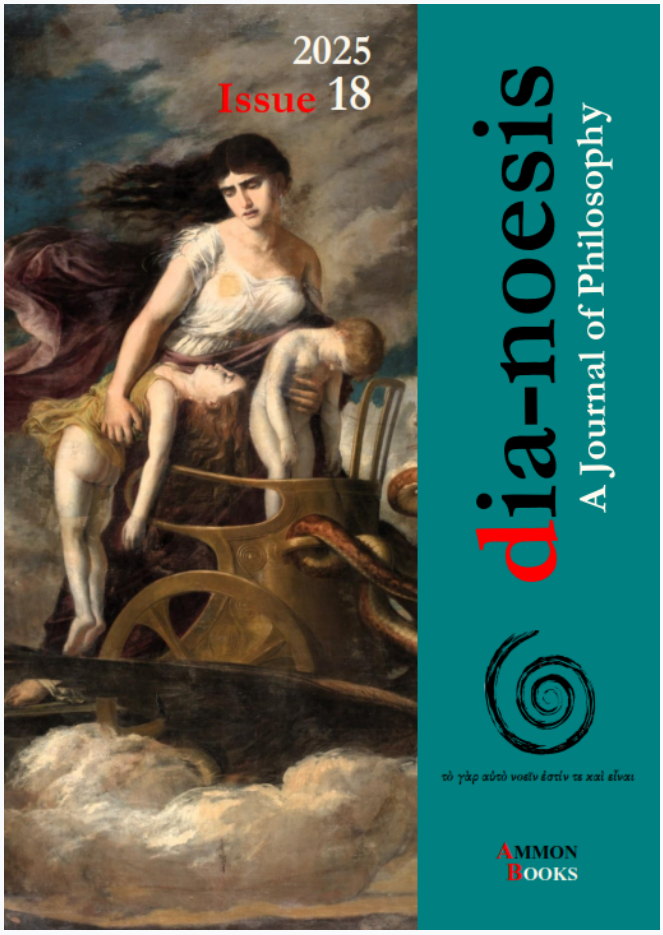
Dia-noesis: A Journal of Philosophy

Vol 18, No 2 (2025)

Trauma, Exile, and Cultural Displacement



Trauma, War, Loss, Forced Exile, and Cul-tural Displacement in Australian Aboriginal and Ukrainian Stories from Children's Per-spectives:

Oksana Babelyuk, Olena Koliasa

doi: 10.12681/dia.43444

Trauma, War, Loss, Forced Exile, and Cultural Displacement in Australian Aboriginal and Ukrainian Stories from Children's Perspectives: Exploring Cultural Identity

Oksana Babelyuk,
Lviv University of Life Safety, Ukraine
Visiting Professor, School of Art, Communication and English, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
The University of Sydney, Camperdown, NSW 2050, Australia
babelyuko@gmail.com

Olena Koliasa,
Visiting Researcher, School of Art, Communication and English, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
The University of Sydney, Camperdown, NSW 2050, Australia
olenakoliasa@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper explores the heavy toll of trauma, war loss, forced exile, and cultural displacement by analyzing narratives from both Australian Aboriginal and Ukrainian children. Using a postcolonial framework, I examine contemporary literature and historical accounts to show how young protagonists

cope with colonial conflict, forge a cultural identity, and adapt following displacement. Drawing on Ukrainian novels and the collection "*Telling: Stories of Resilience from Nairm Marr Djambana*", this research reveals the deep psychological scars of the war in Ukraine and the cultural genocide of Australia's Stolen Generation. Both contexts are explored through the powerful image of the 'wounded child', highlighting both commonalities and critical distinctions. By analyzing poetic language, collective memory, and a sense of belonging, the study illustrates how children's unique perspectives powerfully showcase resilience and the emergence of hybrid cultural identities. Ultimately, these findings stress the vital role of children's voices in shaping broader discussions about trauma, migration, and cultural continuity, offering crucial insights into the complexities of identity forged in the crucible of conflict and displacement.

Keywords: *Indigenous people, Australian and Ukrainian literature, a wounded child, war, trauma, exile, cultural displacement*

1. Introduction

This research employs a digital humanities approach to investigate how trauma, exile, and cultural identity are represented in Australian and Ukrainian narratives. Specifically, it focuses on literary and historical texts that capture the experience of trauma through the eyes of children in both the Aboriginal and Ukrainian storytelling traditions.

The article explores how these distinct cultural contexts manage collective trauma, war losses, forced displacement, and the struggle to preserve cultural identity — often against the backdrop of cultural genocide — through stories passed down to modern generations. This comparative structure reveals significant structural similarities in how communities use children's narratives to resist cultural threats. This is particularly evident in three areas: encoding historical memory, employing children's voices to create counter-narratives to official histories, and the deliberate transmission of cultural knowledge as a form of resistance.

However, the differences in their temporal and geographic realities demand careful attention. Aboriginal peoples articulate a sovereignty deeply rooted in over 60,000 years of continuous cultural practice on specific Country, meaning cultural transmission is fundamentally about maintaining relationships with the land and ancestors.

Ukrainian communities, conversely, construct a national identity across the diaspora and repeated displacement, making cultural transmission fundamentally about preserving linguistic and narrative traditions across geographic separation.

While both traditions use children's stories to fight erasure, the specific content, form, and political stakes of these narratives are significantly different and should not be oversimplified into universal categories.

Australia and Ukraine present a compelling comparison for studying narratives of trauma and exile during turbulent historical periods. Both nations have suffered profound breaks in cultural continuity due to colonization, forced displacement, cultural genocide, and linguistic suppression. Since colonization, various government laws, policies, and practices have led to the exploration of the traumatic roots of cultural genocide and its impact on collective memory, the image of a 'wounded Aboriginal child' in postcolonial literary texts, and the life experiences of the Stolen Generation. Similarly, Ukrainian children's stories have developed over centuries of political repression, language bans, and diaspora communities, forming rich yet fragmented literary traditions that reflect experiences of cultural displacement and resistance.

The abundance of digitized materials from both contexts provides unprecedented opportunities to compare how children's trauma narratives function within different cultural frameworks. The suggested postcolonial methodology enables the identification of accurate historical evidence regarding tragic moments in the lives of traumatic generations of Aboriginal and Ukrainian children through the image of a *wounded child*.

The exploration of Australian Aboriginal identity through the image of *a wounded child* is deeply intertwined with themes of resilience and collective cultural memory illuminated through the lived experiences and narrative expressions of those who have endured trauma, cultural genocide, and forced replacement. This research investigates how Aboriginal peoples in Australia have navigated the challenges posed by colonization, cultural erasure, and social marginalization while actively reclaiming and revitalizing their national identities.

This article aims to examine and compare how trauma, war, loss, and displacement are reflected in stories of Australian Aboriginal and Ukrainian children, focusing on how these narratives

shape and express their cultural identities. The objectives are as follows: to analyze children's perspectives on trauma, war, loss, and displacement in Australian Aboriginal and Ukrainian narratives; to identify common themes and distinct differences in narrative approaches between these two cultural groups; to explore the impact of these traumatic experiences on the development of cultural identity among children; to highlight the role of Australian Aboriginal storytelling in helping children process and make sense of traumatic events of cultural genocide.

2. Theoretical Framework: Trauma, Exile, and Cultural Identity

The theoretical foundation of this research draws on interdisciplinary approaches to trauma studies, diaspora theory, and scholarship on trauma/war children's literature. Cathy Caruth's (1996) concept of trauma theory, particularly as *unclaimed experience*[1], proves especially relevant for this research because both Aboriginal and Ukrainian children's narratives perform a specific function: they transform experiences that dominant institutions have attempted to suppress or deny into intelligible stories. While Caruth suggests that trauma inherently resists narration, the children's stories show the opposite: communities deliberately create narratives that make a traumatic history accessible without forcing readers to relive its overwhelming force. This is a crucial difference: these texts aren't just spontaneous expressions of pain; they are intentional cultural interventions designed to transmit historical truth across generations.

Cultural trauma theory, as articulated by scholars such as Jeffrey Alexander (2012) and Ron Eyerman (2019), provides a key lens for understanding how communities collectively process and transmit traumatic experiences. Alexander defines cultural trauma as happening when "members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness."[2] (p. 6). In this process, children's

[1] Caruth C., *Unclaimed experience: Trauma, narrative, and history*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

[2] Alexander J. C., *Trauma: A social theory*, Polity Press, 2012. Cf. Rupčić Kelam, D. "Militarization of Everyday Life: Girls in Armed Conflicts", *Conatus*

narratives of trauma, war, and exile become a primary tool for collective meaning-making, transforming devastating events into powerful narratives of survival, resilience, resistance, and cultural continuity.

Recent work on intergenerational trauma in Australian contexts highlights the significant role of children's stories in cultural healing processes. This research strongly advocates for integrating culturally relevant ways of knowing, being, and doing into established teaching and support practices. This insight helps us understand that Aboriginal Australian children's narratives function not just as entertainment, but as an active cultural intervention, working to preserve traditional knowledge systems while processing the impacts of colonial trauma.

The concept of exile covers both physical displacement and profound cultural alienation. Edward Said's foundational work on the "exile consciousness" demonstrates how displacement gives rise to distinct forms of cultural expression characterized by multiple belonging, cultural and linguistic hybridity, and a sense of temporal dislocation. Children's stories created in exile must expertly balance the difficult task of preserving a cultural connection while simultaneously adapting to new environments. This often leads to unique narrative strategies and linguistic innovations, a dynamic clearly exemplified in Ukrainian diaspora narratives.

This research examines the implementation of the educational ideal of Ukrainian Abroad in the Ukrainian Diasporic translation of children's narratives, demonstrating how Ukrainian communities worldwide have used children's stories to maintain cultural identity across generations of displacement. The educational function of these texts reveals how exile communities conceptualize cultural transmission as essential for survival.

Cultural identity formation in children's narratives functions through what Benedict Anderson (2006) calls *imagined communities*[3] — shared stories that foster a sense of collective belonging

- *Journal of Philosophy*, 8: 2, 2023, pp. 487-19, https://doi.org/10.12681/cjp.35119.

[3] Anderson B., *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (Rev. ed.) Verso Books, 2006. Cf. Janssen, J. "Ethics as a Means to Power", *Dia-noesis*, 15, 2024, pp. 59-80, https://doi.org/10.12681/dia.38166; Asimiadis, D. "The Witches of the Reich: The Dimension of Female Mysticism

despite geographic separation. Children's stories build cultural identity through language, songs, and the preservation of culture, historical memory, and community values. In contexts of trauma and exile, these roles become especially crucial as communities strive to maintain connections despite disruptions. Recent developments in children's trauma/war/exile literature studies have increasingly acknowledged the importance of trauma narratives for understanding cultural transmission. Multiple studies on children's literature have a complicated relationship with the standard trauma paradigm. When exploring historical fiction, nonfiction, and picture books for children, we must pay close attention to the specific ways young readers engage with challenging historical content. This engagement itself shapes how traumatic memory is understood and processed.

The emergence of Ukrainian children's trauma/war/exile literature as a unique field of study underscores its growing cultural importance. Fieldwork in this area highlights the contributions of leading scholars from both Ukraine and its diaspora. This research examines the history of books written, marketed, and circulated among young people since the emergence of the Ukrainian nation in the nineteenth century. Critically, this scholarship shows how these texts have functioned as a consistent site of cultural resistance and identity preservation throughout periods of political suppression.

The sheer volume of digitised materials now requires advanced methodological approaches. These methods must be capable of managing datasets that are multilingual and multicultural while remaining sensitive to crucial cultural differences. Ted Underwood's "*Distant Horizons*" (2019) offers historical literary analysis frameworks that can support this kind of comparative cross-cultural research — crucially, frameworks that help prevent a reductive, universalizing approach. Ultimately, this research investigates how Aboriginal peoples in Australia and native Ukrainians have managed the immense challenges posed by colonization, cultural erasure, and social marginalization while simultaneously and actively reclaiming and revitalizing their

in Nazi Ideology", *Dianoesis*, 17, 2025, pp. 271-94, https://doi.org/10.12681/dia.41714.

national identities. Through an *interdisciplinary approach* that incorporates history, sociology, and cultural studies, this study emphasizes that resilience is not just a reaction to adversity but is ingrained in the cultural practices, narratives, and endurance of communities.

The methodology combines *comparative textual analysis* with computational approaches specifically designed for multilingual and multicultural research of the analyzed corpora texts. Primary sources include digitized collections from the National Library of Australia, State Library of New South Wales, Ukrainian Cultural Center archives, and diaspora community collections.

Computational methods will include multilingual topic modeling using MALLET and Python's transformers library to identify trauma-related themes across different languages and cultural contexts. *Sentiment analysis* employing multilingual BERT models will trace emotional registers associated with exile and cultural loss narratives. Network analysis using Gephi will map relationships between characters, cultural symbols, and identity markers in trauma-themed children's texts. *Cultural semantic analysis* will examine how key concepts, such as resilience, home, belonging, memory, and survival, are linguistically constructed across different cultural contexts. Named entity recognition, as implemented by Spacy, will identify references to specific historical events, geographic locations, and cultural practices. *Stylometric analysis* will reveal how trauma/war/exile discourse adapts linguistically for child audiences across different cultural frameworks.

3. Cultural Transmission as Resistance: The Educational Ideal of "Ukrainian Abroad"

The research methodology positions Ukrainian children's narratives as a distinct mechanism for cultural preservation amid diaspora. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's concept of *imagined communities*[4] Ukrainian children's literature functions as a site where geographically dispersed communities construct shared cultural identity through narrative. The educational ideal of *the*

[4] Anderson B., *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed.), Verso Books, 2006.

Ukrainian Abroad, embedded in diaspora children's narratives, reveals how exile communities conceptualize cultural transmission as existentially crucial for survival.

When positioned within the comparative framework outlined in the research methodology, Ukrainian children's literature reveals how different cultural contexts employ similar narrative strategies — collective memory preservation, poetic language encoding trauma, and identity formation through storytelling — while maintaining culturally specific responses to displacement and cultural loss. The cross-cultural pattern recognition enabled by digital methodologies reveals universal dimensions of cultural trauma work while preventing what Ted Underwood warns against: 'reductive universalism' that erases crucial cultural differences.[5].

The computational analysis using multilingual topic modeling across these exemplar texts would identify recurring trauma-related themes: linguistic suppression, geographic separation, intergenerational memory transmission, cultural resilience, and identity formation. Simultaneously, the sentiment analysis and stylometric examination would reveal that Ukrainian children's literature employs distinctive linguistic and narrative strategies compared to other diaspora traditions. The preservation of Ukrainian phonetic patterns, the strategic deployment of untranslated cultural terminology, and the narrative centering of linguistic identity as spiritual practice constitute specifically Ukrainian responses to cultural displacement.

4. Contemporary Voices: Twenty-First Century Ukrainian Children's Literature in Crisis and Resilience

The emergence of contemporary Ukrainian children's literature since the 2020s reveals an intensification of the themes identified in earlier diaspora narratives, yet with distinctive emphases shaped by geopolitical crisis, digital culture, and renewed warfare. Dzvinka Matiyash, who debuted in 2005 with a meditative book of prose titled "*A Requiem for November*", has since published works for

[5] Underwood T. "*Distant horizons: Digital evidence and literary change*". University of Chicago Press, 2019, p. 203.

both adults and children that have received nominations for the BBC Ukrainian Book of the Year award. Matiyash's writing trajectory is a perfect example of how contemporary Ukrainian children's authors successfully navigate a delicate balance: the need for aesthetic sophistication must align with pedagogical necessity, and intimate emotional truth must coexist with collective historical documentation.

Matiyash's *Roman pro bat'kivschynu* (*Novel About the Motherland*) marks a major shift in how modern Ukrainian children's literature tackles cultural identity and national belonging. Rather than presenting the motherland as something purely nostalgic or romantic, Matiyash builds it as a complex, embodied reality — at once geographic, linguistic, emotional, and spiritual. The novel effectively uses what Eyerman calls memory work: the conscious construction of shared meaning around national identity through literary narrative. For today's Ukrainian child readers — many of whom are experiencing displacement due to war, refugee crises, and internal migration — Matiyash's novel offers a therapeutic function. It validates the emotional complexity of national attachment while skillfully sidestepping sentimentality. Matiyash's approach to narrative mirrors what postcolonial theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak termed strategic essentialism: the deliberate assertion of a national or cultural identity to counter erasure, all while maintaining a critical awareness that such an identity is, in part, constructed. Her children's texts preserve distinct Ukrainian linguistic registers and cultural references while simultaneously engaging with current geopolitical realities. This represents a significant evolution from earlier diaspora narratives. Where previous generations often framed Ukrainian identity in symbolic or spiritual terms, contemporary writers like Matiyash now foreground the material, political, and military dimensions of national survival.

Since Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022, Ukrainian children's literature has undergone a rapid transformation, with established authors producing works that engage warfare with unprecedented immediacy. This contemporary moment underscores the vital role of children's literature in what Eyerman identifies as *cultural trauma work during active crisis* — the real-

time transformation of traumatic experiences into meaningful narratives while the trauma remains actively unfolding.[6].

Contemporary Ukrainian children's literature published since 2022 demonstrates several significant developments. First, the narrative treatment of displacement has shifted from the symbolic or retrospective to the immediate and documentary. Children's texts now directly address topics previously considered too disturbing: air raids, separation from families, death, and the experience of becoming refugees. Rather than traumatizing young readers, these texts appear to function therapeutically — validating children's actual experiences rather than denying or minimizing them. Second, the audience for Ukrainian children's literature has expanded globally in unprecedented ways. Translation initiatives, international publishing support, and the geopolitical visibility of Ukrainian suffering have made Ukrainian children's voices audible to global audiences in ways that previous diaspora literature achieved only gradually. Third, contemporary Ukrainian children's literature increasingly emphasizes resilience not as passive endurance but as active cultural and political practice. Narratives foreground children's participation in cultural preservation — learning language, documenting displacement, teaching younger siblings, and maintaining family memory. This reflects what Eyerman identifies as children's agency in collective meaning-making: children function not merely as victims of trauma but as agents in the construction of cultural memory and national identity.[7].

Contemporary Ukrainian children's literature intensifies earlier preoccupations with linguistic preservation, now framed as a matter of urgent national survival. With Russian military aggression threatening Ukrainian linguistic and cultural continuity, children's literature published since 2022 explicitly positions Ukrainian language learning and literary engagement as acts of national resistance. This represents what postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha identifies as "language as counter-colonial strategy" — the deployment of minority language literature as a form of resistance to the dominant power's attempt at cultural erasure[8].

---

[6] Eyerman R. "*Memory, trauma, and identity*". Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, p. 156.

[7] Ibid., p. 174.

[8] Bhabha H. K. "*The location of culture*." Routledge, 1994, p. 134.

In Natalia Maletych's work, The Ghost Who Couldn't Fall Asleep, the narrative exemplifies how children's literature addresses displacement not as a tragedy, but as a catalyst for connection. The "abandoned house on the outskirts of the city" serves as a metaphor for displacement, exile, and cultural abandonment. The ghost represents what the research calls the *wounded child* of postcolonial trauma — isolated, unable to rest, waiting for connection. In a forgotten house on the edge of town, a ghost lives a lonely existence. He can't sleep anymore because his neighbors moved out, leaving no one for him to perform his nightly routines on — no lamps to switch off, no people to tuck in. But everything shifts the day a young family, complete with a little girl, settles into his haunted residence. This beautiful story is about overcoming loneliness and finding unlikely friendship where you least expect it, giving a classic tale a fresh, new meaning.[9].

The arrival of "a young family with a little daughter" transforms potential isolation into the basis for community formation. The narrative teaches young readers that displacement, although painful, can lead to unexpected forms of belonging and mutual care. Resilience emerges not from individual strength but from relational engagement — the ghost's capacity to care for the child, the child's ability to notice and befriend the ghost.

In post-2022 Ukraine, narratives of displacement, lonely waiting, and unexpected friendship resonate particularly for children separated from their parents, displaced from their homes, or waiting for their return. Contemporary Ukrainian children's writers employ sophisticated narrative strategies to make language itself visible as content. Texts highlight phonetic distinctiveness, preserve regional dialects and linguistic variations, incorporate untranslated Ukrainian cultural terminology, and foreground the emotional and spiritual significance of Ukrainian linguistic identity. For child readers experiencing linguistic suppression or displacement, these texts validate the Ukrainian language as intrinsically valuable rather than merely instrumental.

Perhaps most significantly, contemporary Ukrainian children's literature reflects what might be termed "accelerated intergenerational transmission." Rather than the gradual,

[9] Maletych N., *The Ghost that Couldn't Fall Sleep*, Vydavnytstvo satrogo leva, 2020.

multigenerational transmission of cultural memory characteristic of diaspora traditions, contemporary narratives compress generations of cultural transmission into immediate, urgent forms. Children are positioned as simultaneous recipients and transmitters of cultural memory — learning Ukrainian identity while simultaneously teaching it, bearing witness to contemporary trauma while archiving it for future memory. This acceleration reflects what Caruth identifies as trauma's characteristic compression of temporal experience: in trauma, past, present, and future collapse into an urgent now. Contemporary Ukrainian children's literature formally and thematically reflects this temporal distortion, creating narrative structures that force child readers to engage with multiple temporal registers simultaneously[10].

5. Indigenous Storytelling, Sovereignty, and Terra Nullius: Narratives of Knowledge, Identity, and Resistance

According to Serrat, the term '*storytelling*' can be defined as "the vivid description of ideas, beliefs, personal experiences, and life-lessons through stories or narratives that evoke powerful emotions and insights"[11]. This is an open and natural form of communication designed to connect people and ideas, fostering understanding, coherence, and meaning. It allows different perspectives to emerge, inspires imagination, motivates action, and fosters change[12]. The main advantages of indigenous storytelling are that it delivers both emotional and factual content, serves as a means to share knowledge, features a narrative structure that enhances learning, and, because it is accessible to everyone, it is an effective method for reaching a large audience.

We agree entirely with Kodo, who, focusing on American Indian and Indigenous traditions, states that "storytelling is a universal

[10] Caruth C., *Unclaimed experience: Trauma, narrative, and history,* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. 64.

[11] Serrat O., *Storytelling". Knowledge Solutions*, Asian Development Bank, 2017, p. 839.

[12] Ibid., p. 840.

aspect of Indigenous culture, regardless of tribal identity"[13]. The scholar asserts that creation myths are among the earliest stories explaining the origins of Indigenous societies. Each Indigenous nation and tribe across North America has its own unique creation stories, marked by specific symbols, animal figures, and characters. These stories have been passed down through many generations; however, each retelling varies, often reflecting the storyteller's personality and being adapted or expanded to connect with the audience of the time[14].

Aboriginal storytelling is a vital part of Australian Indigenous culture, serving as a powerful means to preserve and pass on Aboriginal knowledge, values, and traditions across generations[15]. Furthermore, Australian Aboriginal storytelling is a vital form of communication within Aboriginal communities, closely connected to place (environment) and Country, which is regarded as a living, sacred being. Therefore, Elders and storytellers are honoured as Traditional Custodians, guardians of cultural history, responsible for preserving and transmitting these stories to maintain the spiritual foundation of Aboriginal cultural continuity. That is why, through stories, Aboriginal people share creation myths, historical events, moral lessons, and teachings about the land and its resources, with each story carrying multiple layers of meaning tied to specific landscapes, spiritual beliefs, and social bonds. These stories are often shared orally outdoors by the fire, and can take many forms, including spoken narratives, songs, dances, art, and performances.

Aboriginal storytelling extends beyond entertainment; it serves as a living record of Law (the Dreaming or Songlines), survival skills, social customs, and community identity. Through these stories, people strengthen their cultural bonds to ancestors, language, and heritage, while also building resilience against the challenges of colonial and postcolonial policies. As Watson states in her article *"Aboriginal Laws and the Sovereignty of Terra Nullius"*, "storytelling is not just about entertainment; it is the means by which

[13] Kodo K., "Storytelling: Adaptability and Expansion of American Indian and Indigenous Culture", *Freeside Europe Online Academic Journal*, Issue 15, 2024, pp. 2.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law,* Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 16.

knowledge is passed from generation to generation, ensuring that cultural traditions and laws remain intact"[16]. Irene Watson uses a creation story from her people to critique Australian law and the actions of white settlers. The tale features a thirsty, greedy frog who consumes all the water—draining every stream, lake, river, puddle, and even the ocean. The other animals must then devise a plan to make the frog laugh, forcing it to release the water and shrink back to its proper size. Watson directly compares this water-hoarding amphibian to the settlers, arguing they greedily consumed the environment without regard for anyone else's needs, thus erasing the vital boundary between what is "inside" (their land) and "outside" (the original inhabitants' resources). She argues that for Australian Aboriginal communities, "genocide also resides in the destruction of the natural world (Ruwe). The ripping and tearing of the body of the ruwe is akin to the ripping and tearing of our own bodies, our mother, and all of our relations"[17]. During long years of colonialism, Australian authorities tried to subjugate, condition, and silence Aboriginal responses. As a result, many Aboriginal people "no longer traditionally express their feelings; instead, their emotions are buried in prisons, altered states of mind, or simply simmering deep within trauma and depression"[18].

Furthermore, European settlers often overlook Indigenous cultivation practices as legitimate land claims, instead viewing their 'outside' as a 'state of nature' — a space to be taken or claimed. That is why it was called Terra Nullius, a land that belongs to no one. I can certainly paraphrase and humanize this critical analysis of the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) and its historical context, making the language more direct and impactful. It was no accident that Prime Minister Howard characterized Aboriginal communities as living in a "state of nature" ("a Hobbesian nightmare of violence, abuse, and neglect") right before initiating the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER). This calculated rhetoric allowed settler-colonial power to claim territory through an initial act of violence followed by legal control. This entire process rests on rejecting the ongoing sovereignty of

[16] Watson I. "Aboriginal laws and the sovereignty of Terra Nullius". *Borderlands E-Journal* 1(2), 2002, p. 46.

[17] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law,* Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 121.

[18] Ibid.

Indigenous peoples. By framing Aboriginal society in this way, the statement effectively stripped the land of its inherent intentionality, laws, spirits, and political community. The land was thus redefined as "unclaimed" property, held in common, and therefore ready to be seized[19].

In the book Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law, Watson discusses the impact of the forced removal of Ruwe on First Nations people, describing it as cultural genocide because it resulted in the loss of cultural identity, law, and traditions, which in turn led to the destruction of First Nations as peoples: "Ruwe is the core of our culture and traditions, and our forced removal and separation from Ruwe was a removal from our cultural foundation; it was an act of cultural genocide. The stripping from us of our culture, law, and traditions, along with the imposition on us of an alien law, language, and culture, are acts that lead to the destruction of First Nations as people"[20]. Therefore, in his report to the United Nations, Cobo argued that cases in which states deliberately discriminate against people for their refusal to abandon their cultural heritage, customs, and traditions could be deemed '*ethnocide*' or '*cultural genocide*'[21]. Cobo sees the crime of genocide operating against the rights and dignity of any people.

It is important to note that today, modern genocide manifests through trauma and social suffering, rather than direct violence. It highlights the impact on Indigenous peoples, especially in terms of health and social well-being: "the face of contemporary genocide is not so much death by shooting or poisoning, as occurred in the nineteenth century; it is death arising out of severe trauma and a pain so big that many of our people let go of life"[22].

According to historical research, Australian Indigenous peoples today face severe health and well-being challenges due to past and ongoing impacts of genocide, state control, and social exclusion.

---

[19] Faulkner J. "Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben)", *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 9(4), 2020, p. 49.

[20] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015. p. 121.

[21] Cobo J. M., *Study of the Problem against Indigenous Populations Final Report*, UN Doc.

[22] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law,* Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 134.

"Indigenous people of the modern world have 'discovered' ways to kill the pain: suicide, drugs, and alcohol. If we were to measure the contemporary impact of genocide and its experience, some of the worst indicators would be found in the mental health and physical health statistics of Nungas. Our profiles are of Third World standard, in a country that prides itself on being a leader among global capitalist economies. And if you studied our historical profile in terms of self-determination, land ownership and management, housing, health, cultural integrity, language maintenance, and education, as well as the standards we have lived under, you would begin to identify a destructive environment of state control. We are disappearing peoples"[23].

Therefore, based on the provided descriptions, we can conclude that negative effects are clearly reflected in poor mental and physical health statistics among Indigenous peoples in Australia. Furthermore, the loss of self-determination, land, housing, culture, and language is a significant concern, as government control fosters a harmful environment that accelerates the decline of Indigenous populations.

6. Reclaiming Australian Aboriginal Identity through storytelling

The discussion about Aboriginal children in Australia has been widespread, portraying them as miserable, abused, and neglected since before the country's federation, going back to the colonies[24]. Aboriginal and other racialised children, including refugee children, frequently symbolise larger national discussions on Australian sovereignty, which are based on the idea of Terra Nullius: these debates focus on who has a claim to belonging, who can cross borders, who should be excluded, and who has the right to exist. These sovereignty issues also arise internally, with Aboriginal children being rhetorically weaponised against their parents and communities. These communities are often depicted as outsiders within

[23] Watson I., "Aboriginal laws and the sovereignty of Terra Nullius", *Borderlands E-Journal* 1(2), 2002, p. 134.

[24] Stringer R., "A nightmare of the neocolonial kind: Politics of suffering in John Howard's Northern Territory intervention", *Borderlands* 6(2).

their own lands, viewed as the uncolonized segments of a colonised people.

In his article *"Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben),"* Faulkner examines how the image of a '*wounded Aboriginal child*'[25] represents a clash between two contrasting ideologies: First Nations sovereignty, based on a spiritual bond to the Country for thousands of years, and settler sovereignty, which has been imposed on Australian Indigenous peoples through physical, legal, and existential violence for 230 years.

First Nations sovereignty is grounded in a fundamental and everlasting relationship between Aboriginal people, their environment, and the land (Country) they belong to[26] [27]. Unlike settler-colonial sovereignty, which operates through legal enforcement and territorial control, this model emphasizes obligations to Country and intergenerational responsibilities. Aboriginal storytelling functions as a critical means through which this alternative sovereignty is *articulated and transmitted*, though it should be noted that narration alone does not constitute political sovereignty — rather, storytelling maintains and communicates the knowledge systems upon which such sovereignty depends. As Kwaymullina (2020) argues, this constitutes 'narrative' sovereignty in the sense that it is expressed through and dependent upon the ability to tell Dreamtime stories and maintain cultural law, though this distinction should not obscure the material, legal, and political dimensions through which settler colonialism has consistently worked to suppress both the storytelling practices and the territorial sovereignty they articulate[28].

"The wounded Aboriginal child" exemplifies the ongoing clash between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ideological perspectives, as children continue to suffer the effects of colonial power strate-

[25] Faulkner J., "Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben)", *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 9(4), 2020, p. 45.

[26] Araluen E., "To outlive a home: Poetics of a crumbling domestic", *Cordite Poetry Review*, 89.

[27] Kwaymullina A.," Living on Stolen Land", Broome: Magabala Books, 2020, p. 7.

[28] Ibid.

gies, seen in carceral and child protection systems and media narratives favoring intervention in their communities. In Alexis Wright's novel *The Swan*, Oblivion Ethylene's name symbolizes the burden of settler Australians' enforced amnesia and their attempts to erase Aboriginal history and existence by controlling the lives and images of Aboriginal children[29]. The girl is portrayed even more poignantly as a perennial child: the homo sacer of an Aboriginality already stripped of its way of life by colonization, leading to infantilization, dehumanization, and a loss of protection[30]. Through this well-rounded complex image, Wright addresses the mixed role of the Aboriginal children in postcolonial Australian literature and society, portraying them simultaneously "as victims and offenders, as abused and seductresses, both a reminder of and a redemption for white guilt"[31].

In many literary and historical texts, Aboriginal children frequently represent *a Stolen Generation*, emphasizing the complexities surrounding the existence of Aboriginal peoples within Australia's colonial history. For example, Watson, in her book *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law,* defined "the removal of Aboriginal children under the assimilation policy as amounting to genocide"[32]. And, what is more, she argues that "the High Court in *Kruger* dismissed claims that the removal of First Nations children to state institutions was an act of genocide"[33].

Following the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC), the Australian Commonwealth government launched a subsequent inquiry to gather evidence on the history of forcibly removing Aboriginal children. As Irene Watson points out, while this inquiry heard numerous stories from those now known as the 'Stolen Generations,' it concluded without

[29] Faulkner J., "Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben)", *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 9(4), 2020, p. 49.

[30] Rollo T., "Feral children: Settler colonialism, progress, and the figure of the child". *Settler Colonial Studies* 8(1), 2018, pp. 60–79.

[31] Faulkner J., "Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben)", *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 9(4), 2020, p. 52.

[32] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law,* Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 134.

[33] Ibid.

establishing any compensation or a clear process for healing. Crucially, no apology was issued by the head of government at the time. Despite this initial political failure, Ronald Wilson, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commissioner (HREOC), later determined that the policies responsible for these removals violated international human rights law and constituted acts of genocide under the United Nations definition.

The removal of very young children and infants from their families, traditional lands, culture, and language created an irreversible severing of vital connections to Aboriginal spirituality. The explicit goal was to dismantle the family structure and destroy each individual's ability to grow up within their First Nation community. Historical records confirm this intent. Mr. Neville of Western Australia stated before a 1937 Commonwealth conference that the goal was "to establish sufficient settlements to undertake the training and education of these children so that they may become absorbed into the general community."[34]

The reality on the ground was far harsher: children were given minimal rations, often going hungry or forced to steal food scraps "left ... for the pigs." Once institutionalized, Aboriginal children generally just survived in an alien environment, cut off from Aboriginal Lore, ceremonies, and culture. They were trained in Western customs primarily to serve as cheap labor. In the worst documented cases, they faced starvation rations and suffered systemic physical and sexual abuse.

The testimony from survivors is essential. Wadjularbinna Nulyarimma, a prosecutor in the Tent Embassy genocide case, shared her childhood experience where simple play was a privilege reserved only for the child who was working as a slave: "You put the missionaries' shoes at their feet when they're ready to put their feet in them. You carried bathwater for them up and down a flight of stairs – and if it was too hot, you got clipped over the ears."[35] The brutality of the situation makes the High Court's reasoning in the *Kruger* case difficult to grasp, as the forceful removal of young babies and children was ultimately perceived as "a benevolent welfare policy, deemed to be 'in the best interests of the child'"[36].

[34] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law,* Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

Furthermore, in Kruger, the High Court's majority upheld the constitutionality of the Ordinance. The judges rejected the plaintiffs' claim of genocide. In his opinion, Dawson J concluded that there was no specific intent; instead, the powers given to the Protector were meant to be exercised in the 'best interests of the child'.

The High Court chose not to resolve the issue of genocide. Furthermore, as Kerruish argued, there is no definitive answer, and the law regarding genocide remains dangerously unresolved.[37]. Watson states, "the contemporary face of genocide is within the power that the state exercises over First Nations children taken from families and communities by the Australian criminal justice system and state welfare policies. The removal of Nunga children, as in the past, is still viewed as being 'in the best interests of the child'"[38].

As Patsy Smith (Taungurung Traditional Owner) describes in her story[39], she was born in 1955 at the Mooroopna Hospital (Cummeragunja Mission), and her childhood was traumatized by strict rules and cruel managers. "No one was allowed to leave without permission, there was minimal food and clothing, and extremely poor housing" (p.16). As there were thirteen children in the family, her great-grandfather would "sneak inside at night to visit his wife and their children" (p. 16) and bring food. In 1939, many deaths resulted from poor conditions, famine, and a lack of sanitation; therefore, most residents protested against these conditions. "This event became known as the Cummeragunja Walk-Off. My great-grandfather was involved in this" (p.16). Later, Patsy Smith's mother moved to a flat by the river. "These were hard times, and many families relied on hunting and fishing to feed their growing families" (p.17). After the Murray River flood in 1956, "the police took the three of us, because we had no fixed abode, means of care or support" (p.17). Three of them were initially placed in the Children's Welfare Department and later moved to the Turana Reception Center. Later, Patsy Smith's siblings were separated: her three-year-old brother, Larry, and her

[37] Kerruish V., *The wrong of law: Metaphysics, logics, and law's claim of right*, Routledge, 2025.

[38] Watson I., *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 121.

[39] Summers S., *Telling: Stories of Resilience from Nairm Marr Djambana*, ed. by, Magabala books, 2023, p. 15-23.

four-year-old sister, Joylene, were sent to Geelong to the Kardinia Children's Home, while she, a twelve-month-old infant, was placed in the Presbyterian Babies' Home in Camberwell, Melbourne. "We were separated that day, and we didn't meet again until we were young adults" (p. 18). After spending four years at the Presbyterian Babies' Home and undergoing two hip operations, Patsy Smith was transferred to the William Booth Memorial Home for Girls in Camberwell. Later, I was fostered by a young woman who lived with her family.

While analyzing Patsy Smith's story, the most memorable parts of the children's home were the small brown leather suitcases each kid owned and the playground where they were allowed to play. "However, life was very structured at the home – you are at a set time, played at a set time, and you weren't allowed to talk at the table" (p.20). Once, she asked to pass the salt and "got called up immediately to the front, where The Salvation Army captains and stuff were sitting. I got given the strap in front of everyone. There was no explanation" (p. 20). When she refused to eat pickles, "the stuff picked up my plate and made me sit at the front and, with a couple of other kids who hadn't eaten their meals and they force-fed that food into us. I think they wanted us to be grateful for our food when other children in the world were starving. I couldn't eat pickles again until I was in my late 20s – *that traumatic incident stayed with me some time*" (p.20).

The daily routine at the children's home felt more like a prison, with no celebrations or any positive emotions, as children never got presents, even at Christmas: "My foster mum told me that she had sent me a bride doll one year for Christmas. I never received it" (p.21). Therefore, after leaving it, Patsy Smith wrote in her story, "I felt liberated that I had the freedom to go wherever I wanted to" (p. 21).

The happiest Christmas was when she was allowed to live with her foster mum: "I woke up and there was a pram beside my bed, and it was full of toys. I was so excited that I felt overwhelmed. It was almost too much for me to bear – I couldn't even speak, so Mum helped me open the presents" (p.22). When Patsy Smith was eighteen, her brother Larry visited her and told her about her Aboriginal heritage, as her foster mum didn't tell her. "She explained that, because of past circumstances, she thought that I might be ashamed of being of Aboriginal blood" (p.22).

Therefore, aside from these traumatic childhood experiences that greatly shaped and influenced her cultural identity, Patsy Smith's biggest challenge was discovering her own cultural identity. Raised by a foster mother, she eventually had to learn about her biological mother: "My respect and love for my foster mum drove in me a loyalty to her, which led to my not contacting her. I feared losing my foster mum, which was ultimately what happened" (p.22). It was only in her mid-30s that Patsy Smith reached out to her mother, who was in poor health at the time, and started exploring her Aboriginal identity.

Patsy Smith's story of survival and renewal vividly illustrates the resourcefulness required to overcome systemic harm, demonstrating that individual resilience can persist despite institutional violence. Crucially, however, her narrative also illuminates what resilience *cannot* achieve on its own: she lost decades of connection to her mother, her cultural heritage was intentionally withheld, and her childhood was defined by deprivation and control.

While truth-telling is vital for acknowledging these harms and affirming survival, it must never be mistaken for justice or a sufficient form of healing. As Patsy Smith observed, "truth-telling is essential for young Aboriginal people." This statement pinpoints what narrative *can* provide —frameworks for understanding survival and resistance — while leaving the critical question intact: what material restitution, systemic accountability, and ongoing support are required to address ongoing harm?

Beyond individual stories, cultural memory is fundamental to shaping Aboriginal identity. It functions as the core mechanism for preserving and passing down traditions, stories, and connections to Country across generations.

The colonial classification of mixed-heritage children based on blood quantum exposes the complicated, contested questions surrounding their racial identity and belonging, as well as the colonizers' responsibility for their future. As Faulkner notes, children labeled with colonial terms like 'half-caste' or 'quadroon' face a paradox of belonging in colonial thought: "Are they white or black? At what point does the reduction of 'blood' eliminate Aboriginal identity? Who do these children belong to? Who is

responsible for them? And what is the colonizer's role if new generations identifying as Aboriginal continue to arise?"[40].

The postcolonial perspective employed in this research underscores how First Nations peoples can decolonize their minds, thereby activating a form of sovereignty that remains present despite ongoing harm to the land, climate, and social systems that transmit cultural knowledge.

For example, the recent anthology *Telling: Stories of Resilience from Nairm Marr Djambana* features twelve life stories narrated by Elders from the Aboriginal Association. As stated in the acknowledgments, "they describe experiences of loss, family separation, racism, and above all, the unbroken spirit of resistance and resilience"[41]. This collection explores the significance of oral traditions, storytelling, and artistic expressions as integral components of cultural memory, promoting a sense of belonging and continuity. These practices not only strengthen individual and collective identities but also act as powerful tools of resistance against cultural assimilation and massive loss. Crucially, these narratives are rooted in First Nations storytelling traditions and showcase the diverse and complex experiences that followed colonization. Each Elder reflects on their unique intergenerational trauma and the deep history of the Stolen Generations, emphasizing themes of reconnection and resistance. Yvonne Luke describes reconnecting with Alyawerre Country after generations of forced removal. Patsy Smith (Taungurung Traditional Owner) describes her traumatic childhood memories at the Mooroopna Hospital (Cummeragunja Mission). Koori leader Mik Edwards shares his courageous story of survival after being forcibly taken from his family during the years of genocide. Dyan Summers, a representative of Bunurong Country with ties to sealers in Bass Strait, recounts a story of endurance and strength, drawing on her ancestors who lived on Flinders Island and in Bunurong Country during the challenging times of colonization.

[40] Faulkner J., "Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben)", *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 9(4), 2020, p. 52.

[41] Summers S., "*Telling: Stories of resilience from Nairm Marr Djambana"*, Magabala Books, 2023.

Additionally, the stories are paired with powerful photographs, transforming the texts into multimodal narratives rich in semiotic signs and symbols.

7. Conclusions

This study connects resilience and cultural memory through case studies that showcase how Aboriginal communities actively adapt to past and present challenges. This adaptation includes reviving traditional ecological knowledge, emphasizing sustainable practices, and reinforcing a deep spiritual and physical connection to the land. The stories of survival and renewal analyzed here are crucial for understanding modern Australian Aboriginal identity, as they highlight the ongoing interplay between history and present-day realities. Ultimately, this work stresses the necessity of recognizing Aboriginal voices and perspectives in all discussions concerning identity politics, social justice, and reconciliation. By focusing on these experiences, this study advocates for a more nuanced understanding of Australian Aboriginal identity — one that celebrates its multicultural diversity and complexity, rather than confining it to monolithic representations. This research firmly asserts that the resilience of Australian Aboriginal people is fundamentally linked to their cultural memory, which acts as both a foundation for national identity and a vital mechanism for survival. This exploration encourages a broader public dialogue about acknowledging and respecting Aboriginal identities within the wider Australian context.

Methodologically, this research makes a significant contribution by developing culturally sensitive computational approaches for the comparative analysis of children's literature. The project aims to create new tools for analyzing trauma representation across diverse linguistic and cultural contexts while establishing ethical protocols for engaging with sensitive materials.

Theoretically, the study expands the scope of trauma/war/exile studies, as well as children's narratives scholarship. It demonstrates how comparative analysis reveals both universal human patterns and critical cultural specificity in how trauma is processed. By examining how different cultures use children's literature to maintain identity during periods of disruption, this

work offers insights directly relevant to understanding contemporary refugee and immigrant experiences. The findings underscore that cultural communities use children's literature as both a protective mechanism and a means of transmitting traumatic knowledge.

This research holds specific urgency for communities, educators, and policymakers grappling with these ongoing challenges, as it documents and validates storytelling practices that constitute cultural sovereignty and resistance. This has direct implications for educational curricula, which should center Aboriginal pedagogies instead of imposing external frameworks; particularly those displaced by current conflict, it contextualizes contemporary children's narratives within longer histories of diaspora, which can inform better support structures for refugee children maintaining cultural continuity.

For both contexts, the research suggests that cultural preservation through children's literature must be recognized not just as heritage conservation or therapeutic practice, but as a form of political resistance to ongoing cultural erasure. For policymakers, this means that educational, welfare, and refugee support systems require a fundamental reorientation toward centering — rather than suppressing — the cultural practices through which communities maintain their identity. The ongoing cycles of transgenerational trauma continue to affect Aboriginal children and families, highlighting the importance of understanding how cultural texts aid healing. Similarly, contemporary Ukrainian children's war narratives address current experiences of displacement and cultural threats, making this comparative analysis especially relevant.

References

Alexander J. C., *Trauma: A social theory*, Polity Press, 2012.

Anderson B., *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed.), Verso Books, 2006.

Araluen E., "To outlive a home: Poetics of a crumbling domestic", *Cordite Poetry Review,* 89: 'Domestic'. 2019, http://cordite.org.au/essays/to-outlive-a-home/3/

Asimiadis, D. "The Witches of the Reich: The Dimension of Female Mysticism in Nazi Ideology", *Dianoesis*, 17, 2025, pp. 271-94, https://doi.org/10.12681/dia.41714.

Bassnett S., *Translation studies* (4th ed.), Routledge, 2019.

Caruth C., *Unclaimed experience: Trauma, narrative, and history*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Cobo J. M., *Study of the Problem against Indigenous Populations Final Report*, UN Doc. E/CN4/Sub2/1983/21/Add1 (10 June 1983).

Eyerman R. *Memory, trauma and identity*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Faulkner J. "Settler-Colonial Violence and the 'Wounded Aboriginal Child': Reading Alexis Wright with Irene Watson (and Giorgio Agamben)", *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 9(4), 2020, pp. 45-60. doi: 10.5204/ijcjsd.1689.

Herman J. L. *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence—From domestic abuse to political terror*. Basic Books, 2015.

Janssen J. "Ethics as a Means to Power", *Dia-noesis*, 15, 2024, pp. 59-80, https://doi.org/10.12681/dia.38166.

Kerruish V., *The wrong of law: Metaphysics, logics, and law's claim of right*. Routledge, 2025.

Kodo K., "Storytelling: Adaptability and Expansion of American Indian and Indigenous Culture". *Freeside Europe Online Academic Journal*, Issue 15, 2024, pp. 1-13, DOI 10.51313

Kwaymullina A., *Living on Stolen Land*. Broome: Magabala Books, 2020.

Menzies K., "Understanding the Australian Aboriginal experience of collective, historical and intergenerational trauma", *International Social Work*, 62(6), 2019, 1522-1534. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872819870585

Moreton-Robinson A., "Imagining the good Indigenous citizen: Race war and the pathology of patriarchal White sovereignty", *Cultural Studies Review* 15(2), 2009, 61–79. https://doi.org/10.5130/csr.v15i2.2038

Moretti F. *Distant reading*. Verso Books, 2013.

Rollo T., "The color of childhood: The role of the child/human binary in the production of anti-Black racism", *Journal of Black Studies*, *49*(4), 2018, 307–329. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934718760769

Rollo T., "Feral children: Settler colonialism, progress, and the figure of the child", *Settler Colonial Studies*, 8(1), 2018, 60–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2016.1199826

Rupčić Kelam, D. "Militarization of Everyday Life: Girls in Armed Conflicts", *Conatus - Journal of Philosophy*, 8: 2, 2023, pp. 487-19, https://doi.org/10.12681/cjp.35119.

Said E. W., *Reflections on exile and other essays*. Harvard University Press, 2000.

Serrat O., "Storytelling". Knowledge Solutions. Asian Development Bank, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-0983-9_91.

Stringer R., "A nightmare of the neocolonial kind: Politics of suffering in John Howard's Northern Territory intervention", *Borderlands*, 6(2), 2007.

Summers S., (Ed.). *Telling: Stories of resilience from Nairm Marr Djambana*., Magabala Books, 2023.

Underwood T., *Distant horizons: Digital evidence and literary change*, University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Watson, I. "Aboriginal laws and the sovereignty of Terra Nullius", *Borderlands E-Journal*, *1*(2), 2002. https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20030624015313/

Watson I., "In the Northern Territory intervention: What is saved or rescued and at what cost?", *Cultural Studies Review*, 15(2), 2009, 45–60. https://doi.org/10.5130/csr.v15i2.2037

Watson I., "Sovereign spaces, caring for country, and the homeless position of Aboriginal peoples", *Southern Atlantic Quarterly*, 108(1), 2009, 27–51. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-2008-021

Watson I. *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015.