17 *We just have to show you: research ethics blekbalawei*

PHYLLIS WIYNJORROC, PETER MANABARU, NELL BROWN AND ANDREW WARNER

This paper is about working in the country of Phyllis Wiynjorroc. Olgaman Phyllis is the traditional owner. She is the Queen. She is the government. She is the *Gitjan*. Any researcher that wants to work on her country, not discounting other protocol, must listen to her. (See Figures 17.1 and 17.2.)

Researchers may have their own ethics about working with Indigenous people, but there are strategies already in place for people who come to Jawoyn country, which must be adhered to. Researchers come to discuss their idea of ethics with the senior community members. They expect to develop specific rules; what one can, can't and should do. Instead, the senior people instruct them as to the general procedure that must be followed.

The codes of ethics adopted by professional groups, such as archaeologists and anthropologists, derive from a non-Indigenous view of the world (e.g. American Anthropological Association 1998; Society for American Archaeology 1996). These codes are guidelines only, filtered through much discussion and debate, and most significantly, a Western perspective. In some ways this may be necessary, since their purpose is to outline standards of ethical behaviour for a discipline that is grounded within Western systems of knowledge. Some, such as that of the World Archaeological Congress (1991), the Australian Archaeological Association (Anon 1994) and the Australian Rock Art Research Association (Cole and Ward 2000) make a serious attempt to address Indigenous concerns with archaeological practice. One of the major pushes in Indigenous studies is for the publication of Indigenous voice on issues of ethics (Janke 1998; AIATSIS 1999; Zimmerman 2001). The publications of Indigenous scholars, academics and political activists (e.g. Deloria 1995; Dodson 1997; Echo Hawke 1997; Langford 1983; Langton 1993; Lippert 1997; Rigney 1999; Watkins 1999) have contributed significantly to ethical debate. Researchers must also seek the views of the Indigenous leaders with whom they work, people like Olgaman[1] Phyllis, to ensure that their codes of ethics are respectful.

Researchers come to Jawoyn country to gain the insight and opinions of the senior community members. They expect to develop research guidelines and protocol, under the advice of the Elders. Yet there are customary laws already in place that dictate the protocol for researchers. These laws are culturally sensitive

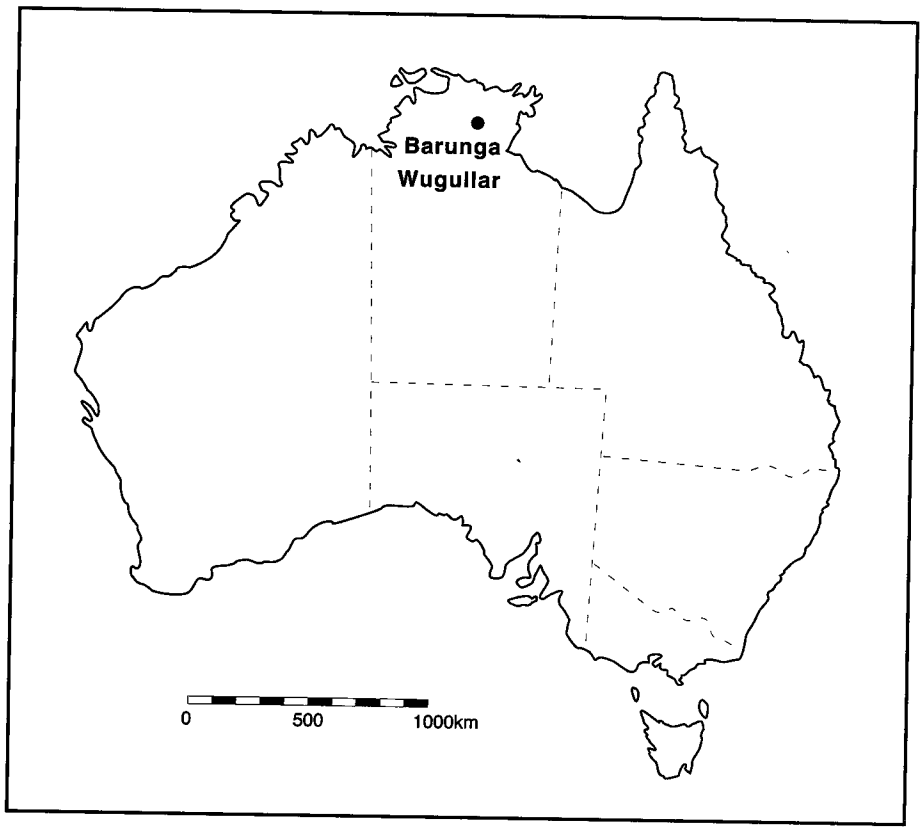

Figure 17.1 Location of Barunga-Wugularr communities, Northern Territory, Australia

and avoid many of the ethical dilemmas raised by the suggestions of researchers, because they derive from a Jawoyn perspective. More importantly, they are laws which must be adhered to.

This paper is a collation of dialogue from two separate interviews that complement and support each other. One was held in 1992 as part of the production of the film 'Junggayi. Caring for Country' (Smith 1992), in which the Elders recorded the rules for managing the country. The second interview was held in 1997 at Barunga, as part of a field study of research projects funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), aimed towards learning the views of senior Indigenous community members regarding ethical research. This was part of a larger study about Indigenous perceptions of, and responses to, research of interest to Indigenous Australians, aspects of which have been published (AIATSIS 1999).

In both of these interviews, the Elders try to explain to the researchers what they have to do. So read carefully, understanding that both parties are coming from different cultural perspectives. The language predominantly spoken in these

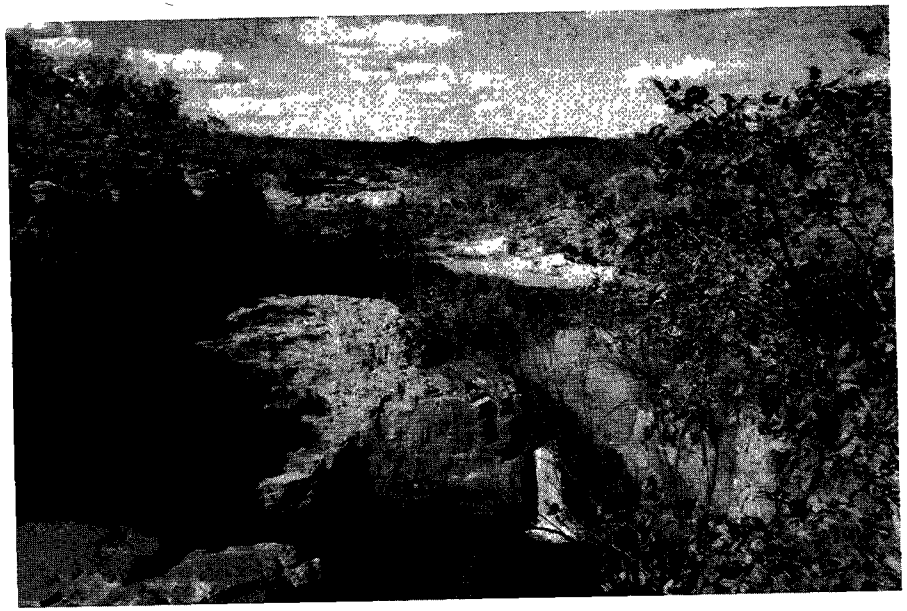

Figure 17.2 Beswick Falls, located on the lands of Phyllis Wiynjorroc (Photo D. Flood)

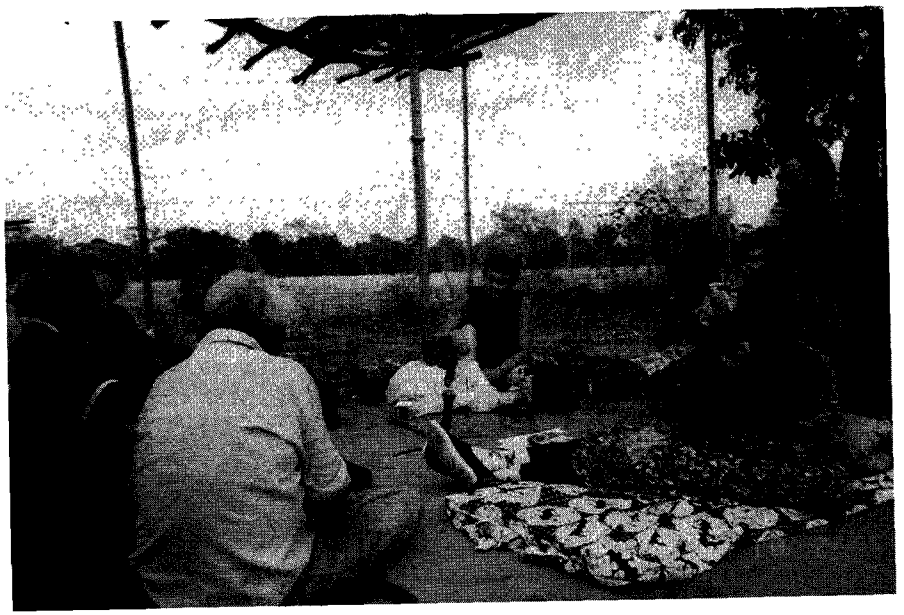

Figure 17.3 Discussions between Phyllis Wiynjorroc, Peter Manabaru, Paddy Babu, Graeme Ward, Claire Smith and others (Photo G. Jackson)

discussions is Kriol, which the Elders anglicize for the benefit of the non-Indigenous participants. In addition, for those who do not know Kriol, an English translation is provided. (See Figure 17.3.)

GODA TOK TU DA OL PIPUL BIRS

Old Phyllis: Eni waidmen, maitbi brom Barunga laik dat or brom Beswick laik dat. Dei kam hea, jas, yu no, nomo asgam im, nomo asgim mi, kos mi da raitwan bor dis, bla kantri, mai grenpa kantri, mai fatha kantri en mai bratha kantri. Im bla mibala kantri, diswan. Bor mi lukabda.

Laig maitbi, dei wanda go eniwer, yu no, go gedim bala pitja, dei jas bi kam asgim. Maitbi den okei, ai go si. Mai grenmatha [Bangirn] im delim mi, laik dis blok im tok to mi, ai sai 'okai'.

C. Smith: If sam researcher [Munanga] kamin laik dis, or nathawan, laik nu but im start off, who [wijan] im goda tok to? Im goda tok to Jawoyn or NLC or im goda tok wan . . . [Olgaman]?

N. Brown: Im goda tok to da 'Elders' [Ol Pipul] fes. En den Jawoyn, en den yunbala 'at' [langa] da council.

C. Smith: So Elders first?

N. Brown: Ye

C. Smith: Den the Jawoyn Association?

N. Brown: Ye

C. Smith: Then NLC. So sam Munanga, im wanda kam hea en do work laik mi, dei shud asgim da Ol Pipul?

N. Brown: Da Ol pipul.

Old Phyllis: Da Ol Pipul, ye.

N. Brown: Da Ol Pipul.

Old Peter: Da Ol Pipul, wen dei bin dan bifo. Loda dis Jawoyn pipul, dei don andestan ijatha ruls abat. But a loda loda yang pipul ap dea, dei don andasten, is jas - ril grup, yu no, oltegetha – bat dei don andasten with wat wi doing it, laik mi en Paddy doing it. Dat . . . lasyiya en ran rait thru, raitnau wi du da rait thing. Wi wanda si Jawoyn pipul kam – wi are Dalabon people, yu no, dat part of, but i mai femili – eniwei, ai go araun, bat wi wan dis Jawoyn pipul kam, dei goda andasten brom waidbala pipul wen wi telim. Den dei mait bigin sein yu kin wok olabaut. Jamdaim wi maitbi kruk or in da hospidal, dei labda du it, dei du seim wat wi duit nau. Den dei goda kin folo mi, an thri olabat dat traib for Jawoyn, dei labda du.

C. Smith: Okei, Munanga, dei goda kam hea an asg?

N. Brown: Ye, dei asg

Old Peter: Dat Munanga, hi goda lisen tu dat Blekbala, Aboriginal laik mi. Dei goda len.

Claire: Dat Jawoyn mob?

Old Peter: Dat Munanga, im olrait, bat yu goda think wot mai kala, im goda helb Ol Leidi. Laik wi du, wi helbim.

TRANSLATION:YOU MUST CONSULT THE SENIOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS FIRST

Old Phyllis: Any Non-Indigenous person might come from Barunga in this manner or from Beswick in this manner: they come here, you know, don't ask him [the Junggayi], don't ask me, the right one for this country, my grandfather's country, my father's country and my brother's country. This is the country of my family, this one.

Perhaps they want to go somewhere, go take pictures, then they should just be coming and asking. Perhaps then I may say 'okay'. My grandmother [Claire Smith] she talks to me, this bloke he talks to me. I say 'okay'.

C. Smith: If some researchers come in this way, or another new one wishes to start research, who does this researcher have to talk to? Does this person have to talk to the Jawoyn Association or NLC or do they have to talk to . . . [these old people]?

N. Brown: Well, really one has to talk to the Elders first, then the Jawoyn association and then those of you from the council.

C. Smith: So Elders first?

N. Brown: Yes.

C. Smith: Then the Jawoyn Association

N. Brown: Yes.

C. Smith: Then NLC. So some non-Indigenous person, if they want to come here and do work, like I do, they should ask the old people?

N. Brown: The old people.

Old Phyllis: The old people, yes.

N. Brown: The old people.

Old Peter: The old people, as has been done in the past. A lot of Jawoyn [Association] people don't understand the rules. There are a lot of young people up there who don't understand. That is to say, they are a valid organization as a whole, it is just that they don't have an understanding of what we are doing, how Paddy and I are doing it. That . . . last year and run right through, right now we are doing the right thing. We want to see Jawoyn people come – we are Dalabon people, of course, but they are all part of my family anyway. I go around, but we want these Jawoyn people to come, they have to communicate with non-Indigenous people when we advise them. Then they might begin to say where you can go without restriction. Sometime when we might be ill or in the hospital, they will have to do it, do it the same way as we are doing it now. Then they can follow me and those three, that tribe for Jawoyn, That's what they have to do.

C. Smith: Okay, so non-Indigenous people have to come here and ask permission?

N. Brown: Yes, they have to ask permission.

Old Peter: A non-Indigenous person has to listen to the Indigenous person, Aboriginal like me. They have to learn.

C. Smith: That Jawoyn mob?

Old Peter: A non-Indigenous person is acceptable but has to be aware of my ethnicity, that I have to work for Old Lady. This is what we do now, we aid her.

JUNGGAYI GODA TEIGIMAT EN JOWAM

Old Phyllis: Mai plismen, i shud bi teikimran en jowam abat en teikimbek en telim mi, delim la 'Government'. Ai sei dat's gud, long as yu bin teikim' sei maitbi 'yu welcam'.

G. Ward: When you want somebody to come to the community and work, do you want to make a formal agreement with the researcher, or just to say yes verbally or do you want a formal exchange of letters or a contract? What should be the formal way in which you say yes to the researcher?

C. Smith: Tu wei yu kin duim, wen samwan laik mi, im kam. Wan wei im toktok, maitbi yu sei 'Yes' den yu wek. Den im olrait. Den yu wek brabliwei.

Old Phyllis: Ye wi kin sei im laik dat. Okai, dei kin kam.

C. Smith: Athawei, im godim peipa yu sei ol those things: yu kin du dis thing, dis thing, atha thing yu kan du. Laik peipa mait sei yu goda tok to Ol Pipul brabliwei, peipa mait sei nomo wokabat eniweya, peipa mait sei yu goda help Ol Pipul – ye ol dat thing. So tu weis yu kin duim: yu kin tel, jas telim yourself, or athawei yu kin putim on peipa, meikim sain.

Old Phyllis: Maitbi mi, ai kin tel 'Okai, langa these du blouk hea [dubala Junggayi], dei kin teikimat' and ai jowim. Ip yu wanda no bul brabli, waitmen wanim bul brabli, olrait teikim these du blouk hea, dei kin jowim dat sicrit sait, datwan yu no lau go en datwan yu no lau go. Dei kin jow yu men en wumun, long as yu andestan, si? Si laik dat, dat beda.

Old Peter: Wen wi teik enibodi laik dis, laik yu o eni atha, bat dei don andasten dat Kaltja dem things, bat wi stil jowim. Wi don no wat yo don no wat's de, bat wi kin jowim wat, so im du laik wi wand. Laik wi dan yesdedei langa Ngarritjbambalan, Djereiwun en wi didn del yu baut dat, bikos wi jas jow yu da roud, [drukroud] so wi jas labda jow yu.

Old Phyllis: Mai plismen yu mait sei 'onli bor men' laik dat, laik dei wanda go, yu kin tok dijan, datwan, datwan, yu si laik dat. Nomo meigim had bla olabat.

Old Peter: Ye sikridsait im difirin to yu, im olrait bor men. So wi kni tok tugetha. Dat's a sikridsait min wi goda put dat sikridsait peipa on da sait, bat yu don abda meikim go intu, laik yu don abda raidimdan yu no, it's a sikrit.

N. Brown: Laik yu don hab to raidim.

Old Peter: Bat dis wei wi du, wi jow yu da eriya, wi no ol da sikrit baud da sikrit eriyapat, wi jow yu baud dat bat wi don jow yu, bat wi stil jow yu baud datwan bat . . .

Old Phyllis: Maitbi diswan go hea en yundubala go tok langa olabat olgaman bla yunmi, yu sabi? Olgaman kan stikibik dat peipa onli bor men. Yu wanda tok laik dat?

Old Peter: Wat ip ai sei wel olabat tok to men, wat dat man goda du? Wat i du with dat peipa? Wat ip im goda pudim sicrit o goda pudim mishin tu, wan peipa?

N. Brown: Does he have to write that sacred women's business?

TRANSLATION: A TRADITIONAL CUSTODIAN MUST ESCORT AND GUIDE YOU

Old Phyllis: My policeman should be taking this person around, showing them about and taking them back. He should be telling me, advising me, the 'government'. I say that that's good, so long as you have been escorting him. It might be that I say 'you're welcome'.

G. Ward: When you want somebody to come to the community and work, do you want to make a formal agreement with the researcher, or just to say yes verbally or do you want a formal exchange of letters or a contract? What should be the formal way in which you say yes to the researcher?

C. Smith: These are two methods, which you might wish to use when someone like me comes: one way is to talk and discuss. Perhaps you will reach an agreement, then work, and that will be all right. Then you work in an appropriate way.

Old Phyllis: Yes we can do it verbally like that. We say 'Okay', the researcher can come.

C. Smith: In the other way, you have a paper in which you explicate all the necessary things: you are allowed to do this, this, and this, and then another thing that you cannot do. Such a paper might say that a researcher has to talk to old people in the proper fashion. It might say that one cannot walk about anywhere. It might say that the researcher has a responsibility towards elders and all such things. So these are two ways that you can do this, you can just tell them yourself verbally, or you can put it all on paper and make them sign.

Old Phyllis: For example, I can advise that these two men here [the Traditional Custodians], they can escort a researcher and I direct them. If you want to learn in the proper way, or if another non-Indigenous person wants to learn in the proper way, then go with these two men here. They can identify the secret sites, and say that this one you are not allowed to go to and that one you are not allowed to go to. They can show you, man or woman, as long as you understand, see? See this way is better.

Old Peter: If we escort anybody like this, like you or like any others, they don't understand the culture and all its aspects, but we can still advise and demonstrate to them. We don't know what you don't know is there, but we can still advise and demonstrate what to do, so a researcher can act in the way that we want. Just like we did yesterday at Ngarritjbambalan, Djereiwun – we didn't have to tell you about that, because we could simply show you the road only, on the highway, [truck road]. So we just have to show you.

Old Phyllis: My policeman they can say that this is only for men. In this way, if they want to go, you can talk about this, this or that. Do you see? You don't have to make it difficult for everyone.

Old Peter: Yes, a secret site, is different to you – it's all right for a man. So we can talk together. There are secret sites, which would mean that we would have to write that secret site on paper for the site. However one does not go into detail, you don't write it down, do you see? It's a secret.

N. Brown: That is, you don't have to write it down.

Old Peter: But the way that we do it, we show you the area. We know all the secrets about a secret area, so we can advise you about that area, but we don't show you it. We can still advise you about that place, but . . .

Old Phyllis: Hypothetically, if a researcher comes here and you two go and talk to those female Elders of ours, do you understand? Female Elders are not allowed to read that paper, if it's only for men. Do you really want to do it like that?

Old Peter: If I say they should talk to a man, what will that man do? What will he do with that paper? Will he keep it secret or will he put that paper into cyberspace too?

N. Brown: Does a researcher really have to write that sacred women's business?

KIP ASGIM ASGIM. KIPGON WITH IT

Old Peter: Wel, dat's da wei yu goda ab pipul, wen wi hea nau. Laik Jacko, i's workim for as bala nau. Dat's rait . . . yu goda ab permit to kamdan, or asg to Barunga or Katherine, to NLC. Yu kamdan en yu rait si, ip yu anda mi en im [Ol Paddy Babu]. Yu goda wekim laik dis, wel den dat's olrait, yu welkam. En im, dat Jacko, Ai'l get dat permit, ai got dat permit bor im.

C. Smith: Dei [dat Canberra mob AIATSIS] wanda no raitwei, hau yu bin titj mi raitwei for doing research, for doing mai kain of job.

Old Peter: Na laik, ip yu kip asgim, asgim to go, laik wen yu kam en yu stil kipgon with it. Wel den, ip dei ab nathawan, wi'll stil ab anathawan, dei wan natha grant bor tok, wi stil tok wanmodaim en wi stil wek, olabat dei stil bi folowim olawei thru. En wi stil gib yu da reasons en ebrijing. Da wei wi duit nau, laik dis nau.

Old Phyllis: Nomo likajat, maitbi dei kamran, gedim dat pitja, jas gowei.

TRANSLATION: KEEP ASKING FOR PERMISSION EVERY TIME AND CONTINUE WORKING THIS WAY

Old Peter: Well this is the way that you must deal with people, the way that we're here now. Like Jacko,[2] he's working for us now. That's the right way . . . you must have a permit in order to come down, you must have asked at Barunga, Katherine, or to the NLC. You come down in this way and you'll be acting

lawfully, if you are under me and under him [Old Paddy]. If you work like this, well then that's all right, you are welcome here. So for Jacko, I'll grant a permit. I gave this permit to him.

C. Smith: They [AIATSIS] want to know what is the right way, how you have taught me in the right way for doing research, for doing my kind of job.

Old Peter: If you keep asking and asking to go and when you come you keep going with it. Well then, if there is another one, we'll still accommodate that other one. If they want another grant for ethnographic research, we will talk one more time and we will still work, if they also follow all the way through with their work. If so, then we will still give information, explanations and such – the way that we do it now.

Old Phyllis: It must not be like this, for example: they come around, take that picture and just go away.

WI GODA BI BOSS OLADAIM

Old Phyllis: Mi da 'Government', wen dei sei maitbi waitmen samwea laik Canberra, wel dei big bos. Wel dis wan hea, mai grenson, Peter Manaburu, im da plismen bla mi, im wek mine si, ebrijing.

Old Peter: Dat da Junggayi.

Old Phyllis: Ye, wi sei Junggayi si, im wekim bla mi. Maitbe I luk at Mimi, dat Drimdaim wen i putim imiyu, keingurru, bogabain, oldat im bin putim. Wel im dat boswan, im da lida bor mi.

Old Peter: I had orda brom Ol Leidi, yu no, kos ai lukabda im rili wel.

Old Phyllis: La dis du Ol Bala hea nau [Old Paddy Babu en Old Peter Manaburu], dei goda lukabdarim bla mi kantri, raidup raidup.

Old Peter: Yundubala [C. Smith en G. Ward] goda du wat wi sei. Wi gid da orda brom da Olda, laik dis bala. En den kam asg da Junggayi pipul den yu gid to yusim oldawei lang undil – ye dat tru.

Old Phyllis: Wi don laikim waitmen go thru imjelb. Dei goda asg mi fes en ai delim dis du [dubala Junggayi], laik dat.

Old Peter: Aboriginal goda bi bos oldadaim. En den im waid Munanga, ip yu rekan i's bos, sam men, pesin, bisnismen bos goda teik yu in dea en den yu kin bring ol yu [??] ol yu kala. Wan pesin goda be anda mi or anda Ol Pipul dubala – wan, tu [Ol Paddy Babu en Jack Chadam], den wi godan dea. Dei goda ab risentli asg wan pesin, wan Aboriginal blauk, en i kin ledim, yu'll be da bos bor dat nu kala. En den ai sei 'Yu asg mi' en den ai sei 'olrait, yu da bos, yu tok to dem'. Kos ai del yu, mi.

Old Peter: Ip wi not hea, Ol Leidi, den yu teik orda brom femili, yu no. Bat dat Munanga goda bi bosmen blanga olabat Munanga mob.

C. Smith: So if ai bringim waid pipul, ai goda meik jor . . .

N. Brown: Laik explain it to dem, in English.

TRANSLATION: WE ARE ALWAYS IN CHARGE

Old Phyllis: I am the 'government', just as non-Indigenous people say in places like Canberra, to indicate that they're the big boss. Well this one here, my grandson, Peter Manabaru, he's the 'policeman' for me, His work is mine, do you see? All of his work.

Old Peter: That's the Junggayi.

Old Phyllis: Yes, we say Junggayi. He is working for me. For example, he looks at Mimi, that Dreamtime when he puts emu, kangaroo, porcupine, for all that he has puts [on the rock], he is the authority, he is the manager-director for me.

Old Peter: I was instructed by Old Lady, you know, because I look after her land very well.

Old Phyllis: These two male elders here now, they have to look after my country, all of my country.

Old Peter: You two [C. Smith and G. Ward] have to do what we say. We take orders from our elder, this woman. You come and ask the Junggayi people and then they can help you all the way along until – yeah that's true.

Old Phyllis: We don't allow non-Indigenous people to go through the country by themselves. They have to ask me first and then I instruct these two [the Junggayi].

Old Peter: Indigenous people have to be in charge all the time. Then if the non-Indigenous person respects their authority, some man, person, cultural affairs manager will take you to whatever place. Then you can bring people of your ethnicity. That person has to be under me or under old people, then we can go down there. The non-Indigenous researcher has to have recently asked the Indigenous person, and he or she can allow you to instruct any other non-Indigenous people. Then I say 'if you ask me and I say "all right", you must be in charge of those others, you talk to them'. Because I have told you so.

Old Peter: If we are not here, Old Lady, then you take orders from our family members. But the non-Indigenous researcher is in charge of and responsible for all their non-Indigenous associates.

C. Smith: So if I bring non-Indigenous people with me, I have to make sure I do . . .

N. Brown: You have to explain everything to them, in English.

DISCUSSION

These statements are the Elders' responses to questions, some of which did not address what the Gitjan and Junggayi perceived as the essential issues for ethical research. We have sought to collate the relevant points that were emphasized by the Gitjan and Junggayi. We have combined excerpts from the two separate interviews that complement and support each other. We felt it necessary to edit the paper in this way so that the information given by Olgaman Phyllis and Old

Peter may be conveyed to a wider audience. The statements here do not represent the entirety of their knowledge regarding the ethics of research in the community. It does not detail everything that a researcher can and can't do, but it is all the information that a researcher needs in order to work respectfully within this community.

Researchers have to work within the power structures that belong to the country, that belong to Phyllis and her father and her grandfather. The rules outlined in this paper are not new. They are the rules that apply to any person who comes to the country. Specific rules may apply in certain instances and laws are continually updated. These rules ensure that a researcher acts appropriately.

Researchers who wish to work on her lands have to obtain Phyllis' permission. When working on her lands, they have to be escorted by the appropriate people. They must make a commitment to working in the community and continue to seek permission from the necessary senior people, every time they come to country. They must always, always respect the authority of the Indigenous people who allow them to work in their country.

While researchers may come to a community with their own ideas about what constitutes ethical practice, they must listen to and accept the directions that they are given. The point of this paper is that you have to listen to the Old people and do what they say.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank Heather Burke, Daryle Rigney, Graeme Ward, Jimmy Wesan, H. Martin Wobst and Larry Zimmerman for commenting on drafts of this paper. Their feedback and encouragement helped determine the final shape of this paper. Andrew Warner would especially like to thank Claire Smith for her patience, without which this paper would not have gone ahead.

NOTES

1 Olgaman and Old are titles of respect for senior women and men.
2 Gary Jackson has been working in the community for 15 years.

REFERENCES

American Anthropological Association (1998) 'Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association', Online, available at HTTP: http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm, accessed 23 March 2002.

Anonymous (1994) 'The Code of Ethics of the Australian Archaeological Association (Members' obligations to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people)', *Australian Archaeology* 39: 129.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) (1999) *Research of Interest to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*, Canberra: Australian Research Council. National Board of Employment, Education and Training, commissioned report No. 59. Online, available at HTTP: http://www.arc.gov.au/publications/ arc_pubs/99-05_ATSI_report59.pdf, accessed 23 March 2003.

Deloria, Vine, Jr (1995) *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact*, New York: Scribner and Sons.

Cole, Nolene and Graeme K. Ward (2000) 'Response to the Cairns Declaration: a code of ethics for AURA', *Rock Art Research* 17, 1: 72–5.

Dodson, Mick (1997) 'Indigenous social and ethical issues: control of research and sharing of benefits', address to 'Conference on Human Genetics: Diversity and Disease', Fremantle, Western Australia.

Echo Hawk, Roger (1997) 'Forging a new ancient history for Native America', in N. Swidler, K.E. Dongoske, R. Anyon, and A.S. Downer (eds) *Native Americans and Archaeologists: stepping stones to common ground*, pp. 88–102, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Janke, Terri (1998) *Our Culture: our future. Report on Australian Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights*, prepared for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Sydney: Michael Frankel and Company. Online, available at HTTP: http://www.icip.lawnet.com.au/, accessed 23 March 2003.

Langford, Ros (1983) 'Our heritage – your playground', *Australian Archaeology* 16: 1–6.

Langton, Marcia (1993) *Well, I Heard it on the Radio and I Saw it on the Television . . .*, Sydney: Australian Film Commission.

Lippert, Dorothy (1997) 'In front of the mirror: Native Americans and academic archaeology', in N. Swidler, K.E. Dongoske, R. Anyon, and A.S. Downer (eds) *Native Americans and Archaeologists: stepping stones to common ground*, pp.120–7. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Rigney, Lester-Irabinna (1999) 'Internationalisation of an indigenous anti-colonial cultural critique of research methodologies: a guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles', *WICAZO SA Review: Journal of Native American Studies* 14, 2: 109–22

Society for American Archaeology (1996) 'Principles of Archaeological Ethics', Online, available at HTTP: http://www.saa.org/Aboutsaa/Ethics/prethic.html, accessed 23 March 2002.

Smith, Claire (1992) Executive producer, *Jungayyi. Caring for Country*. Documentary video. Copyright held by Jawoyn Association, Katherine, Australia.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai (1999) *Decolonising Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*, 2nd edn, London: Zed Books.

Ward, Graeme K. (2000) 'Protocols for ethical research into Indigenous Australian rock-markings', in Graeme K. Ward and Claudio Tuniz (eds) *Advances in Dating Australian Rock-Markings*, pp.114–20, Occasional Paper 10, Melbourne: Australian Rock Art Research Association.

Watkins, Joe (1999) *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indians values and scientific practice*, Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira.

World Archaeological Congress (1991) 'First Code of Ethics', online, available at HTTP: http://www.wac.uct.ac.za/archive/content/ethics.html, accessed 16 December 2002.

Zimmerman, Larry (2001) 'Usurping American Indian voice', in T. Bray (ed.) *The Future of the Past: archaeologists, Native Americans, and repatriation*, pp. 169–84, New York: Garland Publishing.