

10 years

Editors:

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Online Journal in Public Archaeology

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FORUM:

CHATTING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

With the tenth anniversary of the journal we wanted to take a deep breath and look into the future.

This forum consists of short pieces from colleagues around the world that discuss general and specific issues regarding public archaeology in the coming years. We asked for an open format, trying to grasp a fresher approach than the one usual academic writing permits.

As with other forums in the journal, we will keep it open from now on in case any of you want to participate too. It is a good occasion to debate the current and coming role of public archaeology and we hope this selection of papers helps to foster it.

We originally invited 50 people to participate. However, these difficult times made it difficult for some to do so. Nevertheless, we have a good set of contributions that will be of interest to you all.

Enjoy it (and participate if you feel you have something else to say).



Laugh now,
but one day
we'll be
in charge.

BONES

FORUM: Chatting about the future of public archaeology

***INDIGENOUS VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC
ARCHAEOLOGY IN AUSTRALIA. A CONVERSATION THAT
DID NOT HAPPEN.***

Kellie POLLARD¹, Claire SMITH¹, Jasmine WILLIKA,
Vince COPLEY senior, Vincent COPLEY junior,
Christopher WILSON, Emily POELINA-HUNTER and Julie AH QUEE

This paper was written in response to a request by the editors of the *AP: Online Journal of Public Archaeology*, Jaime Almansa Sánchez and Elena Papagiannopoulou, for Claire Smith to write on the future of public archaeology in Australia. In Australia, public archaeology focusses on high profile colonial sites such as The Rocks in Sydney (Karskens 1999) and Port Arthur in Tasmania (Steele et al. 2007; Frew 2012), tourism (e.g. Cole and Wallis 2019) or enhancing school curricula (Nichols et al. 2005; Owens and Steele 2005). However, given her decades-long relationships with Jawoyn and Ngadjuri people (Smith 1999; Smith et al. 2016; Smith et al. 2020), Claire Smith decided that a useful way of approaching this topic would be to obtain Indigenous views on the subject. Accordingly, she contacted the Aboriginal co-authors of this article and invited them to co-author the paper. The possibility to write in free form was a boon. The 'conversation' format we settled on was designed to facilitate the voices of individuals, to present a range of Indigenous views, to allow people to express their views frankly, and to deal with the constraints of people being located in different parts of Australia as well as occasional lock-downs due to COVID-19. We decided on five topics/questions that would be the basis of the conversation. Each Aboriginal author gave their views either by email or by phone. These views were interwoven into a 'conversation'. The language has been edited lightly for clarity and to simulate a real-life conversation. The final text was approved by all authors.

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Figure 1. The Zoom meeting that never happened. Created by Heather Burke.

Q: What is public archaeology to you?

Vince Copley senior: Archaeologists talking to the public? I don't really think about it.

Vince Copley junior: To me, it has no specific meaning because archaeology is such a broad discipline. It could be Egyptology, or Aboriginal archaeology. If you are talking specifically about Indigenous Australia, I think it is a good thing, but public archaeology can be anywhere in the world.

Jasmine Willika: Public archaeology ... I'm not really sure. I don't really think of public archaeology. I haven't really heard about that before. I know about community archaeology. That is when you are working with traditional owners, mostly working on projects that the traditional owners or community members would like, what they are interested in doing.

Julie Ah Quee: Public archaeology is a synthesis of people from all walks of life who hold an interest in an archaeological

project coming together, academics and qualified archaeologists working co-jointly with the wider community. These types of projects bring together community groups, individuals from a variety of backgrounds, academics, government bodies, science and educational organisations, non-profits, students and even those from the commercial field and has many, many social benefits. Public archaeology opens up the process, allows community ownership and pride in a project which remains transparent.

Kellie Pollard: Public archaeology is places like the Hyde Park Barracks or Port Arthur that are open to the public. You can walk in and you can see how archaeologists have investigated the history of a place, or perhaps left the excavation exposed by a glass panel, so that people can look and see what a deposit looks like. Or like in National Archaeology Week, when there are public lectures or tours or public excavations of places like historic gaols. Public archaeology is different to excavations in rock shelters on country because those excavations on country are not open to the public.

Chris Wilson: Public archaeology is similar to community archaeology, education outreach and science communication. It involves the practice of presenting archaeological data and interpretations to the public domain and require the skill sets of narration. As an Indigenous archaeologist this is one of the most rewarding aspects of dissemination of research and impact of archaeological findings.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: An excavation that has public access as a goal for the site, and a desire to educate the public about the finds and the site's history (with tours, on site museums, a website).

Q: Do you see a difference between public archaeology and community archaeology?

Vince Copley senior: You probably get better results from community archaeology. You can't work in a vacuum. I think there is a lot of that which has not been told. You can pick up a little bit from here and from there and people start to remember. It is a much better idea.

Vince Copley junior: Community archaeology involves the community.

Jasmine Willika: I don't really think about public archaeology. Community archaeology is important. I see it as an opportunity to learn from community people before going on to the land. Public archaeology is more about collecting data and archaeologists telling the public about their work. Public archaeology can be useful but it is not the thing that I prefer to be doing.

Julie Ah Quee: Well, public archaeology opens up a project to all interested stakeholders, community groups and people across the whole spectrum of a community, public meaning just that...public. Community archaeology in my mind involves a specific group/ community say an Indigenous language group, or a heritage group or people around a specific locale/ site etc. The emphasis again is on people outside the field of archaeology and academia becoming involved.

Kellie Pollard: Community archaeology is working with a local community. The majority of people involved in the work are from a local Aboriginal community and its purpose is usually related to investigating issues that are important to a local Aboriginal community. This is different to public archaeology, when anyone can walk up to a project and see what is happening, and which may be specific to a local cause. Public archaeology might come out of development and the intention is to engage the wider public about heritage conservation.

Chris Wilson: I view public archaeology as the dissemination and presentation of archaeological findings to the broader public, local, national and global community. I view community archaeology as the set of practices and methods that are applied to archaeological fieldwork and research that is undertaken with, in and for local communities. The objectives of community archaeology have been negotiated or developed in partnership.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: In some countries the terms could be interchangeable, but in Australia, for me the term 'community' indicates that it is an excavation done with the involvement of Indigenous people of the area where the site is located. Aboriginal heritage officers are present during excavation, and Aboriginal Traditional Owners are decision makers with the management of the artefacts and site once excavations are finished. Many community archaeology projects and sites would have cultural access restric-

tions on them and could not be readily accessible to the public for these reasons, or because they are so remote.



Figure 2. Fieldwork on Ngadjuri lands, Plumbago Station. Photo: Claire Smith, April 2011.

Q: In what ways is archaeology useful to Indigenous people like yourself, or people in your community?

Vince Copley senior: Archaeology opens the doors to information and knowledge that people like myself have unfortunately missed out on. To me, it brightens the light in my head. This is something new to me but it is worth knowing. So, it is purely an individual thing, of course. Other people would have their own ideas. For me, personally, archaeology seems to be something that I have been looking for in terms of finding country and finding out about people that were close to me that had the knowledge that I haven't got.

Vince Copley junior: Archaeology records. It puts our history on a record. Prior to any archaeological record of Indigenous culture in Australia we were classed as 'prehistoric', which puts you

in line with Neanderthals or even dinosaurs in people's minds. Archaeology documented our culture as Australian history. Through archaeology and anthropology we have a record of our culture that is accepted by the public. It is funny how it always comes down to the arts. Communication happens through art or song or dance. Until this was recorded in the English language we were thought to not have a culture.

The archaeological record can be used to address racist assumptions or misconceptions. From a personal perspective, when I work as a fencer I still come across people who think Aboriginal people are on a handout and not able to have a profession. Their ignorance can be satisfied if you are an Aboriginal person with enough information and cultural knowledge. Today, we have the documented evidence that has been collected by archaeology and anthropology, so when you come across people who say something ignorant, you can say 'That's not right'. You can defend your culture knowing that everything that you say is documented and is 100% proven true. There is enormous variation in Aboriginal cultures. Some of that variation depends on the level of colonisation in the area where archaeology is taking place. The colonial impact is different for different groups of Aboriginal people. If you talk about places like Barunga, they still have strong traditional knowledge. The Ngadjuri were decimated early in the picture.

If we are doing fieldwork as a university project or a field school the benefits are that we discover sites or areas of cultural interest and that they are recorded. When we are hired to do heritage surveys or heritage clearances under the Heritage Act, this allows us to engage with companies and with the broader community. Sometimes, when you first deal with people they can be a bit stand-offish. However, if you present yourself in a professional manner it builds a network of people who support your cause. Whenever we are during surveys the local people ask about what we are doing. We have a presence. All of the fieldwork that we do strengthens our presence in the community. This is important to us because the local community becomes more observant of Aboriginal culture, and of what may be found on their own land. After talking to us, pastoralists understand that we are not there to try and take their land away. A lot of landowners have sites on their properties and they are happy to work with us to protect them.



Figure 3. Vince Copley senior and Kathryn Sutton discussing an ochre proving project with landowners Andrew and Patsy Weckert, Clare, South Australia. Photo: Claire Smith, March 2020.

Jasmine Willika: I think it is useful because it helps community people feel comfortable to actually talk about things, to help people find out about their history.

Julie Ah Quee: So many ways... helping people get the 'hard evidence' to battle bureaucracy or harmful development. Giving people the skills to identify cultural heritage. Being shown the respect to make sure that not only are they involved in matters involving their own cultural heritage but that they are afforded a lot of the decision making and direction in the process. But it also goes beyond that. Community archaeology brings a community together and cements bonds and often grows new ones. It generates conversation, ideas and thoughts about the future, the future and preservation of their cultural heritage and their communities. Oral histories come out and are shared with other members of the

community who may not have heard them before. People meet extended family members which allows them to place themselves amongst their kin. It allows people to commune with their ancestors and to keep ancient spirits thriving, tying the Dreamtime to the present. Community archaeology allows opportunities, discoveries and discourse that strengthens a community and the people in it. Active participation with their own cultural heritage, achieving goals, conversing with academics as peers, having their knowledge acknowledged and respected and building bonds really can build people's self-esteem and pride.

Kellie Pollard: Archaeology is useful to Aboriginal people because it provides evidence that shows the unequivocal Aboriginal occupation of the continent. It is also useful because it reaffirms millennia old connection to country which is something Aboriginal people already know. But it does not give Aboriginal people their identity. Our identity is conceived of by lived experience, ties to country, family and community, reality of being colonised and knowing history, not archaeology. I don't conceive of my identity as an Aboriginal person because I've read archaeology books about 60,000 years of Aboriginal occupation of the continent.

Chris Wilson: Archaeology has the potential to bring to the forefront of public consciousness aspects of deep time and deep histories that are not available through the written record. It explores the relationships between Indigenous peoples, resource use and country through the material remains using an archaeological lens which adopts inter-disciplinary approaches to research and practice. This supports Indigenous communities' programs related to cultural heritage, protection and management of significant places while providing archaeological data to support broader narratives of space and time.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: It is useful for claimants establishing long term occupation of land for Native Title and Indigenous Land Use Agreement applications. Plus, archaeology allows you to work and think in 'long' time - in my field you are often talking about cultural traits morphing over 500-1000 years between 'periods' or 'ages'. This is in comparison to the short time periods in public archaeology—which is often historical and colonial in Australia. I don't think the significance of a 200-year-old building is even com-

parable to an Aboriginal rock shelter wall painting that is 5,000 years old. The way Australians are taught to think about time is very linear, and the way the public are taught to be impressed by traditions that are really recent becomes more obvious once you study archaeology and have an understanding of approaching Australia's past in terms of the tens of thousands of years that Aboriginal people have been here. It is a problem with colonised societies that are still being governed by colonisers. They think a family living on a farm for three generations is impressive. I think 200+ generations of Aboriginal people farming the land without having to build a fence around it is better! This idea of 'long', non-linear time, equates better with my Aboriginal (Nyikina) concept of time. Not to say that there isn't a heavy emphasis on linear cultural development over time in most fields of archaeology, but I think my Aboriginality contributed to my rejection of accepting linear time and development and brings something unique to my work. I guess Indigenous archaeology allows me to think Blak (see Watego 2020) and decolonise my mind a little bit.

Q: What are your concerns about archaeology as it is practiced today? What would you change/ do to improve it?

Vince Copley senior: Archaeologists should print a little more accurately about what has been told to them. What I read in archaeology and anthropology books, they did not take enough notice of the information that was given to them by traditional people. For instance, how many times did Barney Warriar tell (Norman) Tindale and (Charles) Mountford and (Ronald) Berndt about Ngadjuri boundaries? Yet, when native title was being decided this was not taken into account properly. Also, I do think that we should make changes in regard to ownership of land. A lot of people are saying that Tindale's map is not quite true in some areas and not enough notice was taken of people like Barney Warrior, who identified points of interest. And I think that Aboriginal people should have free access to the notes taken by early ethnographers. In reality, who owns it? The person giving the ideas or the person writing it down? It is the person giving the ideas. We've written about this before (Smith et al. 2018). Also, I'm not quite sure that early researchers recorded verbatim, or once it is said it the words and

thoughts of the anthropologist or the archaeologist, not the person giving the information.

Vince Copley junior: I will be brutally honest. I think archaeology confuses a lot of Indigenous community members, because it has its own language. Whatever is written in books about Aboriginal archaeology is hard to understand. What I noticed when I was at university was that my culture had been written about in a whole different language that I did not understand. When we were finding our first ties to Ngadjuri (see Birt and Copley 2005), the archaeologists used terms in reports that were beyond the comprehension of community members. We did not know what they were talking about. When we first started doing heritage surveys we would be assigned an archaeologist by the company rather than have the expertise or knowledge to pick our own. The reports were written in a language we couldn't understand. It was extremely difficult because archaeology has its own terminology - phrases like 'monochrome anthropomorphic figure on rock art' are hard for people who are not trained in archaeology to understand. They should put the information into a layman's report, something like 'we came across rock art of a figure in one colour'. We are not stupid - but most of us are not specialists either.

I'm not out to discredit the discipline, but I think that the financial gain goes to the researchers not to the traditional owners. It wasn't really through archaeology, but I have seen government organisations use my father's Aboriginality as a token gesture. There were people sitting on committees with my father who were earning \$2-5,000 a day and the organisation was not willing to pay my father's travel costs. When it comes to the archaeological side of it, I feel that we are still getting used as lackeys. The information collected by archaeology in Australia since the 1960s has made people aware of Aboriginal people, but there are still companies out there that are not compensating Aboriginal people properly for their knowledge, their intellectual property. The stories that my dad tells are because he lived them, not because he read about them.

We need some kind of royalty system to reward Aboriginal Elders for the knowledge they share with researchers. Every profession carries a certain wage, whether you are a doctor, a lawyer, a tyre fitter or a mechanic, there is a maximum wage of what your

value is according to your skills. In many parts of southern Australia, when people speak to Elders, especially in those years since 2015, they are talking to the last known Elders who have had the stories passed down from their families. Also, these Elders have lived through a lot of adversity. They were there. Aboriginal Elders have specialist knowledge that is not held by anyone else. They should be compensated for their knowledge. In terms of archaeology, Elders are only paid for the days they work and they don't have income in between jobs. There should be some kind of royalty system. When I play in a band the drum-track is my intellectual property. My success comes from whether people use my material. If it is sold, I get royalties. But when it comes to something as important as Australia's history, there is no system to compensate the people who generate the original knowledge. My dad's stories are like my drum track. They are going to be used over and over, for decades. People like my father should get paid royalties every time that information is used.

Jasmine Willika: I've got a list. There is not enough listening. Archaeologists don't listen enough to traditional owners on what needs to be done. If archaeologists or researchers start listening to what traditional owners want or need to be done there would be more trust. In my experience working in Victoria, it was all over the place, in terms of consultation. The archaeologist wanted to go where he thought it was good, not where the traditional owners wanted to go. I want to say something else as well. Aboriginal people always share knowledge of country and stories with archaeologists. Is it okay for an archaeologist to share that knowledge or sacred information to people? The way I see it is that as an Aboriginal person who is also studying in archaeology, learning about sacred stories or Dreamtime stories, that does not give me the right to give sacred information. How would archaeologists or researchers know that Aboriginal culture can be dangerous? By dangerous I mean the land which has all that sacred information because it is part of the Dreamtime story and if you are just going out on country and not knowing about that, it can be dangerous. There are places where it is dangerous to go. Also, if sacred information is shared with the wrong people that can be dangerous. Sacred information, you can only pass it down to people that you actually trust. It is not for the public to know.

Julie Ah Quee: My biggest concern is: How much of the work that's done today reflects the actual wants and needs of an Aboriginal community or the academic and funding bodies agendas and priority? If that is the nature of the beast, how can money and resources be raised to allow community-driven projects to come to fruition? Are there alternative ways to raise funding? Can community archaeology be publicly funded, for example.

Kellie Pollard: It needs to support Aboriginal agendas for emancipation from disadvantage in Australia. I'm talking about truth-telling history (Commonwealth of Australia 2018). Truth-telling is a formal process initiated by government about the actions of governments in the past that led to discrimination and other forms of oppression. That is a broad definition but that is actually what it is. And archaeology needs to be practiced in a way that recognises the legitimacy of Aboriginal knowledges and philosophies as being of equal integrity to western ways of knowing.

Chris Wilson: The main concern is the ongoing impacts that mining and government economic interests have on heritage legislation and archaeological ethics. The discipline in Australia has been very supportive of Indigenous rights and the protection of archaeological sites but further exploration of duty-based ethics and relationship to industry and Indigenous communities is needed. One of the solutions to overcome this is more formal training and education for Indigenous peoples.

Emily Poelina-Hunter: The pace of urban sprawl means that government departments are driving public archaeology to move too fast. Engagement can't be done to make public archaeology community archaeology. Deadlines and funding outweigh thoroughness and the bare minimum is done to tick boxes and meet requirements. Another concern is federal support for mining companies that destroy sites, and the catch-22 related issue of mining providing economic benefits for Aboriginal workers but irreversibly killing the sacred landscape of Australia. I think cutting corners should result in fines that perpetrators have to pay off with prison time and a criminal record.

Q: What is your vision for archaeology 10 years from now?

Vince Copley senior: Apart from the people I've been working with, archaeologists seem to make up their own mind without consultation with traditional owners. I just think that there should be more contact with each other, that archaeologists with the source of the information - the people themselves may have passed on, the information is passed on. It has taken a long, long time for archaeologists to see the value of having direct contact with Aboriginal people. If I did not meet up with you, I would not have known any other archaeologists or anthropologists, and no-one would have cared that I am a descendent of Barney Warrior. Archaeologists find history and write about it. They are trying to get to why those sites are there. That is what archaeologists are trying to find out - and that is what I am trying to find out. Archaeologists should be meeting with traditional owners who may have that information. I'd like to see archaeologists use young Indigenous talent a lot more often, kids like Vincent Copley junior. The doors have been opened, but I want Indigenous people inside the room. I want archaeologists to use young people like Vincent much more when they are talking about the country. That talent is not used.

Vince Copley junior: I hope that archaeology can further the knowledge of Aboriginal culture that our people already have and hopefully add to Australia's cultural record before European colonisation. Also, I would like to see more Indigenous archaeologists.

Jasmine Willika: I'd like to see more Indigenous archaeologists in the field and running fieldwork and field schools in communities. I'd like to see more Indigenous professors in the university. Also, we need training in archaeology for community people. I'm thinking not of doing the training in the classroom but doing it in the community where they feel comfortable. Like when we go to the Barunga community to do a field school (see Smith et al. 2020). Instead of people having to leave the community to go to university, the university comes to the community. I have family members in the community who want to do university, but they feel that university is too much. One person, who is really smart, is worried that university would make her feel that she is dumb or uneducated. They want to do something, but I don't know how to help them. So, we need new systems of education to address this.



Figure 4. Flinders University's Community Archaeology Field School, Ngadjuri lands, South Australia. Teachers, students, traditional owners and landowners working together. Ochre site on the property of Andrew and Patricia Weckert. Photo: Tim Froling, November 2020.

Julie Ah Quee: I'm really interested to see what technological and research advances will come to the fore to help make re-discoveries in Indigenous archaeology. Advances in ochre analysis, dating techniques, the first confirmed finds of artefacts in submerged landscapes to name a few. Finds like these are happening all the time and these can help piece together a lot of what was lost and strengthens people's and communities' identity. Having Indigenous people have their innate understandings being confirmed by science, while not necessary, does give the satisfaction of confirmation. New knowledges allow old ones to reappear. The analysis of ochre allows it to be traced along songlines for example. I would like to see the focus of Indigenous archaeology to increasingly be on the cultural landscape as a whole (the physical, social and spiritual) as it is only through seeing the landscape through Indigenous eyes that any findings make sense. Likewise, rediscoveries are more likely to happen using that Indigenous eye, using those traditional knowledges to 'read' a landscape, to re-discover it and to paint its portrait. I would like most to see traditional cultural knowledges be

utilised more to rediscover and to 'read' sites. Community archaeology allows for this. I'd also like to see the preservation of cultural heritage sites be taken more seriously.

Kellie Pollard: That the discipline in Australia offers full undergraduate degrees in Aboriginal ways of knowing, being and doing and archaeological research. Indigenous teaching pedagogy needs to go from being non-existent to being the norm. How can we achieve this? It begins with the current generation of Indigenous archaeologists teaching and writing undergraduate units. There are a dearth of Indigenous archaeologists teaching and doing research. That has to change. Universities should invest in the development of their Indigenous staff so that they are competitive for professorial positions.

Chris Wilson: My vision is that there will be a core collective of Indigenous peoples trained in archaeology in each state and territory that will also have influence over government state and federal policies to strengthen heritage legislation and archaeological research. Further, more Indigenous academics trained in the field working in higher education and more community-based researchers who have the skill sets to undertake heritage work in their communities. The final comment is that the national narrative in Australia will begin to change the nations story to recognise the deep time and history that Indigenous peoples have had with this country!

Emily Poelina-Hunter: I'd love for Aboriginal archaeology to play a role in reconciliation. Non-Indigenous Australians need to reconcile with the sacred landscape they have desecrated and respect ancestors and their living descendants.

The Authors

Given the diversity of views expressed in this article, it is useful to understand the background of the authors. We range from Elders and community people to employed academics and university students. Kellie Pollard is a Wiradjuri woman and lecturer in Indigenous Futures at Charles Darwin University, Darwin, where she specialises in Indigenous epistemologies (ways of knowing), ontologies (ways of being) and axiologies (ways of doing); Indigenous values, ethics

and approaches to research; and Australian history. Claire Smith is a professor of archaeology, who has worked annually with Aboriginal people in the remote Aboriginal communities of Barunga, Beswick/Wugularr and Manyallaluk, Northern Territory, since 1990 and with Ngadjuri people in South Australia since 1998. Jasmine Williika is a Jawoyn woman from Manyallaluk, Northern Territory. Through the kinship system Jasmine is Claire Smith's younger sister. She is in her final year of a Bachelor of Archaeology at Flinders University, South Australia. Vince Copley senior is a Ngadjuri Elder who has worked with Claire Smith since 1998. He is former senior public servant and a recipient of the Award of Australia. Vincent Copley junior is a Ngadjuri man, a musician, a tradesman and the son of Vince Copley senior. He has supported his father in research projects, heritage surveys and archaeological field schools for over 20 years. He is a graduate of the archaeology and cultural heritage management graduate programs at Flinders University. Chris Wilson is a Ngarrindjeri and Kurna man from South Australia. He is a senior lecturer in Archaeology and Indigenous Australian Studies at Flinders University. He is the first Aboriginal man to obtain a PhD in archaeology, from Flinders University in 2017. Emily Poelina-Hunter is a Nyikina woman from Western Australia. She specialises in classical archaeology and was a lecturer in the Indigenous Studies Unit at RMIT University from 2016-2017. Kellie Pollard and Emily Poelina-Hunter are the first Aboriginal women to obtain a PhD in archaeology, from Flinders University and Melbourne University respectively, in 2019. Julie Ah Quee is an Aboriginal woman from North Queensland and a student in the graduate archaeology program at Flinders University.

Discussion

What themes emerge from our discussions? These diverse Indigenous Australian voices call for significant changes in the practice of public and community archaeology. They call for stronger heritage legislation to protect Indigenous sites threatened by mining and government economic interests; greater protection of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property; recognising heritage at landscape scale of investigation; Indigenous teaching pedagogy and more Indigenous archaeologist research staff in universities;

training Indigenous community people in various facets of archaeology and archaeological terms; building the research capacity of Indigenous students *and* Indigenous communities in archaeology; greater direct benefits for Indigenous participants in archaeological projects, including long-term financial benefits; and the need for archaeologists to work more effectively with communities. The discussions identify the need for public and community archaeology to align theory, practice and ethics with Indigenous epistemologies (ways of knowing) and ontologies (ways of being) and to facilitate wider public recognition of Indigenous histories, lived experiences and worldviews. Above all, they call for public and community archaeologies to be more responsive to—and to heed more closely—the words, needs and aspirations of Indigenous Australians. The omissions are interesting, too. While a number of people express their interest in the ancient it is not a sole focus for anyone. Instead, deep time archaeology is placed within a wider matrix that includes ethical archaeological practice and clear and long-term benefits for contemporary Aboriginal people.

The views expressed in this paper offer new insights into critical issues that face Australian Aboriginal people and Australian society. These include income inequality, structural racism, inter-generational trauma and hidden histories. We advocate support for Aboriginal agendas of emancipation from material and structural disadvantage and health and wellbeing disparity. Truth-telling history is especially important to educating Australians about the causes of Aboriginal inequality (see Commonwealth of Australia 2018). The personal histories alluded to in this paper demonstrate how the travesties of colonial displacement, consciously aimed at separating Aboriginal people from their traditional lands, continue to impact upon Aboriginal people. This is perhaps most clearly apparent in Vincent Copley senior's statement that 'archaeology opens the doors to information and knowledge that people like myself have unfortunately missed out on'. The discussions identify fruitful directions for public and community archaeology, undertaken by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people including a greater focus on the physical, social and spiritual aspects of cultural landscapes as a whole; work that reaffirms Aboriginal connections to country and ancestors; and using ochre to trace songlines across cultural landscapes. By drawing on the skills of Indigenous archaeology

consultants this would contribute decades of applied experience to Indigenous teaching pedagogy. Moreover, Aboriginal engagement in community archaeology and cultural heritage management consultancy are good springboards to strengthen Aboriginal pathways to university to study archaeology.

This paper articulates with global trends relating to human rights, inequality and social injustice for Indigenous peoples (see Mizoguchi and Smith 2019). The views expressed here develop ideas presented in previous work by the authors on issues relating to social justice, colonialism, the Indigenous transformation of archaeological practice and community archaeology (Smith 2007; Birt and Copley 2005; Jackson and Smith 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005; Burke and Smith 2010; Wilson 2020; Ralph and Smith 2014; Pollard et al. 2017; Pollard 2019; Menzies and Wilson 2020; Smith et al. 2018; Smith et al. 2020). Though the authors discussed differences between community archaeology and public archaeology, their views show they see synergies between the two. For a long time, public archaeology was distinguished by a focus on archaeological public outreach and education (Smith 2006). However, as Matsuda (2004) points out, since the late 20th century the trend has been towards more politically engaged archaeological research as a result of community activism. In 2002, Marshall outlined a remit for community archaeology, arguing that archaeological research should be directed by community concerns and needs. As Atalay et al. (2014) note, this sentiment eroded the perception that archaeologists should hold primary stewardship rights over archaeological sites and objects. Today, activist, applied, engaged, community, collaborative, and public archaeologies all seek to bridge the modernist divide between scholarship and social responsibility. Across the world, proponents advocate for public archaeology to engage more directly with social issues such as sustainability, inclusivity and ethics (e.g. Moshenska 2010; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015; Zimmerman 2018) and to commit to a greater sharing of benefits arising from research (Atalay 2012). Taken together, the ideas articulated in this paper highlight the potential for public and community archaeology to contribute to significant—even radical—social change in Australia.

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