

Identifying and incorporating indigenous landscape values into regional planning processes

Darryl Low Choy, Jenny Wadsworth, Darren Burns



Urban Research Program

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Front Cover

Artwork on front cover by kind permission of South East Queensland Traditional Owners Alliance and Melinda Serico.

Project contributors

Griffith University Industry Collaborative Scheme (GUICS) comprised of Industry partners (funders): the Department of Infrastructure and Planning (formerly Office of Urban Management) and SEQ Catchments in partnership with Griffith University. Collaborating partners in the research also include the South East Queensland Traditional Owners Alliance (SEQTOA).

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Executive summary

The purpose of this document is to provide a final report to the partners of the Griffith University Industry Collaborative Scheme (GUICS), namely the (former) Office of Urban Management (now Department of Infrastructure and Planning), SEQ Catchments and Griffith University. As a non-financial but collaborating partner, the South East Queensland Traditional Owners Alliance (SEQTOA), formerly South East Queensland Traditional Owners Land and Sea Management Alliance (SEQTOLSMA) are also included in this reporting process.

The purpose of the GUICS is to fund pilot research projects and to encourage research partnerships between Griffith researchers and industry that will lead to applications for grants for further research under the Australian Research Council's (ARC) Linkage Projects scheme. As a consequence of this 12 months pilot study, a full ARC's Linkage grant application is now being prepared.

The initial pilot study has scoped the dimensions of the issues associated with the overall research question which is to ascertain if indigenous landscape values in SEQ can be identified and represented in ways that respect indigenous culture and represent their interest in conventional regional planning processes for this region

The findings of this preliminary research have confirmed that it is possible to identify and articulate indigenous landscape values for SEQ. Similarly, a range of representations of indigenous landscape values have been identified which suggest that it may be highly possible to incorporate indigenous landscape values into South East Queensland's regional planning processes.

Whilst the findings from this pilot study require further research for confirmation and supplementation, they do offer a rigorous way forward. The conceptual frameworks developed from the research findings to date will serve as key elements to guide and direct future research efforts. They can be supplemented by potentially useful models already derived from the literature.

This pilot study has confirmed the relevance of the original research questions and sub-questions and provided findings that can serve as a valid way forward for the overall research.

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List of Abbreviations & Acronyms

AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
ARC	Australian Research Council
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
GUICS	Griffith University Industry Collaborative Scheme
SEQ	South East Queensland
SEQRP05	<i>South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005-2026</i>
SEQTOA	South East Queensland Traditional Owners Alliance
SEQTOLSMA	South East Queensland Traditional Owners Land and Sea Management Alliance
TO	Traditional Owner

1. Introduction

1.1. Research Rationale

Comprehensive landscape planning requires a multiple objective–multiple values approach that acknowledges the values of all stakeholders. Current planning paradigms that advance a values-led planning approach need to be informed by scientifically valid community values that are supported by the communities they represent.

Contemporary concepts of the ‘regional landscape’ acknowledge that it embodies through its open space a range of community based values including high biodiversity, high scenic amenity, good quality agricultural land, sustainable nature based recreation opportunities, important cultural heritage of recognised community (including indigenous) significance and ecosystem services (Low Choy 2004; Low Choy 2008). However, regional planning processes Australian-wide have been entirely devoid of agreed indigenous landscape values. In the meantime regional planning has proceeded as exemplified by the release of *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005-2026* (SEQRP05) in June 2005.

In the case of the *SEQ Regional Plan* a number of landscape types have been recognised and accepted by all stakeholders (such as the working, protective, leisure or viewed landscape). Most have been, or are being, addressed in some detail by an appropriate study or strategy (for example the Rural Futures Study, Nature Conservation Strategy, Outdoor Recreation Strategy and Scenic Amenity Study). However, this has not the case with the Indigenous landscape. In the absence of a study of indigenous landscape values that can lead to an agreed strategy, regional planning outcomes stand a chance of being uninformed of these values. If the Indigenous landscape does not receive the same degree of study and research attention as the other competing landscape types, its values will not be identified and they will be unable to be recognised and accounted for in future policies and planning initiatives.

The release of the SEQRP05 also provided an opportunity to formally acknowledge this deficiency. At that time, it was also believed that the intervening period leading to the future review of this plan provided a brief window of opportunity to address the deficiencies in indigenous regional landscape values for South East Queensland (SEQ) and to fully engage indigenous stakeholders in the evolving regional landscape planning processes. Outputs from such a study could be developed to feed directly into current regional planning processes being undertaken by the State and Local Governments in the SEQ region. The methodology developed through this study could also have relevance to other regional planning studies external to SEQ.

1.2. Research Partners

The opportunity to instigate a preliminary study of indigenous landscape values for the SEQ region was provided by the Griffith University Industry Collaborative Scheme (GUICS). The purpose of the GUICS is to fund pilot research projects and to encourage research partnerships between Griffith researchers and industry that will lead to applications for grants for further research under the ARC’s Linkage Projects scheme. The GUICS funding partners include the (former) Office of Urban

Management (now Department of Infrastructure and Planning), SEQ Catchments and Griffith University.

The project has the full support of the South East Queensland Traditional Owners Alliance (SEQTOA), formerly South East Queensland Traditional Owners Land and Sea Management Alliance (SEQTOLSMA). SEQTOA is the peak body formed by Traditional Owner cultural groups in SEQ to represent and advance their interests in cultural and natural resource management. The primary aim of SEQTOA is to develop wider engagement of Traditional Owners in cultural and natural resource management.

During this research, SEQTOA with their established reputation and contact network, served as the gatekeepers to the SEQ indigenous community (Traditional Owners and non Traditional Owners). They agreed to participate in the study and to assist in the facilitation of the workshops. One part-time research assistant for the project is a Board member of SEQTOA.

1.3. Research Question and Objectives

Subsequent to a round of preliminary discussions amongst the principal stakeholders and the research partners, the following research question was confirmed as the focus for the overall research project including this pilot study:

Can indigenous landscape values be identified and represented in ways that respect indigenous culture and represent their interest in conventional regional planning processes?

Three specific objectives were identified to guide the research process, namely:

Objective 1: To articulate indigenous landscape values for SEQ

Objective 2: To explore a range of representations of indigenous landscape values

Objective 3: To explore potential ways to incorporate indigenous landscape values into South East Queensland's regional planning processes.

The principal purpose of this report is to meet the requirements of the GUICS – ie a final report of the GUICS funded pilot research project to the research partners. In doing so, it addresses the research question and the objectives to varying degrees of detail within the scope of a pilot study of 12 months limited duration. The findings will also be used to prepare an application for an ARC Linkage grant which will be designed to address the overall research question.

This report corroborates the project's two workshop findings (Low Choy, Wadsworth and Burns 2008a, 2008b) with external evidence and explores both the limitations and implications of the findings.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research Context

The overall research was conceived as a long term project comprising of three stages. The pilot study, the subject of this report, is Stage 1 of the anticipated full research project. The project is expected to progress as follows (see Table 1):

Stage 1: A pilot study with Industry partners and SEQTOA undertaken under the auspices of the Griffith University Industry Collaborative Scheme (GUICS) – January to December 2008. This first stage involves a review of the literature and two workshops to scope the contextual situation to the principal research question.

Stage 2: Development of an application for an ARC Linkage grant application with the Industry partners and SEQTOA – December 2008 to April 2009.

Stage 3: Subsequent to a successful ARC Linkage grant, the full research study would be undertaken. This work will be guided by the findings from Stage 1.

Table 1: Works program

Study Stage	Stage 1												Stage 2				Stage 3 -->									
	Month	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	J	F	M	A					
Year	2008												2009				2010									
Literature Search	--	--	--	--	--	-->							--	--	-->							--	--	--	-->	
Communication Strategy	--	--	-->																				--	-->		
Case Study Research (X4)																										
Reporting																										
ARC Linkage Application																										
Workshops				*							*															
SEQTOA Briefings		*				*								*									*			

A case study approach has been adopted based on the four indigenous sub-regions of SEQ. These case study areas are depicted on the SEQ map in Figure 1:

- Northern Sub-region (Noosa River-Pine River) (Gubbi Gubbi, Kabi Kabi, Jinibara, Dalungbara);
- Central Sub-region (Pine River-Logan River) (Jagera, (Jagera, Yuggera, Ugarapul) Jinibara);
- Eastern Sub-region (Moreton Bay Islands and adjacent mainland land and sea country) (Quandamooka (Ngugi, Noonucle, Gorenpul)); and
- Southern Sub-region (Logan River-NSW Border) (Yugambeh (eight tribes), Ngarang-Wal/Kombumerri, Mulanjarlie) (SEQTOLSMA 2008).

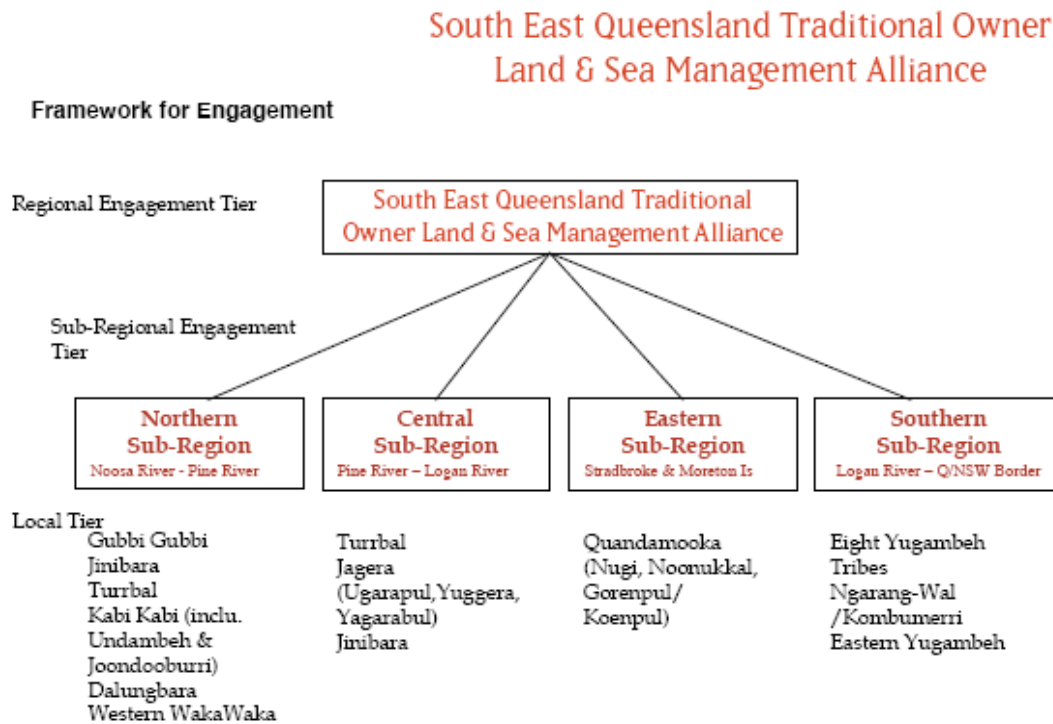


(Source: SEQTOLSMA, 2008)

Figure 1: Sub-regional indigenous groups of South East Queensland

2.2. Workshops

The two workshops were designed to support the case study approach, using participants from South East Queensland's four indigenous sub-regional groups to consider their regional landscape values. SEQTOA was pivotal in the organisation of the workshops. Their established networks and processes of engagement (as shown in Figure 2 below) were utilised to maintain the integrity of the research. All participants gave formal consent to their involvement in the research process. Additionally, all participants authorised filming of the workshop, which was undertaken by SEQTOA as a separate undertaking to this research.



(Source: SEQTOA)

Figure 2: SEQTOA framework for engagement

Workshops 1 and 2 were conducted in a semi-structured manner and followed a similar agenda, with Workshop 2 building on the outputs of Workshop 1. Each workshop was opened with a 'Welcome to Country' and a presentation by a local indigenous cultural group. As the presentations related to the indigenous landscape, this assisted in establishing a common frame of reference for the subsequent workshop activities – that is, dealing with landscape values across the entire South East Queensland region.

An overview of the current regional planning process for SEQ was presented at each workshop in order to provide a context for the research and its intended outputs. This included an explanation of the manner in which indigenous regional landscape values, once identified and articulated, could be recognised and incorporated into the ongoing regional planning process.

In the second workshop, an overview of regional landscape values identified in Workshop 1 was provided and this set the context for the consideration of a broad range of possible representations of these values during that workshop. Through explaining the context of the research, workshop participants learnt more about the

regional planning processes, as well as the identification and communication of indigenous regional landscape values.

Following the introduction, the workshop activities were divided into two main sessions; a full workshop group session (Session 1), followed by a session in sub-regional groups (Session 2). Workshop attendees were asked to split into their respective sub-regional groups based on those shown in Figures 1 and 2, but primarily according to the strongest affiliation felt by each individual.

During Session 1, individual responses and the main topics of group discussion were recorded by hand on a large wall chart at the front of the room as well as on a laptop (projected onto a screen at the front of the room). Participants recorded their responses for the second workshop session on large tabular sheets provided to each sub-regional group for that purpose.

Workshop 1 Foci

During Session 1, all workshop attendees were asked:

- *What is it in the regional landscape of the Goori/Murri Nation that is important and has value to you?*

In Session 2, each of the four sub-regional groups was then asked to:

- *Identify specific examples of the important regional landscape values in your sub-region;*
- *What defines these values?; and*
- *Where do these values come from?*

Workshop 2 Foci

Using the values identified in Workshop 1 as a framework for Session 1, all workshop attendees were asked to address the following four questions;

- Question 1a: *How is this element/value identified in the regional landscape?*
- Question 1b: *How is information on this element/value communicated?*
- Question 2a: *How have these elements/values changed over time?*
- Question 2b: *What could be a reason for this change?*

In Session 2, each of the four sub-regional groups was then asked to:

- *Describe specific examples and representations of the landscape elements/values in your sub-region.*

Attendance

A total of 64 people participated in Workshop 1, whilst less than half (26) participated in Workshop 2. This may have been due to the unavoidable limited notice leading up to Workshop 2. There were only two Workshop 2 participants who did not attend Workshop 1.

It is evident in Appendix 1 that there was representation (of elders and others) across all four sub-regions in South East Queensland for both workshops. The majority of participants were traditional owners and in both workshops the largest numbers of participants came from the Southern and Eastern sub-regions. One reason for this may be that participants from these sub-regions live in closer proximity to Brisbane (where both workshops were held).

2.3. Literature Review

SEQ indigenous landscape values identified during the first workshop (held on the 17th June 2008) have guided the direction and content of the literature review, thus far. They have included the following key words and themes:

- Boundaries, pathways and sites
- Spiritual connection to country – origin – lore
- Social connection to country
- Access, lore
- “first nation” people
- Identity (of landscape, of individuals, families and clans)
- Biodiversity and totemic identity
- Indigenous regional landscape knowledge as intellectual property

The literature review was carried out using the process outlined below:

- brainstorming of key search words and themes – including indigenous, values, regional, planning and landscape;
- research of the indigenous regional landscape values articulated during the workshop 1 group session;
- review of the relevant academic literature;
- research into appropriate Australian case studies; and
- research into appropriate international case studies.

2.4. Communication Strategy

A key element and output of the initial phase of this research project has been the development of an agreed communication strategy. The fundamental underlying philosophy of this communication strategy is maintaining respect for indigenous knowledge. All workshop participants gave consent to be a part of the research and the workshops were designed to target both information transfer and information sharing. Whilst the workshop participants did endeavour to address the issues in a comprehensive manner, it is acknowledged that the discussion and subsequent reports may not necessarily reflect the full range of values and opinions of all indigenous and traditional owners in South East Queensland. The original workshop findings presented in the Appendices of this report remain relatively unchanged, with only minor adjustments made to ensure readability. The findings are however, supported by a robust methodological process and they do provide a useful foundation upon which to build the conceptual content and take the research project forward.

The tangible outputs from this Stage 1 pilot study will include:

- two reports summarising the findings of each workshop to be distributed to all participants for revision
- a report to the Industry partners and SEQTOLSMA; and
- a conference paper leading to a paper to a peer reviewed journal.

This output will address the issues of indigenous landscape values and how they are articulated and represented in indigenous culture, with particular reference to SEQ.

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The Stage 2 output will be an ARC Linkage Grant application timed for submission in the first call for applications in 2009.

The proposed outputs from Stage 3 (the full research project) will include:

1. an articulation of the indigenous landscape values for SEQ;
2. a range of representations of these indigenous regional landscape values;
3. a process for incorporating the indigenous landscape values into the SEQ regional planning processes; and
4. a number of peer reviewed publication/s and conference papers.

3. Review of Literature

3.1. Regional Landscape Values

For the purposes of this report, it is necessary to make a clear conceptual distinction between 'elements' and 'values' in relation to the regional landscape. Elements are a geographical component or feature of the regional landscape. Examples of elements include rivers, lakes, mountains, valleys and rocks. Values on the other hand are things (such as beliefs, ideals and physical objects) that are considered important. Thus, they are highly subjective. Furthermore, regional landscape values are highly place specific. It must also be noted that not all values can be spatially expressed.

The nature of humans' perception of, and relationship with, the environment has received considerable academic attention. Tuan's assertion that "spaces become 'places' as they become imbued with meaning through lived experiences" (Stedman 2003:672) in 1977 is an early example of such thinking. Our experiences and interpretations of the regional landscape affect the way we think and feel about it. Thus, depending on our degree of continuous contact with the regional landscape, as it changes over time, our thoughts and feelings about it will be influenced too.

"Sense of place" is a concept that encompasses the physical environment, human behaviour and social and/or psychological processes (Stedman 2003:671) and is commonly used to capture the holistic nature of our relationship with the environment.

Whilst it is accepted that our sense of place is often connected to the presence of physical features within the environment, Stedman recognises that researchers have tended to focus more on the socially constructed elements of place interpretation (Stedman 2003:671). Stedman's (2003:682) research showed that physical features of the landscape influence our sense of place in different ways according to:

- our experiences (and the meanings we attach to features)
- our place attachment ('emotional bond')
- our place satisfaction

The concept which treated landscape features as the basis of meanings (and indirectly influencing place attachment and satisfaction) showed a significant degree of fit. Given that meanings are primarily experiential, Stedman (2003:682-683) then points out the difficulty of maintaining those meanings (and a strong sense of place) if the landscape changes.

3.2. Changes in Values over Time

Planning, particularly regional scale strategic planning, in dealing with the management of landscapes, must address the dynamic nature of these landscapes and the drivers of change that influence them. (Antrop 2005:22) sums up this dynamic nature, commenting "Landscapes always change because they are the expression of the dynamic interaction between natural and cultural forces in the environment". As a result, regional landscape values change over time. Changes in these values are typically influenced by the people who have a direct interest or relationship with the land and the function that they rely on the landscape to perform. Increasing urbanisation, for example, requires the regional landscape to perform

functions such as recreation/leisure and ecosystem services that may not have been previously as significant.

Antrop (2005) reviews landscape changes over time in Europe that reflect a similar process of value changes over time in Australia. Antrop identifies three distinct historical periods; namely the pre-18th Century traditional landscapes, landscapes of the revolution age (19th Century to the Second World War) and the post-modern landscapes.

Traditional landscapes make reference to the notion of 'homelands', where the landscape is a product of the people living and working on the land, Landscapes of the revolution age on the other hand are characterised by a broken history with the traditional landscape. Subsequently, complete change of that landscape was desired. Furthermore with the focal shift towards urban and global arenas, a multitude of post-modern landscapes are evident. "The main difference between traditional and new [post-modern] landscapes resides in their dynamics, both in speed, and scale, as well as the changing perceptions, values and behaviour of their users." (Antrop 2005:25)

Bergman et al. (2008) found an almost complete annihilation of landscape elements and values once significant to the native Sami people of northern Scandinavia following conflict with Swedish and Christian societies. Forced abandonment of the traditional way of life for Sami people has meant that place names and fragmented oral history (by those in continuous contact with the landscape) serve as the only remaining representations of Sami regional landscape values. It is interesting to note that the Sami landscapes were once "laden with religious significance" (Bergman et al. 2008:1) and several similarities can be identified between the Sami way of life and the way of life for Indigenous Australians, including:

- socio-territorial organisation into a regional network of groups, family and individuals;
- distinction between common sites in prominent and well-marked locations and private sites near habitation sites and migration/hunting routes;
- status, kinship etc determines level of access to regional landscape; and
- a way of life associated with natural events (calendar).

3.3. Articulation of Indigenous Regional Landscape Values

In the Cultural Heritage Survey and Study for the Coombabah Lakelands Conservation Area and environs in South East Queensland, the authors explain the importance of considering indigenous landscape values at a regional scale, "For Aboriginal activity...it is best to view the area within its wider regional context, which incorporates all the various elements of season, environment, social interactions, ceremony and resource availability" (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:8). In his brief comments on the Indigenous Australian relationship to the land, Tuan also emphasised the distinct types of landscape meaning evident at this scale:

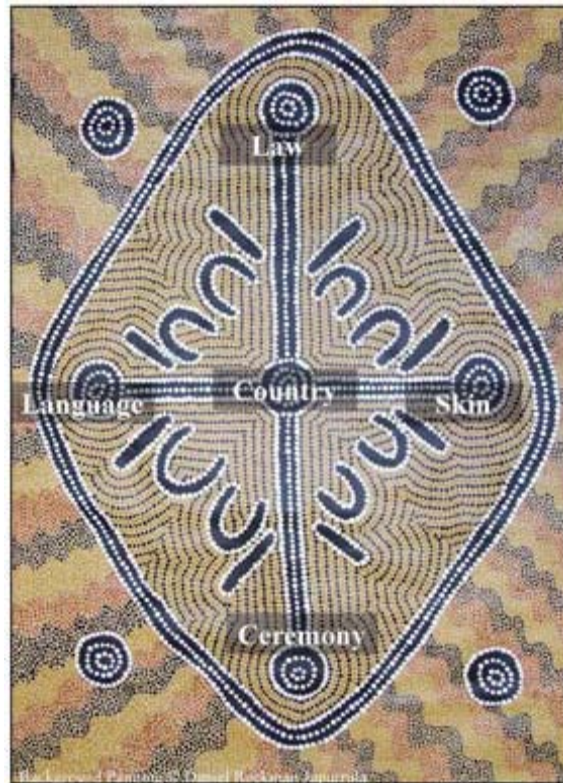
- the social and ceremonial landscape [that is, "the home of the ancestors, the dreaming place where every incident in legend and myth is firmly fixed in some unchanging aspect of nature – rocks, hills and mountains, even trees, for trees can outlive human generations" (Tuan 2001:157)]; and

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- the survival landscape (However, in the contemporary Indigenous way of life, the 'hunter and gatherer' survival landscape has less relevance).

Case Studies

The Australian case study that strongly correlates with the values articulated in Workshop 1 is the Ngurra-kurlu concept (depicted in (Source:(Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu, Holmes and Box 2008:19)) Figure 3).



(Source:(Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu, Holmes and Box 2008:19))

Figure 3: The five elements that comprise Ngurra-kurlu

Ngurra-kurlu was developed in a cross-cultural manner by an Indigenous Warlpiri man in conjunction with an academic and a teacher. A brief background explanation of the concept is provided in Box 1.

BOX 1

“Ngurra-kurlu is a representation of the five key elements of Warlpiri culture: Land (also called Country), Law, Language, Ceremony, and Skin (also called Kinship). It is a concept that highlights the primary relationships between these elements, while also creating an awareness of their deeper complexities.

Understanding ngurra-kurlu has many benefits for Warlpiri and also for those who work with them. It can be thought of as:

- a template for the whole of Warlpiri culture
- an efficient pedagogy (way of teaching)
- a process for building identity and self esteem
- a way of looking after the health of people and the health of country
- a framework to create successful projects relevant to Warlpiri people.

While ngurra-kurlu is grounded in Warlpiri culture, there are similar structures in many Australian Aboriginal groups and therefore the ideas in this paper are likely to be applicable beyond Warlpiri Country.”

Source: (Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu et al. 2008:1)

From this research perspective, policy and planning for 'sea country' in Australia's marine regions is analogous to planning for a regional landscape. In fact, waterways are an integral part of indigenous life, for example as pathways and resource areas (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004). The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS 2006) provides a detailed discussion of indigenous interests and connections within the South-west marine region of Australia, similar to and building upon that conducted by the National Oceans Office (2002). Some of these are analogous to regional landscape values identified in Workshop 1 and reaffirm the interconnectedness of such values. A summary of these is provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of the indigenous interests and connections

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatedness to sea-country through inherited rights and responsibilities - 'caring for country' (pp.31-34, 36, 40, 47-50) <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <p>"Their value lay in giving people access to other areas of land in times of need, In addition to rights to land in general, individuals, families, clans or totemic groups might possess rights to specific watercourses, quarries of particularly good stone, or stands of trees used for making spears. With rights came responsibility to look after their country, to stop it being misused or overexploited" (p.31)</p> </div> • Spiritual connections through Dreaming, ancestors and ceremony (pp.28, 31-34) <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <p>"Aboriginals see themselves as part of nature. We see all things natural as part of us... Our connection to all things natural is spiritual" (Rose 1996, p.26 cited in AIATSIS 2006, p.33) "Everywhere, the physical and psychological health of Indigenous people was intrinsically related to concepts of 'country' and 'Dreaming'" (p.33)</p> </div> • Food and biodiversity resources (pp.28, 33) • Proximity to and availability of water (p.27) • Seasonal paths/routes/trails and routine (pp.28-29, 33-34) • Historical economic exchange and trade connections (pp.27-28, 33-34, 39) • Historical demographic connections (pp.29-31, 38) • Historical social, language and kinship network connections (pp.31-32) • Historical cultural connections (pp.27, 32, 41) • Present access to country (place, identity and sense of belonging), needs and aspirations (pp.41-48) <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <p>"it is the boundaries that are recognised by Indigenous people' sense of identity and assertion of attachment to country. ... Indigenous people both acknowledge and value these regions and operate under Indigenous laws and customs which define peoples' rights and responsibilities on country as well as on other Indigenous peoples' lands." (p.45)</p> </div>

(Source: (AIATSIS 2006))

Similarly, the CSIRO (2008) report about Aboriginal land and sea management in Australia's Northern Territory, identifies biodiversity, identity, health and 'caring for country' values. It shows that 'caring for country' has different meaning to different land and sea managers, depending on their job requirements, personal connections to country, and contemporary versus traditional interpretations of 'caring for country'. The distinction between male ranger groups and female ranger groups [with

“women’s business” (CSIRO 2008:25)] reiterates the value attached to men’s areas and women’s areas in the regional landscape.

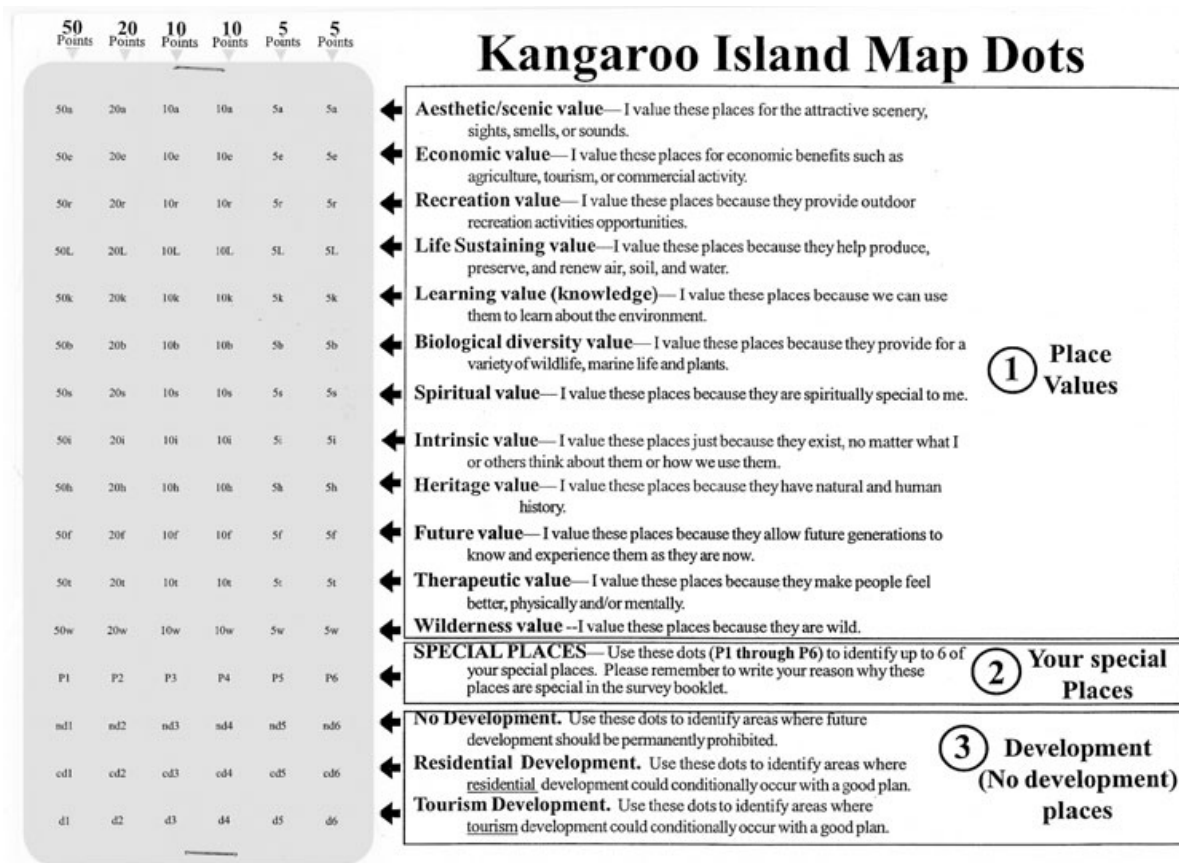
The challenges of articulating indigenous regional landscape values is further compounded by the findings of research into the landscape values attached to two locations in New Zealand’s South Island. This showed that the values were complex, interrelated and dynamic (Stephenson 2008). Although not strictly compartmentalised, (Stephenson 2008:133) identified a wide range of landscape values, including:

- natural features (e.g. harbour, skyline, vegetation, walking trails, landforms);
- historic features (e.g. buildings, early farms, routes);
- contemporary features (e.g. walking trails, vineyards);
- sensory responses (e.g. colours, light, beauty, naturalness) and
 - sensory impressions (e.g. quality of light, colours and forms of the hills);
- spiritual connection (e.g. through Maori cosmology) and
 - spiritual qualities (e.g. embodied myths);
- genealogical relationships with the land (e.g. prior generations living in area)
- historic events (e.g. volcano, whaling, Te Rauparaha);
- stories (often linked to names of places);
- activities (Land-based and water-based activities and traditions);
- natural processes (e.g. seasonal changes, weather patterns)
- meanings conveyed by names of places;
- sense of place (e.g. living in a volcano);
- sense of community (e.g. as linked to Presbyterian Church); and
- feeling of belonging.

Additionally, the challenge of articulating intangible values in a manner that can be integrated into existing planning systems has been a commonly reported problem. It has been noted that this is especially the case for competitive-use landscape elements (as discussed by Jackson (2008) with regard to water allocation and management in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa)

3.4. Range of Representations

There is a wide range of possible ways to represent regional landscape values. The academic literature has tended to focus on variations to traditional representations, such as mapping. Brown’s (2006) spatial survey method involved the respondents placing value-coded dots (from a predefined list of values shown in Figure 4) onto a map of Kangaroo Island. This representation method assumes that regional landscape values can be identified in distinct physical locations.



(Source: Brown 2006:104)

Figure 4: Mnemonic sticker dots and landscape value legend used in Kangaroo Island survey

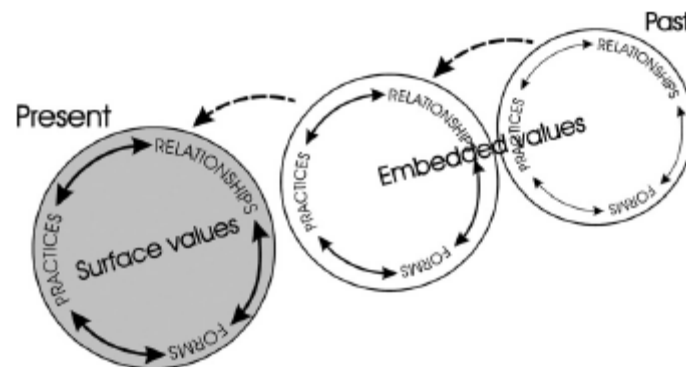
Similarly, allocating place names that are consistent with valued landscape features or qualities is also a common way of representing values (Bergman et al. 2008). Geographical representations are dependent on the place-specificity of regional landscape values.

Other potential ways to represent (and communicate) indigenous landscape values include:

- Digital Songlines –a creative industries project that developed design technology to express cultural heritage “in tune with the indigenous perception of landscape as an unfolding story or songline, blending spirituality with reality” (Australian Cultural Resource Centre for Interaction Design);
- concept of “foodscapes” (Panelli and Tipa 2008);
- dance (e.g. Laura Dance Festival);
- theatre (e.g. Bangarra Dance Theatre);
- exhibitions (e.g. *Kicking up dust: from grass roots to centre stage* at the Queensland Performing Arts Centre, Brisbane, 24 June - 11 October 2008);
- music;
- song;
- art;
- story telling;
- photography; and
- online purchase of Aboriginal DVDs, music, stories, language products (eg Papulu Apparr-Kari Aboriginal Corporation, Northern Territory).

Identifying and incorporating indigenous landscape values into regional planning processes

Landscape values are represented in different ways depending on both the perspective of those who value the landscape as well as the perspective of those who are interested in / interpret the values. Stephenson (Stephenson 2008:138) argues that "While it is unnecessary for different forms of landscape knowledge to share a methodology or a theoretical foundation, the key is a common frame of reference that has a reasonable fit with the range of ways in which disciplines and communities perceive and value landscape". Stephenson's Cultural Values Model is thus an attempt to provide a common framework capable of drawing together the wide range of possible values and representations. Stephenson's Cultural Values Model (see Source: (Stephenson 2008:136) Figure 5) uses three categories of landscape values, namely forms, practices and relationships, and shows that these values interact and change over time. The distinction between surface and embedded values acknowledges the difference between values immediately recognisable in the contemporary landscape surface and values that involve an awareness of how the landscape was in the past and how it has changed over time.



Source: (Stephenson 2008:136)

Figure 5: Cultural Values Model

Although this model is yet to be rigorously tested and critiqued, it may be a useful tool for identifying weak areas of understanding and knowledge about landscape values (Stephenson 2008:137).

3.5. Incorporation of indigenous landscape values into regional planning processes

There is now general consensus, both in theory and in practice, that indigenous people should be represented in state planning processes. Recognition of indigenous interests and values however, has typically only occurred in land and resource management situations, such as mining, and has been dependent on resourcing, expertise and "vigorous and robust participation" (Lane 2006:389).

Post-colonial land rights, interests and values predominantly take precedence over indigenous land rights, interests and values, despite legal acknowledgement of indigenous rights. Lane (2006:390) recognises the complexities of concurrent proprietary rights but suggests that developing means of co-existence is a viable option. Furthermore, Lane (2006:389) argues that alongside the trend towards community-based, participatory planning, "state planning can be made responsive to indigenous needs and interests".

In applying this perspective to conventional regional planning processes, it would be necessary to formally consider indigenous regional landscape values alongside existing regional landscape values. Common discourse on this issue (Lane 2006:380) is likely to ask 'are indigenous regional landscape values valid?' and if so,

'are indigenous regional landscape values in contrast or compatible with existing regional landscape values?'

Australian Case Studies

In relation to regional planning processes, Ngurra-kurlu offers "a template that can ensure that participation in community projects does not force people to make choices that compromise their culture and identity" (Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu et al. 2008:36). Most key regional planning documents now at least acknowledge and respect Indigenous interests, yet lack a realistic mechanism to incorporate them into decision making. For example, the Draft Far North Queensland Regional Plan 2025 states that "The traditional owners of the region and their cultural values are acknowledged and respected" (The State of Queensland 2007-2008:8) and mentions Indigenous interests in the land use and cultural heritage policies, however there is no means of implementation. Thus, there is scope to see indigenous values recognised in the preparation of regional plans and planning schemes (as required by the *Integrated Planning Act 1997*) but the implementation framework is what is lacking.

Landscape planning approaches are increasingly being used to understand and manage conflicting land and resource issues. There are numerous tools available as part of this process.

Although not specific to the indigenous community, Brown (2006) attempts to integrate landscape values with development preferences using a spatial survey method (previously described above – see Figure 4). The predefined list of landscape values is wide ranging and incorporates a significant number of intangible values that are less frequently used in typical planning processes. This method is thought to access (and articulate the interests of) the typically 'silent majority' and inform development planning decisions (Brown 2006:113).

Currently, the Australian Government offers financial support for indigenous landscape values that have been identified in environmental management plans, heritage plans and already present national agendas, through initiatives such as Caring for our Country (Australian Government 2008). However, such plans and initiatives focus on specific values (often within proposals) and tend not to recognise the holistic nature of indigenous regional landscape values (refer to (Smyth, Szabo and George 2004)).

"Indigenous interests and values have also been identified as integral to the marine regional planning process" (AIATSIS 2006:11). In addition to identifying indigenous 'sea-country' values, AIATSIS also considered the range of planning processes that incorporate these values in the South-west Marine Region (spanning Southern and Western Australian jurisdiction). In the majority of circumstances, indigenous values are addressed through the identification and protection of environmentally and culturally significant sites. It is also becoming more common for natural resource management plans to aim to increase understanding of indigenous values and protect cultural values as well. The South Coast Regional Initiative Planning Team (SCRIPT) background report took this one step further:

"It also acknowledges the correlation between caring for country, the maintenance of cultural heritage and the health and wellbeing of people. This is a critical ideological turning point for the integration of Indigenous resource

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management into mainstream approaches (SCRIPT 2005, p. 27). While Traditional Owner groups have distinct responsibilities to country, the strategy acknowledges that other Indigenous people of the region will also have NRM interests that need to be negotiated into NRM planning, practice and management (p. 90)." (AIATSIS 2006:92).

In addition, a comprehensive and integrated group of stakeholders are involved in the achievement of the desired outcomes.

Legislative reform (of the South Australian Fisheries Act via the *Fisheries Management Bill* (2005) and the proposed amendments to the Western Australian *Fish Resources Management Act* (1994)), has been used to move indigenous sea-country interests beyond "environmental protection, natural and cultural heritage management and cycles of economic development" (AIATSIS 2006:192). The endorsement of indigenous fishing principles constructed by the National Indigenous Fishing Technical Working Group was an important component of this process:

"Legislative reforms in South Australia and Western Australia have shown that these principles have been adopted within a process of recognising Indigenous customary fishing as an integral element of sea country management, while seeking to develop commercial Indigenous fishing enterprises against sustainability principles on the open market." (AIATSIS 2006:192)

Other attempts to incorporate indigenous landscape values into regional planning processes have highlighted yet other sets of challenges. For example, the multiple-use resource conservation-development management model in the Arthur-Pieman Conservation Area (APCA) in the far north-west of Tasmania was intended to protect "cultural heritage values whilst permitting numerous community recreational and commercial uses" (Jones 2007:93). However, Jones (2007) argues that even in this well-intentioned practical attempt to protect indigenous landscape values, there are still numerous problems. For example the ironic reluctance to identify and articulate Indigenous landscape values in case others abuse them yet the inability to protect values if they are not known about. Other complications include the difficulty of balancing conflicting values and the limited capacity to implement proposed solutions (especially without consensus support) (Australian Government 2004a, 2004b).

International Case Studies

In the case of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai indigenous people of the n'Daki Menan area in Ontario, Canada, conflict with government over land rights and management (since 1877) was finally alleviated through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in 1992 (Laronde 1993). This involved a treaty of coexistence between the provincial government and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, the formation of a stewardship council with 50/50 representation and inclusion of recommendations made by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai regarding changes to existing management plans. One of the key successes of this solution, according to Laronde (1993:102) has been the development of a "shared land ethic". This outcome gives a strong indication that indigenous landscape values have been incorporated into regional planning processes.

From the literature there appears to be more focus on indigenous rights (both nationally and internationally) in planning processes, rather than indigenous values. One example of this can be found in New Zealand, where prior to adopting performance-based planning legislation, "there was inadequate recognition of

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environmental and indigenous values relative to economic considerations” (Baker, Sipe and Gleeson 2006:10). However, according to Baker et al (2006:11):

“The new RMA [*Resource Management Act 1991*], in concert with radical reform of the legislative and administrative structure of local and regional governance, will achieve ... enhanced respect for the rights of indigenous peoples”.

This focus on ‘rights’ (and principles), as opposed to specific ‘values’, is reinforced by national and international documents (Australian Government 2004a, 2008; Natural Heritage Trust 2004; United Nations Development Group 2008; United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2008). Table 3 gives an example of such principles. Whilst principles are intended to guide the identification and incorporation of indigenous regional landscape values, in reality there are few examples where the principles have been applied or reviewed in regional planning processes.

Table 3: Guiding principles for indigenous issues (land, territories and natural resources)

<p>Indigenous peoples’ lands and territories should be largely recognized, demarcated and protected from outside pressures;</p> <p>All efforts should be made to ensure that indigenous peoples determine the activities that take place on their lands and in particular that impacts on the environment and sacred and cultural sites are avoided;</p> <p>Indigenous peoples’ rights to resources that are necessary for their subsistence and development should be respected;</p> <p>In the case of state owned sub-surface resources on indigenous peoples’ lands, indigenous peoples still have the right to free, prior and informed consent for the exploration and exploitation of those resources, and have a right to any benefit-sharing arrangements.</p>
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(Source: (United Nations Development Group 2008:16-17))

The European Landscape Convention (signed in 2000) recognises the lack of attention to culturally significant landscapes and the important role they play in cultural well-being and identity (Stephenson 2008:127). European Landscape Convention defines landscape as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' and requires legally binding landscape protection, management and planning measures (by its' signatories) that incorporate the perspectives of all interested groups (Jones 2007). Whilst this ensures public participation, decision-making accountability and acknowledges the importance of landscape to identity and quality of life, Antrop argues that "The European Landscape Convention essentially aims to bridge the past with future landscapes, but it is not very specific how to proceed." (Antrop 2005:23).

Interestingly, the signatories to the European Landscape Convention have committed “to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people’s surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity” (Council of Europe as quoted in (Stephenson 2008:128)).

4. Research Findings

4.1. Objective 1: To articulate indigenous landscape values for SEQ.

The articulation of indigenous regional landscape values progressed (and became more refined) between Workshops 1 and 2 (illustrated in Figure 6). Workshop 1 predominantly targeted the 'what' aspect of Objective 1 whereas Workshop 2 predominantly targeted 'why', which refined the articulation of elements and values.

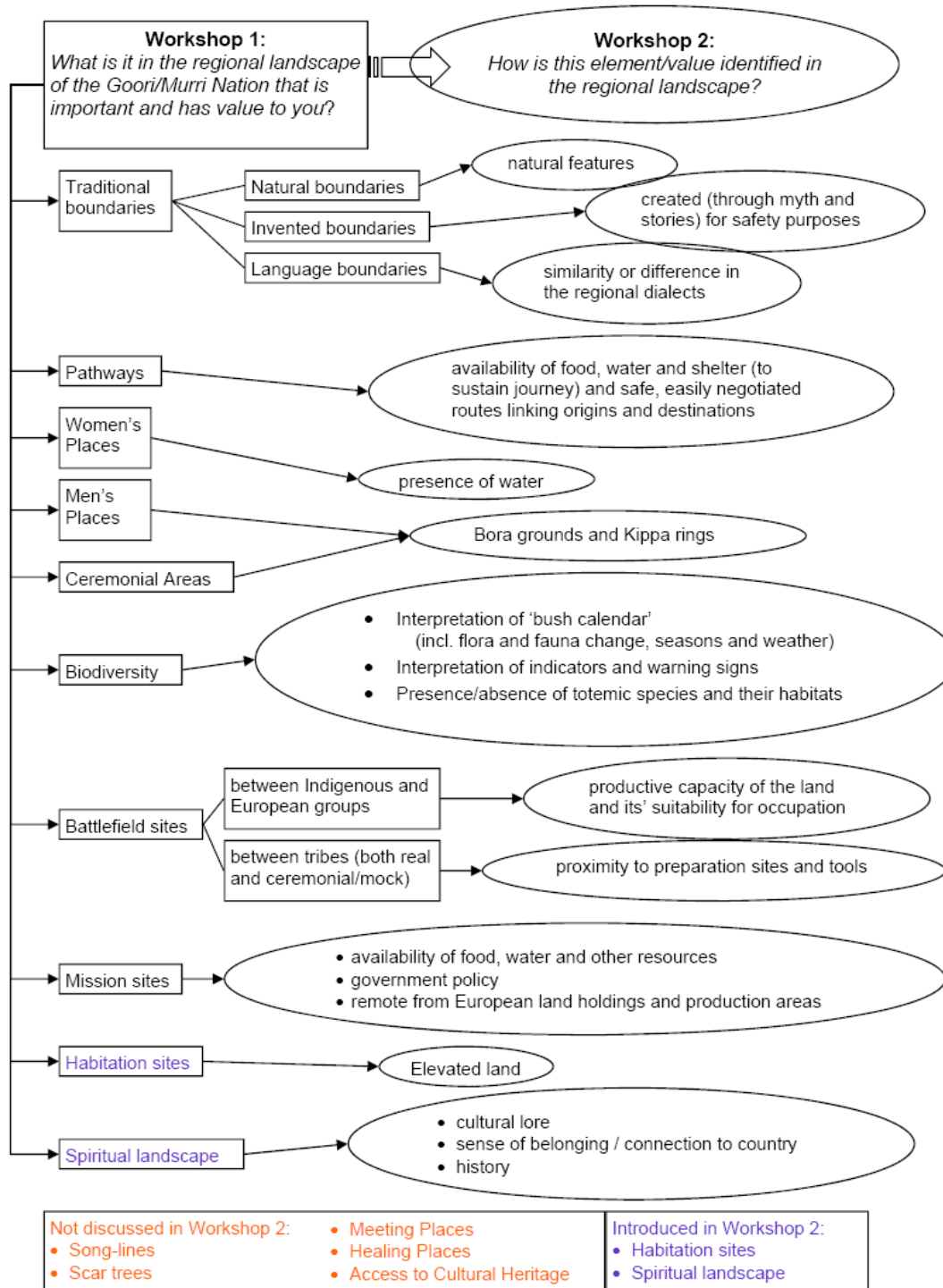


Figure 6: Indigenous regional landscape values (as articulated in Workshops 1&2)

A large number and variety of indigenous landscape values were discussed and recorded during Workshop 1. The original product of both the hand-written wall-chart and computerised table produced during Workshop 1, Session 1 is shown in Appendix 2. It became evident as Session 1 progressed, that a large number of important regional landscape elements were spread across all three spiritual, historical and current realms. Some of these were in a form that could be directly utilised in Workshop 2 (as shown in Figure 6). However many of the values were inter-related and highly complex and offer insight into the conceptual scope of the project (as discussed in further detail in the sub-sections below).

Additionally, in Workshop 2, the means of identifying two additional elements / values, namely habitation sites and the spiritual landscape, were also discussed (see Figure 6).

Traditional Boundaries

The concept of traditional boundaries, pathways and sites was significant in considering the regional landscape at a scale beyond tribal lands and sub-regions. In Workshop 1, the participants said that traditional tribal boundaries are signified by the presence of the tribal totem and are a highly respected element of the regional landscape. In Workshop 2, participants identified a range of traditional boundaries. These included boundaries of country, natural boundaries, invented boundaries and language boundaries (as shown in Figure 6).

Such boundaries are identified in the regional landscape by natural features (including but not limited to creeks, mountains, rivers, tracks, rocks, channels, mountain ranges, vegetation types, flora and fauna areas). Invented boundaries are mainly created (through myth and stories), many for safety purposes. In these cases they are predominantly intended to keep children away from dangerous natural features, such as swamps, lakes and snakes. Language boundaries, on the other hand, can be identified by the degree of similarity or difference in the dialects and languages across the region. There is substantial evidence of this throughout Steele's (1983) book dealing with aboriginal pathways in SEQ and northern NSW.

Table 4 gives an example of a traditional boundary for each sub-region of the SEQ case study. It was noted that although traditional boundaries are strict and protected, they are not narrow lines but wide areas that can be walked through and to some extent form common ground.

Table 4: SEQ examples of traditional indigenous boundaries.

Landscape Element	Sub-Region	Specific Example
Traditional Boundaries	Central	Northern Scenic Rim
	Eastern	Moreton Bay Islands
	Northern	Woodgate – Gregory River - Childers – Apple Tree Creek – Biggenden – along range southerly from Biggenden (Kaolin Mine Area) – Marumban Sawmill Site – Killivan – Conondale Range – Durundur – Mt Ander – Dayboro – along Pine River north to mouth at Hagey Inlet (south of deception bay)
	Southern	Nerang – Beaudesert “Drumley Walk” (along main road)

Wells (2003:6) states that “By the time Europeans came to the Sunshine Coast, the *Jinibara*, *Undanbi*, *Kabi* and *Dalungbara* tribes had formal discrete territories with clearly defined boundaries which may be several thousand years old”. He quotes Jennifer Isaacs to say that these boundaries are the great Dreaming Tracks used by spirit ancestors as they created the landscape (Wells 2003:18). Some of these traditional boundaries of the Sunshine Coast have been recorded on a map according to the knowledge of *Gaiarbau* (also known as Willie Mackenzie) from the *Jinibara* tribe. Furthermore Wells (2003:32) suggests that many of the tribal boundaries would have also served as pathways and sometimes scar trees were used as physical markers of the boundary.

Pathways

Pathways are effectively passages of land within the regional landscape used for movement. Pathways connect tribes (across, within and along traditional boundaries) and important sites in the regional landscape. Such sites include corner boundary sites, sacred sites, ceremonial and meeting sites and habitation sites. Pathways can also be identified in numerous different ways but are primarily dependent on two factors: the availability of food, water and shelter (to sustain the journey) and safe, easily negotiated routes that link the journey’s origin and destination (as shown in Figure 6). This means that pathways can typically be identified as:

- valleys;
- wildlife corridors;
- beaches / shorelines;
- waterways / channels / currents and tides; and/or
- ridgelines.

The Cultural Heritage Survey and Study for the Coombabah Lakelands Conservation Area and environs provides corroborating evidence of travel in bark canoes along water-transit pathways, travel along pathways on ridgelines and trading patterns that shaped economic pathways (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:7-13).

In order to identify and follow pathways at night, stellar navigation (using stars and astronomical features) and the silhouettes of land features are used. The pathway on Mt Tabletop is thought to be aligned with “distant landmarks visible on the horizon” (Wells 2003:19). Other examples are provided in Table 5.

Table 5: SEQ examples of indigenous pathways.

Landscape Element	Sub-Region	Specific Examples
Pathways	Southern	Nerang – Beaudesert “Drumley Walk” (along main road) (Tweed – Beaudesert pathway also noted in Steele’s book (1983:53))
	Eastern	Navigation between islands and mainland using land silhouette
	Northern	Pathway to bora ring at Mooloolah (marked by large boulders) (Steele 1983:175)
	Northern	Pathway to Rocky Creek Axe Grinding (old Northern Rd)
		Pathway roughly adjacent to the current road (formerly the old Gympie Road) leading to a (former) bora ring (Wells (2003:40))

It was noted that a lot of the transport infrastructure in the region has been constructed on traditional pathways. These pathways were (and still are) used as social, trade and seasonal routes. For example, Wells (2003:40) refers to the pathway leading to the (former) bora ring near that that ran roughly adjacent to the current road (formerly the old Gympie Road).

Women's and Men's Places

Sometimes, culturally significant areas, such as women's and men's places, are only accessible by certain groups, yet they still hold significance for the wider indigenous community. Permission to access many of these areas is dependent on the circumstance and status of the person wishing to visit and kinship structures in the area. An example of this is the shared women's place used for birthing at Woongoolbva Creek by both *Dalungbara* and *Ngulungbara* women due to marriage connections between the two tribes (Wells 2003:xiv)

Although some women's and men's places were discussed in the Workshops, the majority of these sites are not widely known or discussed. The location of women's places is strongly correlated with the presence of water and they are identified by lakes, creeks, mountains and scar trees (although there was some debate about this between different sub-regions). Men's places on the other hand are identified through vegetation types, flora and fauna areas and the particularly green vegetation found where the earth is mounded to form bora rings.

Ceremonial Areas

Festival and corroboree sites have significance in spiritual, historical and current contexts. Not only were important events undertaken in these locations but they were a fundamental part of internal and external social relations for indigenous communities. Bora grounds and Kippa rings are used to identify ceremonial areas. According to Wells (2003, p.12) "Bora ring were used for a complex variety of purposes, such as initiations, dispute resolution, increase rites, boundary markers and other ceremonial activities".

Biodiversity

Biodiversity forms a significant component of the indigenous way of life. Biodiversity is important for both the resources that support the existence of indigenous people as well as the totemic identity that it provides. Examples are provided in Table 6. The Cultural Heritage Survey and Study for the Coombabah Lakelands Conservation Area and environs provides detailed information about the values and roles of different species (such as indicator species) as well as the influence of the bush calendar on the indigenous way of life in the area (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:53, 76-77, 132).

There are three main ways that biodiversity is identified in the regional landscape:

- Interpretation of the 'bush calendar' (including animal behaviour, flowering, seasons and the weather)
- Interpretation of indicators and warning signs (especially from fauna)
- Presence and absence of totemic species and their habitats

It was noted that indigenous spirituality asserts that indigenous people (and their ancestors) comprise a part of the landscape. Therefore they have an acute sense of even small biodiversity changes.

Totems were discussed as an element of the regional landscape that connects everything together. Totems provide a connection to country for individuals and family groups by contributing to their identity, their protection and their governance. The same applies vice versa between the individual or family group and the totem. Each totem has its' own place within the regional landscape. Its' existence is supported by the rest of the ecosystem and thus, it forms an integral part of the balanced whole.

Table 6: SEQ examples of indigenous biodiversity issues.

Landscape Element	Sub-Region	Specific Examples
Biodiversity	Central	Totem = e.g. Green Tree Frog
	Central	Bush Calendar = e.g. tea tree flowering indicates mullet season
	Northern	Resource = Sandalwood used to light fires (and able to be transported in coolamons)
	Southern	Totems = e.g. eagle, turtle and water hen

Battlefield sites

Battlefield sites have historical significance for indigenous regional landscape values. Battlefield (and massacre) sites between Indigenous and European groups were primarily linked to the productive capacity of the land and its' suitability for occupation. As a result, the settlement patterns and residual locations observed today help to identify some of these important elements of the regional landscape. On the other hand, battlefield sites between tribes (both real and ceremonial/mock) were not necessarily specific identifiable locations although the associated battle preparation sites contained tools to sharpen spears, such as a special black rock.

Wells (2003, p.67) gives an example of a common battlefield site:

“... a few miles from Barrambah at a place called *Gugundair* (black opossum). This was also the common and recognised fighting ground for all the Brisbane River tribes, the *Gabi Gabi*, *Dakundeir* and Darling Downs tribes. When any quarrel had to be settled the fights would take place there.”

Jimboomba is also thought to have been a battle ring (Steele 1983:77) and numerous axe-grinding sites are recorded (Steele 1983:149,174). The only example provided in the Workshops was that of Myora Swamp, Amity by the Eastern sub-region (for further details refer to Steele (1983:89,99-100)).

Mission Sites

Like battlefield sites, mission sites also have historical significance for indigenous regional landscape values. Figure 6 notes that the location of mission sites was dependent on the availability of food, water and other resources. Mission sites were largely identified through government policy and were in remote locations away from European land holdings and production areas. Table 7 records a number of such sites that were identified during the workshops.

Table 7: SEQ examples of indigenous mission sites

Landscape Element	Sub-Region	Specific Examples
Mission Sites	Southern	Buramba – built for <i>Waga Waga</i> and <i>Gurimba</i> people
	Southern	Deebbing Creek, Purga Creek (Steele 1983:284-288)
	Eastern	Myora Mission

Habitation Sites

Elevated land, as well as food, water and firewood (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:22), is indicative of likely traditional habitation areas. "Camps would have been shifted for reasons of hygiene and for dynamic reasons of resource depletion or resource plenty. Seasonal changes brought seasonal variations in the type of resource and these changes were well understood and acted upon" (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:13). Grantham was one example of a traditional habitation site (although this has now been destroyed) (Steele 1983:148). Evidence in Steele's book (1983:105,109) suggests that Myora was originally the Moongalba traditional campsite (in a strategic resource and meeting location), later becoming a battle and mission site.

Spiritual Landscape

Members of the indigenous community identify the spiritual landscape through their sense of belonging and connection to country. The physiological connection and adaptation to the landscape forms an important component of indigenous identity, for example where people's memories are, where people feel safe and where people came from. Thus, cultural lore and history has a role in identifying the spiritual landscape.

Elements and Values Not Explicitly Discussed in Workshop 2

Some elements and values that were discussed in Workshop 1 were not discussed in Workshop 2 but offer significant conceptual insight. Those listed at the bottom of Figure 6 were left out due to either limited time or interest or insight. However, in addition to those listed in Figure 6, others were not explicitly included in Workshop 2 due to either complexity or overlap. An example of overlap was the value of 'resources' which (in the context discussed in Workshop 1) is a component of 'biodiversity'.

Connection to country is an example of particularly complex value. First and foremost in Workshop 1, Session 1, there was collective agreement about the strong connection to country felt by workshop participants. Connection to country is fundamentally derived from the spiritual realm through an understanding of the ancestral origin, genesis and creation of features in the regional landscape. Thus, it pervades all elements and values of the regional landscape. As recorded in Appendix 2, spiritual connection with country influences social connection to country in historical and current contexts. It involves indigenous identity and belief systems not only about the past but also about appropriate ways of being and operating in the present. Strong connection to country appears to underpin all the other responses (and it was therefore not included for discussion in Workshop 2).

Access to traditional land and cultural heritage is also important in the regional landscape. Dispossession of land resulted in a lack of access to significant sites, resource areas and natural features; and thus, disrupted access to cultural heritage.

Only some access to traditional lands and activities has been restored. This has been reflected in the responses about value-changes over time in Workshop 2.

Despite the widespread displacement of the indigenous community from their traditional land, recognition and respect for the “first nation” status and traditional knowledge of the indigenous community was discussed as a necessary precursor to legitimising regional landscape values.

The regional landscape has its' own unique identity (sense of place), whilst simultaneously contributing to the identity of individuals. There are numerous different scales of identity; from varying perspectives on shared indigenous and regional identity to sites which provide unique identity elements to clans, families and even individuals. The inter-linked nature of many of the elements and values in Figure 6 reiterates the complexity of places that contribute to identity.

The interpretation, expression and representation of the landscape were also discussed as indigenous landscape values. However, this effectively summarises the research project's objectives. Workshop 2 was designed to further explore these concepts separately.

Varying Perspectives between Sub-Regional Groups

There were numerous examples of sub-regional differences in 'way of life' and landscape practices (of which the most significant are noted above). However, it is particularly important to acknowledge the different perspectives on how the values fit together (ie, the relative importance of the values and potentially different conceptual frameworks).

During Workshop 1, participants of the Central sub-regional group considered the spiritual context to be the most important for acknowledging the inter-connected, ongoing and unconditional nature of indigenous regional landscape values. Furthermore they agreed that:

“Irrespective of events in time or place, spiritual values remain unchanged. Spiritual values move through time and space.”

Similarly, the Northern sub-region recognised that all indigenous regional landscape values are derived from ancestors; that is, the spiritual realm. Despite this, the Northern sub-region acknowledged that these values can have different levels of importance (and influence on identity) for different individuals and groups. Passing on family history is one way that values take on different levels of importance. The Southern sub-region recognised that family history can be both a source of values and help to define values. The Eastern sub region put more emphasis on social connection to country and the contribution that the regional landscape makes towards indigenous (physical and emotional) well-being.

Changes in Values Over Time

Several key changes to the regional landscape elements were identified.

In some places, the location of traditional boundaries has changed over time. This has largely been as a result of changing ownership of territory. In some cases, these changes were negotiated through law and custom. For example, expansion of territory (and access to resources) was often necessary when clans grew in size or kinship changed (such as inter-tribal marriages or the creation of daughter or sister

tribes). In other cases however, the changes resulted from battles over country and thus, traditional boundaries became battlefield sites in some locations. Native title and land council negotiations have forced adjustment of traditional boundaries in many cases. According to Workshop 2 participants, traditional boundaries in the Southern sub-region had changed in response to colonisation, population growth and the construction of roads throughout the southern sub-region. However, the Northern sub-region said that the physical location of traditional boundaries remains unchanged, whilst knowledge about pathways and song-lines has been lost due to limited access to country.

Similarly, the Southern sub-region concluded that the lack of access to country and subsequent loss of knowledge to care for such places has been a major contributing factor to the disappearance and destruction of healing places. Former healing places, such as swamps and waterways (containing materials for antiseptic uses etc), have either dried up or become polluted over time.

Wells (2003, p.xxv) describes how the arrival of Europeans impacted on the indigenous way of life significantly. For example, through mixed-marriages and families, imposition of a new land rights system and the indigenous belief that the 'white people' were ghosts of their ancestors. Furthermore, the use of cleared indigenous pathways as transportation routes has led to the destruction of numerous bora rings and other ceremonial areas (Wells 2003, p.13). Birthing places and meeting places no longer utilise traditional locations. Hospitals and birthing rooms are now used for increased birthing safety and newer, 'more comfortable' locations are selected for meetings.

Workshop participants considered that in many instances, poor research by archaeologists and consultation prior to development (not speaking to the appropriate people and/or giving misleading information) has exacerbated this problem. Bora rings in the northern sub region were destroyed due to the development of the landscape they were located on and a lack of financial support to maintain such areas. Some ceremonial areas and meeting places are now being cared for and the tourism value of these sites has been identified. Land development has also influenced men's places and biodiversity. Fauna species in particular have moved off country, away from development and the associated pollution of habitats.

Biodiversity has also changed and adapted over time and this is primarily seen through variations in the location and behaviour of indicator species. The reasons for specific changes were not discussed but it was noted that as various components of biodiversity become endangered, indigenous people often detect and feel this in a spiritual manner. Environmental adaptation over time has influenced change in indigenous communities as well as the way they interact with the spiritual landscape and experience connection to country.

A very obvious change occurred in the relocation of mission sites, such as from Bribie Island to Stradbroke Island. In this example, the mission site needed access to groundwater and it was decided that relocation of the entire mission was the most viable option. Mission sites and indigenous communities were thought to be located and re-located according to the productive capacity of the landscape and European occupation (Steele 1983:192). Similarly, the positioning and movement of segregation boundaries over distinct time periods was a reflection of the conflict

between European and Indigenous communities. Changes to segregation boundaries essentially demarcated changes in the conflict.

4.2. Objective 2 : To explore a range of representations of indigenous landscape values.

Information on the elements and values discussed above is communicated in numerous different ways. Table 8 lists the means of communication that were, and still are, commonly used to communicate information about the elements and values (as discussed in the workshops). Learning how to read the land is an especially relevant part of growing into manhood; however, all indigenous people gain experience about how to read the land through other means of communication, such as word of mouth, Dreamtime stories and observations of the bush calendar and walking through country.

Table 8: Common means of communicating landscape

Communicating in the landscape	Communicating between persons
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical markers (such as cairns, scar trees, carved rocks) • Signs • Viewpoints, observation points • Horizon • Smoke signals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Word of mouth (especially in kinship groups) • Dreamtime stories • Song and dance • Paintings • Lore/law and custom • Non-verbal communication (mental telepathy, spiritual feeling) • Modern means (computers, CDs)

There has been a focus on a few of these common means of communication, such as physical markers and dreamtime stories, in historical records of the indigenous landscape. Evidence of all these means of communication (except for non-verbal communication and modern communication) can be found in the texts by Wells (2003) and Steele (1983). These texts also gave ample evidence that **place names** are also commonly used to communicate information on, and represent, landscape elements and values (Wells 2003:119-122).

Differences in the preferred means of communication for different indigenous groups must be acknowledged and these differences were often used to recognise outsiders and change. There was some debate over the use of physical markers (such as scar trees) for traditional boundaries, however Wells (2003:32) and Steele (1983:99-100) both give evidence of this in the Sunshine Coast Area. For some participants markers indicate the presence or direction of landscape elements (such as bora rings), whilst other participants thought that some actions created unintentional markers (such as the burning of vegetation for regeneration creating an unintentional demarcation of boundaries) and therefore were not primarily a means of communication for their sub-region. Smoke signals are commonly referred to in wider indigenous literature in SEQ (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:23; Steele 1983:36, 244).

It was noted that while local and regional council boundaries align with traditional boundaries to some extent, visual recognition of traditional boundaries is important (particularly as government boundaries are subject to change). Erecting signs to display tribal totems along transport infrastructure routes was suggested as an appropriate way of recognising traditional boundaries.

Whilst the means of communication in Table 8 apply to the majority of the elements and values, some means of communication were specific to a particular element or value and are therefore listed below in Table 9. Further explanation is provided for several of the means of communication in the text below. There is limited external evidence of these special means of communication.

Table 9: Special means of communicating landscape information

Natural Landscape Elements / Values	Special means of communication
Traditional Boundaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War cry • Contrast between shadow and light created by different landforms • through Bloodline
Pathways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War cry • Flora and fauna changes (habitat and ecosystem recognition)
Women's Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conversation (including storytelling)
Men's Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conversation (including storytelling)
Biodiversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bush Calendar (Wells 2003:78) • Use of indicator species (for example curlew and owl) as warnings and signals • (through) Bloodline • Totems
Ceremonial areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paint / personal decoration (Steele 1983:84) (Wells 2003:70) • Similar languages and dialects spoken by different tribes (King and Crosby September 2000 - April 2004:8; Wells 2003:68-69)
Spiritual landscape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Birth country • through Bloodline • Bones carried through country so spirit had final journey before passing on • Spirituality and belief system

It was interesting to note the use of view-points, observation points, the horizon, **the position of the sun and shadow versus light** to identify and communicate traditional boundaries and pathways. These techniques were slightly controversial due to their dependence on the geographic position of the individual, however there was general agreement that such techniques are utilised.

When using pathways, specific songs (and war cries) are sung to both guide the route and signal invasive or non-invasive movement through the regional landscape. These are sometimes known as song lines.

Participants reported heavy reliance on the **'bush calendar'**. The 'bush calendar' is highly location-specific and thus, the interpretation of its components (for example seasons, flora and fauna, habitats and ecosystems) is variable across the region. Word of mouth, lore and custom, experience, non-verbal communication and stories all contribute to deep understanding of the 'bush calendar'. The routine performance of increase ceremonies is one example of the bush calendar (Wells 2003:78). Through this understanding of the bush calendar, biodiversity **indicators** are of significance in communicating changes to the environmental and spiritual health of the region. Specific examples of indicators include the presence the owl to warn of bad news and the curlew to warn of death.

The use of **bloodlines** as a means of communication for biodiversity values and spiritual landscape values refers to the acknowledgement of country and elders when introduced to people or speaking on behalf of country. Furthermore, the assignment of **totems** (by elders) is a way of communicating and passing on the responsibility to individuals or family groups to protect specific biodiversity values. Expressing and articulating **spiritual beliefs** (Wells 2003:77) about being part of creation (landscape, flora and fauna) and **identity** is another important means of communicating information about indigenous landscape elements and values. An example of this in practice is the use of body **paint** (Wells 2003:70) to signal that someone is on a mission / spiritual business. The yellow paint is understood between different tribes to give the person right of passage across country.

4.3. Objective 3 : To explore potential ways to incorporate indigenous landscape values into South East Queensland's regional planning processes.

Whilst Objective 3 is the final investigatory component of the overall research project, it was originally intended to commence to explore this issue in this pilot study if time and opportunity permitted. It was not one of the main subjects addressed in the generic or the specific sub-regional questions put to the workshop participants. It was however introduced during both workshops in the hope that time during the second workshop would be available to begin to scope this issue. Unfortunately this was not the case.

However, the outputs from this pilot study suggest that there is significant potential to explore it in further research. Both workshop findings have demonstrated that many indigenous landscape values can be identified and subsequently represented in ways that suggest that they may lend themselves to incorporation into conventional regional planning processes. The precise manner in which this may be achieved, whilst respecting indigenous culture, requires further investigation. Some case studies found in the literature thus far are utilising unique, innovative means of communicating indigenous landscape values that could have relevance to regional planning processes (as detailed in the literature review in Section 3).

5. Indigenous Links to the Regional Landscape

Thus far, the findings of this pilot study have provided an elevated understanding of the relationship between the Indigenous community and the regional landscape. Consequently, it has been possible to start to link and connect various individual themes and issues that have arisen from the research to date and to explore various conceptual frameworks that might be appropriate for further exploration in order to provide improved models of understanding.

Information about the way that indigenous values have changed over time offers insight into the relative resilience, importance and nature of the articulated values. For example, it was interesting to note that only the Southern sub-region reported significant changes to traditional boundaries over time, whereas the Northern sub-region recognised a lack of knowledge and access to traditional boundaries as the changing element. This differentiation was also seen in the discussion of numerous other values, such as biodiversity and ceremonial areas, and could be explained by differences of perspective and interpretation.

However, it must be recognised that workshop participants were able to articulate indigenous landscape values and important landscape elements that are applicable in not only a current context but also in historical and spiritual context. This suggests that there is a high degree of resilience to indigenous regional landscape values. Jennifer Isaacs (1981, p. 87 quoted by (Wells 2003:18-19)) offers insight into the relatively unchanging nature of traditional boundaries and pathways due to their spiritual significance:

“The great Dreaming Tracks, as these paths were known, mark the land boundaries of the central tribes in a way which no arbitrary state boundaries can surpass. Today, man-made roads have cut the Dreaming pathways, and fences used to delineate huge cattle properties have inadvertently severed the path of *Malu*, the great Kangaroo. But the Dreaming paths remain. They are real and very well known by all the tribal people of the centre. When moving over vast distances, navigation is accomplished not by watching the stars, but by noting the well-known Dreaming sites along the way. The traveller may not have passed that way before, but he already has a mind’s-eye map of the countryside drawn from the legend, myth and ceremonial song-cycles describing and laying down the paths of his Dreaming Ancestors and the places and features they created on their travels.”

In light of this, it seems essential to consider the fundamental role of spirituality in perpetuating all indigenous landscape values. This also raises the following questions:

- How is each of the values related to the indigenous way of life?
- How is each of the values affected by changes to physical elements of the regional landscape?
- How are the values related to each other?

From Figure 6, it is possible to distinguish four key elements of the regional landscape (as shown in Figure 7). It is also interesting that water was discussed as a component of other elements or values in both workshops instead of as a unique element or value. Given the significance of the Rainbow Serpent in indigenous mythology and its’ association with water (as noted by both Steele 1983 and Wells

2003), this may be a significant distinction to make in considering indigenous landscape values. Further and specific consideration of this issue is required.

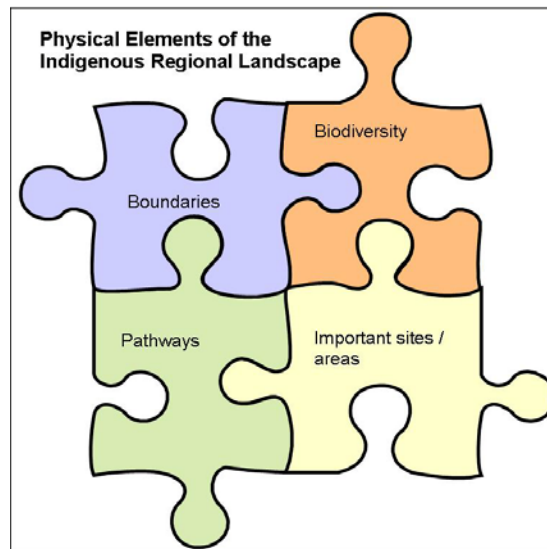


Figure 7: Physical elements of the indigenous regional landscape

As discussed in the literature, meanings and regional landscape values are derived from the interaction between people’s way of life and the environment. Thus, the following conceptual diagrams (Figures 8-11) attempt to explore the relationship between the indigenous way of life and regional landscape elements discussed in the workshops. Furthermore, the diagrams attempt to acknowledge the spiritual significance of the relationship (and value) as well as major external influences that prevent the realisation of the value.

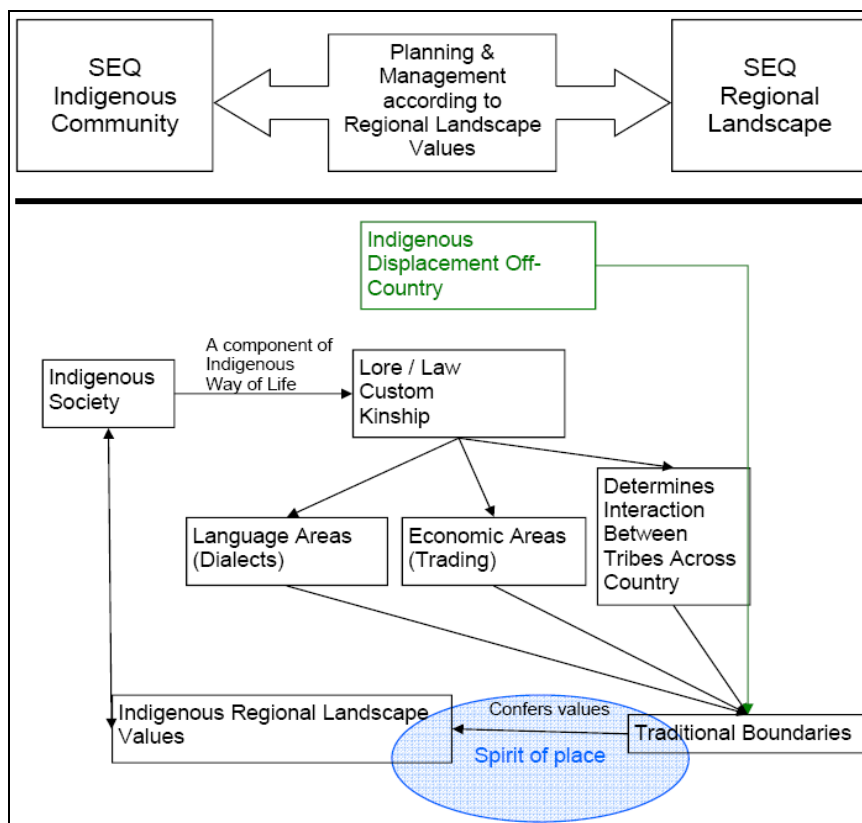


Figure 8: Conceptual diagram for traditional boundaries

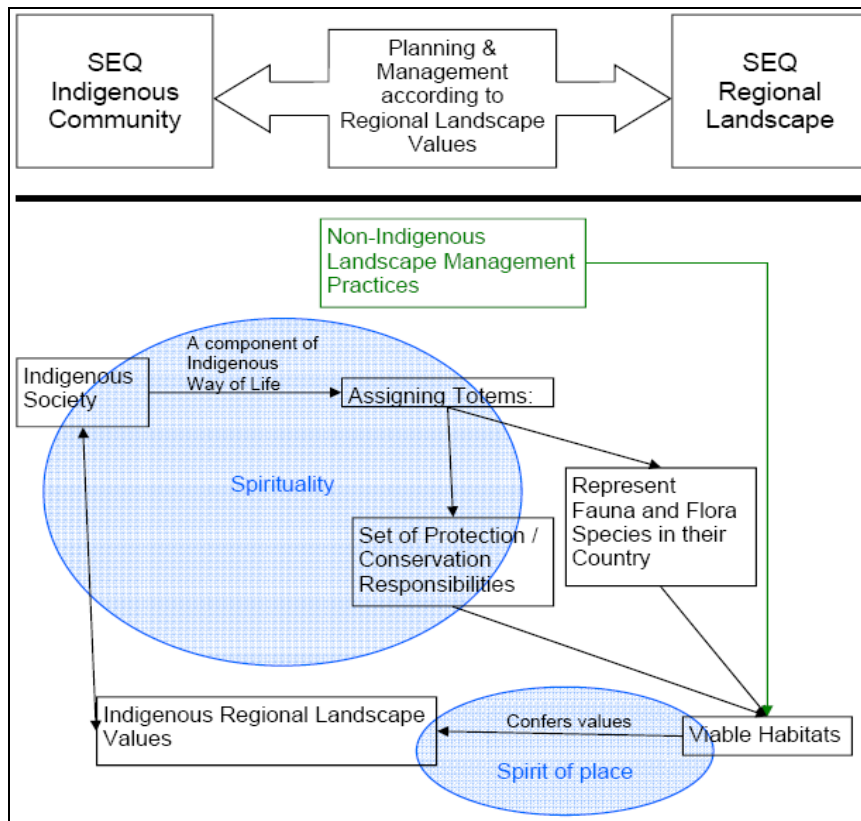


Figure 9: Conceptual diagram for biodiversity

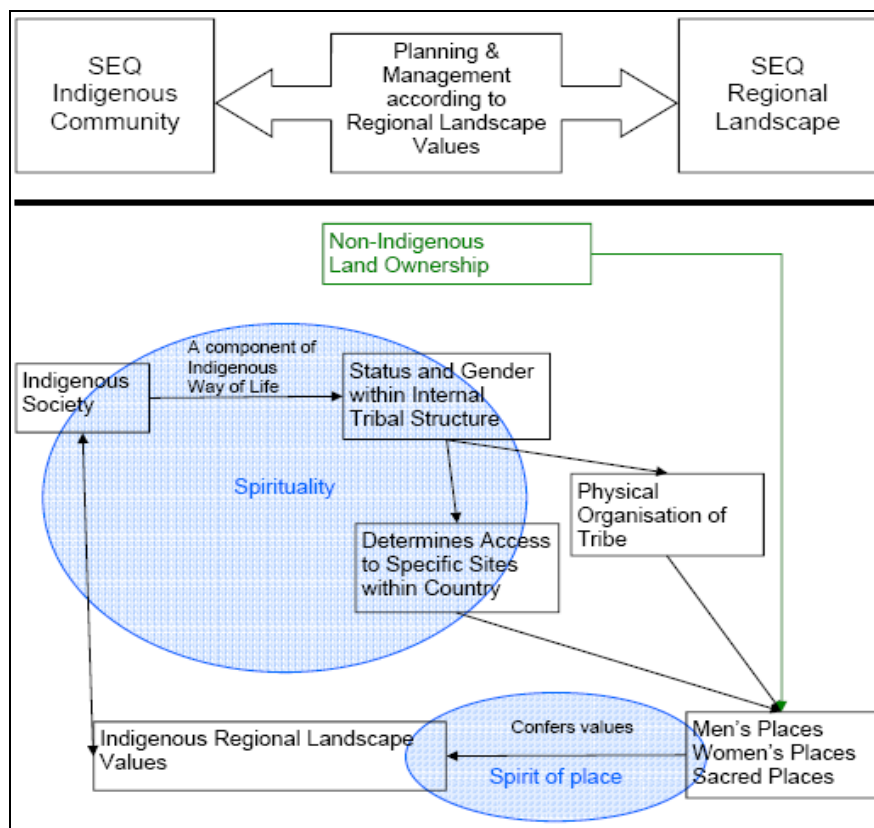


Figure 10: Conceptual diagram for ceremonial sites (with limited access)

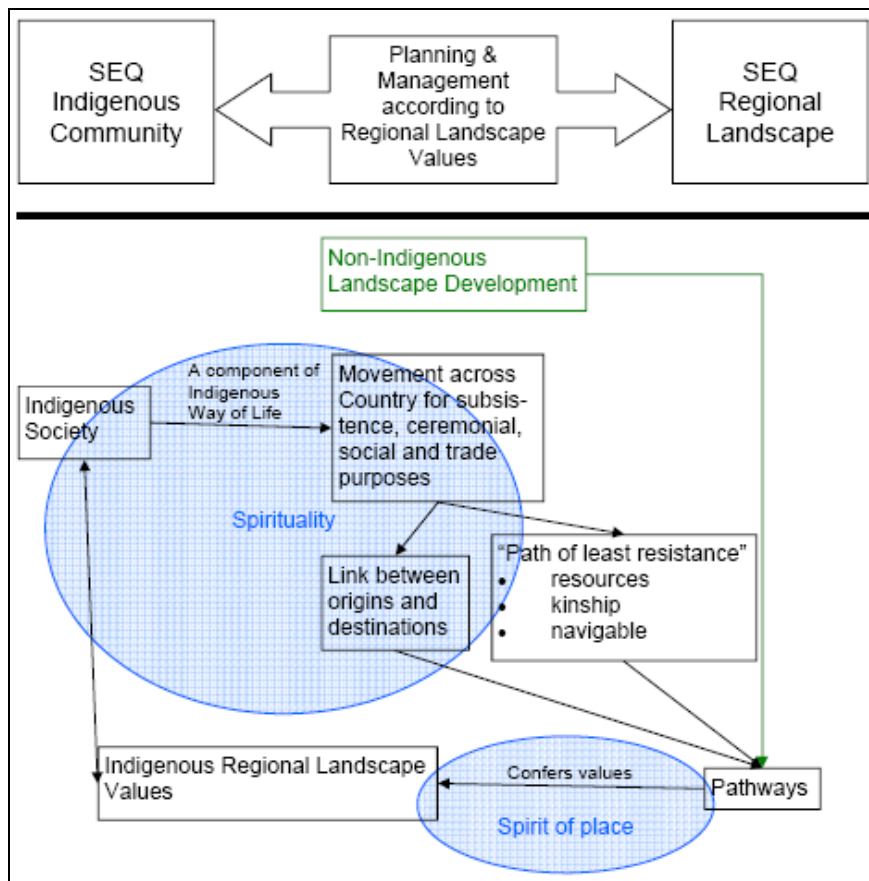


Figure 11: Conceptual diagram for pathways

It is interesting to note that the construction of roads is ascribed to the destruction of numerous bora rings in the Sunshine Coast area, suggesting that bora rings are often connected by pathways (used as the main routes for road construction) (Wells 2003:13). In light of this, and given that boundaries often offer the path of least resistance (with regard to inter-tribal kinship arrangements), pathways could also be an element that connects regional landscape values together. The numerous different functions of pathways could in fact give meaning to the components of the regional landscape as an entity.

It is intriguing that the workshop participants expressed some regional landscape values that are no longer a component of the indigenous way of life and in some cases, no longer even evident in the physical environment. In further research, revisiting the conceptual complexity that arose in Workshop 1 may offer insight into how and why this is possible. Workshop 1 participants asserted that the regional landscape was valued and important because it determined the strong indigenous connection to country. This raises questions such as:

- Does connection to country describe/ encompass / imply a substantial body of indigenous landscape values?
- Is connection to country the overall uniting concept between spirituality, way of life and landscape elements? If so, is it analogous to “sense of place”?
- How do the regional landscape values (and the components of those values) relate to Indigenous identity?

Tuan claims that:

“The native’s identity – his place in the total schema of things – is not in doubt, because the myths that support it are as real as the rocks and waterholes he can see and touch. He finds recorded in his land the ancient story of the lives and deeds of the immortal beings from whom he himself is descended, and whom he reveres. The whole countryside is his family tree.” (Tuan 2001:157-158)

Perhaps it is the spiritual basis of indigenous landscape values that perpetuates them into the contemporary realm. On the other hand, perhaps it is the manner with which these values are interlinked (Shields 1991 cited in Stedman 2003:682) and interwoven with indigenous identity. The Ngurra-kurlu concept (designed for the Walpiri people) corroborates these ideas and deserves significant further investigation.

6. Suggested Agenda for Further Research

This pilot study has highlighted a number of potential avenues for significant further research. First and foremost, it would be desirable to reconfirm the findings and deductions discussed in this report and explore the sub-regional differences in more detail. This will require a methodological approach of data triangulation involving the identification of additional and alternative sources of information to confirm and supplement the existing knowledge base that has thus far been established from this pilot study.

At the same time, it would be useful to re-visit the conceptual complexity that arose during Workshop 1 where participants asserted that the regional landscape was valued and important because it determined the strong indigenous connection to country. The subsequent sub-research questions of note in this regard include:

- Does connection to country describe/ encompass / imply a substantial body of indigenous landscape values?
- Is connection to country the overall uniting concept between spirituality, way of life and landscape elements? If so, is it analogous to “sense of place”?
- How do the regional landscape values (and the components of those values) relate to Indigenous identity?

These conceptual questions (discussed in the conclusion to Section 5) will be useful to guide a holistic understanding of indigenous landscape values, especially in the SEQ region.

In terms of gaining an appreciation of the holistic nature of indigenous landscape values for the SEQ region, the workshops have begun to identify key elements of the landscape and concepts that are valued by the Indigenous communities of SEQ, such as traditional boundaries, pathways, women's and men's places, ceremonial areas, biodiversity, battlefield sites, mission sites, habitation sites and the spiritual landscape. The way in which these elements and concepts all fit together (as illustrated by the Ngurra kurlu concept/design for the Walpiri people) is yet to be fully explored, but should form the overarching basis of the next phase of this research. It is acknowledged that it will be essential for this process to be guided by SEQs Indigenous communities in due course.

The conceptual diagrams which explore the relationship between the indigenous way of life and regional landscape elements (Figures 8 to 11) provide a useful starting point and framework for this ongoing research.

The next phase of the research will need to focus fully on addressing Objective 3: *To explore potential ways to incorporate indigenous landscape values into South East Queensland's regional planning processes.* The suitability of existing conceptual values frameworks, such as the Cultural Values Model proposed by Stephenson (2008), should be investigated in this regard.

Both sets of workshop findings have demonstrated that many indigenous landscape values can be identified and subsequently represented in ways that suggest that they may lend themselves to incorporation into conventional regional planning processes. The precise manner in which this may be achieved, whilst respecting indigenous culture, should form the main thrust of the next stage of the research.

The issues of the role and value of “water” in the Indigenous regional landscape was also highlighted during this pilot study. It was interesting to note that water was discussed as a component of other elements or values in both workshops instead of as a unique element or value in its own right. Water, it was noted, does play a significant role in Indigenous mythology (for example the Rainbow Serpent). Further and specific consideration of this issue is therefore required before any conclusive conclusion can be drawn.

Another potential research area stemming from this work includes the exploration (from an anthropological perspective) of whether spiritual and genealogical ties to the landscape have been cut with personal movement off land. This however would be beyond the scope of the proposed future research of this project.

7. Conclusion

This initial pilot study has scoped the dimensions of the issues associated with the overall research question which is to ascertain if indigenous landscape values in SEQ can be identified and represented in ways that respect indigenous culture and represent their interest in conventional regional planning processes for this region.

The findings of this preliminary research have confirmed that it is possible to identify and articulate indigenous landscape values for SEQ. Similarly, a range of representations of indigenous landscape values have been identified which suggest that it may be highly possible to incorporate indigenous landscape values into South East Queensland's regional planning processes.

Whilst the findings from this pilot study require further research for confirmation and supplementation, they do offer a rigorous way forward. The conceptual frameworks developed from the research findings to date will serve as key elements to guide and direct future research efforts. They can be supplemented by potentially useful models already derived from the literature.

This pilot study has confirmed the relevance of the original research questions and sub-questions and provided findings that can serve as a valid way forward for the overall research.

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Workshop Attendance

Analysis of Workshop 1 Attendance

	Northern Sub-region	Southern Sub-region	Eastern Sub-region	Central Sub-region	Other	Sub Total
Traditional Owners	7 (5 elders)	14 (7 elders)	13 (2 elders)	9 (3 elders)		38
			Support People:	Support People:		7
			6	1		
Indigenous Non-Traditional Owners	2 (1 elder)	6 (5 elders)		3		11
		Support People:				2
		2				
Non-Indigenous Non-Traditional Owners			2		4	6
TOTAL	9	22	21	13	4	64

Important Note: Some participants identified with more than one sub-region but were only counted as one participant in the sub total column (far right) and total workshop attendance figure (bottom right cell)..

Analysis of Workshop 2 Attendance

	Northern Sub-region	Southern Sub-region	Eastern Sub-region	Central Sub-region	Other	Sub Total
Indigenous Traditional Owners	2 elders	10 (5 elders)	8 (3 elders)	2		20
Indigenous Non-Traditional Owners				1		1
Non-Indigenous Participants			1		4	5
TOTAL	2	10	9	3	4	26

Important Note: Some participants identified with more than one sub-region but were only counted as one participant in the sub total column (far right) and total workshop attendance figure (bottom right cell)..

Workshop 1 Session 1 Regional Landscape Values

<i>What is it in the regional landscape of the Goori/Murri Nation that is important and has value to you?</i>		
<u>Important in a Spiritual Context</u>	<u>Important in a Historical Context</u>	<u>Important in a Current Context</u>
Strong bond/connection with country (N)	Social connection to country (C) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - meeting places e.g. Musgrave Park - Totem created / is the landscape - Tribes and families have different totems - Totem is the social connection between tribes e.g. echidna talks to echidna when travelling between areas, can't marry same totem, and kinship links. 	
Boundaries of each tribe (S) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - aligning traditional boundaries with regional boundaries (need to map locations) - recognising traditional boundaries visually with totems on signs along paths / highways / roads - especially with new local government boundary changes Pathways (N) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - seasonal - trade routes - social - (many roads built on traditional pathways) Songlines (E) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sing war song when crossing boundaries and along pathways - non-invasionary 		
Festival/corroboree sites and pathways between sites <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pathways for barter, trade and social interaction and connections between tribes. - different sites are important in different seasons. 	Scar trees	Access to traditional lands (E) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - e.g. areas for traditional hunting and gathering activities - resource areas - have access to some land but not all
Spiritual connection and understanding of origin, genesis and creation e.g. mountains, natural features and ancestors (C) (dispossession)	Missions (C) Battle areas (C) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - places that represent conflict with Europeans have significance to wider indigenous community 	Access to cultural heritage (E) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - recognition and acceptance of culture
Recognition, acceptance and respect of Murri people as "first nation" people are important and must come before understanding values. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - many people living in cities are displaced from traditional country 		

Identifying and incorporating indigenous landscape values into regional planning processes

What is it in the regional landscape of the Goori/Murri Nation that is important and has value to you?		
<u>Important in a Spiritual Context</u>	<u>Important in a Historical Context</u>	<u>Important in a Current Context</u>
		Recognition of traditional knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - e.g. of seasons, fauna, flora etc - how this can be applied in planning decisions (intellectual property)
Interpretation of landscape through language, stories, songs, art, dance, ceremonies (E) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - landscape including flowers, animals, water, landscape features 		
Expression / representation of landscape (N) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - landscape expression of seasons - landscape features represented through art e.g. painting, dances - ceremonies for rites of passage into adulthood - songlines 		
Areas / Places of identity (E) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Features that both give identity (sense of identity) and which we identify with (sense of place). - Areas of cultural significance that individuals draw identity from. - Reluctance to identify individual sites as this information can be misused and not acknowledged - Traditionally, permission is required to access particular areas - Burial areas and sacred places - Clan, social and ceremonial boras 		
Women's and men's places (C)		
		Resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - that sustain us – food, etc (C) - for different uses e.g. tree species for burning etc (E)
Natural features, ecosystem, flora and fauna (E) "Biodiversity" (C) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides the totem = connection to country, sits in landscape and is the landscape, links to identity and sense of place - needs respect - not everything is available in all areas 		

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