

**ANGLICARE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
HOBART 2012**

**John Roffey Lecture
The Venerable Karen Kime**

Aboriginal Voices : Reconciling Inequality in the Church

Introduction

Friends and colleagues, it is a great honour to provide the John Roffey lecture at this - our own national conference. While I have not had the pleasure of knowing John, I am acutely aware that we had one thing in common (which I'm sure many of you have) and that is a passion for social justice. I often think how blessed I am to be able to work in an area where I (and we) can make a difference. As Archdeacon for Indigenous Ministries I have the great privilege to bring this passion to my role as General Manager of Indigenous Services and Education within Anglicare - so it is with pleasure that I 'get to speak' about one of my biggest loves.

Firstly, I want to share with you a little of my background, I grew up in Sydney in the suburb of Cabramatta And what an amazing place it was and continues to be.... I learnt so much from watching the struggles of the early migrants and then of course, the refugees – risking life and limb in seeking a place of safety.

My great grandmother – was a Biripi woman and a gutsy single mum (In those days it was illegal to marry Aboriginal people). She was immersed in her extended family and Country at a place known as Dingo Creek. During the time that they began taking Aboriginal children away, she sent my grandmother out to work as a domestic at the age of 8.

To escape the effects of the Board on their family, my grandparents moved to Sydney in the early 1900's to the inner city suburb of Camperdown and began the first 'Koori dances' for the Aboriginal people who had also moved there. As my grandmother aged, she developed Alzheimers disease and while she lost her memory for almost everything, she never forgot her country. It seemed that she felt that that was where her spirit was meant to rest. I inherited a love of country from her.

My mother instilled in me her own unique passion for social justice from a life where experiences of racism and discrimination occurred often. During the 1950's and 60's she was one of just a handful of women working in the very male dominated industry of transport. As a black woman, her work was even more difficult. In those days when you brought a new car it was delivered to you – she was one of the drivers. The job however made her vulnerable to harassment from the police who 'more than once' would take her to the nearest 'lock up' as they assumed that she had stolen it. I remember 'fronting up' to the police station with my father.

Such experiences are common to many Indigenous Australians where the struggles of those who have gone before them, has become a part of their identity as a marginalised people.... and it is from such experiences that future leaders are born. On the east coast, it is from places such as the Cowra Mission, Bogabilla, and Cummeroogunga – where (to use an expression of our people) leaders have been grown or sung.

Historical Context

Aboriginal Australians have wrought change not just within their communities, but at a national level. Without these people and the support of other Australians, change would not have occurred. Indeed, Indigenous Australians have always had their heroes, whose courage and integrity have become part of the story telling of our people; a story that both informs the present and has its roots in the past

At every stage of black and white history, our nation has implemented policies with the aim of dispossessing Australia's first peoples from country. Early Colonists were creative in the methods they chose. These memories are held deep within the psyche of this continent and are now known as massacre sites. Such places criss cross our nation, reminding us of the removal of people through poisoning, hunting or their removal on riverboats sent into distant lands.

Tasmania has its own tragic story, where the determination of the invaders to acquire land had its own horrific effects. We all know that story. We also know that the establishment of Missions and Reserves designed to 'smooth the dying pillow' were another means by which the acquisition of country became increasingly aggressive. These locations were always established long distances from 'other Australians', where the out of site; out of mind mentality could ease one's conscience and where the fear of race relations was ever present and indeed, illegal. (consider the lovely ballad of the 'Drovers Boy')

Indeed, the distancing of Aboriginal people from townships reminds me of the regurgitated policy of processing asylum seekers well away from other Australians. Similarly, the reserves and missions governed the lives of Aboriginal people, kept them from ordinary society and left no room for human rights including; the right to speak one's language and to practice one's culture. It was in such places where the self determination, the autonomy of Aboriginal people was non existent and enforced dependency was the order of the day.

We also know that the removal of Aboriginal children soon after had its own particular aims. Firstly to obtain and then train large numbers of people for a rapidly growing nation desperate to establish its infrastructure on cheap and or most often - free labour. Many Aboriginal Australians worked for years while never receiving any pay. Secondly, the removal of children was focused on the removal of Aboriginal girls (81%) so that 'the problem of a black race' would slowly breed its way out. Indeed, the preference for a white Australia still influences the decisions we make in other areas of society... consider those we readily accept on our shores.

We also know that even a Royal Commission into the treatment of Indigenous Australians does not always facilitate justice. The Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in Custody saw no one charged of the 99 deaths that had been reported to occur. In fact, the death rate of Aboriginal people increased over the three year period of the life of the investigation.

I do not intend for this to be a history lesson, but retell the story with the hope that it increases your understanding of the black experience; to understand the impact that such a history has had on Indigenous Australians – their families and communities. Indeed, the Bringing Them Home Report cited that for those who were removed, “the inability to form stable relationships; low levels of education and poor life expectancy” are just some of the effects of their removal. They are more likely to have a criminal record; commit suicide and are more likely to be imprisoned. Nearly every Aboriginal family has all or part of this history where the impact of such is readily apparent.

It manifests in the mental health of Indigenous Australians; in the trans generational trauma experienced by Individuals and families who continue to live with the long term effects of disconnection from family and Country. The Australian Institute of Family Studies cites unresolved trauma as one of the very significant reasons that the recruitment of Aboriginal foster carers is so difficult – many families do not have the emotional well being and stability that is required for such a task. Another reason cited is the particular cultural lenses used by child welfare workers in the assessment of Aboriginal parenting and the care of children.

Similarly, The Human Rights Commission has found that dispossession, marginalisation and racism experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders has led to high levels of unresolved trauma and grief among Australian Indigenous people, manifesting in psychological distress and a range of destructive behaviours (Atkinson, 2002).

Acknowledging Racism

Indeed, we live and work within a discriminatory environment; where the colour of your skin (amongst other categories) provides opportunity for racist and unjust behaviours. Institutions and many working within them have inherited such values that are found in the everyday actions and decision making processes of Australian society. Such actions are at times unconscious, where colour automatically instigates a negative response.

For instance, the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2012) found that Indigenous young people are 24 times more likely to be in detention than non-indigenous youth, 15 times more likely to be under supervision and 14 times more likely to be under community-based supervision. Such activity against Indigenous people is similar to what is occurring to south African young people as their families resettle into Australian cities. In Melbourne, studies have found that the experiences of (in particular) young Sudanese men are many more times more likely to be approached by police than other Australians.

Within the employment sector, a common occurrence includes the attitude that Aboriginal people can only do 'Aboriginal jobs'; or that their skills and knowledge are somehow limited. Indeed, government departments and agencies are the biggest employer of Indigenous Australians at 43% with far fewer opportunities available in the private sector. Another study found that almost 10% of Australians believed that Aboriginal people are less intelligent than others.

Beliefs are formed within a tradition – they are never constructed within a vacuum. Racism acts to marginalise 'the other' from everyday opportunities enjoyed by others. It can be seen in the way we determine who is 'in' and who is 'out'. Thus the prevalence of Indigenous Australians in senior leadership positions are few.

In sports racial discrimination is a problem that is manifest around the world. A recent BBC documentary highlighted widespread racist and anti-Semitic behaviour amongst football fans in Eastern Europe. In our sports Industry, we know that sportsmen such as Peter Norman (one of the world's greatest sprinters was very publicly excluded from attending the 2000 Olympic games, because of his decision to stand alongside his fellow athletes in the face of racism.

Within our media, actors such as Ernie Dingo speaks of racism within that industry, while its prevalence is highlighted in films such as Bran Nu Day or more recently the wonderful new release - 'The Sapphires'.

Within the Church, discrimination continues. The Rev Rose Hudson-Wilkin, Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons said that the existence of racism in wider society was not an excuse for it within the Church. As the Chair of the Committee for Minority Ethnic Anglican Concerns their brief is to encourage and engage people from racial minority groups to participate. They are also the professional body that advises and informs the church on advocacy and racial justice. Within Australia, Indigenous people continue to be vulnerable to racism and under represented across all areas of the church. My own collating as the only female Indigenous Archdeacon is an example of this and it begs the question, why are there so few Aboriginal leaders within it?

Over recent decades there has existed what is commonly known as 'history wars' not only in our own nation, but across the world where people have experiences of oppression. Across Europe, America, China and in our own country; such demands have included that history be rewritten; that schools teach an alternative, that museums reflect the dominant ideology and that only one voice is heard. The National Museum at Beijing reveals only one account of history, carefully crafted for an ill informed public. Our National Museum, while undertaking refurbishing is also aware of public pressures to conform.

In 2011 the Challenging Racism research project was undertaken where a group of Australian Researchers released data that measured racist attitudes and experiences of racism within our nation.

It found that 41% of Australians - the equivalent of NSW and WA - have a narrow view of who belongs on this continent. In addition, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents returned much higher rates of experiences of racism. In fact, when it came to things like contact with police or seeking housing, their experiences of racism were FOUR times that of non-Aboriginal Australians. A 2009 report 'In your own backyard' similarly found that discrimination is a regular experience for most Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander People revealing that 54% of Indigenous Australians experienced racism often or very often while 30% reported experienced it sometimes. We prefer to think that our nation has a zero tolerance of racism; however I propose that it's zero acknowledgement of its presence amongst us.

In the Northern Territory, we now have laws based on race; laws that other Australians would find intolerable. In Geneva in 2010, when Australia appeared before the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination' Two Aboriginal elders were also present. They had travelled for over 40 hours from their remote communities in the Northern Territory to deliver a pressing message to the Committee about the survival of their families who were living under the Northern Territory Intervention. They decided to participate in the session because, they stated "*we hoped it would ease our own and our communities despair*". They went on to say that they felt a need to step back from developments in the Intervention to see, and again I quote, "*what is left of us mob*". Some of the language that they used to describe their community's experiences:- Loss and losing; ...Grief; ...Brokenness; ...Numbness; ...Fear; ...The death of feeling; ...The death of dreaming.

I don't know how many of you have ever been to the communities affected by the intervention. As you enter them, you're greeted by Tall Blue signs that mark the prescribed communities. They say "*Warning - Prescribed Area, No Liquor and No Pornography.*" These communities are people's homes. Is that how we would like our homes identified?

As long as our community **accepts** that some people will have poorer life outcomes or are marginalized because of their cultural background, we lay the groundwork for an atmosphere in which it becomes **acceptable** to treat people differently with varying degrees of respect and acceptance.

Our Calling

In a world that on every side is distracted by the dominant discourse, we are first and foremost a Christian organisation; one that is called to reflect the example of Christ. As Yahweh called the people of Israel; a people who were historically oppressed and sold into slavery; as a loving God called them; so Jesus searched out; sort out and lifted up the marginalised around him. The mentally ill; the homeless; those who were at the bottom of the heap because of their race or culture; the scriptures are full of such stories. In fact, Jesus risked his life; his reputation for those on the edge, turning up tables in market places because of his anger at a most oppressive regime (just picture it – today he'd be apprehended and taken away in a paddy wagon!)

Throughout his ministry his work was what we call today - proactive and he practiced affirmative action for the oppressed – he understood the need to treat particular groups and people with care. He did not believe in Egalitarianism – that social justice is achieved by treating everyone the same, because he (more than anyone) understood that the starting point and life chances for some, were greatly restricted. And so, instead of treating everyone the same, his ministry was an example of something quite different.....

Similar to the Gospel, Aboriginal Dreaming Stories often reflect the example of Christ, so let me share one with you....

The First Sunrise.....

The first sunrise

Long long ago in the Dreamtime, the earth was dark. There was no light. A huge grey blanket of clouds kept the light and the warmth out. It was very cold and black. This great grey mass of cloud was very low. So low that the animals had to crawl around. The emu's hobbled neck bent almost to the ground; the kangaroo couldn't hop, and none of the birds could fly higher than several feet in the air. Only the snakes were happy, because they, of all the animals, lived close to the ground.

The animals lived by crawling around the damp dark earth, feeling for fruits and berries. Often it was so hard to find food that several days would pass between meals. The wombat became so tired of people bumping into him that he dug himself a burrow, and learned to sleep for long periods of time. Eventually, the birds decided they'd had enough. They called a meeting of all the animals. The Magpies, who were more intelligent than most of the birds, had a plan:

We can't fly because the sky is too low. What we need to do, is to raise the sky. If we all gathered sticks, then we could use them to push the sky up – and then we could fly up with the sky, and make lots of room for everyone.

All the animals agreed it was a good idea, and they set about gathering sticks. The magpies took a big stick each, and began to push at the sky.

Look, it's going to work! The sky! It's moving!

The emus and the kangaroos, the wombats and the goannas sat and watched as the magpies pushed the sky slowly upwards. They used the sticks as levers, first resting the levers on low boulders, then on small hills. As the animals watch the magpies pushing and straining, reached the top of the mountain.

It was still very dark, but at least the emu could straighten up, and the kangaroo was able to move in long proud hops. The magpies kept pushing the sky higher and higher, until they reached the highest mountain in the whole land. Then with a mighty heave, they gave the sky one last push! The sky shot up into the air, and as it rose it split open and a huge flood of warmth and light poured through on to the land below. The animals wondered at the light and warmth, but more at the incredible brightly painted beauty of the Sun-Woman. The whole sky was awash with beautiful reds and yellows. It was the first sunrise.

Overjoyed with the beauty, the light and the warmth, the magpies burst into song. As their loud warbling carried across the land, the Sun-Woman rose slowly, and began her journey towards the west. Now, each morning when the Sun-Woman wakes in her camp in the east, she lights a fire to prepare the bark torch that she will carry across the sky each day. It is this fire that provides the first light of dawn. As she puts on her paint, the dust from the crushed red ochre colours the early morning clouds a beautiful soft red. Then she takes up her torch, and begins her daily journey across the sky. When she reaches the western edge of the world, she extinguishes her flaming bark torch. Then she sits down, and repaints herself in brilliant reds and yellows, ready for her journey through a long underground passage back to her camp in the east. So that is why to this day, every morning when the Sun-Woman wakes and lights her early morning fire, all the magpies greet her with their beautiful song.

One of the strengths of Indigenous Australians is the fact that they are relationship orientated people and issues of the common good are often at the heart of Dreaming Stories. You would have noted by now that the above has profound rules for living and/or caring for Country. In this story, everyone has a right to live with dignity; to participate and everyone belongs. The stronger are obliged to care for the weaker and to act on their behalf. In an age of individualism – the importance of advocacy for the common good cannot be underestimated; In an age of atheism and decreasing church attendance – the importance of speaking out on behalf of the forgotten is vital. That is our calling!

I could speak for hours on issues relating to social justice, and provide all sorts of social indicators, but all of that negates the fact that we (you and I) are called – to model Christ. It is because of this single most important fact that we must be aware of the implications of our practice

The Dynamics of Racism

Historically our profession has perceived Indigenous Australians as having significant deficits that needed to be changed; to be improved; to be made to fit in! (Such attitudes predominated throughout the 20th Century. In fact, it was so common then, that the major role of schooling was to eradicate all Aboriginal `traits' and to teach them instead the values and attitudes of a white society. It wasn't until 1972 that the racial exclusion policy for School Principals was finally taken out of the School Handbook) Their culture (it was believed) locked them into a cycle of poverty, a concept often found within the delivery of human services which was used to provide an explanation of inequalities. Thus all that was needed was to liberate Aboriginal people from this never ending cycle. This perception of Indigenous people is common across the developing world in areas such as religion, education, and law.

The central argument is that disadvantage, poverty and the accompanying problems located at any point in the cycle can be traced back to previous stages. So, for example, it is argued that Aboriginal teenagers cannot get adequate employment because their schooling is so poor that they are unemployable. Also that their attitudes (produced by the home environment) are so bad, that nobody would want to employ them!.... you get the drift??

Similarly the educational problems of Aboriginal children are related back to the inadequate home environment, poor health, poor nutrition, overcrowding, poor language development, and so on. This model is attractive because it:

- provides a simple straightforward explanation for inequality
- provides simple and acceptable solutions - all that is needed is to break the cycle at any given point, for one generation, and the problem will be resolved.
- Affirms our own secure place in the world and absolves the wider society of responsibility for the situation, by blaming the people themselves. The fault lies in the characteristics, values, and/or environment produced by that particular group. And we are good at that!

Yet such an approach is mistaken. People work within institutions, fostering the ideology and discrimination that is perpetuated within. Through an analysis of systemic racism, a dramatically different model can be seen, that is, from 'a cycle of poverty' to 'a cycle of discrimination' in which racism provides the hub....

Here the major determinants of the characteristics and life chances at each point are located in the levels of systemic and individual racism operating within society, rather than in the characteristics of the disadvantaged group. Dr Ann Eckerman et al (2003) refers to a cycle of prejudice where the beliefs and values of individuals (and thus institutions) maintains discriminatory behaviour towards those who are different – often unintentional, however the effects of which have negative outcomes for the people they serve.

This model generates three quite different consequences from those produced in the cycle of poverty:

- It suggests that a more sophisticated and complex analysis is needed to understand, for example, the determinants of Aboriginal success or failure in schools. Instead of simply relating failure to inadequacies in the home environment, this approach would consider the extent in which institutional racism is built into the school system, including school structure and organisation, curriculum, content, teaching methodologies, teachers' attitudes and so on.
- The solutions turn out to be more complex. Strategies for overcoming racism become an essential requirement of programs for change, with a significant share of responsibility placed on the organization.
- The focus of blame shifts from the victim to society.

This ideology is difficult for many people to accept. It generates a deeply personal response because it challenges the society that has nurtured them - including their position within it. Indeed, within Australia, as in many parts of the developing world, racial identity is directly related to one's life chances and outcomes. Walter (2007) identifies a scale of racial identity where a groups position is directly linked to its capacity to access and to be deemed deserving of our nations social, economic, political and cultural resources.

His findings were revealing. He found (as have a number of previous studies) that white Anglo-celts sit at the top of the hierarchy, closely followed by other white English speaking groups and then those from Europe. In the bottom half are those from Asia, then at some distance those from the Middle East, especially Muslim groups; while Indigenous Australians occupy the lowest rung. (the attitudes of those in the second half are often reflected in the fear mongering within our media) (so there you go – Muslim people are just above us on the hierarchy of acceptedness – and you know what its like for them!!!) The media must take some of this responsibility in the way it reports on such issues.

Individual and systemic racism effects not only a person's life chances, but also their overall level of health, happiness and sense of well-being. When experienced over the long term, it has an impact on the individual; the family and the community. It impacts on Indigenous Australians spiritually, as it begins to erode their identity and sense of hope for the future.

Discrimination robs everyone! It robs society of the richness of the cultural diversity and the heritage of all Australians. It deprives us of cultural knowledge, creativity and a unique worldview. This includes the sharing of knowledge; of stories and of strengths. For instance, Indigenous Australians are often wise leaders and have so much to contribute to the life of an organization. At a community level the care and respect of the Elderly to the ability to share on many levels is something all Australians can learn. Finally, nowhere in the world is there the experience and knowledge of living on this continent, throughout major shifts in its landscape; no where is there such knowledge of an ecology that so hangs in the balance.

However, we have much to celebrate for what is already occurring both within and outside our organization. I recently attended a remote community where I had visited 20 years previously. At that time, there were no Indigenous children remaining at school until year 10 – despite there being a high population of young people.

Recently I had the opportunity to return, to find that it was now the norm for Aboriginal children to remain at school until year 12, with an increasing group of role models who were going onto to higher education. In other areas of Australia, the absolute poverty (not relative) the absolute poverty that previously saw our communities without running water, where issues of malnutrition and disease were highly prevalent is now decreasing. These ARE causes to celebrate for we at Anglicare are contributing to such changes in amazing ways; we are part of that story. Across Australia we are delivering programs that are turning the lives of whole families and communities around. As an Indigenous woman, I have been greatly heartened by the commitment of my colleagues and the great passion within Anglicare to play its part in 'Closing the Gap' – however we still; we still have a long way to go.

Moving Forward

Our gathering over the next two days is about seeking a way forward; for we as an organisation are in a position to show leadership at the national and local level. In advocating with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people; in refusing to tolerate racism and racial inequality; in aiming for equality of outcomes for Indigenous Australians we too can contribute to a fair and just society. We also reveal our commitment to the people and communities we serve. Across our three dioceses, we have made such a commitment and have begun to form partnerships with Aboriginal organizations that enable the capacity of their communities to grow. One of the things we enjoy is the sharing and the enriching of Anglicare as a result of those two way relationships.

As General Manager of Indigenous Services and Education I coordinate the program Maranaha Giyira; Wiradjuri words that mean to share a vision of a brighter future. It requires greater sharing of resources, while acknowledging that using the same approach with differing groups, will result in different and unequal outcomes. That means that yes, sometimes the processes and policies we use will need to be different; we will need to include ways of doing things that may be different, but where equality of outcomes is assured.

It includes a commitment to providing culturally safe and affirmative services; the kind that empowers folk to change their environment and the structures that oppress them, for instance, in gaining access to better housing or appropriate health care.

Importantly, the task of building the cultural competency of Anglicare is a key component to forming strong and healthy relationships with Aboriginal people. This has been a priority and continues to be in the coming years. It is expressed in our commitment to celebrate Indigenous Heritage across the organization as opposed to simply 'tolerating it'; it is expressed in our commitment to recruit Indigenous Australians into mainstream leadership roles. This and much more has been developed through listening to Aboriginal leaders and their communities and documenting this in the Directive of Mission and Justice. It is in this portfolio, where these aims have been brought together under the Reconciliation Action Plan. A comprehensive document outlining in detail, how Anglicare and Indigenous Australians will journey together to improve the life chances and wellbeing of Aboriginal people, families and communities. This year, we have been national Ambassadors for Reconciliation, where you can tweet, blog and read up on our progress on the National Reconciliation Website.

However, the spirit of Reconciliation must occur across the organization. It cannot be confined to pockets of opportunity. It calls for a united and strategic approach; one that empowers Anglicare to effectively serve Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This includes a national framework for Reconciliation that will provide the direction and impetus for change. The establishment of a National Indigenous Network within Anglicare, that is driven and led by Indigenous Australians is a necessary part of this work.

Equally, the church must also own its calling. The National Anglican Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Council has documented the lack of support given to Indigenous clergy within their vocations. The absence of this is clearly evident in the numbers of Aboriginal people undertaking ministry in some of the most difficult, remote and unpaid positions. The disparity in the remuneration and non progression of Aboriginal people compared to other clergy is all too evident.

From General Synod through to our dioceses and parishes, there must be real commitment to this task for the mission field is both needy and poor. For too long our Aboriginal Bishop was not a full member of the House of Bishops; did not have full legal capacity; was part time and scarcely financially supported. Reconciliation cannot be undertaken in a fragmented way, rather as the Body of Christ is united; so too the church must fashion itself to act united in addressing inequality

Reconciliation is everyone's business and should be the business of each diocese to contribute and sustain the ministry of an Indigenous Bishop. Until Aboriginal families and communities are no longer the poorest group within our society, where their life chances are equal to that of other Australians, this must be a priority.

The importance of strong leadership within a conflicted world cannot be underestimated. We live in a wonderfully diverse nation with cultures that have so much wisdom and knowledge to share. Racism can only be eradicated, through recognizing it for what it is and working together to bring about a rich and harmonious society. This leadership requires determination creativity and above all courage. For we are the voice in the wilderness; we are the custodians of a future that we imagine and create together.

References

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare; Juvenile Justice In Australia (2010-2011)

Australian Institute of Family Studies (2012) Child Protection and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children: Australian Government, www.aifs.gov.au/cfca/pubs/factsheets/a142117/index.html

Bringing Them Home: The 'Stolen Children' Report, (1997) Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission

Challenging Racism Research Project (2011) University of Western Sydney

Eckerman, A., Dowd, T., Martin, M., Nixon, L., Gray, R., and Chong, E. (2010) Binan Goonj, Bridging cultures in Aboriginal health, University of New England Press, Armidale.

Gallaher G, Ziersch A, Baum F, Bentley M, Palmer C, Edmondson W & Winslow L (2009). In Our Own Backyard: Urban Health Inequities and Aboriginal Experiences of Neighbourhood Life, Social Capital and Racism. Flinders University, Adelaide.

Habibis, D. & Walter, M (2011) Social Inequality; discourses realities and futures, Oxford University Press

Hollinsworth, D. (2006) Guidelines and Resources for Anti Racism Training Workshops; Centre for Multicultural and Community Development; University of Queensland Press.

Nicholson, The Hon A, AO RFD QC, (2010) Human Rights and the Northern Territory Intervention, University of Melbourne

Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1987-1991) Australian Government Press

Learning is like a parachute – it requires an open mind