Banerjee, S. B. & Tedmanson, D. (2010). Grass burning under our feet: Indigenous enterprise development in a political economy of whiteness. Management Learning, 41(2), pp. 147-165. doi: 10.1177/1350507609357391

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON
EST 1894

City Research Online

Original citation: Banerjee, S. B. & Tedmanson, D. (2010). Grass burning under our feet: Indigenous enterprise development in a political economy of whiteness. Management Learning, 41(2), pp. 147-165. doi: 10.1177/1350507609357391

Permanent City Research Online URL: http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/6087/

Grass Burning Under our Feet: Indigenous Enterprise Development in a Political Economy

of Whiteness

Bobby Banerjee

University of Western Sydney

Deirdre Tedmanson

University of South Australia

ABSTRACT

In this paper we discuss some of our findings from two research projects that explore opportunities for Indigenous enterprise development in remote locations in Northern and Central Australia. Based on a series of focus groups and in-depth interviews with Indigenous community leaders, traditional owners, government officials, Land Council officials and other stakeholders, we discuss barriers to economic development faced by Indigenous communities in remote regions. We argue that many of these barriers are the material effects of discursive practices of 'whiteness' in the political economy. We discuss the relationships between institutions and Indigenous communities that constitute the Indigenous political economy and argue that these relationships are informed by discursive practices of whiteness and colonial-capitalist relations of power. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings for management learning and public policy.

Keywords: Whiteness, Indigenous Management, Indigenous Political Economy, Development, Governance.

Grass Burning Under our Feet: Indigenous Enterprise Development in a Political Economy

of Whiteness

From the outset we acknowledge that we are not Indigenous Australians. As a 'brown'
man and a 'white' woman we acknowledge to ourselves and to each other how differentially we
are situated in and positioned by the dominant white society. Skin contains, confines and
mediates our subjectivities in the accumulation of lived experience played out through
interactions with others. Our skin is also the means by which some are raced and others not
within the political economy of the state. Our shared journey of research reveals the differential
impact of 'whiteness' in our worlds and in the worlds of those we work with. In every interview
and at every turn, sometimes in looks or whispers, sometimes overtly in the different ways in
which we responded to situations or were responded to, our study reveals the subtly nuanced
dance of 'in' and 'ex'clusivities produced by 'whiteness'. Whiteness, as we shall discuss later,
goes beyond skin color and while the reality of daily racism is tempered in our paper by the
emphasis we place on deconstructing the hegemonic effects of whiteness, our analysis (and
privilege) remains that of non-Indigenous academics. We cannot and do not speak for the
Indigenous communities with whom we work in partnership, nor do we presume to share their
lived experience. Nor do we claim any rights to protect, defend or champion them, as it is their
agency and capacity that shapes the projects that form our research engagement. We do however
seek to 'read against the grain' of the dominant culture in order to contest the unquestioned
universal sovereignty of Western epistemological, economic, political and cultural
representations which continue to negate and silence Indigenous communities. We acknowledge
there can be no innocent discourses about Indigenous peoples (Wolfe, 1999), despite well-
intentioned attempts to include 'the Indigenous viewpoint'.

In this paper we explore regimes of representation and regimes of governance in the Indigenous political economy in Australia. Indigenous[1] people in Australia have been, from the time of invasion and the theft of their lands, subject to these regimes which continue to define their existence today (Banerjee and Linstead, 2004). An analysis of the political economy of remote Indigenous communities reveals the power relations between different decision makers, institutions and governance arrangements. There is also we argue, an overarching discourse of 'whiteness' - the practice of white privilege which disempowers Indigenous communities - informing the practices and politics of representation and governance. It is the political economy of whiteness in the context of Indigenous economic development, particularly enterprise development in remote areas that is the focus of this paper. There is little research on how whiteness is articulated in public policy debates that shape the political economy of Indigenous experience and this paper is an attempt to fill this gap.

The paper is structured as follows: first, we outline the origins and trajectory of whiteness theory and its analytical relevance as a frame for the politics of representation and governance in the Indigenous domain. Second, we describe the current political economy of Indigenous Australia where after nearly 100 years of economic development policies the socio-economic status of Indigenous Australians remains significantly worse than the rest of the population. Third, we use empirical insights gained from our research to illustrate how discursive practices of whiteness operate in the Indigenous political economy and discuss intersections between the hegemony of whiteness and the disempowerment of Indigenous communities. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings for management learning and public policy.

---

[1] 'Indigenous' is the term most usually used in Australia to be inclusive of all Australia's Indigenous peoples – both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. 'Aboriginal' is a term more commonly used when referring to Indigenous Australians living on the mainland of the Australian continent.

The Unbearable Whiteness of Being

The roots of scholarly attention to whiteness lie partly in early US civil rights anti-racist activism and partly in the postcolonial work of Edward Said and Frantz Fanon. The work of Said (1978) was influential in revealing the imperial tactics that created an 'other' by positioning and subordinating cultural difference. Said (1978) shifted the focus from the ontological workings of racial dominance to its epistemological power in defining colonial relations. Systematic theorizing about the ontological and epistemological significance of 'whiteness' as a field of race studies and its power/knowledge impacts followed in a series of pivotal works through the 1990s (Allen 1994; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg 1993; Hall 1997; Hill 1997). These scholars exposed the many levels at which whiteness works and showed how it becomes 'the invisible norm against which other races are judged in the construction of identity, representation, subjectivity, nationalism and the law' (Moreton-Robinson, 2004a: vii). 'Whiteness' refers here not just to a racialized category but to a 'set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced and moreover, are intrinsically linked with unfolding relations of dominance' (Frankenburg, 1997: 6). We argue it functions in the political economy of Australia today as an invisible regime of power using unmarked and unnamed culturally constituted and transmitted notions of common sense 'taken for granteds' - 'an epistemology of the West…that secures hegemony through discourse and has material effects in everyday life' (Moreton-Robinson, 2004a: 75). This discursive regime negates and subjugates alternatives as it reinforces and naturalizes dominance.

In analyzing the histories of 'settler-native' relations in Australia, Indignenous scholar Moreton- Robinson (2004a; 2004b) shows how the intersection of race and property created and sustained white economic, political and cultural domination over Indigenous peoples. She

argues the hegemonic effects of 'whiteness' served to deny Indigenous sovereignty while legitimating dispossession of Indigenous lands. Thus 'whiteness' lies at the 'very heart' of the way in which the Australian continent was unsettled (Ahluwalia, 2001; Tedmanson, 2008). From this theoretical perspective the 'white' conqueror's lie of terra nullius[2] enabled the founding of an Australian nation specifically built on the non-recognition of its Indigenous peoples (Ahluwalia, 2001; Tedmanson, 2008).

Despite the relatively recent recognition of native title, Australian property law remains rooted in 'white possession' (Moreton-Robinson, 2005). Structural relations between whiteness, property and the law have enabled the appropriation of Indigenous land, the disruption of Indigenous livelihoods, the incarceration of Indigenous peoples in Australia and continued entrenched systemic disadvantage. Regimes of whiteness were instrumental in shaping Australia's identity. Moreton-Robinson (2000, 2004 a, 2004 b, 2005) has been pre-eminent amongst others (Hage, 1998; Ahluwalia, 2001; Perera, 2005) in tracing the trajectory of 'whiteness' in the policies and discourses that shape the Australian nation-state. Moreton-Robinson (2004a) links Australia's colonial history of violent invasion, the discrimination and oppression of other 'non-Indigenous', 'non-white', 'non-Anglo' minorities exemplified through the 'white Australia' immigration policy' which operated until the 1970s with the contemporary context of ongoing dispossession and marginalization of Australia's Indigenous peoples. Despite it being a multi-racial nation, transnational kinships of whiteness enabled the discursive construction of Australia as a white nation whereby Anglo-Celtic and Anglo-Saxon migrants as well as migrants and refugee groups from Eastern and Central Europe were subsumed by the

---

[2] Terra nullius, derived from Roman law and meaning unoccupied, 'no man's land' or 'empty land', was the legal rationale used by the British to invade, occupy and colonize Australia without any treaty with Indigenous peoples encountered. Indigenous Australians were thus positioned by 'white' colonizers gaze as 'uncivilised'/'sub' human beings - an anomaly which remained in force until 1992, when the High Court of Australia rejected the doctrine that Australia was terra nullius at the time of European settlement in its judgement on Mabo vs Queensland.

overarching category of 'white' (Moreton- Robinson, 2005; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004). Whiteness thus became a 'palpable, material and eminently quantifiable category against which those to be excluded could be measured where the state and the bodies of its citizens were explicitly constructed in and through their relation to whiteness, establishing a hierarchy of belonging and entitlement' (Perera, 2005: 31). This white world view also serves to discursively reinforce ongoing race privilege enshrined in the doctrine of terra nullius that denied and continues to deny Indigenous sovereignty while legitimating dispossession of Indigenous lands. Intersections of race and the colonial control of property continue to underpin the economic, political and cultural domination of Indigenous peoples in Australia today (Moreton-Robinson, 2004b).

Issues of race have occupied an uneasy, if not invisible, space in the organization and management literature. Race has been incorporated into management theory and practice through discourses of diversity, affirmative action or equal opportunity. The implicit assumption is that historical injustices can be addressed through appropriate policy that creates a 'level playing field', shifting the discourse from issues of ethnicity to that of providing equal opportunities (Macalpine and Marsh, 2005). Discourses of diversity management and affirmative action do not however, reveal how race privilege is constructed and reproduced in organizations and institutions, instead they obscure or elide the power differentials created by whiteness. Diversity, as preached and practiced in corporate diversity programs, is a 'term that is trying to be polite' (Bell and Nkomo, 2001). Notions of tolerance, benevolence, diversity and egalitarianism have been central motifs in the organizational imaginings of Australia (Nicoll, 2001; Riggs and Augoustinos, 2005). We suggest that programmatic forms of 'benign whiteness' (Standfield, 2004; Riggs, 2004) have become key rhetorical devices that limit or deny Indigenous sovereignty, self-management and capacity. By purporting to 'help overcome

disadvantage' many programs and organizations tend situate the oppression of Indigenous Australians as solely historical phenomena and ignore its continuity in present day Australia. Anti-racism is thus represented in a self-congratulatory manner, as indicative of the largesse of 'good white Australians'.

In an anxiety to create an 'appropriate cultural mix', diversity programs mask how discourses of white normativity function historically and institutionally to manifest 'patronizing sympathy, racial oppression, racial discrimination and outright racism' (Bryant and Tedmanson, 2005). Diversity management is an 'institutional desire for good practice' that avoids addressing deep-rooted attitudes and values or changing day-to-day behaviors. By telling 'happy stories', the quest to 'manage' diversity generates 'technologies of concealment', failing to reveal how asymmetrical relations of race and power might be systemically addressed in organizations (Ahmed, 2007: 164). Targeted for 'inclusion', Indigenous bodies are inscribed as 'lacking' (Nakata, 2003) while non-Indigenous managerial experts remain an invisible and silent 'part of the powerful, part of the fold, part of the majority, which doesn't necessarily have to examine itself' (Holt, 1999). As Indigenous scholar Nakata (2003: 142) argues:

> …our actual problems are structured, defined, within Western scientific discourse, only in the uncritical terms of the experts themselves – not our cultural terms…Western experts are still naming the game, still identifying the problem, and they are still providing the 'solution' on our behalf.

Our empirical analysis describes how whiteness is deeply rooted in regimes of Indigenous representation and governance. Thus, the question we ask is not so much about 'managing' diversity, as questioning the fundamental purpose and aims of organizations and

institutions that Indigenous people have to work with to ensure their cultural, social and economic survival.

Whiteness emerged as a key discursive and material practice in our interviews with a range of stakeholders in Northern and Central Australia – government officials, planners, policy makers, health workers, community leaders, Land Council executives, economists, demographers, scientists - in short all of Foucault's usual suspects. In many of the accounts of Indigenous representation and governance we discerned what Frankenburg (1997) calls the 'seeming normativity' of whiteness continuing to regulate modes of Indigenous being and living. We will show how current economic, social and political relations that shape Indigenous life in remote areas are constituted by the discursive and material practices of whiteness. We found whiteness to be marked in myriad ways: from the obvious 'blackfella, whitefella' racial identities that both black and white respondents used quite comfortably, to more insidious representations such as 'full bloods', 'half castes', 'mixed blood', 'traditional blackfella', 'coconuts' which resulted from complex formations of colonial and racialized systems of knowledge, as well as intersections of gender and class that were 'deeply entangled in Western rationalities and relations of dominance' (Wadham, 2002).

Discourses of whiteness in Australia have had significant material effects in the development of policies of control, containment and regulation of Indigenous peoples. Between the invasion and appropriation of the Australian continent by the British Empire in 1788 and the time of our research set against the policy of 'mainstreaming', a story of white colonization reveals itself in chapters of violence and conquest followed by generational regimes of control. In every policy period Indigeneity as category and label has been established through Western anthropological modes of inquiry, or what Indigenous activist Jacqui Katona (1998) calls the

'academic mindset of skull measuring'. This discourse of 'I think, therefore you are' has been the fundamental basis of European ethnography and depended on the perceived incapacity of the 'natives' to negotiate or disrupt scientific discourses about 'them'; thus excluding the 'emancipatory possibility of open dialogue' (Muecke, 1992; Radhakrishnan, 1994; Said, 1986). In Australia the construction of Aboriginality involved representations of past realities that were disembedded from discursive and material power relations and produced particular historical narratives aimed at serving dominant colonial, white Western interests (Banerjee and Linstead, 2004). The last two hundred years have seen significant shifts in government policies for Australia's Indigenous peoples, from early 'frontier' violence, to policies of protectionism, separation, assimilation, self-determination, 'reconciliation' and now 'mainstreaming' - but at every turn hegemonic whiteness has been directing the path of the Indigenous political economy.

The Indigenous Political Economy in Australia

Considerable research over the past decade indicates that according to social and economic indicators of employment, education, occupation, income, housing, and health, Indigenous people are worse off than other Australians (Altman and Hunter, 2003; ATSIC 2001). This disparity increases for people living in remote areas. A variety of factors have been suggested for such inequity, including historical exclusion (Altman, 2001); poor management skills, tensions between social and economic goals, and market demand factors (Altman, 2001); inadequate community participation; lack of educational and training facilities (Arthur, 1999); and poor governance mechanisms (Taylor and Bell, 2004). Government policy for Indigenous communities has generally followed a top down approach, focusing on industry sectors like mining and resource extraction which, have often generated negative economic, social and

environmental outcomes for Indigenous communities (Banerjee, 2000; Bryant and Tedmanson, 2005).

Altman (2001: 16) describes the Indigenous economy as a 'hybrid economy' consisting of three components: market economy (currently limited in remote communities to mainly mining and pastoral industries), state economy (federal and state agencies) and customary economy (so-called Indigenous 'subsistence' activities occurring outside the market such as hunting, gathering and fishing as well as other productive cultural activities). Regulating this hybrid economy are various government and non-governmental agencies which deliver services to Indigenous communities; institutions that govern Indigenous communities; as well as a raft of economic and social policies, governance arrangements and consultative mechanisms. Thus, the Indigenous political economy is framed and controlled by a variety of factors (see Figure 1).

Our empirical analysis investigates the following questions: how does whiteness inform and influence interactions between the market, state and customary components of the Indigenous political economy? How does the discursive power of whiteness influence the politics of representation and governance? Our empirical investigations describe lived experiences of 'whiteness' and how 'whiteness' operating as a 'worldly' category (Ahmed, 2007:150) delineates specific trajectories of Indigenous bodies and identities in spatial and temporal ways with not only ontological and embodied effects but with significant material and economic consequences.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Whiteness in the Indigenous Political Economy: Empirical Investigations

This paper draws on data collected as part of two larger participatory action research projects with Indigenous communities. Our research originated at the requests of three Indigenous communities for collaborative assistance in their wish to develop local enterprises. While participatory action research helps neutralize the power inequities embedded in research work, we acknowledge that any research in the Indigenous domain raises sensitive and complex issues of power, subjectivity and epistemic interpretation. Many may ask what right do we have to speak on these issues? However, while we assert that any endeavor to make audible that which is often rendered mute will be fraught with ethical risks, our aim is to speak out loud about the insidious 'silence of whiteness' (Durie, 2003) we encountered in our research

In utilizing the political economy of whiteness as our theoretical frame we choose to underscore its hegemonic effects. We do not intend to occlude the many ways diverse non-Indigenous stakeholders choose to ally themselves with activism rather than assimilation, nor essentialize, symplify or ignore the subtleties and hybridities of power relations embedded in the inter-cultural space (Alderfer and Smith, 1982; Alderfer, 1987). We actively seek instead however, to honor the permission of our Indigenous partners to explicate, 'color in' and critically explore some of the barriers they face in enacting their own economic agency in the face of the relentless, silent, 'white-noise' of systemic racisims.

We interviewed a wide range of stakeholders for this study. Respondents included elected Indigenous community council leaders, traditional elders, community members, youth workers, government officials, non-government and community organization members, Indigenous health and social service organizations/workers, community council representatives, Indigenous and non-Indigenous managers, Indigenous entrepreneurs, Indigenous employees of

National Parks and managers from financial institutions. In all, we interviewed 32 respondents

and explored their perceptions of Indigenous economic development, current socio-economic

status, barriers to enterprise development, educational and training needs, challenges and

opportunities for Indigenous entrepreneurs, conflicts with Indigenous and non-Indigenous

stakeholders, governance challenges and problems, social and cultural issues surrounding

enterprise development, performance of government agencies and Indigenous organizations. All

interviews were transcribed and transcripts were entered in a text file. Word matching was used

to identify themes from the transcripts. Keywords used reflected the theoretical basis of the

study: 'representation', 'Indigenous interests', 'race', 'black', 'white', 'development',

'governance', and 'culture'. In the next section we present some results of our empirical analysis

based on the themes of representation and governance and discuss how discourses of whiteness

shape the Indigenous political economy.

Regimes of Representation

Representation of Indigenous interests remains a vexed issue in Australia. An important

outcome of land rights legislation was the establishment of Aboriginal Land Councils,

responsible for representing community interests about development on Aboriginal land.

Whiteness emerged in many of our discussions with (and about) Land and Community Council

executives as a marker of binary categories. For instance, 'full blood' was a phrase we

encountered when some respondents described particular Traditional Owners or community

members. Traditional elders are knowledgeable about sacred sites and are responsible for

directing cultural and ceremonial activity in their communities. Land Council executives

(Aboriginal members elected by local Aboriginal community members), management and

administrative staff (who were mostly non-Aboriginal) are legally bound to consult with Traditional Owners about any land development proposal. However, we saw many examples where traditional owners, elders and leaders were patronized and potential Indigenous entrepreneurs marginalized. It appeared to us that traditions, culture and customary practice were positioned as 'spectacle' to be proffered and performed to 'add value' to non-Indigenous worlds - but not often viewed as something to be managed as profitable and valuable by and for Indigenous peoples themselves. The whiteness regime of representation also manifested itself in even more basic ways when it came to how Indigenous entrepreneurs were perceived by the wider (whiter) culture. One Indigenous entrepreneur who ran his own tourism business described some of his customers' perceptions:

> When I meet my clients for the first time, their eyes nearly pop out of their head when the see that I'm Aboriginal. So many times I've been asked 'I wanted to see the manager' and then I tell them, I'm the owner of the company.

Another tour business operator spoke to us about how when some tourists approached a tourist agency looking for an Indigenous cultural tour experience they were directed to a non-Aboriginal business instead of an Aboriginal owned and operated tour operator. Here, whiteness appears to frame the market economy for Indigenous people – while customers prefer an Aboriginal tour guide and indeed are willing to pay a premium for an 'authentic' experience, they do not expect the owner or manager to be Aboriginal, or are actively discouraged by tour organizers from using Aboriginal operators.

Another regime of representation was the unproblematic use of the term 'community'. The term is applied to Indigenous people living in remote settlements without an appreciation of the power dynamics between different kinship or language groups that inhabit the same space.

'Community' appears to be a constructed 'white-fellow imposition', often created to suit non-Indigenous interests (Bennett, 1999: 134). In several cases relationships between Indigenous communities were hostile because of historical differences between kinship, clan or language groups who occupied different regions prior to colonization but were now forced to live in the same settlement. There were also material consequences that accompanied the term 'community', as one Indigenous leader told us:

> I'm beginning to hate the word community. When we say community, people think about natives standing around trees holding hands. When we use the word town we imply infrastructure, utilities, roads, housing, schools, hospitals, water - all that stuff you guys in the cities take for granted but which we have to beg for because we are a 'community'.

Problems arising from imposing Western notions of 'community' invariably contributed to the failure of community-based enterprises in these regions. The current buzzword in government circles is 'investment' in Indigenous communities, which raises an interesting question: why then is the provision of basic services in non-Indigenous communities assumed to be what citizens can expect and not represented as 'investment', as it is in the Indigenous context? We argue that the normative effects of whiteness produce many 'taken for granted' assertions that distort Indigenous economic development discourses. We encountered the usual stereotypes about Indigenous people in our interviews: phrases like 'lacking work ethic', 'typical Aboriginal laziness' were frequently used to describe barriers to Indigenous economic development. There was little recognition of the structural causes of unemployment in remote regions such as the lack of basic infrastructure and citizenship services that non Indigenous Australians take for granted or the horrendous living conditions of the majority Indigenous

people: such as an appalling lack of basic services, poor health and overcrowding (the average occupancy of a 2-3 bedroom house is between 15 – 25 people**;** see Mulligan, 2008) in the locations that comprised our research sites. Indigenous people were often positioned as lacking confidence and self-belief. One government official responsible for providing business training to Indigenous people described his experience:

> There was this guy who had a terrific tour of the CBD. But then he got cold feet. Disappeared off the face of the earth, as they tend to do. With a whitefella you can ask them questions if things go wrong but with Aboriginal people you need amazing patience. Poor things, you've got to take them by the hand and bring them forward. But they're fabulous fellows and I have a lot of time for them.

Several government officials, policy makers and health workers we interviewed displayed similarly paternalistic attitudes.

Another theme to emerge from regimes of representation reflected the strong cultural and social ties of Indigenous people. Extensive research on Indigenous economic development in North America indicates that maintenance of Indigenous culture is a key predictor of economic success in First Nation American societies (Cornell and Kalt, 1995). The evidence is more ambiguous in the Australian context. While Indigenous cultural tourism is often cited as a key competitive advantage in the Indigenous economy there are still few Indigenous owned and operated tourist ventures that profit from their culture. As in the resource extraction and management of the Indigenous arts industries, cultural tourism remains largely a 'white fella business', whereby goods and services are produced by Indigenous people but managed by and for 'white interests'. As one tour operator told us:

There's no doubt that there are many white tour operators ripping off Aboriginal communities. Some of the blackfellas went through the Western educational system, or more appropriately, the jail system. That's where they learnt to deal with the white system. So we use them as tour drivers. But the problem is that while cultural knowledge is taken from Aboriginal communities to run tourism businesses, business knowledge is not transferred back to these communities.

Indigeneity was sometimes seen as a barrier to economic development with several policy makers advocating that culture should be kept separate from business and that Indigenous people need to embrace the 'white fella' model of work in order to succeed in the economy. Business success sometimes came at a price as one successful Indigenous entrepreneur told us:

For me the cost of engaging with the white system is assimilation. My cultural and social ties have weakened considerably. Not that the white community accepts me either. So I'm a coconut for my people and a blackfella made good for the white people.

The question of Indigenous identity is a complex one in contemporary Australian society. 'Aboriginal policy' in Australia took a variety of forms since the time of invasion: from attempted extermination in the early 19th century to colonial regimes of 'protectionism' during the mid to late 19th century (fuelled mainly by concerns over charges of slavery and violence as well as fears over 'miscegenation') that merged into policies of 'assimilation' in postcolonial Australia, also informed by the same scientific notions of racial purity dominant in European science at the time. Basically the policy of assimilation involved 'whiting' out all traces of Indigeneity because the 'full-blooded Aborigine' was deemed 'racially incurable', and would be 'bred out' leaving Australia with the 'problem of raising the status of the half-castes' (Reynolds,

1989). In the official government 'Aboriginal Policy' of the time, the Colonial administrators became fixated on bloodlines, classifying people as 'full bloods', 'half castes', 'octoroons', and other categories of non-whiteness. Authenticity discourses based on blood became the basis of legal identity throughout this period and continue to have material effects to this day. Binary oppositions such as 'full blood', or 'half caste' are juxtaposed with other categories like 'traditional-modern', 'bush-urban', 'strong culture-weak culture', 'developed-underdeveloped'. The construction and representation of Indigeneity in terms of essential racial difference served to explain all Indigenous practices not just in the past but extend into the present day whereby social problems such as alcoholism, violence and substance abuse in Indigenous populations are explained in genetic terms (Muecke, 1992).

As Anderson (1994) argues, the creation of a particular form of knowledge about Aboriginality is linked with the power of organizing and regulating Aboriginal life and even the rhetoric of 'self-determination' is often informed by colonial practices. What gets obscured is the fact that production and consumption of Aboriginal identity occurs within Western (post)modern modes of theorizing (and thus legitimating) identities, a process that disavows the colonial context within which 'Aboriginal Policies' are developed and Aboriginal identities are regulated. Aboriginal identity is multi-layered and contextual: it can be represented as a series of relationships between Indigenous communities and their colonizers that produce empowering or disempowering representations made in the context of colonial relations of power. However, as Aboriginal activist and former Social Justice Commissioner, Mick Dodson (1994) points out Aboriginal identity is not just experienced as a relation to non-Aboriginality or as imposed representations. As Dodson suggests, alongside the colonial discourses in Australia Aboriginal

people have had their own Aboriginal discourse in which they have continued to create their own representations, and to re-create identities that escaped the policing of authorized versions.

Some policy makers and government officials responsible for overseeing governance arrangements in remote regions cited family and cultural ties as 'getting in the way' of business. Several community based enterprises such as market gardens and bush tucker gardens were attempted, some were functional for a time and then wound up for reasons cited such as: lack of market demand, difficulty in access to markets, lack of succession planning, and 'infighting' among different kinship/community groups. Government welfare payments remain the primary sources of income for most people in both regions we studied. However, a significant proportion of young adults did want to start their own business, frustrated at receiving what they called 'sitting down money'. One respondent told us:

> Whitefella tourists come from all over the world to learn about Aboriginal culture. They get taken by the big tour operators in the city and get fed some bullshit stories. I want to do something on my land – get people here, start a youth camp - get the young ones out of the town camps and off the grog. I've been running around for three years now trying to get permits. Gave them business plans, reports, everything. And I'm still waiting. The Canberra mob and the council mob here talk about economic development. But when we want to do something they give us the run around. Now if I was a mining company, you think they'd treat me like shit?

One area we visited as a part of our research is located in a wealthy regional centre where the fishing industry is a major contributor to the economy. Unlike remote communities, lack of market access and infrastructure were not factors of disadvantage in this region. Nonetheless, respondents reported identical barriers inhibiting Indigenous enterprise development - racism,

difficulties with internal community governance and Land Council arrangements, government interference or obfuscation and expectations of compliance with inoperable externally imposed rules. One respondent described how a well-intentioned policy initiative designed to enhance employment for Indigenous people had the opposite effect:

> White fellas were funded on similar projects on condition they employ Aboriginal people while Aboriginal communities have to struggle for funding. There are people with boat licenses and tuna tickets in the Aboriginal community but they don't get the quotas.

In this case to promote Indigenous employment, the government issued fishing licenses and quotas on a preferential basis to operators employing Indigenous people. In virtually all cases these were white operators who employed Indigenous workers on a casual basis when ironically there were Indigenous operators who were overlooked. The policy to promote Indigenous employment had the effect of positioning both the white fishing operators and the government as saviors of Indigenous people (because they 'provided' employment) while simultaneously making Indigenous entrepreneurs invisible - an example of how 'empowerment' strategies can perversely lead to further marginalization.

Land Councils are powerful institutions that determine the extent of land use in remote areas. In one region, the Land Council employed a total of 120 people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, including lawyers, anthropologists, environmental scientists, health and youth workers. Power dynamics are complex and often informed by family and kinship loyalties. While the primary role of the Land Council is to consult with Traditional Owners to obtain informed consent over land use agreements, an emerging priority is to assist Indigenous people to develop economic opportunities on their land. However, in our interviews with community

members there was plenty of skepticism about whose interests some Land Councils' represented. One respondent told us:

> You think the government and Land Councils give a fuck about Aboriginal people? They're there to make their own deals. The whole system is set up to fail. Whitefellas will say we've spent millions of dollars on blackfellas trying to get them into business but guess what they'll say? 'They're all still drunks and living in poverty'. When the reality is much of that money is spent on white bureaucrats, lawyers and consultants. It's a whitefella economy on blackfella land.

In this particular region several Indigenous families were keen on starting a tourism and forestry business on their land. They were overwhelmed by the amount of paperwork, policies, permits, reports and plans required. Although both federal and state governments had established incentive schemes to promote economic development in the region, complex bureaucratic mechanisms prevented Indigenous people with very basic literacy skills from taking advantage of these schemes. Training to fill out permit applications and other forms was not available. In one particular case the first author encountered a 'whitefella lawyer' who charged Indigenous clients $3000 to complete a form which would take anyone with a high school education about 10 minutes to complete.

How Indigenous communities are governed also emerged as a key barrier to enterprise development. Current governance arrangements were seen as being insensitive to cultural and social concerns of communities, inadequate, top down, administratively driven and focused on reporting requirements rather than providing effective funding, training and 'enabling' support. Let us now examine regimes of governance in remote Indigenous communities.

Regimes of Governance

A range of Aboriginal regional and community representative councils govern remote Indigenous communities. These councils operate like municipal bodies and provide a variety of functions devolved to them from the state, ranging from maintenance of roads and civic infrastructure to administering and operating programs and services, including stores, garages, women's services, health, welfare, legal, management and environmental management.

The replacement of Indigenous ways of collective governance - characterized by strong cultural and social ties - by Western bureaucratic modes of administrative governing, in conjunction with past policies of forced displacement and resettlement in missions contributed to welfare dependency in remote Indigenous communities. Corporate governance structures of Indigenous organizations are externally imposed and designed around Western principles and practice. Regimes of control and accountability, fiduciary and other legal principles of administrative and corporate law often fit poorly in the Indigenous context they are meant to serve (Mantziaris and Martin, 2000: 187). Consequently governance bodies invariably have many if not a majority of employees who are white 'administrators', managing what becomes white 'business' in Indigenous domains.

We found discursive effects of whiteness in many of the governance arrangements in remote Indigenous regions. For example important consultative processes involved culturally alien forms of obtaining consent: meetings were called and letters written to community members who often did not receive notices in a timely manner (Mantziaris and Martin, 2000). In one case, an Indigenous organization that was a collaborating partner for a project with the first author prepared an enterprise development project report for which consultation with a key governance body was required. According to the partner, the governance body did not support

the local project as the financial return (compared to what might be received from mining royalties) was extremely modest. The 'consultation process' in this case involved ensuring groups opposed to the project would attend the meeting. Two groups who supported the project were sent a letter by mail informing them of the consultation meeting to be held a considerable distance away. The letter was received the day before the meeting was to be held. When the first author visited the community he found the letter unopened as no one in the community had sufficient (English) literacy to read it. Groups opposed to the project on the other hand were informed well in advance and provided with resources to attend the meeting and vote against the proposal thus making a mockery of community consultation. As Tatz (1982: 176) suggests, Aboriginal communities are the 'receivers of consultation', in that Aboriginal people are talked to about the decisions arrived at' (original emphasis). Thus, Western imposed regimes of governance and consultation ostensibly designed to 'protect' Indigenous self –determined 'voices' can have the opposite effect – strangling Indigenous initiative and entrepreneurship through complex bureaucratic mechanisms, ineffective and exclusive modes of consultation, restrictions on the conversion of land into assets on Indigenous terms and the concomitant promotion of dependence on either state welfare or royalty payments from environmentally and socially destructive resource extraction activities owned and operated by and for dominant culture -'white' - interests.

A starker example of whiteness operating in governance was the overtly paternalistic racism and sexism we experienced at a meeting between government officials and an Indigenous Community Council. On this occasion an 'emergency' meeting was called by a government official to discuss the council's future because of alleged 'accounting irregularities'. At this meeting (which we were invited to attend as 'observers') we witnessed direct threats by the

government official to cut off funding, a refusal to engage with explanations given by elected community councilors and a complete lack of acknowledgement by the official for meeting protocol. A key community council position is the Municipal Services Officer (MSO), usually a 'white fella' and first point of contact for government officials. In this particular council, the MSO was an Indigenous woman who was herself a Traditional Owner. Throughout the two hour meeting the government official did not once acknowledge her presence. In a meeting with another council the same official had sought explanations from their 'white' MSO but on this occasion the official had first discussed the Indigenous Council's business with other non-Indigenous government officials in the region. At one point in the meeting when the MSO's comments were again deliberately ignored by the government official, the Chair of the council interjected:

> Why haven't you followed proper protocol for this meeting? You went and talked to the whitefellas here first. You never approached the MSO who is really the person in charge. If the MSO was white you'd go straight to him as you did in ….Why are you not listening to what the MSO has been saying?

What made this situation particularly ironic and demonstrated to us the discursive power of whiteness as assumed privilege, was the government official's public suggestion that since 'white staff tended to be better educated they were better qualified to comment on governance issues than Indigenous community members'. Yet the female Indigenous MSO who was completely ignored by the official possessed higher post secondary tertiary level qualifications than either the government official or any of the other white staff consulted.

In both regions we witnessed (and personally experienced) examples of blatant racism. Probably the most frightening and obscene incident involved an emotionally charged and

physically threatening exchange at a research site. The dispute was between a non-Indigenous cattle station manager and a Traditional Owner over access to his land. The road (the term is used loosely) to the Traditional Owner's land passed through the cattle station and the manager was adamant that he did not want 'you black bastards traipsing all over my place'. On one occasion when the Traditional Owner and the first author were driving through the cattle station, the station manager emerged brandishing a shotgun to show he was serious about preventing access to the Traditional Owner's land through 'his' road. His use of the term 'my' place was ironic; as the land the cattle station occupied was Aboriginal land leased to a corporation who employed the manager to run the station. The manager asserted that the only way to ensure the cattle station operated smoothly was to 'keep the blacks out'. Soon after this altercation fences and locked gates were built on the land to ensure the 'black bastards' indeed stayed out of their own land.

The challenges of governance posed by the structural disadvantages of remote Indigenous locations are many. For example, there are few facilities where people living in remote communities can pay traffic fines or renew driver's licenses in their communities. Instead they must make an 8-hour drive to Alice Springs, Darwin or other regional centers. Frequently, people are arrested for driving without a valid license or for unpaid fines and sometimes jailed. Alarming rates of Aboriginal deaths in custody have remained a major concern for decades. We interviewed a senior government official and asked him why there were no service provisions in remote communities to enable people to pay fines and renew licenses. We were told it was 'too expensive'. When we pointed out it was more expensive to imprison people and that too many Aboriginal people die in jail, we were told this was 'not his department'.

Discussion and Implications for Organizations

Our research shows that in the Indigenous political economy the state is the primary

driver of Western discourses of governance and development, coupled with corporate interests

such as minerals and resource industries. All stakeholders, whether part of the state, market or

customary economy claim to represent the interests of Indigenous communities, but in reality

claims of representation often work against the communities whose interests are said to be

represented. We found that discourses of whiteness were a source of structural advantage for the

dominant culture. Consistent with critical race theories about the hegemonic nature of

'whiteness' we found racial privileging enables the dominant culture to assume its own cultural

practices are normative (Frankenberg, 1997; Schech and Haggis, 2004). These normative

assumptions inform much Indigenous policy in Australia and have the effect of either negating or

exploiting local knowledge systems. We found whiteness operating at multiple levels – at policy

levels that determined funding decisions and outcomes, at the organizational level where

Indigenous managers regularly came up against barriers and at the individual level that

categorized 'white fella' and 'black fella' ways of being and doing. Rather than being

cognitively derived many responses in our interviews appear to arise from the 'embeddedness' of

whiteness in institutions, organizations and the political economy (Alderfer, 1987). The

embeddedness of whiteness manifested itself in power differentials between Indigenous and non-

Indigenous managers and organizations. These power differentials influenced the degree of

access to resources and despite governmental and corporate rhetoric about valuing and respecting

Indigenous ways of life, policies and practices continued to be informed by dominant group

thinking. Consistent with the findings of prior research on inter and intra group dynamics we

found that embedded whiteness affected individual members as well as group dynamics (Alderfer and Smith, 1982).

Analyses of power that problematize race in organizations reveal the discursive and material effects of the 'taken for grantedness of whiteness' that inform policies and practices (Macalpine and Marsh, 2005, Nkomo, 1992), as our findings show. Revisioning and rewriting race in the context of Indigenous enterprise development requires the rejection of white capital-centric notions of progress as the singular universal reality and re-embedding this 'non-inclusive universalization' in its historical and political contexts (Nkomo, 1992). Understanding whiteness through a framework of power relations allows us to see how particular Indigenous economic development and governance arrangements are racially constructed, as well as the role of capitalist modes of production in sustaining existing relations between Indigenous people and institutions and organizations that govern their everyday life. The 'everyday racism' that minorities face in western organizations may not be immediately apparent in Indigenous organizations comprised mainly of Indigenous people but whiteness manifests itself in the ways these organizations are governed and held accountable. Practices of racism operate at both micro and macro levels to legitimize hierarchies of difference and result in Indigenous interests being marginalized by the very organizations supposed to represent them.

But where there is power there is also resistance. In our interviews and observations we encountered several forms of resistance to hegemonic regimes of representation and governance. Boycotts of scheduled meetings with government agencies, disruptions of meetings, political maneuvering during council elections, organized protests about proposed changes to land rights legislation, non-compliance with government directives were some practices we encountered.

Resistance by community leaders demanded accountability from the state and drew attention to the disempowering outcomes of current governance systems.

Our research has implications for organizations that operate at the cusps of market-state, state-customary and market-customary interfaces of Indigenous political economy. Organizations at the market-state and state-customary interfaces are responsible for Indigenous economic development policy, land use agreements and provision of health, social and municipal services and welfare payments. The 'whiteness' of bureaucratic modes of governance ensure accountability is established more for funding agencies (primarily federal and state governments) than the communities they are designed to serve. More Indigenous 'participation' will not necessarily ensure these organizations serve Indigenous interests more effectively because regimes of representation and governance tend to normalize organizational practices to reflect dominant modes of control. What is needed are governance models that deliver genuine decision-making power to community representatives and involve greater Indigenous participation at policy levels, as opposed to the current system where Indigenous communities are 'receivers' of policy. Instead of market and state organizations 'consulting' Indigenous communities about economic development policies, Indigenous respondents wanted Indigenous organizations with the power to make decisions about their economic, cultural and social life on their terms on their lands, in 'consultation' with the non-Indigenous polity.

At the market-customary economy interface Indigenous enterprise development has been limited. Current models of development favor large mining and resource interests and leave Indigenous communities to bear the brunt of development or fighting for and over royalty payments - and often with little opportunity for meaningful employment (Banerjee, 2008). Traditional Owners with custodial rights and thousands of generations of cultural knowledge of

their own Lands are the least likely to be working on Australian mining sites (Bryant and Tedmanson, 2005). New forms of organization and governance that incorporate an explicit awareness of the hegemonic effects of whiteness may offer alternate ways for Indigenous economic participation. These new forms of organization need to accommodate tensions between cultural, social and political life as well as individual, family and community owned enterprises. Emerging research on social entrepreneurship may offer some insights. A social enterprise is a 'market based venture for a social purpose' (Dees and Anderson, 2002: 16) that produces goods and services; has explicit social aims; involves the direct participation of community members and can be either for-profit or non-profit (Borzaga and Defourny, 2004). Such enterprises are usually locality or community based, part of a stakeholder economy and structured and governed by and for stakeholder interests to ensure surpluses are principally reinvested to achieve agreed community aims.

Developing governance arrangements for organizations that serve Indigenous interests requires new ontological approaches that encompass a plurality of voices and multi-agent actors drawn from economic, social, cultural, political, juridical and pedagogical spheres. The focus in hybrid or 'polyphonic' (Hazen, 1993) organizations is not on the management of diversity but on the possibility of simultaneous and sequential dialogues between diverse actors that allows questions to be raised from different, often competing rationalities (Hazen, 1993). Diversity and difference are thus not managed or controlled to meet narrow dominant culture goals but engaged within a process of dialogical translation whereby multiple voices emerge to build stronger organizational communication (Clegg, Kornberger, Carter and Rhodes, 2006). In such organizational forms relations of power are recognized as running through and between organizations and enacted by organizational and community members (Hazen, 1993).

What lessons can we learn from our research? First, whiteness and its enactment as racism continue to have profound discursive and material effects in the Indigenous political economy. The 'taken for granted' assumption of the normativity of non-Indigenous culture produces and reproduces 'white' privilege as both epistemological and ontological dominance. Unlike Canada, the United States or New Zealand, Indigenous issues in Australia have always occupied an ambiguous and derivative policy position due to the absence of any formal constitutional recognition of Indigenous sovereignty. The Australian nation-state's claim to sovereignty is exclusively 'white'. A more radical way of imagining Indigenous sovereignty in contemporary Australia is to conceptualize its ways of 'resisting 'white institutions, structures, and processes on the basis of an ontological difference and priority' (Nicoll, 2004: 18). While Indigenous 'cultural rights' are supposedly enshrined in the United Nations, state sovereignty inevitably trumps Indigenous cultural rights in cases of conflicts. The challenge in the Australian context is to develop processes that empower the translation of Indigenous relationships, defined through whiteness discourses as 'traditional laws and customs' into enforceable legal rights and organizationally efficacious forms.

Second, the economic and social worth of the 'customary' economy is rarely understood by white Western economic frameworks for its value, not just to Indigenous families and communities but also in preserving, regenerating and sustaining large areas of environmental resource, crucial to the nation-state. In the Australian census the customary economy is not counted, resulting in an underreporting of the extent of market engagement by remote Indigenous communities (Altman, 2001). The types of support available for Indigenous enterprise development are predicated on white Western notions of market and value that may not address the cultural and social needs of remote communities.

Third, there is a perception among Indigenous community members and leaders that both the government and many agencies representing local communities are failing in their jobs. Communities are forced to work with culturally alien forms of decision-making informed by white Western organizational cultural practices and notions of consultation, governance and representation, which, while meeting white needs for control, are sometimes incongruous with Indigenous cultural, political and kinship mores.

Fourth, our findings have implications for management education and learning. We add to the small but growing number of voices that provide a critical perspective on 'diversity management', multiculturalism and race studies in management. The management literature has generally ignored the experiences of Indigenous peoples in their attempts to participate in their market economy. Barring a few exceptions most references to Indigenous communities in the management literature has focused on how business firms can use Indigenous environmental knowledge to become environmentally sustainable. Our research highlights the need for management educators to develop a more critical perspective to issues of race in an attempt to highlight how discursive practices of whiteness inform conventional approaches to organizational-stakeholder relations such as stakeholder theory or corporate social responsibility. We consider our research illustrates the importance of management education including analyses and narratives from Indigenous experience to enhance understandings about the complexity of business development, management and governance in post-colonial contexts. As Indigenous scholar Dodson (1998:3) suggests, there are distinct values informed by different knowledge bases and standpoints that comprise management approaches to Indigenous enterprise development, which takes place: 'within a struggle for power and autonomy and debates about self-determination and control, that are intensely political and inherently complex'.

Whiteness has an unfinished history in Australia in the context of Indigenous experiences. An understanding of how whiteness - its phenomenology and false fantasies - operates in the Indigenous political economy may allow us to design more appropriate structures that support, not hinder, Indigenous enterprise development. Successive waves of racist policies from extermination to assimilation and mainstreaming have positioned remote Indigenous communities as entrapped spaces, passive recipients of white largesse. Indigenous enterprise development is often stymied by the very structures that are supposed to deliver economic independence to remote communities because the discursive power of whiteness has created regimes of representation and governance inimical to Indigenous interests. As one respondent described to us:

> It's like some bastard standing over you while you're lying on the ground, saying 'come on, what's wrong with you, get up off the ground, stand on your own two feet' – while he's got his foot on your throat holding you there.

Without exception, every Indigenous community member we interviewed expressed a desire to live on their traditional land rather than move to regional centers. The quest for sustainable enterprise development was viewed as a means for ensuring sustainability of Indigenous lifestyles, indeed Indigenous life itself - as this excerpt from a letter written by a community leader (Minutjukur, 2006) demonstrates, which we feel provides a fitting conclusion to our paper:

> We know that we have a lot of wisdom and knowledge but the people from the Government won't listen to us and work with us. Maybe they still think we are tjitjis (children) who can't look after ourselves. We feel like the grass is being burnt under our feet and no one is listening. Maybe the Government wants us all to move (to the

cities). But we can't leave our country or it will die, and our children will die, and

we will die. Then no one will be able to hear us.
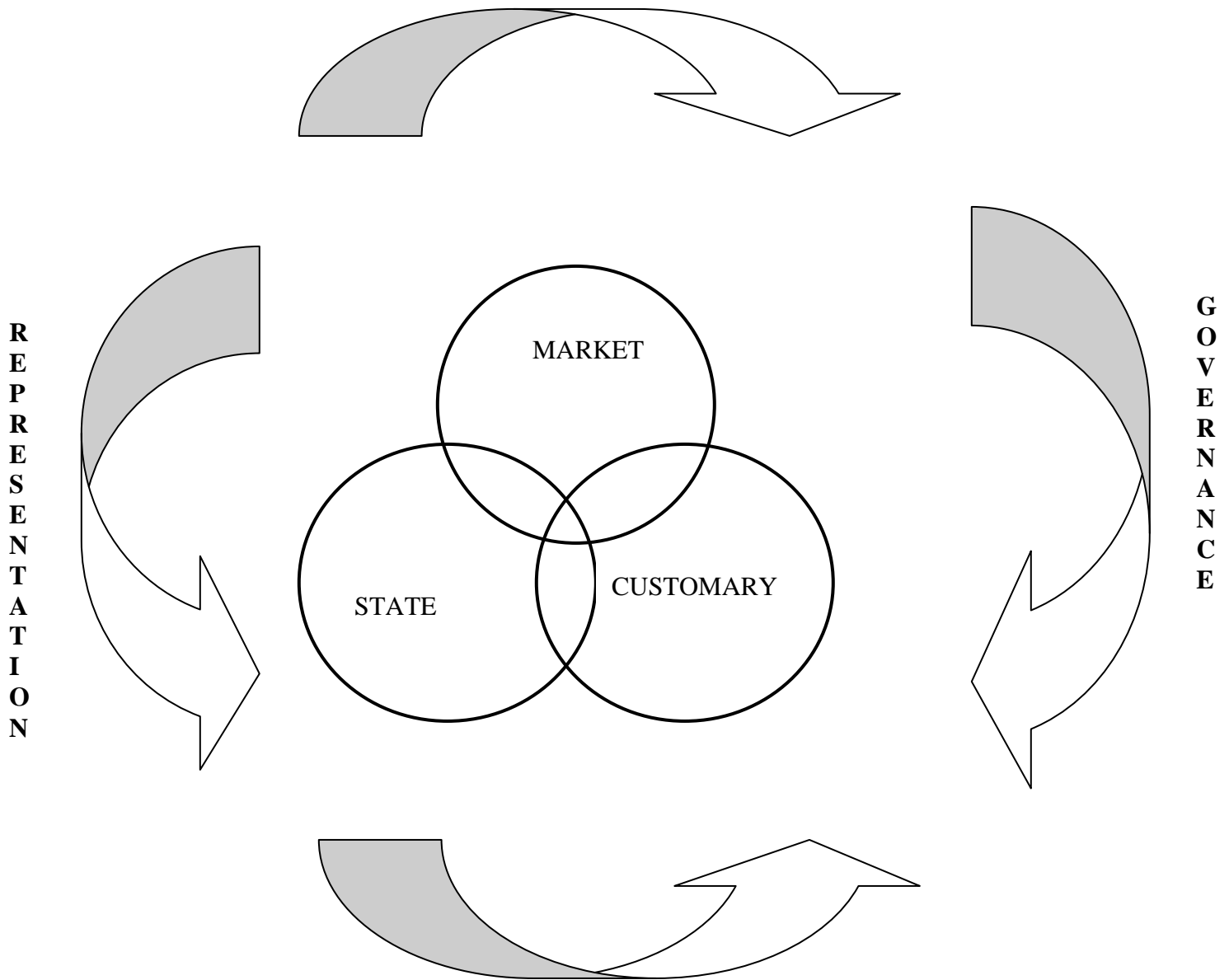
Figure 1

THE INDIGENOUS POLITICAL ECONOMY
Source: Altman (2001)

References

Ahluwalia, P. (2001) When does a settler become a native? Citizenship and identity in a

    settler society', Pretexts: literary and cultural studies 10 (1):63–73.

Ahmed, S. (2007) 'A Phenomenology of Whiteness', Feminist Theory 8 (2): 149-168.

Alderfer, C. P. and Smith, K. K. (1982) 'Studying Inter-group Relations Embedded in

    Organizations', Administrative Science Quarterly, 27 (1): 35-65.

Alderfer, C. P. (1987) 'An Intergroup Perspective on Group Dynamics', in J. Lorsch (Ed.),

    Handbook on Organizational Behavior, pp. 190–222, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice

    Hall.

Allen, T.W. (1994) The Invention of the White Race. London : Verso

Altman, J.C. (2001) 'Sustainable Development Options on Aboriginal Land: The Hybrid

    Economy in the Twenty-first Century', Discussion paper no. 226, Centre for

    Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. Canberra: Australian National University.

Altman, J.C. and Hunter, B.H. (2003) 'Monitoring Practical Reconciliation: Evidence from the

    Reconciliation Decade 1991–2001', Discussion paper no. 254/2003, Centre for

    Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. Canberra: Australian National University.

Anderson, I. (1994) 'Powers of health, on the politics of self-determining Aboriginal health',

    Arena Magazine, 11: 32–6.

Arthur, W.S. (1999) 'Careers, Aspirations and the Meaning of Work in Remote Australia',

    Discussion paper no. 190, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. Canberra:

    Australian National University.

ATSIC (2001) Social Justice Report. Canberra: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

    Commission.

Banerjee, S.B. (2000) 'Whose Land is it Anyway? National Interest, Indigenous Stakeholders and Colonial Discourses: The Case of the Jabiluka Uranium Mine', Organization & Environment 13 (1): 3-38.

Banerjee, S.B. and Linstead, S. (2004) 'Masking Subversion: Neocolonial Embeddedness in Anthropological Accounts of Indigenous Management', Human Relations 57: 221–247.

Banerjee, S.B. (2008) 'Necrocapitalism', Organization Studies 29 (12): 1541-1563.

Bell, E.L.J. and Nkomo, S. (2001) Our Separate Ways: Black and White Women and the Struggle for Professional identity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bennett, S., (1999) White Politics and Black Australians. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Borzaga C. and Defourny J. (2004) The Emergence of Social Enterprise. Routledge: London.

Bryant, L .and Tedmanson, D. (2005) 'Drilling Down: Diversity in the Mining Industry', International Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Change Management 5 (3): 157 -168.

Clegg, S., Kornberger, M., Carter, C. and Rhodes, C. (2006) 'For Management?' Management Learning 37 (1): 7-27.

Dees, J.G. and Anderson, B.B. (2002) 'For-profit Social Ventures', International Journal of Entrepreneurship Education 2 (1): 8-21.

Dodson, M. (1994) 'The Wentworth Lecture: The End in the Beginning: Re(de)finding Aboriginiality', Australian Aboriginal Studies, 1: 2-13.

Dodson, P. (1998) 'Will the Circle Be Broken - Cycles of Survival for Indigenous Australians', HC Coombs North Australia Lecture, Darwin: Charles Darwin University Press.

Durie, J. (2003) 'Speaking the Silence of Whiteness', Journal of Australian Studies 79: 135-142.

Dyer, R. (1997) White. New York: Routledge.

Essed, P. (1991) Everyday Racism. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Frankenburg, R. (1997) Displacing Whiteness. London: Duke.

Hall, S. (1997) Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. London: Sage Publications.

Hazen, M. A. (1993) 'Towards Polyphonic Organization', Journal of Organizational Change Management 6, 15-26.

Hill, M. (1997) Whiteness: A Critical Reader. New York: New York University Press.

Holt (1999) 'Pssst…I Wannabe White', in B. McKay (ed) Unmasking Whiteness: Race Relations and Reconciliation. The Queensland Studies Centre: Griffith University Press.

Katona, J. (1998) 'If Native Title is Us, it's Inside us: Jabiluka and the Politics of Intercultural Negotiation. Interview with S. Perera and J. Pugliese', Australian Feminist Law Journal 10: 1-34.

Macalpine, M. and Marsh, S. (2005) 'On Being White: There's Nothing I Can Say': Exploring Whiteness and Power in Organizations', Management Learning 36 (4): 429-450.

Mantziaris C. and Martin, D. (2000) Native Title Corporations, a Legal and Anthropological Analysis. Native Title Tribunal and The Federation Press. Annandale. NSW.

Minutjukur, M. (2006) 'A Letter to Australians', New Matilda Magazine, http://www.newmatilda.com/home/articledetail.asp? ArticleID=1810. Accessed January 20, 2009.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2000) Talkin' Up to the White Woman. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2004a) 'Whiteness, Epistemology and Indigenous Representation' in A.

    Moreton-Robinson (ed) Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism, pp.

    75-88. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2004b) 'The Possessive Logic of Patriarchal White Sovereignty:

    The High Court and the Yorta Yorta Decision', Borderlands e-journal, 3 (2)

    http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/moreton_possessive.htm. Accessed

    January 20, 2009.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2005) 'The House that Jack Built: Britishness and White Possession',

    Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal 1: 21-29.

Muecke, S. (1992) Textual Spaces: Aboriginality and Cultural Studies. Kensington, N.S.W.,

    New South Wales University Press.

Mulligan, Hon. E.P. (2008) Children On Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands

    Commission Of Inquiry, SA Government, Adelaide, SA.

Nakata, M. (2003) 'Better' in Michelle Grossman (ed.). Blacklines: Contemporary Critical

    Writings by Indigenous Australians, pp. 132-144. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Nicoll, F. (2001) From Diggers to Drag Queens. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Nicoll, F. (2004) 'Reconciliation in and out of Perspective: White Knowing, Seeing, Curating

    and Being at Home in and Against Indigenous Sovereignty' in A. Moreton-Robinson

    (ed) Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism, pp. 17-31. Canberra:

    Aboriginal Studies Press.

Nkomo, S.M. (1992) 'The Emperor Has No Clothes: Rewriting "Race in Organizations"',

    Academy of Management Review 17 (3): 487-513.

Osuri, G. and Banerjee, S.B. (2004) 'White Diasporas: Media Representations of September 11 and the Unbearable Whiteness of being in Australia', Social Semiotics 14 (2): 151-171.

Perera, S. (2005) 'Who Will I Become? The Multiple Formations of Australian Whiteness', Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal 1: 30-39.

Radhakrishnan, R. (1994) 'Postmodernism and the Rest of the World', Organization 1 (2): 305-340.

Riggs, D.W (2004) ' Benevolence and the Management of Stake: On Being 'Good White People'' Philament: an Online Journal of the Arts and Culture, http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/publications/philament/issue4_Critique_Riggs.htm. Accessed January 20, 2009

Riggs, D.W. & Augoustinos, M. (2005) 'The psychic life of colonial power: Racialised subjectivities, bodies and methods', Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology 16: 461-477.

Said, E.W. (1978). Orientalism. New York. Pantheon Books.

Said, E.W. (1986) 'Intellectuals in the Post-Colonial World', Salmagundi 70/71:44-64.

Schech, S. and Haggis, J. (2004) 'Terrains of Migrancy and Whiteness: How British Migrants Locate Themselves in Australia' in A. Moreton-Robinson (ed) Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism, pp. 176-191. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Standfield, R. (2004) 'A remarkably tolerant nation? Constructions of benign whiteness in Australian political discourse', Borderlands e-journal, 3 (2).

Tatz, C. (1999) Genocide in Australia, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) Research Discussion Paper, No. 8, Canberra.

Taylor J. and Bell, M. (2004) Population Mobility and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia and

    North America. Routledge: London and New York.

Tedmanson, D. (2008) 'Isle of Exception: Sovereign Power and Palm Island', Critical

    Perspectives on International Business, 4 (2/3): 142-165.

Wadham, B. (2002) 'What Does the White Man Want? White Masculinities and Aboriginal

    Reconciliation', in S. Pearce and I. Muller (eds) Manning the next Millennium: Studies

    in Masculinities, pp. 215-223. Chicago: Black Swan Press.

Wolfe, P. (1999) Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology. The Politics

    and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event. London: Cassell.