights the marking of the final stages of life and the significance of funerals which continue to reinforce collective identity through demonstrating respect for the memory of the one who has passed on to their relatives. She records her respect and recognition for the elder generation and their efforts at maintaining extended family and intergenerational relationships. Finally, she defends the social norms of equality and integrity in interaction with the member of the non-Indigenous community.

As children and adolescents the Senior Participants shared many common experiences of growing up in the post-war and late assimilation period. They remember that their families maintained a close way of living for mutual protection against the surveilling presence and interventions of the 'Welfare' and the ebb and flow of families following cycles of schooling, holidays and shared seasonal work. C has strong memories of Pop L always putting up

“posers” to his grandchildren such as problems of practical geometry, weights and measures of the sort needed in a world of employment.

Some of the Senior Women can recall in their childhood particular female elders who held the genealogical matrix of kinship relationships in their memories, knowledge critical to the regulation of interaction of individuals and families in intermarriage. The participants’ capacity to recall is a facet of that same function of memory for modelling the transmission of implicit knowledge between previous generations to younger generations. Noongar people continue to ground identity, their own and others, on whether or not they can place an individual in the right relationship within their kinship networks. Core cultural values are continually addressed by the participants in their interaction with kin, ensuring that the fundamentals of the relational system are continued. These relational linkages bind families and kinship groups together in relationship through the lineage of descent and affiliation through which implicit knowledge is nurtured, shared and maintained.

In an interview, L and C discussed a number of themes beginning with remembering their sense of the strength of their mothers and aunts and the closeness as an extended family, and recalling their relationship as girl cousins in the years of their childhood during the 1950s. L and C’s stories progressed from reflections of their memories and their early closeness to each other through to accounts of their adolescence which brought profound experiences of separation as they or their cousins went off to boarding schools in Perth. Those that went to Perth widened their geographic, familial and social horizons and also experienced different types of authority. Under these circumstances they met other Noongar and Aboriginal people with whom they developed strong relationships. It was in these expanding social circumstances that relationships with potential marriage partners developed and sometimes lead to the further geographical dispersal of primary kin networks. Even as increased mobility allowed them to travel beyond their childhood regions, it did not always guarantee them regular return visits.

Raising young families, they developed new regional and social affiliations, but their lives were often tinged with regret for the separations they endured from their close kin. Two cousins quickly agreed how attending high school in Perth, marriage and their careers had set them on a path that was different from that of their other cousins who remained in a few small communities and retained the knowledge of kin relationships in those regions. One participant discussed her cousin’s capacity to know all their relatives in the local region or town, her ability to identify them and their lineage and introduce younger ones to their

Nannas and Pops or other relatives when they visited from outside the region. The following conversation between two of the senior women demonstrates this:

C: ...all those old girls had a strong relationship that helped them maintain a strong kinship focus...and as we get older I notice that we are doing it too...when we were younger we did with our first cousins but that was a very different thing, so I just think its worth us talking about it, its worth us sharing our stories...I think the other important thing when think about this sort of thing, is to know and maintain the strength of who we are...

L: yeah...

C: you know what I mean like, our parents didn't have quite the same struggle with it because they were always together...

L: always ...

C: the environment was very different, we were saying, we had this conversation before, where we looked at where our kids are dispersed, they're dispersed all over the state, and even the country, and ...that's what we have to deal with ...that's one of the biggest environmental things I think we have to deal with...

L: there's that ...

C: so how do we then bring them back together to say

L: yeah...this is where you come from, this is...

C: who you are

L: this is who you are, this where you come from

C: yeah

L: this is where you belong, this is your world

C: yeah, that's right, so for any of the younger generation to know that we deliberately had a strategy to strengthen who we are. (Participants C & L)

The Senior Participants' views on the impacts of history and the marginalisation of Noongar people's identities and cultural practices raised questions about the continuity of the forms of transmission of cultural knowledge used by their parent's generation and how this break in cultural knowledge was to be interpreted. The social and political factors which constrained the actions of their parents directly impacted on how they could socialise their children, for example, about how social and cultural knowledge was transferred covertly to circumvent possible penalties by the authorities. The suppression of culture was sanctioned by community attitudes in general and enforced by the 'Native Welfare'. As one participant said to transmit culture was "*a dangerous act*", and yet despite "*the danger ...a form of internal social transmission was maintained*". (Participant C)

The legitimisation of culture is firstly a relational process learned in the domestic, socio-cultural sphere of Noongar families, its social structure and worldview. However the governmental and racial attitudes of exclusion systematically and pervasively ensured the delegitimisation of Noongar culture. A single incident from the recollection of one of the Senior Participants is sufficient to show how a young girl's experience of social and political marginalisation shaped her identity. On an outing with her Aunty D, L recalls as a ten year old they went into the public toilet with the sign 'Whites Only' to change a baby when:

this white women who walked in there and upon seeing us screamed blue murder 'Oh my god, niggers in the toilet' and ran out screaming 'help, call the police'. I remember Aunty D turning on her and saying 'my husband fought in the war, who are you to tell me where I can change my son'. Straight way I knew what Aunty meant, that we were equals but we were still had to fight for it – that made a huge impression on me..changing a baby....yeah, the theatre of everyday life. (Participant L)

5.4 Women of the Trilogy

An assessment of the approach of Davis to the production of the plays needs to consider the prevailing views of gender and how these influenced the opportunities that arose to access work on the stage, the gendered dynamics of production and the way that history records these activities. The experience of female actresses and its representation on stage was, from the senior female participants' perspective, not hard drawn. Noongar people had fought to achieve a comparable way of life to non-Indigenous people despite the efforts of

the authorities to maintain assimilation after the WWII. Many of the senior generation had sought and achieved citizenship, equality in the home, a social life and employment while improving the chances of education for their children.

Senior Participants reported that they took enthusiastically to theatre when Jack Davis's brokerage provided a vehicle through which Aboriginal people could engage in political expression and be employed. However as actors the women found that equality within the theatre was not automatic. In addition to how the Kinship Group functioned to provide actors, theatre hands and family support to enable the successful production of plays, there was another issue that impacted on female participants' experiences in theatre. While the productions obviously benefited from the women both as actors and supporters of the tangible services (Sveiby 2009: 349) of family resources to support the productions, their contributions to writing and production have not been given due acknowledgement. Theatre history and criticism of these events has generally failed to credit the women for their contribution as creators and innovators.

Women's invisibility in the theatre (Baum 2003) rises when their particular contributions are subsumed with others by the patriarchal theatre environment and associated compliant practices of criticism and history. In a historical analysis of women's experiences in community theatre Boyles-Gonzalez (1994) has examined the experience of Chicana women of Teatro de Campesino, a theatre group formed in 1965 within César Chávez's United Farm Workers Union to organise for worker's rights among Mexican migrant workers in California. Boyles-Gonzalez demonstrates how the writing of history of Teatro de Campesino valorised the 'big-man concept' of the successes of Valdez the playwright and producer and Huerta, the troupe's principle historian. Boyles-Gonzalez criticises Huerta's account of development of Teatro de Campesino's because he:

...saw theatre as a reflection of greater socio-historical forces ... but (no) useable description of the actual steps involved in the process of collective authorship nor a broader socio-cultural framing of the collective process so common among Chicana/o theatre groups....The group dynamics of theatrical creation are subsumed under the individual rubric of Luis Valdez.....to something that happened under the aegis of genius...in reality the creative process drew from the vision of all Teatro Campesino members (Boyles-Gonzalez 1994 : 130-131)

I use the term “Woman of the Trilogy” to draw attention to the women performers’ and supporters’ own accounts of their experiences of Jack Davis’s three main plays in which they emphasise a broad collective process, on and off stage, that assisted the successful development of the plays subsumed under Davis’s name. This perspective is clearly identified in joint interviews between senior female participants. But firstly, it is clear that the women sought to make the most of the opportunity that arose to access new avenues of employment in the arts and cultural production while maintaining their familial obligations as mothers, aunts and grandmothers. From the point of view of these working women, how did they maintain the family structure while in this process? This is an example:

L: ... when I started in 1979 Mum looked after I and F was home with the two boys, the oldest ones, but when I had R I took him with me y’know. So I knew I wanted to do this. I did “The Dreamers” right, with the family it was like working 5 days a week and then going home to Bunbury...but only for my mother I wouldn’t have done it otherwise, and then aunty B and a few old sisters (aunties) around me....if (your) mum wasn’t related to me I’d say “no I’ve got nowhere to stay, no one to help me with my son”, and I wouldn’t have done it...because I was neglecting my family back here;...When we did Kullark R was the only child so I could keep him with me so he was more or less like a circus child...I was the first mother that ever took...Noongar woman that went professionally and took my baby with me ‘cos (before that) they said ‘oh no no no you can’t take children with you on tour’ and I said well I can’t do it, so then they thought “ok hang on, this is serious cos there was no other women around to do it ...it would have been a flop and they would have lost thousands of dollars and none of those plays would have been done ...until I put my foot down and said no my son comes with me. (Participant L)

The women were able to draw the resources of extended family to enable working mothers to look after their children and provide other supports associated with the productions. L’s two daughters and son spent a lot of their formative years growing up around the theatre which introduced them to the world of arts and to employments as actors or in other areas of the theatre industry. Their lifestyle was not however without criticism:

The interesting thing was, R is now 35. A lot of people say now that he missed out on his childhood because the perception of people in the 70s and 80s (was that) you did not leave your children. You did not go to the theatre. "What, she's going to go on tour and she's going to travel around?" Family, cousins, not my own sisters, but extended family had no inkling what it was all about, no inkling of the hard yakka, plus a baby on board with me. M was eighteen when we did 'The Dreamers' but the most fortunate thing was I had family around me. M was with me. Aunty D was with me, so (it) wasn't just L going off. (Participant L)

Through the extended family a lot of support was provided by grandmothers and aunts, sisters and cousins. C remembers her mother's home life revolved around and the interaction of extended family members' involvement the routines of theatre life. Members of the Kinship Group were either performing or indirectly supporting the development and performance of plays:

It wasn't just mum or it wasn't just M, we did it as a women's group. We were like a women's circus group. So as important as it was for you to have that support, it was important for everyone to have that support as well. (Participant C)

Yeah...I was a black woman who was driven to become an actor ...that support was crucial y'know...we would just support each otherand that's where it differs from western theatre. We all went together, the whole family, R , M and J in tow....Likewise the other actors, both male and female...if they were in the same situation and their kids were cast, if it was local, or a regional tour or something like that those actors didn't stop being parents or guardians just because they were working necessarily, it wasn't a no kids area, it was very much a family friendly area. (Participant L)

As an actress L drew on her off stages experiences and her recollections of female relatives of previous generations, a process deeply informed her practice, specifically a grandmother who became memorialised in her characters. This connection supported a gendered perspective of the entitlement to speak only for your own kin. She stated that "because we knew who we could speak for" this gave the women the courage to identify their own gendered standpoint. Similarly, when asked about what were the important criteria for the

reception and criticism of Noongar theatre L prioritised the relational element: “*what do these plays, which were developed from our experience, say to us who are kin?*”

L felt that at the time that as actresses the women had to contend with the theatre as a domain and that their particular contributions toward writing, development and production have not been publically acknowledged. This issue is evident in the following conversation:

L: It was all done on the shoulders of women. They brought their ideas, supported the acting troupe, developed roles independently of the writers and directors...they only saw us as actors ...but we were more than that... ‘cos of the input, these are our stories, we took them to rehearsal, we took them to creative direction...we could have directed it ourselves...we knew these stories like the back of our hands , we could have been our own eyes, each and every one of those plays we could have directed.

C: So it seems to be to me, what I’m hearing you say, there was a framework ...developed by Uncle Jack. He had some of it obviously first hand ‘cos he’s also part of the kinship system who would had lived it and through his observation he bought this idea to a producer who had a framework which is usually a non-indigenous framework, a mainstream framework of directing, well bring these two processes together...what makes these two processes valid and very legitimate and validates them more than anything is the input that the real people have into them....Mum used to talk to me for hours on end about the work that her and you did, this hard yakka work that you put into this yarning up of this process...this is the untold story that I know my mother made very clear to me.

L: We’d go back to her house, this is where all that strength came from, back over there, we’d sit down and have a look at the script and kill ourselves laughing right, and she’d say ‘na, na, na, L we’ll do this, yn’know its gotta be this way, its gotta be that way, we’d walk in next day and...we’d get up there, and unbeknown to everyone, we didn’t tell ‘em, we didn’t say to Uncle Jack or A ‘we’ve gotta try this now’... we were astute ... we fed off each other, and we’d do it... cos it was our story...we didn’t need these men to tell us....

C: So this (male dominated) process I’m saying denied this development process over hereof the females’ voices?

L: Yeah that’s it, and we weren’t aware!

C: No, why would you be, so that's why I'm saying this is a retrospective approach to Uncle Jack's work, anything you read out there is written by white middle class men, again not a criticism but that's the reality and they miss this subtlety ...and they miss this imposition they've had on our black women and in some ways its historically repetitive of what happened to our grandparents or our parents.

L: That's right.

C: I know there was a lot of writing between them old girls, even though Aunty E didn't necessarily go on stage I know mum used to engage in conversations with her when she used to come and stay at North Beach.

L: What's coming out of their stuff, what would you say?

C: Well I reckon, and this is my interpretation of my conversations with mum, what I recall Aunty E used to be there regularly, or as regularly as she couldI can recall sitting down with those old girls or being in their company ... and ... the amount of time Aunty E would talk to mum about her writing, about what she wanted to write: 'D is this right, do you remember this, this is what I remember D, what's your recollection of it? I'm a bit older then you, do you remember this as a young child? And mum vice versa: 'You were a bit older...' so they are recalling their memory through a constant engagement with each other. (Participant C & L)

C's comment on the production of those versions of history which do not support their experience was that:

*the drama world should be telling a different story, but the main voice that keeps occurring by production, by the writer, is marred, and I know the amount of hours that you (L) and my mother put into this process ... that's not acknowledged.
(Participant C)*

L identified the term '*the theatre of everyday life*' to describe how Aboriginal peoples' lived experiences and relationships were brought to process of theatre production which in turn provided a means for the transmission of the history of the kinship group and the broader Noongar community. Theatre allowed members of the Kinship Group an understanding of

their place within that history and provided opportunities for ongoing interaction in a broader experience of extended family relationships.

In summary, the 'Women of the Trilogy' (so named from their contributions to Jack Davis' trilogy of plays in the 1980's) brought their experience of everyday life and relationships to their roles. However, appropriate acknowledged for their specific contributions, individually and collectively, to the development of the productions in which they either acted or provided much needed support has not been publically addressed. And yet these obstacles have not prevented the women from extending their talents in a range of areas: in writing and acting and as producers, administrators and supporters and applied theatre educators. Several have had successful careers in Australian's mainstream and Indigenous theatre, film and radio.

5.5 The Legacy of Noongar Theatre to the Kinship Group

Senior Participants spoke at length about how Noongar theatre maintained the connected with their Kinship Group. It is clear that, for some of them, the development of Noongar theatre formed a significant part of the Kinship Group's narrative during the post-referendum, early self-determination period. They acknowledge the link to transmission through theatre and consider that the previous elder generation's commitment to Noongar theatre provided a means for understanding the impact of history. Engagement in Noongar theatre production and the use of applied theatre techniques for community education formed a considerable part of the shared narrative of the Kinship Group covering the last 45 years. Theatre provided a shared opportunities, activities and communication which allowed them to reflect on their intergenerational experiences of the Assimilation period. This was in itself a broadly shared process of engaging family and community members in the staging of that history. One view of the importance of the role of the theatre was that:

it was easy for us to see that Jack Davis's plays and Aboriginal theatre was a magnificent way of understanding our Aboriginal story up to date, being political and all sorts of opportunities on the horizon ... for my generation, it was all about the emotional inside impact of hearing these things, that never could be said publicly by our parents and suddenly there was a time when there was a burst of opportunity...things happening, and this was one of them. ...in the transmission we can hold those things that define culture, and as a Noongar man occupied in both

arenas at the time I placed a lot more value in the transmission mechanism like theatre or if not theatre another mechanism we can be used by family to sustain that feeling of ownership of culture. (Participant D)

Theatre also provided a process for demonstrating to younger generations that dramatic and other art forms could be used as means to find employment and establish careers in an industry that also allowed for some control over cultural production. Participant D said that:

...a play picked up on an affirmation of an old way of doing business so it wasn't theatre it was ceremony, it become a ceremony, and it became almost like us sitting around the campfire listening to these things, so it was a history lesson ... our way of transmitting knowledge is much more culturally embedded ...embedded in the sense that it is an oral delivery system ... and I think theatre today holds the power of that representing the connectedness between the old and the new. (Participant D)

Members of the younger generations are encouraged to attend or read Davis's plays, in which many of their older relatives back to their great-grandparents were involved, so as to understand their family history. At an interactive session following a performance of Davis's children's play 'Honeyspot' a granddaughter enthusiastically asked her Nanna L about the theatre as a place of work, and discussion ensued. Another granddaughter spoke of how she had "The Dreamers" on her English curriculum in her final year at high school and challenged the interpretation of the play in class discussion saying "na, these are my people, that's not the way it is". Another granddaughter accompanied her Nanna L to a script reading and assisted her to prepare for a screen test, and through the process began to ask questions about her identity.

These few examples from the Kinship Group's theatre history demonstrated its importance as an ongoing mediator of identity spanning four generations. Applied theatre has proved to be an effective vehicle for delivering the history of the Kinship Group to those who could access the stage production and from theatre based community education. The potential for the future use of theatre techniques was addressed in the following exchange of two of the senior women:

L: yeah if we're talking about transmission we don't have just to necessarily rely on what we know about our grandmothers because a lot of that has been documented in "No Sugar".

C: I think, this is my feeling about it too ...that one of the effects of "No Sugar"...was a healthy way of knowing about your family and your history, and it was done with a bit of humour ... and it was done with sincere respect....with dignity, done with integrity, so I think that what transmission is...and that could be the culmination of the whole research project, when we are talking about transmission and we have a celebration that might be the forum where we develop up the theatre piece.

(Participants C & L)

In summary the emergence of Aboriginal theatre scene in the south-west was a regionally significant development that had a broad impact on the Noongar people of the region both in terms of their exposure to its productions and as a means for kinship and community interaction. It was also a means to represent a regionally specific view of history based on their own experiences for both an Aboriginal and a broad audience and provided a vehicle for the ongoing reflection of the intergenerational transmission of history and culture for members of the Kinship Group. It provided opportunities that would lead to careers in the arts sector and generated an influential organisation that used theatre for community education across the state and whose work is ongoing. And finally it generated a shared narrative of the Kinship Group and continues to be a potential means for furthering activities of cultural development by current and future generations.

6.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOUR STAGES OF LIFE (4SL) FRAMEWORK: Unit of Analysis 2

6.1 Introduction

As a response to the need to strengthen transmission processes the development of the KRM provided a 'best fit' approach to the research problem, its context and the means to resolve it. Socio-cultural theory's attention to historically situated developmental activity supported the processes for working effectively within the context of participants' Kinship Group. Leont'ev's (1981) view of meaning as the unit of analysis:

suggests that researchers of psychological processes cannot separate ... changes in consciousness ... from the goal directed, tool-mediated activity through which the changes take place. (Smargorinsky 201a;2012b).

According to Leont'ev (2009) collective action is also an appropriate unit of analysis. For all these reasons the activities conducted for strengthening ICH through the development of *4SL Framework* provided the most appropriate and productive unit of activity analysis.

6.2 Applying Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to Indigenous ICH

This section draws on cases of research in the international literature where CHAT has been applied to Indigenous ICH as an "*activity analysis framework*" (Kawamura et al 2008). A CHAT analysis was conducted of the annual staging of a UNESCO sponsored community based puppetry theatre tradition from Japan (Kawamura et al 2008). There are two papers and a thesis on a UNESCO sponsored, kinship based theatre tradition from Karela, India, (Narayanan 2006; Johan 2011; Kurien 2013). One paper addresses the sociocultural approach to theatre as a model system for learning (Engstrom 1987). Four papers discuss applying CHAT to teaching theatre (Betts 2006; Davis et al. 2015; Grainger Clemenson 2011). One thesis takes a CHAT approach to the epistemic practices of theatre professionals (Davies 2007).

Kawamura et al (2008) applied “*a constructivist view of culture*” to the analysis of goal-based activities aimed at the revival of “*some lost plays, which have not been performed for more than 30 years, and to create a new play for younger audiences*”. (Kawamura et al., 2008) The Kinship Consultant identified this as a good approximation of the circumstances of her family in which a naming ceremony for one of her grandchildren was performed after a period of possibly 50–70 years. Another Indigenous paper (Lin and Yudaw, 2013) applies CHAT to a non–UNESCO sponsored community based language revitalisation program in Taiwan. As some of the Senior Participants previously conducted language revitalisation activities Lin and Yudaw’s research complements the experiences that they have brought to this research. These documented cases of CHAT based activity analysis of Indigenous cultural remediation informed the decision to use a CHAT analysis of the *4SL Framework*.

The purpose of developing *4SL Framework* is to ensure a calendar of events to mark the life stage transitions and maintain the regular interaction of kin. The researcher and the Kinship Consultant considered CHAT as an effective framework for analysing participative processes of members of the Kinship Group coming together to develop their cultural transmission processes. A CHAT analysis was applied to the activities aimed at strengthening a component of the *4SL Framework* which consists of ceremonies for naming, coming of age, marriage and passing on. The CHAT analysis of planning a naming / coming of age ceremony within the Kinship Consultant’s family allowed for the activities to be assessed as goal-oriented, and tool mediated activities of the production of ICH.

CHAT accommodates contradictions encountered to be addressed collectively. When issues derived from different standpoints of the same artefact of ICH relating emerged these were incorporated into the analysis. CHAT helped to define different approaches to ICH among participants and their generational, familial, gendered and individual interests with important implications for addressing contradictions, ideological positions and relations of power. It became necessary to consider how to maintain diverse standpoints while strengthening relational practice, issues also addressed by Lin and Yudaw:

We argue that it is critically important to ask in future community–based LLP (language policy and planning): “Who set the rule of participation? Can the artefacts used seem strange to some people? What other semiotic resources and physical tools can be drawn on to make the process more inclusive? (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 451).

6.3 CHAT analysis of the Four Stages of Life (4SL) as a framework for intervention

To reiterate, the development of *4SL Framework* focused on activities to strengthen the transfer of ICH via a processes of planning, development and performance of transition ceremonies which celebrate the four stage of life (naming, coming of age, marriage and passing on).

Several senior members of the Kinship Group were able to contribute to this development by providing revitalised knowledge drawn from oral tradition and archival sources to support the maintenance of language, song, dance and ceremony. In their roles as grandparents they had previously facilitated opportunities for younger members to gain access and exposure to activities of ICH through participation in learning activities delivered within family groups with the aim of strengthening identity within the kinship setting. Planning and performance of ceremonies to mark one of the four stages of life have occurred on a number of occasions within the Kinship Group in the last 18 years. These experiences provided a reference point prior to the research upon which participants reflect informed the development of the *4SL framework*.

The *4SL framework* provided a more structured process of development which included the planning of two naming and coming of age ceremonies for two younger generation members of the Kinship Consultant's family. The developmental activities were accompanied by a CHAT analysis which will provide participants with an expanded experiential base from which they can examine the activities for the further development of ICH. The combined planning process, CHAT analysis and the documentation of the performance of the transition ceremonies generated purposeful dialogic activities and an opportunity for expansive learning (Engestrom 1999) discussed in section 6.5.

During planning discussions it became clearer that marking the coming of age of members of the younger generation is not just an event that confers a particular transitional status on individuals but, as importantly, is also the means by which that knowledge moves from senior generation participants (usually grandparents), to middle generation participants (soon to be grandparents, if not already) to younger generations (either adolescents or children). And such activities emerged from purposeful dialogue lead by the Kinship Consultant and middle and younger members of her family. This reinforces the relational

processes that mark the middle generation participants' learning how to take up the obligations for the transmission of ICH to younger generations.

The Kinship Consultant advocated for the position that what the generations have in common can be supported by the explicit development of a relational framework for teaching and learning of relational practices within their kinship and socio-cultural setting. The level of consensus or divergence in expectations of roles across generations can be problematic space where both possibilities and risks emerge between each new generation and the last raising issues and concerns for all as bearers of ICH. Although kinship group members' experiences differed, the goal-oriented activities provided opportunities for members to participate in collaborative activities, to experience perspectives other than their own, to address contradictions, and to reach agreement.

The planned activities addressed differences of perspective, collective and reciprocal participation, and an appropriate division of labour in the planning and performing of a coming of age ceremony. It was an opportunity for senior, middle and younger generations to jointly plan and participate according to the roles appropriate to their generation or knowledge, a process that connected them via collective interaction in goal directed, tool mediated activities. The activity planning process was fundamentally dialogic. It identified, while maintaining an open ended process for reflection, the shared means for strengthening collective participation in cultural transmission. It defined in action the kinship ontology of the event and demonstrated how according to Cochran (2006) following Stairs (1995):

Indigenous knowledges require group cohesion, awareness of interpersonal relationships and one's role in the social network that constitutes maturity...(and)..social competence has priority over individual excellence and productivity, and that the goal of education is the well-being of the group, rather than personal self-sufficiency. In Indigenous thought, knowledge is a shared resource acquired cooperatively...in contrast with dominant Western thought that privileges individuality over social responsibility. (Cochrane 2006: 33)

The following exchange occurred between the Kinship Consultant / grandparent, a parent and the younger generation member in preparation for a combined naming and coming ceremony. It demonstrates the dialogic process occurring around pragmatically determining

the selection of components of the 4SL to be performed and the constraints of time, in this case an example of the mediating influence of the research:

Parent: it is linked to the time frames for the research....

Grandparent: I'd like CL (grandchild) to have a say

Parent: ...in terms of the research and for the girls, and for the coordination of the traditional and the contemporary

Grandparent: ...and it's about what we are passing on, maybe the first part (naming) can be here and the second part (coming of age) out in the bush.

Grandchild: I'd like to do something like that.

Grandparent: I want it to be a woman's education process, to have an educative purpose.

Parent: ...an impact on identity...

Grandparent: It needs to have an impact and have a rippling effect in the family – it should involve other families ...so the process connects.

Parent: ...that's a family impact, bringing us all together.

Grandparent: it will have an effect because they'll want the same for their kids ...when K's girls have children I want to know she will be strong about organising a naming ceremony for her first grandchild.

Using the structured criteria of CHAT analysis, (subject, object, instrument, rules, community and division of labour), the Kinship Consultant and the Researcher analysed the data collected from the planning activities of a combined naming / coming of age ceremony to identify the range of interactions taking place inside the activity setting. The analysis further informed the negotiating of the formal arrangements and performance components of the ceremony.

The features of the CHAT analysis as applied to the *4SL Framework* are detailed in Table 2:

Table 2: Activity System of Planning the Four Stages of Life (4SL) Framework

1. Subject and subject–producing activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual(s) whose transition is being celebrated • Families that make up the Kinship Group • Members from three generations
2. Object and object- activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The object is the development of the <i>4SL Framework</i> • The Object–Activity is one of the cycle of four ceremonies constructed from revitalised knowledge and new elements of ceremonies being developed
3. Instrument and instrument producing activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meetings leading to the development of planning elements to develop and conduct a ceremony • A single ceremony to mark one of the four stages of life or a combined ceremony • Non–exclusive ceremony – open to all members of the Kinship Group • Cultural / symbolic elements including traditional elements where known including materials in oral or archival form • Any new elements determined by planning activities • All key functions known to those who will perform aspects in the ceremony • Running order for the performance of a ceremony • Primary artefacts of ceremonial tools, explicit actions, gestures, songs and commentaries • An appropriate learning theory, process and resources • Documentation process for capturing explicit knowledge of pedagogical value and instructional purposes • Research dissemination of CHAT based strategies to support the development of the <i>4SL Framework</i> • Activity based tools of expansive learning • Theatre for cultural development techniques Kinship members’ experiences of Noongar theatre and relational ‘scripts’
4. Rules and rule producing activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obligation to learn reciprocal values and implicit or explicit knowledge necessary for the production of ICH • Style of deliberation and decision making combining “Speak for One’s Own” with readiness to confront contradictions • Obligation to contribute to transmission roles and responsibilities • Obligation to consolidate appropriate learning, delivery methods and theory • Obligation to pass on knowledge of transmission practices and processes • Process for determining the division of labour and

	collaboration
5. Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinship group, family groups, peers, other relationships, audiences • Trainees, potential successors of actors with key roles or functions • Changing membership of the Kinship Group: newborns, new partners, those “claimed” family members / newcomers, returning members who have been living away
6. Division of Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergenerational, Gendered, Host Family, Participant, Guests, Coordinators, Dancers, Musicians, Guards of Honour, Language Speakers, Audience, • Masters of Ceremony / Instructor, Protagonist / Educator, Researcher • Performance groups or agents external to family / Kinship Group

Table 2 summarises the analysis of two planning activities for a combined naming/ coming of age ceremony using the six elements of CHAT analysis. The analysis indicated positive developments arising from the activities of planning and performance and provided a good working demonstration of how CHAT can be applied within the activity setting. The table generated from the analysis provides a working list of all the elements that were operating within the planning activities. From these an action framework could be developed to assist families’ address the dynamic issues within developmental activities inclusive of the multiple positions and standpoints involved.

In summary, planning a naming/ coming of age ceremony provided an opportunity to engage in goal based activities to strengthen the production and transmission of ICH within one family of the Kinship Group. CHAT facilitation is fundamentally dialogic and an open ended process which identifies contradictions while giving participants scope for reflection of the available means for strengthening their shared cognition in goal-oriented and tool mediated future activities. The proposal to develop the *4SL Framework* for strengthening family and kinship ICH provided a major opportunity for testing a CHAT analysis in the learning environment of ICH production. The analysis can assist families of the Kinship Group improve their understanding of the twin dynamics of revitalisation and development of contemporary ICH inclusive of the multiple standpoints and contradictions involved.

6.5 Using the Expansive Learning Cycle (ELC) to improve the 4SL Framework

An action oriented process for conceptualising and developing the research process was used by the Kinship Consultant and Researcher as a facilitation tool in the early workshops with the Senior Participants (see appendices 1 and 2). The developmental process for reconceptualising ICH as a process closely correlates with the Expansive Learning Cycle (ELC) (Engestrom 1999), one of the models that informed the development of the *4SL Framework*. The ELC includes the contradictions within an activity setting and allows for the deconstructing of differences underpinning participants' various standpoints of the production of ICH. The ELC accurately reflects the developmental process of improving the research design because both members of senior and middle generations of participants independently identified contradictions, gave their different accounts of cultural transmission and raised concerns regarding the conceptualisation and practice of ICH. All of these had implications for managing the research design and data collection activities. The ELC is presented in Figure 4:

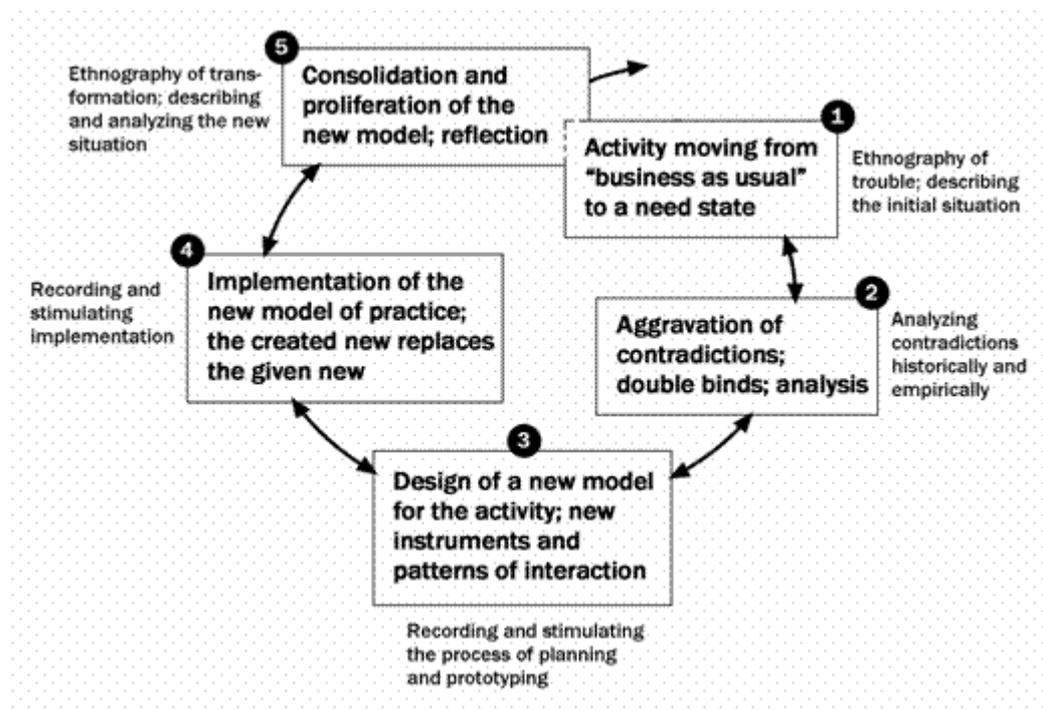


Figure 4. Expansive Learning Cycle (Engestrom 1999)

The ELC as applied to the developmental process is described below:

Stage 1: Deconstruction

- **Step 1: Ask the question of ICH and Globalisation** - *“What ICH do our families/ kinship groups have that would allow them to address globalisation for current and future generations?”*
- **Step 2a: Historical Analysis** - *Participants assume that cultural heritage has to be ‘traditional’ and so feel they don’t have anything to pass on (senior generation), or haven’t had it passed on to them (middle generation).*
- **Step 2b: Analyse this assumption of the outcome of history** - *Address this contradiction by reinforcing the licence to reconceptualise ICH to what is current and useful ‘for today’ and for the future.*
- **Step 3: Modelling the use of the new conceptualisation** - *Mark stages of life transition gateways - birth/naming, coming of age, marriage, and passing on and show how they are culturally linked to Noongar seasons.*

The second phase of the ELC is based on a reconstruction of cultural education and transmission processes:

Stage 2: Reconstruction

- **Step 4: New Model (4SL Framework)** - *Demonstrate the process and how it is working in one family of the Kinship Group.*
- **Step 5: Implementing the 4SL Framework** - *Develop and share generic product for adaption by other families within the Kinship Group or broader Noongar community – process turns contradictions and resistance into capacity.*
- **Step 6: Realignment with others** - *Share reflections on how this process of cultural development strengthens the relational production of identity and ICH (next stage).*

Meittinen et al (2012) state that expansive learning is made present through collective mediation:

This process first traces the historically-formed contradictions of an activity that causes disturbances, problems or breakdowns. A working hypothesis for a more advanced form of the activity or a zone of proximal development is formed and is expected to resolve the contradictions. The process includes the modelling of the instruments for the projected new activity;... Although these traditions recognise the primacy of practice and the social origins of the self, they also have viable concepts of relating individual thought and reflection and change in practices to each other;...The concept of artefact mediation and remediation emphasises that such a community needs not only to formulate a joint working hypothesis for its future activity, but also to develop and evaluate practical means for its accomplishment. (Meittinen et al., 2012: 353; 355; 356)

In summary the development of the action framework of the research assisted in identifying ELC as an aide to facilitating a higher order development of participative action research. When combined with CHAT it is a particularly suitable method for the further development of a kinship based model of ICH production. The development of the action framework throughout the research is represented in Figure 5:

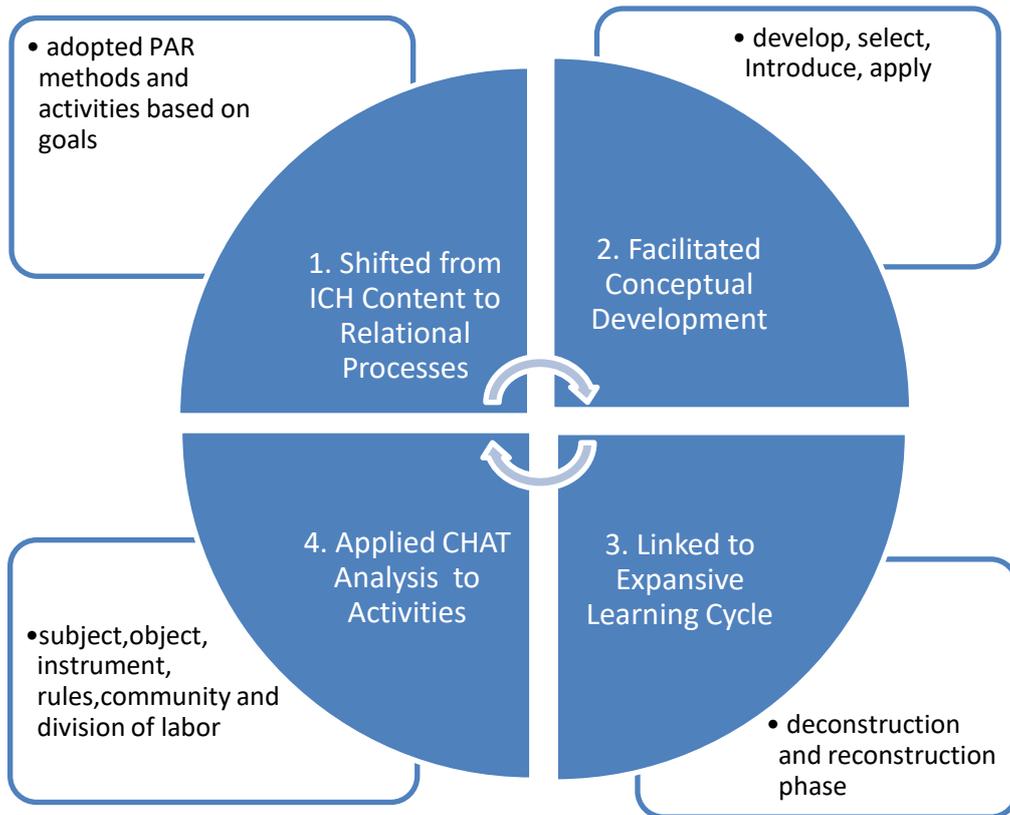


Figure 5: Developmental Stages of Research Process: 1.) Dynamic Participatory Action; 2.) Facilitated Reflection and Conceptual Development; 3.) Expansive Learning Cycle; 4.) Activity Analysis.

7.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the outcomes of the research and their applications and provide concluding statements. To reiterate, the research questions focused on two units of analysis: firstly, the Senior Participants' reflections on the intervention of history in the transmission of culture and their personal experiences of how theatre served as means to address these; and secondly, the development of the *4SL Framework* as a transmission process within one family of the Kinship Group. The discussion will consider international research where a CHAT analysis has been applied to the developmental activities of Indigenous revitalisation of language, an area in which the senior members of the Kinship Group have undertaken development work prior to this research. Lin and Yudaw's reflections (2013) on their research with Truku (Indigenous) families in Taiwan were influential in the decision to adopt a CHAT analysis of the activities for developing the *4SL Framework*. The implications for strengthening ICH practice, research design and service delivery are discussed.

7.2 Improving Everyday Concepts of ICH

In this section the usefulness of everyday concepts of culture and tradition and associated terms as 'tangible', 'intangible' and heritage' are considered. Participants anxieties over the real, imagined, or potential loss of the Kinship Group's ICH, such as the position that *"nothing has been handed down"* (ie no *"tangible-traditional"* forms of culture), indicate how participants' everyday concepts of cultural practice and intergenerational transmission require critical reflection.

The workshops and interviews conducted in the current study raised for consideration the ambiguities and contradictions of everyday concepts and whether these can provide certainty about how transmission actually occurs. By drawing attention to the unreliability of signifying practices of ICH and its transmission the research activities opened up a space for discussing the relational issues of the production of contemporary ICH:

C: I think tradition is acknowledging that there is a path to where we are today, so we can't be cultural beings today if we didn't have a tradition of a past...to bring us forward yeah? So part of those cultural traditions might be language, might be ceremony, whatever but that it also happens in the year 2012. Can you say the year 2012 is tradition? Why link tradition to time back there, whereas culture is liveable today. (Kinship Consultant)

Adopting a process orientation to the research problem, as distinct from a product identifying orientation to ICH, aimed to identify contemporary conceptualisation and construction of ICH “for today” (Kinship Consultant). The conceptual shift ensured that there were opportunities for participants to review the use of everyday concepts in a critical light, identify ways to reconceptualise the problem and to work collaboratively to address how ICH can be transmitted. Contemporary kinship groups are sites of both consensus and contestation which can benefit from an examination of internal contradictions with support of the CHAT process. An appropriate degree of theorisation is required for participants and investigators to reflect on issues impacting on the production of ICH:

This process first traces the historically-formed contradictions of an activity that causes disturbances, problems or breakdowns. A working hypothesis for a more advanced form of the activity or a zone of proximal development is formed and is expected to resolve the contradictions. The process includes the modelling of the instruments for the projected new activity. (Meittinen et al. 2012: 353)

The challenge of facilitating the shared production of cultural heritage and its implicit forms of knowledge arises when engaging historical concepts which include the internalised influences of colonial and state based constructions of Aboriginality. The challenge was addressed by Lin and Yudaw (2013) as researchers was to apply the CHAT process to assist Truku participants in the process of deconstruction and concept formation due to the:

discontinuity of language and cultural practices and ideologies across generations, households, and even one's life trajectory. Applying CHAT enables us to untangle the complexity here, because transforming contradictions into potential of growth is central to CHAT analysis ... CHAT acknowledges that as people are part of multiple

activity systems, the process of resolving the contradiction is necessarily 'a process of concept formation'. (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 450)

Adopting a process orientation resulted in a range of improvements for the enquiry: to the research focus, the theoretical framework, the data collection activities and the tools of analysis. It became clear that a theoretical component is critical to mobilise developmental activities of cultural practice relevant to contemporary needs. Gergen and Zielke (2006) says that when:

secreted into practices of social change, theoretical discourse may have many different and important functions. Among these, theory may provide a supporting rationale for action, provide useful terms for coordinating practitioner communities, alter the existing terms of description and explanation so that new forms of action are invited, and place existing practices under critical reflection. (Gergen and Zielke 2006: 307)

As Lin and Yudaw (2013) point out CHAT researchers are engaged in:

investigating...contradictions and positively reconceptualize them as potentials for qualitative change. ... CHAT analysts may first work with practitioners to conduct careful historical and sociocultural analyses of the activity systems and then seek for ways to expand the spaces for 'shared object(s)' through designing and implementing of a new mediating tool (Nummijoki, Engeström 2010). Furthermore, because intervention may lead to other contradictions within or across the system(s), researchers continue to form new objects and models to improve the design, thus expanding cycles of learning. Therefore, the object in activity network is noticeably 'a moving target, not reducible to conscious short-term goals'. (Engeström 2001: 136; Lin and Yudaw 2013: 441-442)

Reflecting on the conceptual and relational challenges of mobilising a process orientation to the production of ICH the Kinship Consultant stated "our tacit knowledge must become explicit for a while until it is learned and then it can become second nature again". And when asked about the importance of theory to kinship processes and research activities she stated

that “we need theory, or Indigenous knowledge ... to own and lead the development of our ICH in our own families” (Kinship Consultant). Activity oriented leadership, or Leading Activity (Stetsenko and Arieivitch 2004), addresses the actions needed to demonstrate conceptual improvement and ideological clarification in order to target contradictions both within and beyond the group. Leading Activity involves:

... the concept of the self as a leading activity, namely as a process of real-life activity that most explicitly positions individuals to meaningfully contribute to the ongoing social collaborative practices in the world....the self as a leading activity is also based on its clear grounding in real-life practices in the world. Continuing Leontiev’s line of thought, the self is taken to be a process rather than an attribute, and, moreover, a process that connects individuals to the social world around them and serves the purposes of organizing these social connections and ties. Furthermore, conceptualizing the self as a leading activity also upholds the view that the self represents a moment in ongoing social activities that is not stored somewhere in the depths of a human soul, but is constantly re-enacted and constructed by individuals anew in the ever-shifting balances of life. (Stetsenko and Arieivitch 2004 : 493)

Activity leadership requires a balance of both practise based and theoretical informed capabilities. Critiquing the everyday concepts of ICH provided the opportunity for both participants and the researcher to adopt a more reflexive understanding of the dominant discourse of culture heritage and generated new conceptualisations to more pragmatically address contemporary circumstances. The relational process for achieving this involves addressing the contradictions and internalised power relations within the group. A decolonising approach to the process of the production of ICH is not swayed by meta-cultural factors and the politics of recognition (Povinelli 2002) but engages in deconstruction and reconstruction of concepts, contradictions and practices.

The uncritical use of dual concepts such as ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ leave unexamined the process issues of cultural production. Wilson’s claim that “*the process is the product*” (Wilson 2008: 103) does not run contrary to the Kinship Consultant’s reflection of the necessity for a concrete activity base, stated as “*you have to have a product*”, for expansive learning and development to take place. CHAT affirms the interdependency of process and

form to the production of ICH. According to Stasch (2011) CHAT helps analysts of ritual to emphasise:

the systematic character of the contradictions themselves, finding in the ritual form an expression of some condition of dialectical interrelation and mutual irreducibility between incompatible and yet conjoined alternatives. (Stasch 2011: 166)

From this can it be said that the process and product components of the intergenerational transfer of practices of ICH have an interdependent relationship consisting of an intangible component of relational and symbolic processes which generate the production of tangible artefacts, performances and practices. This allows us to conclude along with Betts that in *'reciprocal relationships, participants transform objects and vice versa'* (Betts 2006: 4).

7.3 Internal Authority of Kinship Groups and the Generation of Kinship Identity

Viewed from a CHAT standpoint the kinship structure of Noongar society is *'a multilayered network of interconnected activity systems'* (Engeström 1999: 36). The relational basis of Noongar identity, which coheres around lineage and the interconnection of families and kinship groups, provides the socio-cultural authority for decision making internal to the group, and by extension, the protocols of interaction with other kinship groups and the broader community. Family and kinship socialisation and enculturation practises are based on internal self-regulation within kinship systems. Noongar core values requires its members to *"know who your people are"* and *"speak only for your own"*, and for this reason the construction of kinship identity is sustained by maintaining the *"social relation"* of knowledge, or the relation *"between the knowledge and the subject(s) making the claim to knowledge"*. (Kelly 2009: 2).

Kinship authority over the transmission of intergenerational narratives is critical to the legitimation of Noongar relational identity and social obligation. An individual is only entitled to speak for their own, a constraint that normalises the prohibition of talking on behalf of others where that entitlement does not exist by relationship which grants the right of kinship. The correct protocol for conducting kinship and community business depends upon knowledgeable members of a kinship group resolving 'counterfeit' claims by reiterated

kinship lineage as the basis of relational authority, thereby conferring a legitimate right to speak for one's own family and kinship group.

When introducing someone to younger members Senior Participants will usually locate them, where known, in their familial network and where this is not known will ask them *"Who is your family?"* and *"Where do you come from?"*. This continues to model the exchange of relational knowledge by demonstrating to younger members the ongoing practices that offset the risk of further loss of knowledge of kinship relationships. The relational ethics of belonging within and across a structure of kinship groups continues to consolidate the connective social practices of Noongar society. Kinship groups often remain distinct, self-identified entities because such practices ensure that relational networks continue to provide the social context of individual identity as belonging to kin and place.

The relational basis of authority continues to endure against two obstacles that are deeply integrated in historical consciousness: the direct opposition of government policies that sought to absorb the biological, cultural, social and economic basis of Noongar family groups and kinship systems; and the internalised effects of that history. Members of the senior generation reflected on their parents' determinations and aspirations in response to racism and coercive assimilationist policies and the guidance that their elders provided them to maintain and assert their identity. As adults some Senior Participants attributed theatre as one means for learning the historical factors that impacted on their parents who withheld from demonstrative cultural practice due to the fear of negative sanctions, either on themselves or on the younger generations and whether from the authorities or the non-Aboriginal public.

The ordered and reciprocal responsibilities for the socialisation and enculturation of emerging generations are relationally located. Externally imposed forms of decision making can undermine an otherwise self-regulating processes. As parents and grandparents the Senior Participants are actively engaged in creating options to overcome the constraints to strengthen the contemporary production and transmission of ICH. Families with relational support from their kinship groups organise the social reproduction of knowledge via obligations and the shared processes of transmission. The reproduction of kinship identity and the forms of knowledge shared by the participants are transmitted within and through relational networks from which the individual emerges as a strongly identify person of kinship heritage and descent.

The further application of kinship methodologies and sociocultural research design can support goal-directed, tool mediated activities to re-conceptualise the production and transmission of ICH which is contingent upon kinship interaction and practices that give coherence to the identities of new individuals and new generations.

7.4 Aliwah! Re-engaging Kinship Learning Theory and Practice

A kinship group's cultural transmission is a living heritage embodied in a set of relational practices that inform individual and collective identity construction. The process includes implicit and explicit learning theories and instructional practices of cultural transmission needed for socio-cultural transformation. Like all instructional practices the processes of transmission and transition requires formalisation as pedagogical thought, practice and reflection:

The object of learning surely becomes full, strongly valued participation and deeply transformed forms of understanding. How can we address learning phenomena of such extended scope? It would be useful to enquire more deeply into the double and multiple articulations of ongoing activity in given situations and to explore various forms of tension and conflict over continuity and displacement in different communities of practice. It also seems useful to inquire into salient identities from the points of view of members themselves, and to ask what learning curriculum is afforded by the legitimate participation that makes it possible for newcomers to become old timers in a given setting. (Lave 1991: 81)

The development of activities of the 4SL explicitly involves an "...attitudinal imperative to 'pay attention' regularly noted to be a basic aspect of ritual." (Stasch 2011: 166). The Noongar word "Aliwah!", literally 'look out!', effects this call to 'pay attention' to important events or matters that require action or instruction. It could be used to denote the goal of this research as well as the call for the reengagement of cultural pedagogy and the instructional moment through which transition activities confer 'newcomers' with attendant

relational responsibilities and obligations. It marks the reiteration and refocussing of tacit or implicit knowledge that for developmental purposes needs to be made explicit.

Bandura's social learning theory suggests that external, vicarious and self-generated consequences act to inhibit or enhance learning in an *Interdependence of personal and environmental influences* (Bandura 1977: 195). The maintenance or loss of new learning depends on the inhibitory, motivational or reinforcing effects of instruction. In the case of reinforcement Bandura is undecided as to whether only rewarded behaviour is internalised or if individuals '*...facilitate learning anticipatorily by enhancing attentional, encoding and rehearsal processes*' (Bandura, 1986: 77). Without attempting to address Bandura's particular concern here it is clear that the performance of transition ceremonies facilitated both the gaining and the focusing of attention, modelled kinship processes and practices at the critical times of life stage transition, and demonstrated how such relational processes and activities remediate and encode relational knowledge to produce kinship based ICH.

Certainly the development of the 4SL framework engaged members of one family and additional members of the kinship group to participate in shared, meaningful activities of facilitated learning. Second generation participants and younger generation members who participated in the planning of transmission activities enhanced their learning anticipatorily ahead of the performance of the transmission ceremonies through which family members and relatives marked their life stage transition. These processes of learning made explicit the reciprocal activities and obligations that underpin and maintain the relational, intergenerational and developmental process of cultural transmission. The inclusion of research as a tool of the developmental process also served to focus attention on the goal based activities of learning.

Enacting the components of the 4SL framework demonstrate a socio-cultural means to nurture regular interaction of cultural practice both within and between the families of the participants' Kinship Group. The call to 'pay attention' applies to this expansive learning opportunity for transferring the knowledge of maintaining and developing transmission knowledge and processes. The planning and performing of transition ceremonies raised the importance of clarifying the means and processes of instruction. As a process of instruction the 4SL is consistent with Noongar styles of learning via demonstration and active involvement. All generations participated in the development of practices that facilitated the uptake of their roles and responsibilities for performing transition ceremonies for members

of the younger generation. Those holding the accumulated experience and socio-cultural authority were therefore able to revitalise the role of instruction within the goal-directed, tool mediated activities of the relational production of forms ICH. This transformative process enables the reconceptualising of the material-semiotic order (Kontopodis 2007) of ICH based on the shared cognition between generations and the ongoing transmission of instructional knowledge and teaching processes.

The CHAT analysis captured the interaction of 4SL process of collaboration between Senior Participants as knowledge holders and producers, the middle generation of parents as learners of transmission processes, and the younger generations of as recipients of ceremonies to mark the stages of life transition. CHAT proved a highly effective conceptual basis for working to strengthen the concepts and process of ICH because it:

includes working with others inside a system of culturally defined tools, signs, and symbols (Brown, Cole 2002). CHAT ...includes the "actor"(s) whose agency as participant is the point of view of the analysis and the object acted upon as well as the dynamic interactions of both (Betts 2006: 4)

CHAT provided a reliable theoretical base for the ongoing intergenerational development of ICH because of its capacity to take into account:

the goals and motives of the learners in the context of the setting and its social aspects, focusing on interactivity of the various aspects. In reciprocal relationships, participants transform objects and vice versa, and each system component influences this transformation. (Betts 2006: 4)

CHAT provides a means to support 'the collective cultural and pedagogical rights of Indigenous peoples' (Grey 2014: PhD thesis) to address the historical impacts of protectionist and assimilation policies. However an increasingly global environment will continue to generate challenges that Aboriginal peoples':

...personal and collective engagement entailed in the reproduction of knowledge, languages, oral traditions, and relationships with the cosmos...these narratives constitute tools to re/member, that is to say recall and put together again,

indigenous identities....critical negotiations between traditional cultural values and "western" means of production are crucial to community cohesion and to the validation of local, pedagogical strategies. (Fachin 2008: vii)

Indigenous peoples can combine their relational process and knowledge, CHAT and expansive learning, to build a contemporary Indigenous pedagogy of cultural transmission because:

Indigenous pedagogy, properly analysed, explored and theorised on the basis of Indigenous values, philosophies and methodologies, has great potential to effect positive educational change for all learners. (Biermann and Townsend-Cross 2008: 146)

Such self-determining processes build the resilience of kinship relationships and practices that maintain and strengthen the cultural-linguistic identities of current and emerging generations of Indigenous peoples.

7.5 Diversity as the Basis of Contradictions and Accommodation

There is considerable diversity of participant's experience and standpoints across families of the KSG's generations, families, gender, and individual interests within the activity setting for the production of ICH. Diversity of Aboriginal peoples' situations is dependent on a range of mediating factors: location, historical experience of historical impact, economic access, and a variety of social-cultural beliefs and practices which distinguish and differentiate families and kinship groups. Lin and Yudaw ask:

How can we reconcile the diverse perspectives among the participants? From a CHAT framework, if we conceptualize each household as a network of generational activity systems, the dissonance among the project participants actually reflects historically accumulated disturbances and contradictions in a multi-layered network of activity systems. Instead of blaming the villagers for not working collectively, we can better understand the complexity by tracing back to the colonial contexts. (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 450)

Competing priorities and obligations to family, work and culture are prominent in the reflections of Indigenous women in employment forums and participant's discussions. How to strengthen socio-cultural practices while maintaining economic viability is a central dilemma for many Aboriginal individuals, families and kinship groups. To what extent does employment become 'the major artefact' that either constrains or delivers opportunities for strengthening the production of ICH? These concerns and questions have also been raised by Lin and Yudaw:

how to address the dynamic and heterogeneous nature of Indigenous (or non-dominant) communities (Gutiérrez, Arzubiaga 2011; Huang 2012), where people's lived experiences diverge significantly from each other due to changing colonial impacts at different historical periods and stages of people's lives. Going beyond taken-for-granted notions of bounded, monolithic community structures, we ask: if revitalization efforts come from the grassroots level, what binds people together in these efforts? What are the critical mediating practices between individuals and larger communal structures that create affordances or constrain opportunities for collective efforts? (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 437)

The development of the 4SL framework is a small case study of the use of reconnective processes and relational practices to strengthen ICH. Central to these activities is the difficult process of harnessing inherent contradictions:

Kroskrity (2009) points out that 'conflicts of beliefs, or feelings, about languages...are the inevitable outcome of the interaction of Indigenous, colonial, post-colonial, and professional academic perspectives' (p. 71), highlighting the need for community members to do 'ideological clarification', that is, to discuss their divergent views on language renewal (Dauenhauer, Dauenhauer 1998; Fishman 2001; Kroskrity 2004). In our actual LPP...(Language Learning Policy) praxis, we have noticed that ideological clarification is a very complex process because the conflicts of beliefs can exist not just between individuals but also within an individual ... the 'object-oriented' nature of an activity system helps analysts to place the goals and motives of individuals ('subjects') in the centre of our sense-making process, and thereby

better explain any qualitative differences in people's ways of participation and practice. (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 451)

Critical to the success of developmental work is the engagement of history within the process of the production of cultural heritage because *"not only does an artefact exist in the material reality, but it is also linked to the history of its uses and thus connotes particular ideological stances..."* (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 442) and because, like aspects of identity, these are difficult to separate:

Individuals (and cultural communities or traditions) may emphasize one more of identity construction more than the other. Those who "essentialize" tend to deny changes in identity, insisting on a stable personal core and those who "narrativize" foreground change while maintaining certain threads of continuity. (Kirmayer et al., 2009: 86)

The questions raised by Lin and Yudaw (2013: 339) of the use of CHAT analysis to Indigenous language revitalisation assisted the researcher and Kinship Consultant to clearly identify similar ethical questions for this enquiry:

What is the role of cultural practices in language revitalization? How can people work together collectively despite their divergent views and approaches towards language loss? (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 339)

Participants' standpoints, while referencing the same cultural-historical tradition, generate different views of the same artifact of ICH. The Kinship Consultant welcomed the participant's divergent views *'because I believe in the process, you can't worry about the politics because you've got to get people engaged in the process.'* (Kinship Consultant). While a process oriented standpoint conceptualises ICH as *'diverse, emergent constructions rather than fixed, inherited practices...'* (Bronner 2011) different conceptualisations of ICH highlight the fact that *"each artefact is 'built on a history of relationships and influences' and may powerfully attract or unwittingly alienate."* (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 451) CHAT has particular value for researchers as it helps to resolve more thoroughly the understandings of the participants' context:

CHAT acknowledges the complexity of people's contexts or the heterogeneous nature of community. Such a systemic perspective may generate a more ethnographically informed understanding of any seemingly individual, idiosyncratic, or accidental deviations in social practice. (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 442)

As mentioned some of the Senior Participants had previously engaged in developmental activities in the revitalisation of Noongar language by providing education activities to school-aged children within the Kinship Group and other families. Sociocultural researchers point to the importance of Indigenous people's language as cultural heritage and the means of communication by which other forms of expression may be articulated through a highly rule governed process of composition:

By stressing the social origins of language and thinking, Vygotsky was the first modern psychologist to suggest the mechanisms by which culture and biology are interwoven to form a person's history;...Learning cultural traditions in many Indigenous societies involves strong relationships with elders and more competent adults or peers....(in which)... language plays a key role in development. (Cochrane 2009: 49-50; 100)

Lin and Yudaw's CHAT based research aimed at strengthening Indigenous language revitalisation among Truku families of Taiwan correlates well with the Senior Participants' own previous activities of language revitalisation and the goals of this research. Their research reflection puts the relationship of CHAT and the 4SL in the context of the Senior Participants broader interests:

Rethinking the use of artefacts, at the nexus of both history and emerging activity, can potentially expand the spaces for agency and development in language revitalization. Their reflexive practices lead them beyond "the abstract notion" of language revitalization" to ask "more fundamental questions: What is language revitalization? What kind of Truku and for what purposes?" (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 450)

In the Senior Participants' case the fundamental question 'at the nexus of both history and emerging activity' are about how to maintain control of the means of the production relational identity within the Kinship Group for current and emerging generations. The concerns that there has been "no tangible-traditional culture" handed down raises the importance of a decolonising perspective to address the effects of internalised state authority in place of the Kinship Group's own epistemic authority and internal governance. The combination of external and internal effects of history and policy continues a crisis of legitimation over who holds the authority for the processes of cultural transmission. The expression of this crisis can take a number of passive and passive-aggressive forms such as in response to the consequences of cross-cultural relationships: "What culture my kids gonna have? – they follow their Wadjella father?". Or as attributable to the older generation: "Mum and Dad never left us any traditional culture – we don't really know what we've got to pass on".

Sometimes the position "you never left us anything" is presented in a more direct, and ideologically framed, manner to the Senior Participants. In such cases the attribution of the failure of cultural transmission is directed at those who are themselves products of history and oversimplify its impacts on the socialisation practices of the previous elder generations. Such statements imply that those who have the knowledge of social relationships and kinship authority are responsible for the failure of culture transmission – in short, adding to the crisis of legitimation faced by the senior generations. D presented a scenario between himself and his son:

Son: My life is over here dad ... you got nothing to offer me about culture ... I am you dad

Father: I can't crack it with you son. (Participant D)

The direct attribution of the failure of cultural transmission upon Senior Participants illustrates the crisis of legitimation from within, challenges them to constructively counter the uncritical use of everyday concepts of history. The response of senior participants to the negative framing of culture, via assumptions of its absence, and in support of an ideological position, demonstrates the high value high placed on the kinship ethics of relational

interaction. They reaffirm their values and their authority by stressing the ethics of concrete reciprocation that respects relational accountability.

D's analysed the position put by his son as *"the big lie that if you can't speak your language you can't talk of your culture"* (DC), highlighting the key concern of cultural loss serving an ideological position. One might argue along with Vygotsky that this demonstrates the *"the weakness of the everyday concept ...(which)... lies in its incapacity for abstraction" and abstraction alone is capable of bringing any understanding to a conscious level...*"(Vygotsky in Bandlamudi 2011: 260). Or that the *'scope of appropriate behaviour'* is ironically *'determined by the inversion of appropriateness...'*(Bock 1998:133) when relational values are transgressed.

A key challenge however is to model a process of critical thinking in such a way as to impart new learning to younger members while retaining those components of everyday concepts that have a positive value in kinship communication in which the remembrance of concrete relationships plays a vital role. D's father / son anecdote illustrates the intergenerational gap that must be negotiated to maintain relationships. This anecdote was presented during a focus group with Senior Participants that addressed the potential of theatre techniques for disseminating the outcomes of the research and to presenting the historical context of intergenerational differences to younger members. It reinforced for D his own experiences of the impact of theatre on his understanding of his parents' reservations about explicit cultural transmission. In the same workshop L discussed how she drew on her off stage experiences and her recollections of her grandmother to inform her female characters. The Senior Participants' recall, allied to their concerns, assists in the exercise of their relational agency (Edwards 2011a; 2011b) to model and communicate transmission processes of intergenerational knowledge.

7.6 Synthesis: Theatre and Dramatism, Ceremony and CHAT

One option that the Participants may pursue at their discretion is to utilise theatre based techniques as a means to communicate the findings and outcomes of the research and to promote ongoing processes of the development of the potential of the *4SL Framework* as regular, shared practices that mark the life stage transitions of members of the Kinship Group. In discussing the cultural development of communicative tools Grainger Clemson (2011) points out that:

Vygotsky saw a link between onstage drama and the drama of everyday life (Smagorinsky 2011), where dramatic tensions exist and one is defined by emotional experiences...Drama as a pedagogical toolkit is not the interpretation of content (e.g. of a play text) but refers to the process of structuring the mode of interaction and communication. (Grainger Clemson 2011: DPhil abstract)

A key conclusion can be made that theatre as symbolic drama and the 4SL framework (as social drama (Duncan 1985:112) have successfully provided purposeful educative activity across four generations because both function as useful modes for structuring intergenerational interaction and communication. The interpretive component of the *4SL Framework* as ICH is less critical than as the process that supports the relational interaction of kin.

Indigenous theatre, story-telling and resistance to ideological forms of marginalisation are all linked at a primary level because they all concerned with perspectives of emplotment. The experience of female actors in the theatre showed how their agency was proscribed by the extension of the power relations of the off stage world. The veteran Koorie actor Jack Charles says in his own play *Jack Charles Vs The Crown*, “Yes I got a lot of parts, but what about the parts I wasn’t given?”. (Charles and Romeril 2013) Thus the power relations within the theatre reflect those of society as Duncan, following Burke, makes clear:

Human relations, Burke argues, are analysed best in terms of drama. “Men enact roles. They change roles. They participate. They develop modes of social appeal.” ...They relate as actors playing roles to achieve satisfactions which only other human actors can give them. They do so through communication which, like the struggle in the drama, involves both competition and cooperation. The difference between symbolic drama and social drama, is the difference between imaginary and real obstacles, but to produce effects on audiences, symbolic drama must reflect the real obstacles of social drama. (Burke, in Duncan 1985:112)

Aboriginal people are often expected to participate in the tragi-comic social drama that casts them as bearing the fixed semiotic remainders (Povinelli 2002: 61) of the traditional past,

and by implication, in need of state protectionism, and their behaviour according to such prescribed limitations. Not surprisingly decolonising responses reject the duplicitous framing that determines that are *'the 'right' others for the show, flattening them out in their parts..... bowing them out if they refuse'*. (Author unknown) Refusing to don the mimetic costume of such prescriptions involves deploying the terms and representations of both serious and playful theatricality aimed at retelling the world from a decolonising perspective. "Staging" resistance widens the available discourse to protect the right to maintain and construct the lifeworld on their own terms.

The similarities of Symbolic Action and Activity Theory have been addressed by Valsiner and Van Der Veer (1988), Holland and Lachicotte (2007) and Prus (2017). CHAT's criteria of subject, object, instrument, rules, community and division of labour provide the basis for a realist social analysis of activity. According to Wilson (2008:5) the activity analysis of Wertsch et al (1995) can be summarised, as the *"the what, where, how, who, and why an action occurs'*. Burke's Dramatism, accepting that *'all the world is a stage'*, provides a method for the symbolic social analysis of motive and rhetoric that is based on the five criteria of act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. As both CHAT and Dramatism analyse the 'state of play' and the emplotment of cultural politics and so it would be useful to explore these possible complementary aspects further.

Merging the goals of decolonisation with activity based methodologies and Indigenous theatre contests regimes of political and social emplotment. It allows Aboriginal people who are *"...grappling with some form of Essentialism—a view in which...(there is)... much more Relationally based talk about the 're-emplotment' of one's life."* (Chandler 2000: 223)

The capacity of kinship groups to be self-determining in the production of their ICH requires the continued negotiation of macro level influences of political, media and economic institutions: of governance, meta-cultural production, and the conditions of their unequal economic participation. Decolonising heritage discourse challenges the internalisation of state based versions of that history which assigns a passive status to kinship authority and so continues to undermine self-governance and relational processes of cultural production.

Moving beyond the effects of colonisation and government policies requires support to reassign the locus of control for the production of ICH within kinship relationships and contexts. Lin and Yudaw's research enquiry, like this study, was designed to support the

Truku participants' family goals of cultural development and for utilising the relational ethics of participants in the self-regulation of language and other ICH policies:

The undergirding 'rule' of the design is that Indigenous people can be language policy-makers themselves rather than being dictated to by the government. (Lin and Yudaw 2013: 450)

Public programs aimed at ICH protection, which contribute to its meta-production from within the public domain, should aim to confront the discursive power embedded in their institutional practices and elect to support appropriate socio-cultural processes of intergenerational transmission and the relational, Indigenous pedagogies that maintain them.

7.7 Application of Activity Theory and CHAT to Aboriginal Health and Other Services

In the course of examining how AT facilitated an effective response to the research problem broader potential applications emerged that could address issues of Aboriginal health and wellbeing, mental health and disability services. When the exchange of clinical or allied services from health systems to Aboriginal consumers is viewed as taking place between cross-cultural activity settings, as Botha (2012) has pointed in relation to post-apartheid education services in South Africa, then a new opportunity for applying CHAT analysis to address kinship and community needs emerges.

Davidson et al (2011) examine Wertsch et al's work (1995) in synthesising CHAT and Dramatism to discuss approaches to recovery in psychiatry and Toth-Cohen (2008) and Gretschel et al (2015) have identified CHATs potential for occupational therapy services. CHAT has significant implications for evaluation of *'the context of interventions, rather than ... programs, and could be the basis for a new science and practice of context evaluation'* (Hawe et al., 2009, in Tharp and O'Donnell 2016).

Vygotsky's legacy in Australia is largely due to constrained to his learning theory in teacher training and educational services. Given the Vygotsky's founding contribution to special education and disability (Vygotsky 1987) and cultural psychology it would be productive to examine how goal based activity planning could contribute to Aboriginal health, wellbeing

and disability services. Despite the considerable international literature available such an approach remains largely unexplored in the Australian context.

7.8 Conclusion

Developmental activities aimed at strengthen processes for the production and transmission of ICH necessarily involved reviewing the reliability of the concept of the loss of its historical or traditional forms. The search for a sound basis from which kinship groups can increase the locus of control over the production of their own ICH can be drawn from Vygotsky's methods based on the *"belief in a future that follows from established cultural pathways , and that is grounded in meta-experiences that in turn frame new experiences"* (Smargorinsky 2012: 72). Activity Theory provides opportunities for ideological clarification, expansive learning, and for adopting new relations of the process and product of the cultural artefact that bring together, in Bakhtin's terms (Bakhtin 2011: np), the *"unification of cognitive and ethical values"* of kinship.

The participant identified and formulated research question, the development of the KRM and the identification of a relational and constructivist conceptual-theoretical framework were combined into an innovative research approach aimed at strengthening the intergenerational transmission of ICH within a Noongar kinship group. The key conclusion of this study is that sociocultural interventions and self-determining activities such as the development of the *4SL Framework* benefit from facilitating ideological clarification, expansive learning and goal-based, tool mediated activities to strengthening the relational production of ICH.

The development of the transition ceremonies within the framework of the *4SL* modelled a process of intergenerational reflection, planning, problem solving and shared cognition of learning and the performance of ceremonies to mark the transition through the life stages. The process of developing the *4SL Framework* has harnessed the desires for the ongoing production of ICH, desires which have not so much been *met* by the transition ceremonies as have been *made* by the process of purposeful interaction. The ceremonial activities to mark the four stages of life occur more frequently within the Kinship Consultant's family. The documentation and analysis via this thesis will allow members of the Kinship Group and other kinship groups a supporting resource for further action and enquiry. In response to the

research aims and relational methodology, a middle generation participant expressed her satisfaction in words that will reassure her senior kinship members, saying that the process:

really reinforced what I grew with, what I was told as a child, and what I now know, giving me some authority for my knowledge, that I can speak from this, that it has some authority and its legitimate. And the more we talk about it and put it out there and own it, the more we can give authority and give legitimacy to it because really history has told us we don't own it, and we are going back and reclaiming it.
(Participant CD)

7.9 Recommendations

This research combined a kinship research methodology with a constructivist theory of socio-cultural learning applied to two key units of analysis: the importance of theatre as means of conveying intergenerational experience and the relevance of CHAT based activities to support the intergenerational transmission of ICH within the Participants' Kinship Group.

Based on findings of the study recommendations are made in the following areas:

7.9.1 Furthering the Development of the 4SL and Relational ICH

That the participants apply the findings of this study to further strengthen and develop the 4SL framework as a contribution to interfamily and intergenerational processes for the transmission of kinship based ICH

7.9.2 Theatre as a process for kinship and community education

That theatre based methods be used as a tool of dissemination of the research outcomes in two areas:

1) to communicate the importance of the prior use of theatre as a mode of communication for previous generations;

2) to promote the ongoing development of the 4SL Framework for its potential to reconnect families within the Kinship Group through strengthening shared, regular practices that mark the life stage transitions of members of the Kinship Group.

7.9.3 Kinship Research Methodologies are transferable to other kinship groups

That Kinship Research Methodologies be considered by other families and kinship groups for application to their developmental needs.

7.9.4 Institutional Support for the kinship production ICH

That public programs with responsibilities for the protection of Aboriginal ICH acknowledge:

- 1) that the relational and epistemic authority of Senior Participants and knowledgeable individuals is foundational to the production of ICH within Aboriginal families, kinship groups and communities.
- 2) that the transmission of ICH is dependent on learning theories and instructional practices that are maintained and developed within families and kinship groups and which underpin the pedagogical rights of Indigenous peoples;
- 3) the importance of Kinship Research Methodologies, Activity Theory and CHAT analysis for development of a socio-cultural approach to heritage management policies and practice.

7.9.5 Socio-cultural research be more broadly applied to human services and to Aboriginal Health and wellbeing

That Activity Theory be applied to improve the appropriateness in the research, design, delivery and evaluation of services to support education, Aboriginal health, wellbeing and disability services for Aboriginal people and their families.

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APPENDIX

The Development of the Data Collection Tool

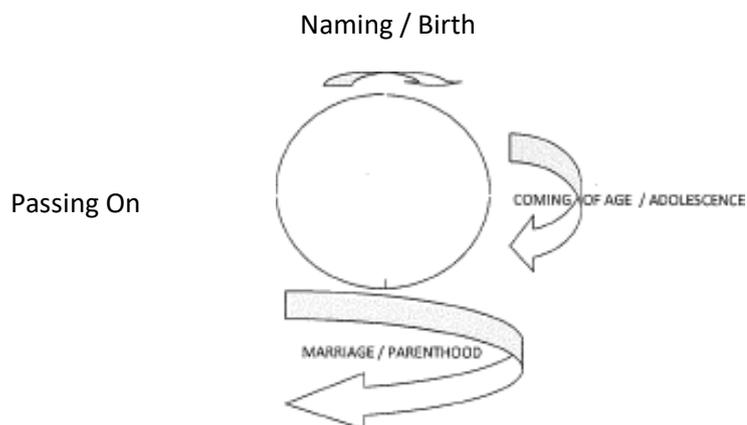
Date and Attendees:

Primary Focus Question:

AS NOONGAR GRANDMOTHERS TODAY, AND AS FEMALE COUSINS, WHAT CAN WE DEVELOP OR CREATE FROM OUR LIVED EXPERIENCE TO LEAVE FOR THE NEXT GENERATIONS?

STAGES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

Participants to insert desirable cultural elements for each life stage



Researchers / Facilitator prompts:

A: How is Noongar identity currently understood

- i. To be able to identify who the members of your kinship are ?
- ii. Knowing how to behave?
- iii. Knowing the practice performing your role as kin, of being Noongar?
- iv. What would call this - reciprocal obligation? Other?

B: How will this work in the future?

Discuss, agree or amend until these questions identify the correct themes or focus questions

Thematic Questions: The 4SL Framework

Purpose: For families to reflect on the Noongar knowledge and practices used in everyday life or on special occasions (ie that mark transitions through the life cycle) using the following framework and questions.

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Birth</u></p> <p>What Noongar knowledge or practice do you/ you family usually associate with the birth of a new child?</p> <p>If you/ your family were to develop this further How could it be done?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Coming of Age/Adolescence</u></p> <p>What Noongar knowledge or practice do you/ you family usually associate with the coming of age or adolescence of a family member?</p> <p>If you/ your family were to develop this further How could it be done?</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Marriage/Parenthood</u></p> <p>What Noongar knowledge or practice do you/ you family usually associate with the marriage or parenthood of a family member?</p> <p>If you/ your family were to develop this further How could it be done?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Passing On</u></p> <p>What Noongar knowledge or practice do you/ you family usually associate with the passing of a family member?</p> <p>If you/ your family were to develop this further How could it be done?</p>

Researcher Prompt: Transmission of contemporary culture

The kinship group have over two generations used a variety of arts and media as means for the representation and promotion of issues relevant to contemporary Noongar culture.

Question:

Could the kinship group use any of the following as a process for transmission?

- performing arts (drama, dance);
- community arts
- visual arts
- writing: stories, poetry etc

Researcher Prompt: The importance of relationships

Noongar people give a very high value to relationships, relative to other core values.

Relationships to kin, country and Noongar specific ways of seeing and doing are critical to the formation of Noongar identity and to its transmission across generations.

Questions:

- Do you agree or disagree and why?
- What do you think strengthens this value of relationships?
- What do you think weakens this value of relationships?
- How can relationships within the kinship group be strengthened?

Researcher Prompt: Contemporary influences

Modernism reinforces the sense of the individual self and undermines the sense of the collective self. It does so by emphasising individual entitlement over collective responsibility.

Personal mobile phones and internet use provide access to a form of social networking increasingly beyond the cultural authority of Elders.

The value of reciprocal obligation is being heavily influenced in ways not yet fully understood in addition to other social influences.

Questions:

- Do you agree or disagree and why?
- Is the practice of reciprocal obligation critical to the transmission of ICH?
- Can individual and collective aspects of Noongar identity be made compatible
- If roles and responsibilities for the strengthening and passing on ICH need to be adopted?