

Aboriginal football in Australia: race relations and the socio-historical meanings of the 2014 Borroloola Tour to the Brazil World Cup¹

Jorge Knijnik, Jane Hunter & Les Vozzo

This paper tells the history of the Borroloola Tour to the 2014 Brazil World Cup, when eight Aboriginal adolescent footballers from the remote town of Borroloola in Australia's Northern Territory were selected to be part of a tour to Brazil. In Brazil they followed the Australian team from the stands, socialized with football idols such as Tim Cahill and visited a Brazilian Indigenous tribe. John Moriarty, the first Aboriginal Australian to be selected to Australia's national football team executed this excursion. Considering that race relations within the Australian sporting arena have historically, been tense and contested, this paper brings to light an under-explored aspect of football in Australia. It is timely too, given the insertion of Australian football within the Asian Football Confederation. The paper examines the historical meanings of the Borroloola Tour through the lens of its key participants; as well as by unveiling John Moriarty's history as the first Aboriginal person to be selected to play for the Socceroos. In conclusion it reveals that both the past and contemporary history of Aboriginal people's involvement in Australian football has an emerging face that will shape football in Australia and in Asia in the coming years.

KEY WORDS – Social Capital; Asian Football; John Moriarty; Australian racism; Indigenous communities

During the first round of the 2014 Brazil World Cup, many children around Australia cheered on their national team, the Socceroos. However, for eight Aboriginal adolescents from the remote town of Borroloola in the Northern Territory, the Socceroos campaign had an additional meaning. Considered top-footballers in their region, this group of young people were selected to be part of a social and educational tour to Brazil, where they not only followed the Australian team on the stands, they socialized with football idols such as Tim Cahill and participated in a training session with the Socceroos' coach. Opportunities

¹ This is a **post print** version of the paper originally published in the International Journal of the History of Sport. Full citation:

Knijnik, Jorge; Hunter, Jane & Vozzo, Les (2017). Aboriginal football in Australia: race relations and the socio-historical meanings of the 2014 Borroloola Tour to the Brazil World Cup. *Int Journal of the History of Sport* DOI:[10.1080/09523367.2017.1332046](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2017.1332046).

presented themselves for travel across the country and engage in an intercultural exchange with young Indigenous Brazilians as well.¹

This excursion was planned and executed by John Moriarty, the first Aboriginal person to be selected to the Australian national team in 1960.² John Moriarty is the founder of the *John Moriarty Football* initiative, a ‘world’s best practice football initiative for primary school aged Aboriginal boys and girls [...] whose goals are twofold: to provide the support, training, development and pathways for Aboriginal football to succeed in Australia, and to use the sport as a powerful tool to change educational and life outcomes for Aboriginal footballers and their families’.³ John and his son James organized the international tour to the 2014 World Cup with two key aims in mind: first, they wanted to create ‘brilliant footballers that would come through and play for the Matildas, [Australian women’s team] play for the Socceroos [Australian men’s team]and play internationally as well’; second, they claim ‘the obvious social benefits of football and sport - teamwork, nutrition, all these sorts of things for Aboriginal people living in remote areas more broadly’⁴.

Aboriginal people have historically been present in Australia’s sporting terrain.⁵ In terms of race relations, though, this participation has been characterized by ambiguity and contestation.⁶ Tatz’s ground-breaking work, identifying historical race obstacles that have permeated, hurt and even obstructed several talented Aboriginal athletes’ careers, addresses the discriminating playing fields that have characterized the participation of Aboriginal people in Australian sports.⁷ Researchers have also pointed out that successful Aboriginal athletes’ histories in Australia – including Cathy Freeman⁸ – and the large numbers of Aboriginal young men playing in the top-tiers of the Australian Football League (AFL), may cover institutionalized and unsolved racism within sports settings and beyond.⁹ On the other hand, sports settings have provided an unusual and significant public environment where Aboriginal people join the wider non-Aboriginal society.¹⁰ For many Aboriginal people sport has provided a chance for them to not only feel accepted in the broader society in which they live but to assume leadership positions, earn money, connect to different communities, and learn new ideas and to travel beyond their place of birth.¹¹ This research sought to understand the role that football played in the life of prominent Australian footballers and Aboriginal political activists such as John Moriarty.¹²

It is against this background of racialized tension between Aboriginal people on Australia’s sporting fields, as identified by Hallinan,¹³ that we describe and analyse the 2014 Borroloola

Tour (BT) to the Brazil World Cup. The paper reports on a series of in-depth interviews conducted with players, coaches and managers – including John Moriarty – who took part in the excursion.¹⁴ Narratives of the excursion, as well as life and football tales – including Moriarty’s remembrances and story as a child of the Stolen Generation and the first Aboriginal person to be part of the Australian team¹⁵ – were listened to over several weeks.¹⁶ The stories are discussed while the paper answers relevant questions for the future of Aboriginal participation in the world game both nationally and in Asia. Through a process of re-telling we ask whether this excursion can be a landmark for growing and socially healthy participation of more young Aboriginal people in the world game. Moreover, we deliberate on whether Asian football will see an increased flow of talented young Aboriginal players onto the international stage not only in Australia but also in clubs across the Asian continent. In addition, we consider the assumption of Aboriginal people as ‘natural born athletes’¹⁷ in the broader educational context where sport is seen as a developmental tool that should be used to improve social adjustment.¹⁸

The paper commences by briefly describing the social history of Aboriginal people in Australia, including notes on the Stolen Generation and educational biases that have seen the growth of the deficit discourse on schooling and Aboriginal children. This is followed by illustrations of Aboriginal participation in Australian sporting history, where we highlight the diverse purposes that games and sport had and continue to have for Aboriginal communities. The political importance of a football environment in growing the social consciousness of John Moriarty¹⁹ and Charles Perkins is palpable. This description precedes a concise explanation of the BT logistics to the Brazil World Cup, the interviews conducted by the authors detailing different points of view the participants had about the excursion and the presence of football more generally within Aboriginal communities. In conclusion, we posit whether football has a similar role in the lives of contemporary Aboriginal people as perhaps it had in the past for Moriarty and other Aboriginal political leaders.

First Nation People: The Stolen Generation and the still-to-be-fixed Educational Gap

During the late nineteenth century and most part of the 20th century, Australia carried out discriminatory policies towards its First Nation people. These policies forced Aboriginal people to be displaced from their original lands, enforcing segregation and incarceration within reserves where they were controlled by Government authorities. This regime determined essential aspects of their lives, such as food provisions, working conditions, inter-

state movements, marriage and the education of their children. Such policies also introduced the forcible removal of Aboriginal children from their parents and families, from their culture, from their tribes and traditions and many Aboriginal people were placed in the 'care' of mission schools.²⁰

Mission schools were established because the Australian government at the time believed they were responsible for educating and socialising Aboriginal people. It was here that Aboriginal children were 'assimilated' into mainstream white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture. These actions required Aboriginal people to not speak their own languages; instead they had to learn English and adopt the 'Christian' view of the world. Aboriginal children removed from their families' from 1910 to the 1970s became known as the 'Stolen Generations'.²¹

Australian history now acknowledges the significant contribution made by Aboriginal people over the past 40,000 years. This credit was not prevalent prior to the 1970s where most Australian history books rarely mentioned Aboriginal people. Early European settlers did not show empathy towards the Aboriginal way of life due to a lack of knowledge of the antiquity of Australia's history prior to 'white settlement'. There was no understanding of their beliefs systems, ways of life, culture and language systems.²²

Stanner's landmark Boyer lectures of 1968 were a 'turning point and a reflection of the changing mood of a maturing nation state'.²³ It was in this lecture that Stanner revealed both the richness of Aboriginal culture and what he called the 'cult of forgetfulness' practised by 'white Australians'.²⁴ Stanner's acceptance came from deep empathy and direct interaction with Aboriginal people.

After decades of racism and oppression, a process of reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australia culminated in an official apology from the Australian government 'for the suffering imposed on Aboriginal people and the Stolen Generations'.²⁵ Nevertheless, Aboriginal people still face serious disadvantage due to colonialism and the breakdown of their culture over the past 200 years. It is only in recent times that Australia has started to make progress in addressing the significant prejudices that Aboriginal people endure.

At times, intrusive media attention has forced the implementation of strategies to try to 'close the gap' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous educational outcomes. Australia has a high rate of Aboriginal young people not completing secondary schooling. The Education

and Training survey (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009) stated that: ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians have far lower rates of Year 12 attainment than non-Indigenous Australians with 31% of Indigenous students completing year 12 in 2008, compared to 76% of non-Indigenous students attaining year 12 level’.²⁶ The rate of school absenteeism for Aboriginal students is high in comparison to the rest of the population, as too, are their academic outcomes significantly lower than the rest of the population.²⁷ Inequities like this still require addressing by the Australian government. At present in the Northern Territory, not far from Borroloola, in a Royal Commission on the treatment of young people in detention centres, the failures of successive social, political and economic policies to redress the poor treatment of Aboriginal people brings the lack of progress into sharp focus.²⁸

Education is an important focus for all Aboriginal people regardless of remoteness. This attention acknowledges the backgrounds of Aboriginal people and is essential for identity development and being given opportunities to achieve the same learning outcomes as non-Aboriginal children. It is important to recognize culture and advance appropriate curriculum in the classroom and beyond that allows all students to better understand the world in which they live.²⁹ While invasion, colonialism and assimilation have taken many things away from Aboriginal people, perhaps it is time to concentrate on what is working to create a better future for the next generations of Aboriginal people. Implementing effective and positive strategies like socio-educational sports programs, such as the John Moriarty Football project, are examples of what is possible. Recognizing how Aboriginal communities have connected to sport since European settlement provides a lens with which to examine the dynamics of the shortfalls and the gains.

Deficit and Empowerment through Sport in Aboriginal History: A Snapshot

Team games were embedded in Aboriginal culture since before Europeans arrived in Australia.³⁰ Among the wider purposes of sporting achievement, ancient Aboriginal games targeted teaching the younger generations physical skills such as catching and throwing. Playing games was also a chance to practice dexterity and athleticism, all abilities that were essential to the Aboriginal peoples’ hunting and gathering way of life.³¹ Many sports historians report an Aboriginal game that used a ball made from possum skin where dozens of players fought ball possession for each side as an early precursor to the national sport of Australian Football League (AFL).³²

After European settlement, Aboriginal sports people suffered discrimination and racism endemic in the general Aboriginal population.³³ However, there is evidence that without sports, Aboriginal 'welfare and wellbeing might indeed be worse than it currently is'.³⁴ Aboriginal athletes are seen as victims of bigotry in the many available historical artefacts.³⁵ However, sports can also be regarded as dynamic social contexts where social boundaries shift and multidimensional forms of belonging occur³⁶. Sports can benefit the formation of new communal identities³⁷. With these concepts in mind, we can explore some accounts that show Aboriginals as winners in terms of their sporting prowess. Over time the notion of sporting success became a vehicle of Aboriginal community empowerment.³⁸

European sports were introduced to Aboriginal people during the nineteenth century in Australia. Christian missionaries believed that sport would play an important role in the hard task of 'civilizing Aboriginal people'.³⁹ In those early years, horse-riding and cricket were popular among Aboriginal workers who proved themselves by being very talented at these sports. The 1876 Melbourne Cup, a traditional Australian horse race, had as its winner a teenage jockey, a boy named Peter St Albans who was thought to have been Aboriginal.⁴⁰ The very first Australian cricket team to tour Europe had only Aboriginal players, and despite the sporting and financial success of this tour, the players did not see any profit for their work.⁴¹ This exploitation was part of a large number of racist experiences during white Australia's early sporting days. For example, very talented Aboriginal athletes such as the cricketers Eddie Gilbert and Jack Marsh, or the sprinter Wally McArthur, were denied chances to represent Australia internationally due to racial discrimination.⁴²

However, as time went by the national context of sport provided opportunities for Aboriginal people to be part of the wider white Australian society;⁴³ they had the chance to leave reserves and to meet people from different backgrounds, which changed their perspective about what it meant to live in an evolving 'white' society. Aboriginal people learned new ideas about civil freedom, as they involved themselves in community associations and political organizations. This is particularly the case with Aboriginal connections to football in the mid-1900s.

The world game, the 'round-ball' football code, has historically been associated with non-Anglo European migrant communities in Australia.⁴⁴ Hence, the communities suffered as much prejudice from mainstream 'white' Australia as their beloved game of football. European communities were also the victims of racism and as they struggled to establish a

place in society, they understood the experience and had a more open approach to Aboriginal players.⁴⁵ This welcoming and more multicultural environment proved to be central in attracting iconic footballers and Aboriginal activists like Charles Perkins and John Moriarty.

Charles Perkins is a child of the Stolen Generation. In the early 1940s, as a young 10 year old child he was forcibly separated from his family in Alice Springs and brought to an Anglican Church dormitory in Adelaide with other Aboriginal boys, to be raised as a Christian.⁴⁶ However, he struggled in this school setting that was not only unfamiliar but also totally disconnected to his needs and culture. Perkins found games and sport a place where he could ‘showcase his sense of physical capital’ and his sense of self in a social space where he somehow was more able to manage the rules.⁴⁷ Despite being very capable in many sports, Perkins elected football and quickly joined a working-class migrant club in Adelaide; from there he was able to make friends within different football-migrant communities, to develop loving relationships and was always accepted for who he was. As he grew as a skilled footballer, he started to earn some money and emerged some years later as a star player. On one occasion, he was offered a trial in an English team. The European career did not go as he planned, and Perkins moved back to Adelaide to play for a Croatian club and to represent his state in a national level. Football provided him with the means to survive while going to university as well as the right stage to further his political activism.⁴⁸

One of Perkins’ closest friends was John Moriarty, who was also a Stolen Generation child with a similar trajectory to Perkins, in that he was forcibly removed from his family and later raised in the same dormitory as Perkins in Adelaide. Football had a clear role in raising Moriarty’s social consciousness towards the racism that existed in Australian society. It was through being a regular player in his state representative team (with Perkins and other Aboriginal friends) that Moriarty realized the socially entrenched racism that they and other Aboriginal people faced in daily life.⁴⁹ Involved in a South Australian team that had systematic interstate sporting commitments, Moriarty found out that football authorities had to seek authorization from their state Protector of Aborigines so he and the other Aboriginal players could travel.⁵⁰ Moriarty felt insulted. This snub was a turning point. Moriarty could see that through opportunities football provided he would have to take a stance and fight against discrimination for the rights of his people.⁵¹ Again, disempowerment and empowerment were deeply entrenched in Australia’s sporting milieu. This setting would provide Moriarty with broader opportunities, such as travelling to Europe with his colleagues

to pursue a football prospect with some English clubs. Even if he could not find a team to play with at the time, this travel allowed him to:

Experience many societies because we travelled to 32 countries and principalities and we just met people and this gave me a huge insight into how people can be accepted into a community and just be a normal part of a civilised society.⁵²

Broadening his life horizons meant Moriarty could seek out opportunities for tertiary education and wider involvement in public service and political activism. Such actions paved the way for him to become a highly respected Aboriginal leader. Hence, later on he was able to give back to his own people and to his beloved game of football: ‘When I had my soccer injury that put me out of the game it never put the game out of my heart because it’s always there’.⁵³ He actively supported football education and its development in his home community in the town of Borroloola in the Northern Territory. These are the roots that eventually led to the 2014 Brazil World Cup Borroloola Tour for selected Aboriginal adolescents.

Methods

To provoke the voices of our participants we adopted a semi-structured interview research methodology⁵⁴. We met with John Moriarty at his office in North Sydney and interviewed him for more than two hours; we also met Elvis, then JMF manager in a club in Sydney South West, where the interview lasted three hours. We interviewed the indigenous players via Skype for 90 minutes using the same methodology. The players were in the JMF Borroloola headquarters and were accompanied the whole time by their local coaches. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed manner and the interviewers moved inductively through diverse topics, related to their involvement with football, their footballing careers and lives, as well as to topics concerning the BT tour more specifically. The interview script varied according to the interviewee but topics related to indigeneity and football were always present throughout all interviews. All interviewees agreed to take part in the study and signed the appropriate ethical clearance forms⁵⁵.

The 2014 Brazil World Cup Borroloola Tour (BT): Plans and Actions

John Moriarty Football’s (JMF) operational ground is Borroloola, his hometown. Borroloola is an isolated, small town in the Australia’s Northern Territory where temperatures can rise to 45 degrees Celsius in summer (figure 1). A vast majority of Aboriginal people make up the

town's 1500 population. In 2014 the local school had approximately 380 children enrolled but as is the case in many remote Aboriginal communities, consistent attendance is an issue.



Figure 1 Map identifying location of Borrooloola, Northern Territory, Australia

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Northern_Territory_0216.svg

As Moriarty recalls in his conversation with us, it was during the 1930s and 1940s that the policies around separating Aboriginal children from their families were at their peak. Moriarty remembers being able to stay in Borroloola due to the involvement of his father, who was a black tracker, with ‘the Government, closely connected with “welfare” issues’.⁵⁶ However, at the age of four, when he went to an Anglican Church mission established at Roper River with his mother, he was taken away without her knowledge. He was first sent to the Blue Mountains in New South Wales, where he stayed at St. Thomas Church until the age of 11, when he was relocated to Adelaide. He was only able to see his mother again many years later:

I had to chase my mum by asking questions in the mission and at the age of 15 just as I was leaving school I caught up with my mother in Alice Springs. That was the first time I made contact with her (...) I remember walking my cousin from Roper River, Ruth Huddleston, and we stopped by the Stewart Arms Hotel on the corner and I looked across the road to see this tribal woman looking at me and then it just hit me. My feet were dead still, I stopped and just looked. She walked across the road and said “Where are you from?” I said “Borroloola” and she said “What is your name?” “John Moriarty” and she said “I am your mother” and that’s how we met. We were never introduced by officials from any of the institutions I stayed in ... I was just by accident that we met in the main street of Alice Springs. She sat me down and told me all about my grandmother, grandfather and the relatives in Borroloola and son on.⁵⁷

Moriarty later married, and he, along with his wife Ros and their children, kept a strong connection with Borroloola. In 2012 the family established the JMF Program in the Northern Territory where they are currently educating approximately 300 children:

It is not just about sport but other aspects like good diet, education, health and being equipped to go through school not only to be good footballers but to strive for whatever ambitions they would have to get on in their life in Australia.⁵⁸

The JMF Program has a full-time, manager, Elvis who concedes that, if organizing an international excursion anywhere with school children is already a hard task, with these children from remote Borroloola it was an even harder job. The initial plans were to take 12 players plus staff. However they lost a major funder and had to quickly raise funds to travel with eight players and staff. Many of the Aboriginal children did not have birth certificates and passports and Elvis says that what would normally have been an 18-month task had to be completed in two months:

We had to travel to Darwin, which is 12 hours from Borroloola, to get the passports done; we were missing some paperwork so it was a rush to get everything thing done in time. To be honest the timeframe, the distance you had to travel to go ... 9 days, that is probably 4 days of travelling, possibly longer because we had to travel from

Borroloola to Darwin and Darwin to Sydney and then met up in Melbourne for a connecting flight ... it was hectic.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the organizing team overcame all the hurdles and eight adolescent young people (four boys and four girls) from Borroloola arrived in Brazil for the 2014 World Cup (figure 2). Players were selected on the basis of their footballing skills but also for their commitment to the program, their attitude and positive behaviour.

A few of the players had never heard of Brazil before. During the time spent there, they trained with the Socceroos, played with local teams, flew to watch the Socceroos playing in Porto Alegre and Cuiaba, as well as spending a few days with a local Indigenous tribe in Brazil's Mato Grosso state. In the proceeding sections of the paper we retell and analyze some of the excursion stories as well as the impact of the BT not only on the participants, but also its effect on their communities, and its bearing on the future of Aboriginal involvement in football in Australia and Asia.



Figure 2 Departing from Australia to commence the 2014 Brazil World Cup Borroloola Tour.

Source: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/public-diplomacy/programs-activities/Pages/from-borroloola-to-brazil-for-the-world-cup.aspx>

The Players: Proud, Inspiring and a Surprise on Brazil's Rivers

As aforementioned, the authors interviewed the eight BT players via Skype. They were speaking from the headquarters of JMF in Borroloola and their coaches were present as well.

For most of these adolescents, the BT was one of the proudest moments of their lives. Representing their hometown and their families in a major football event was, according to them, 'epic'. Among the stories they told us, a few climaxes give the reader a sense of the educational value of the BT.

First, all of the players underscored the value of being in another Indigenous community that, despite the language barriers, was very welcoming to them:

There [in the Mato Grosso Indigenous tribe] we built up a good relationship. We were family to them and they were family to us. They got some of the students up, playing the drums, dancing to the music. The Indigenous Brazilians are losing some of their culture, so they continued their culture by showing it to us.

Building relationships and strengthening the social skills of Aboriginal football players is a central part of the JMF program's educational work. Being able to communicate with people from afar is not easy to develop when you live in a remote bush community. However the BT not only improved the adolescents' social skills, but also inspired them to keep in touch with their new friends via social media channels, and to even learn their language and culture. Football wise, they also learned by watching 'big football', by being in the middle of noisy South American crowds; and also by playing against different teams on various surfaces such as the beach, which was 'hard compared with the Australian soil; it hurt your calf muscles'. This led them to understand and respect a new footballing culture, and this was evident in comments like: 'the Brazilians take their football very seriously'.

This attitude and immersion in the world game culture has encouraged the BT players to become more serious football players, training harder and learning to be independent enough to face other sporting challenges around Australia. Some BT players now play in interstate football competitions. Additionally, when they returned to Borroloola these young people realized that they had become role models for other children in the community who now seek to join the JMF program and want to take their football careers further. Hence, the BT has also provided potential new pathways for their sporting lives, not only as players but also as mentors and coaches of a new generation of football players in their community. This is a tangible achievement for JMF and the BT as current research on the sports development field shows that developing mentoring relationships between younger and older learners and with

young instructors should be a central part of education for social inclusion in sports programs.⁶⁰

While in Brazil the BT players spent time with the Indigenous tribe close to Cuiaba in Mato Grosso state. It was in this location that they had a surprising experience: they were able to swim in rivers where there are no crocodiles. After swimming in Australia's Northern Territory where they are frequent 'dangerous visitors', swimming in a river that was 'croc free' was a new experience. This revelation proved to be a symbolic learning experience that demonstrates how the BT was invaluable for these young Aboriginal players who otherwise would never have dreamed that they could explore another world – where even swimming in a local watering hole might be a little less fraught. The 2014 Brazil World Cup BT was a highly influential experience for both players and the community and will remain so for several years to come.



Elvis Stories: Brazilian Culture and the Myth of the Natural Born Athletes

Elvis is the JMF program General Manager and a football coach who has a longstanding professional involvement at different levels of football in Australia: he has worked in grassroots clubs and schools, in football academies, for National Premier League Clubs (the

equivalent of the second-tier of Australian Football, behind the A-League) and for National Soccer League clubs (the former top-level competition of Australian football before the A-League. The NSL ceased its activities in 2004). More than a coach, Elvis sees himself as an educator as he reveals in this conversation:

I got into coaching because I wanted to develop kids. As much as results are important I didn't see that as the main focus (...). Football brings so many facets to your life – teamwork, discipline, there's a lot you can get out of it. Plus it's one of only two or three sports that is played worldwide – probably basketball and as an individual sport something like tennis. Football across the world covers all demographics – the poor, middle class, affluent, everything.⁶¹

Sport has long been related to educational and social purposes. Yet, recent studies have criticized the widespread belief that 'sport per se' can be a tool to achieve social and educational outcomes.⁶² These studies argue that 'programmes designed around sport physical activity *can* facilitate the pro-social development of disaffected young people' if the programs have or develop the necessary pedagogical means to achieve these aims.⁶³ The authors agree that, to be sustainable pillars for effective social change, sport educational programs should go beyond mere 'sport teaching and practice', and consider a practical approach to encourage social inclusion, using methodologies such as involving children and young people in the planning of activities, including critical reflection within the learning process and using culturally relevant activities.

Cultural relevancy seems to be crucial for Elvis in his evaluations of the BT and also as he develops the educational aspects of future JMF programs. He argues that Aboriginal young people need to build relationships with their coaches and educators;⁶⁴ hence, he is not in favour of talented young Aboriginal footballers being given scholarships to study away from their communities:

They need someone there a lot to show that they're interested, show that they care and understand their culture, show that they've got worth; otherwise it's almost like the stolen generation, being away from your family that creates other issues.⁶⁵

His opinions resonate with what several coaches that develop young talented Aboriginal footballers across Australia have already highlighted: to develop Aboriginal talent a coach needs to be able to relate to cultural necessities, which are central to creating confidence and comfort for them to further their careers.⁶⁶

According to Elvis the cultural similarities between Brazilian and Aboriginal cultures was one of the most beneficial aspects of the BT. The Aboriginal players spent a few days with a Brazilian Indigenous tribe (in Brazil's Centre-West region where several Indigenous reserves are located), where their socialization skills were strengthened as they developed relationships with others Indigenous young people:

I think they related to them a lot, especially when they went into the community. They basically had a showpiece for them and our players do that as well; the face painting, costumes, the dancing especially was all very similar. I think they felt at home in the Indigenous communities because their cultures are so alike (...) but going to Russia or Qatar would be completely different.⁶⁷

This cultural connection between both countries is recognized as one of the most complete historical investigations of Aboriginal football in Australia, where the author states that: 'the rich traditional culture and lifestyle of Aboriginal Australia and the suffering in the wake of colonization, ties this country to the greatest soccer country in the planet – Brazil'.⁶⁸ However, Elvis' assumptions challenge that notion in that Brazilian culture and particularly Brazilian Indigenous peoples have a crucial role to play in feeding the cultural similarities between Aboriginal people in Australia and Indigenous Brazilians: 'their natural movements'.⁶⁹ This was a statement that would pervade the topic of further conversations: the 'natural athleticism' of Indigenous' populations:⁷⁰

For me it doesn't matter where in the world you might be, Indigenous people, for whatever reason, are naturally gifted athletes; you can't train that. The work ethic might be different, there might be highs or lows, but talent wise the movements are just natural. That's why Brazil was in cultural terms, so special for our young people. If we had gone to Russia we would not have had that, I train a boy from Russia (...) even the movements are mechanical when you work with the Indigenous people ... the body flows differently.⁷¹

The questions of the 'naturally gifted' 'born to play' Aboriginal/Indigenous athlete has been investigated in critical Aboriginal studies. These analyses consider that the 'naturalization' of Aboriginal populations and their physical characteristics do not help confronting the social and educational disadvantages that they have historically been submitted to.⁷² Firstly, these widespread assumptions do not acknowledge the hard work, the amount of time and dedication to sports training that Aboriginal athletes in different sports devote to achieve success.⁷³ Moreover, some sports in Australia such as AFL have been challenging racism by their anti-racism procedures and their openness and inclusive policies towards Aboriginal

peoples. In addition, these sports have also a particular and aggressive recruitment strategy within Aboriginal communities spread around the country.⁷⁴ These historical and social aspects are a better explanation of the rising numbers of Aboriginal young people who are participating in these sports, as opposed to the biological facts that have no evidence at all.

Nevertheless, the ‘natural born’ athlete idea returned to the authors’ conversations with John Moriarty, one of the greatest Aboriginal footballers in Australian history. Was he a ‘natural’ gifted athlete?

Moriarty: The Footballer, the Political Leader, the Educator

‘Football was the one thing that was the real anchor’.⁷⁵ Moriarty’s words do not leave any question of the place that football has had in his life. Football has given him occasions to travel internationally; to meet new people and experience different lifestyles; to be accepted in the broader society; to grow his own consciousness about racism towards Aboriginal people and the social control exercised by state authorities; to pursue university education and employment in public administration, where he could fight for social justice for his people; and finally, to be able to implement ‘the only not-for-profit program in the country that connects Aboriginal young people with the largest sport in the world’.⁷⁶ Football was there at every stage of Moriarty’s life story.

His football story started with no glamour in the mid-1950s. Several sources, including our conversation, pointed out that Moriarty and his Aboriginal friends such as Charles Perkins and Gordon Briscoe used to watch the under 18s state intermediate team’s practice in a football ground next to the St. Francis House in Adelaide where they lived.⁷⁷ One day they challenged us to give them a warm-up game. The rest is history:

I think we thrashed them, many goals to nil [sniggers] then a couple of fellas worked around and this particular gentleman said to me ‘Would you like to play for us?’ and I said ‘No thank you sir’, he went around to the other boys, then came back to me again and he said ‘Would you like to play with us’ and before I could answer ‘No thank you sir’ he said ‘We’ll buy you boots and socks’ so I said yes and that’s what got me into the game.⁷⁸

With this invitation, Moriarty started to play for the Italian community club, the Juventus in Adelaide. His great performances for this club made him a favourite among fans and he became used to material accolades like dining out in chic Italian restaurants and wearing

tailor-made suits.⁷⁹ Moreover, the social atmosphere of the club and football more generally made an impact on his football trajectory:

They accepted me with open arms and I could go to any events just being one of their players; I was being accepted into the greater football community. Often we didn't get that sort of acceptance in the general Australian community but this gave me a very strong sense of where we stood as Aboriginal people in Australian society. During these earlier periods we had an organisation in Adelaide called the Aborigines Progress Association, just purely an Aboriginal organization. We regularly attended meetings in Canberra fighting for Aboriginal rights. That got me onto that scene and I kept fighting for Aboriginal rights in those areas but also playing football.⁸⁰

The connection could not be more powerful. Football, a sport that was marginalized in Australia because of its links with ethnic minorities, became the social context that granted Moriarty not only material rewards. His football skills provided him with the means to achieve the milestone of being the first Aboriginal person to be selected to the Australian National Team.⁸¹ Furthermore, football presented him with space to reflect on his own social condition as an Aboriginal person. All of these circumstances, which had football at their heart, led to the creation of the John Moriarty Football (JMF) in Borroloola, a footballing educational system:

JMF makes young people feel good within themselves that they come from a bush community that they can be proud of. Then we like to work and get those same young people involved with the game and also create pathways so they can see beyond their little community and have opportunities similar to what I've had.⁸²

Following Moriarty's philosophy, the idea of making it to the Brazil World Cup makes sense; it is about broadening Aboriginal young peoples' experiences and to inspire them to strive for new openings that may appear just as Moriarty did. Brazil was the place to go because according to Moriarty, when it comes to football there is no better inspiration for young people than Brazil, a 'great footballing country'.⁸³

As a football country, Brazil also has its original inhabitants, a large Indigenous population. Like Aboriginal people, Brazilian Indigenous people have their stories about the creation of the world and the beings that protect forests such as the *Curupira*. In this tale, *Curupira* is an active boy who is the bush guardian and is so fast that he cannot be caught by anybody. In football terms, the *Curupira* is embodied by Garrincha, the most famous Brazilian Indigenous footballer, also known as 'the people's joy', who won the 1958 and the 1962 World Cups.⁸⁴ His football-art⁸⁵ skills and his agile foot work relate very well to Moriarty's own history – he

actually learned his foot work by playing with tennis balls – and this also relates to what Moriarty thinks about the Aboriginal adolescents and their readiness for the world game:

They start playing bare-feet in the bush. They have dexterity for football, quickness, eye-hand coordination, the lot. Quick on their feet, I think they're tailor-made for the game. But they have to go through the system and we have to create these opportunities.⁸⁶

As stated above, it is not enough to be 'a natural athlete' if society denies them the possibilities to achieve their goals. Moriarty firmly believes that JMF must provide them:

We have to get funding from the Federal Government for our program of football. We think we could multiply what we do many times in other communities and this includes being interstate as well. But we just can't because of the funding restrictions. I think FFA really has to take that on board ... the Federal Government really has to take it on board. It's disappointing that the Prime Minister did not come to the Asian Confederation Cup for the final when Australia was in it.⁸⁷

Therefore, Moriarty and his son James, who was enthusiastic about the Brazil World Cup BT, led the project and raised enough funds with sponsors and donors to enable them to go to Brazil with four boys and four girls, plus coaching and managing staff. The benefits that Moriarty sees in the excursion are similar to the ones he experienced when he travelled with his football teams in the 1950 and 60s, and the familiarities go much further than the football field: being part of a team that proudly represents their families and the tribal groups they come from while mixing with other people who play and love football. Such experiences enhance social skills.



Figure 3 Tim Cahill with players from the 2014 Brazil World Cup Borroloola Tour at Arena Unimed Sicoob, Vitoria, Brazil on 8 June 2014.

Source: John Moriarty Football

The trip offered the participants had the unique opportunity to talk and share a training session with Socceroos such as Eugene Galekovic and Tim Cahill, who is one of the greatest Australian footballers ever (figure 3); to be cheered by thousands of people on the stands while walking through the training field with Australia's manager Ange Postecoglou; to fly over the country to meet Brazilian Indigenous players; and to play football on different surfaces and to watch international games. This was, in Moriarty's words:

The greatest experience of their lives. It was so important. The experience will have a lasting effect on each of those young people, culturally, socially, football wise and of course they can now build their futures if they want to pursue a life connected with football; you could see a difference when I met them in Rio after a Socceroos match they watched in Cuiaba; they had changed significantly, quieter, seeing that they could be part of a system that could be quite challenging for them but one that could also provide an elevation for them in the future for their game and whatever aspirations they may want to have.⁸⁸

When they finally came home, as a sign of how proud the Borroloola community was of their representatives in the Brazil World Cup, there was a 'Welcome home' banner to greet them, a first for the Borroloola community. These eight adolescents became a local

inspiration and can now tell others that there is a pathway in remote communities in the Northern Territory to another way of life that they too can aspire to (figure 4).



Figure 4 Borroloola Tour in Brazil June, 2014

Source: John Moriarty Football

An unexpected but important social outcome of the BT that Moriarty stressed was the publicity that it received, both within the Australia media but also internationally. This is what moves Moriarty to take this project to another level and build renewed opportunities to Aboriginal young people to be part of football in Australia and beyond:

I think the BT has done a great deal for the game here but what we've got to do is take it up from there. There's many elements that we have to uplift to get those young people from, not only Borroloola, but from all over, coming through; all soccer players; the world can be at their feet. It's a game that has so many opportunities for them to play here at local level, state, national as well as international. I think that's the beauty of the game and the aspirations that these young people can reach for.⁸⁹

Conclusion: Asia, the Next Frontier?

The Australian sports arena was historically marked by institutionalized racism towards Aboriginal participants. As evidenced in this paper, this arena, particularly football, has also been a stage where Aboriginal sportspeople could fight racism and discrimination. In the paper we have pointed out how Moriarty's footballing pathways have not only opened new opportunities for his life, but also how he used the social platform of football to widen his views about societal racial issues and made himself an activist for the rights of his own people. Through his testimonies we came to understand the racism that he endured as a Stolen Generation child and how football, as a world game played by ethnic minorities in 20th century Australia, provided him with the necessary context to understand and to assist overcoming many of the racial barriers.

Our conversations with the BT members touched on the controversial issue of the 'natural born' player. This concept usually overshadows the individual efforts of Aboriginal sportswomen and sportsmen and also diminishes the importance of social venture and private and public funding for sport educational projects. Contrary to the unsubstantiated, unscientific concept of the 'natural player', our data provided evidence for the need for long term investment and expanded educational efforts by Governments so Aboriginal talent in football can be nurtured to develop not only in Australia but further afield.

There are important historical connections between Moriarty's football career and the opportunities JMF provides to young people from Borroloola who attend its programs; especially the players who went to the 2014 Brazil World Cup and the lives they are creating for themselves since that momentous event. Like Moriarty, they have broadened their consciousness towards much larger life possibilities that go beyond the limits of 'their village', while simultaneously becoming an inspiration to their own community, just as Moriarty is. The BT players are keen to become education mentors for younger children. Furthermore, Aboriginal young people at Borroloola have realized that they can promote their own culture around Australia and the Asian continent through the world game of football.

In 2014 the BT was timely. Football in Australia and in Asia has seen an exponential growth in the past decade, both at the grassroots levels as well as in the top-tiers. At the moment, other Aboriginal footballers that have overcome prejudice and have been able to build an important profile within professional football are playing in both the A-League and the W-League in Australia; inspiring players such as Jade North (who has already been a Socceroo

and played in Korea) and Kiah Simon (who is currently playing for the Matildas) just to cite two examples. Football Federation Australia (FFA) has also started to pay attention to the Aboriginal space; it has recently (September 2016) launched a three-day national Indigenous grassroots competition where talented young Aboriginal players can be ‘spotted and developed’.⁹⁰

However, as Moriarty insisted, more social effort and sustained government action need to feature to give young people in Aboriginal communities a chance to take their game and their lives to the next level. Moriarty’s story shows, and as the 2014 BT reaffirmed, football has historically been a welcoming sporting context for Aboriginal people. As one of the players involved in the BT commented *this was a life time experience but it won’t be the last*. If enough financial and collective support, educational opportunity, and a clear career pathway is provided, more Aboriginal boys and girls, men and women will hopefully become the new face of Australian football in Asia over the coming years.

Notes

¹ In the paper we use the inclusive term ‘Aboriginal’ as identified in the Creative Spirits resources produced for teachers in schools and in line with the preferred term used by the John Moriarty Football initiative.

² John Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe: A History Of Aboriginal Involvement with the World Game* (Broome, Western Australia: Magabala Books, 2011).

³ John Moriarty Football, <http://imf.org.au/> (accessed on 24th June 2014).

⁴ David mark, ‘John Moriarty Football Program aims to inspire kids on World Cup soccer trip’, *ABC News*, 10 June 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-06-09/john-moriarty-football-program-australian-kids-world-cup-soccer/5509890> (accessed 10 October 2016), par. 9-10.

⁵ John Maynard, ‘Transnational Understandings of Australian Aboriginal Sporting Migration: Sporting Walkabout’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 16 (2009), 2376-2396.

⁶ John Maynard, ‘Contested space – the Australian Aboriginal sporting arena’, *Sport in Society* 15, no. 7 (2012), 987-996.

⁷ Collin Tatz, *Obstacle Race: Aborigines in Sport* (Kensington: University of New South Wales Press, 1987).

⁸ Toni Bruce and Chris Hallinan, ‘Cathy Freeman: The Quest for Australian Identity’, David Andrew and Steven Jackson (eds), *Sport Stars: The Cultural Politics of Sporting Celebrity* (London: Routledge, 2001), 257-70.

⁹ Chris Hallinan, Toni Bruce and Michael Burke, ‘Fresh Prince of Colonial Dome: Indigenous Logic in the AFL’ *Football Studies* 8, no. 1 (2005), 68-78.

¹⁰ Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd, ‘Indigenous Studies and Race Relations in Australian Sports’, *Sport in Society* 15, no. 7 (2012), 915-921.

¹¹ Maynard, ‘Transnational Understandings of Australian Aboriginal Sporting Migration: Sporting Walkabout’.

¹² John Maynard, ‘Football Barriers—Aboriginal Under-Representation and Disconnection from the “World Game”’, *Soccer & Society* 10, no. 1 (2009), 39-56.

¹³ Chris Hallinan, ‘Assessing the Sociology of Sport: On Indigeneity, Politics of Identity and Australian Sport’, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 50, no. 4-5 (2015), 448-453.

¹⁴ Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, ‘The Practice of Feminist in-Depth Interviewing’, in Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Lina Leavy (eds), *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer* (London: Sage, 2007), 111-148.

¹⁵ Peter Read, *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969* (Sydney, New South Wales: Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs Aboriginal Children’s Research, 1982).

¹⁶ Chelsea Bond, Murray Phillips and Garry Osmond, ‘Crossing Lines: Sport History, Transformative Narratives, and Aboriginal Australia’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 13 (2015), 1531-1545.

- ¹⁷ Daryl Adair and Megan Stronach, 'Natural Born Athletes? Australian Aboriginal People and the Double-Edged Lure of Professional Sport', in Jonathan Long and Karl Spracklen (eds), *Sport and Challenges to Racism*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 117-134.
- ¹⁸ Rachel A. Sandford, Rebecca Duncombe and Kathy M. Armour, 'The role of physical activity/sport in tackling youth disaffection and anti-social behaviour', *Educational Review*, 60, no. 4 (2008), 419-435.
- ¹⁹ John Moriarty, *Saltwater Fella: An Inspiring True Story of Success against All Odds* (Melbourne: Viking books, 2000).
- ²⁰ Read, *The Stolen Generations*. It is important to note that many Aboriginal children including many of those institutionalized received no education.
- ²¹ Steve Kinnane, 'A Long, Slow Dance: The Nation's History', in Kaye Price (ed.), *Knowledge of Life. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia* (pp. 1-25). (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-25.
- ²² McKenna, M. (2013). 'The history anxiety'. In Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds), *The Cambridge History of Australia. Volume 2: The Commonwealth of Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 561-80.
- ²³ Kinnane, 'A Long, Slow Dance', 6.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Kevin Rudd, 'Apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples', *House of Representatives, Parliament House, Canberra, 13*, (February 2008).
- ²⁶ ABS 2009
- ²⁷ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Closing the Gap Report* (Australian Government, 2016) <http://closingthegap.dpmc.gov.au/chapter-02/index.html>
- ²⁸ James Oaten, 'Dona Dale: Royal Commission into Youth Detention Underway in Darwin', *ABC News*, 6 September 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-06/royal-commission-underway-in-darwin/7818476> (accessed 10 October 2016).
- ²⁹ Elizabeth Warren and Janine Quine, 'A Holistic Approach to Supporting the Learning of Young Indigenous Students: One Case Study', *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 42, no. 1 (2013), 12-23.
- ³⁰ Maynard, 'Transnational Understandings of Australian Aboriginal Sporting Migration: Sporting Walkabout'.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Colin Tatz and Paul Tatz, *Black Gold: The Aboriginal and Islander Sports Hall of Fame*, (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000).
- ³⁴ Sean Gorman, 'Sporting Chance: Indigenous Participation in Australian Sport History', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 2, no. 2 (2010), 12-22, 13.
- ³⁵ Lauren Wood, 'AFL Sorry it didn't Act Quicker People Booing Adam Goodes during Final Season', *Herald Sun*, 18 March 2016, <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/sport/afl/more-news/afl-sorry-it-didnt-act-quicker-people-booing-adam-goodes-during-his-final-season/news-story/6ebbec1712615777173c5ce59b70449e> (accessed 10 October 2016).
- ³⁶ Spaaij, R. "Refugee youth, belonging and community sport." *Leisure Studies* (2015). 34(3): 303-318.
- ³⁷ Topič, M. D. and J. Coakley "Complicating the relationship between sport and national identity: The case of post-socialist Slovenia." *Sociology of Sport Journal* (2010). 27(4): 371-389.
- ³⁸ Bond, Phillips and Osmond, 'Crossing Lines'.
- ³⁹ Maynard, 'Transnational Understandings of Australian Aboriginal Sporting Migration: Sporting Walkabout'.
- ⁴⁰ In his 2009 work 'Transnational Understandings' Maynard initially affirmed that St Albans was aboriginal, a point that was later challenged by respected racing historian Andrew Lemon who in 2011 affirmed that St Albans was a white boy named Michael Bowden. In 2013 in his recent book on Aboriginal jockeys (Maynard, J. (2013). *Aborigines and the Sport of Kings: Aboriginal jockeys in Australian racing history*. Aboriginal Studies Press) Maynard responded to Lemon's findings, acknowledging that the mystery of Peter St Albans/ Michael Bowden background remains unresolved; however he partially agrees with Lemon by saying that the boy he remains always and unmistakably linked to the Bowden family.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Maynard, 'Contested space – the Australian Aboriginal sporting arena'.
- ⁴³ Gorman, 'Sporting Chance'.
- ⁴⁴ Loring M. Danforth, 'Is the "World Game" an "Ethnic Game" or an "Aussie Game"? Narrating the Nation in Australian Soccer', *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 2 (2001), 363-387.
- ⁴⁵ Daryl Adair and Megan Stronach, 'Kwementyaye (Charles) Perkins: Indigenous Soccer Player and Australian Political Activist', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 7 (2014), 778-794.
- ⁴⁶ Charles Perkins, *A Bastard Like Me* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1975).
- ⁴⁷ Adair & Stronach, 'Kwementyaye (Charles) Perkins', 779.
- ⁴⁸ John Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*.
- ⁴⁹ Adair & Stronach (2014)
- ⁵⁰ Maynard, 'Football Barriers'.
- ⁵¹ Moriarty, *Saltwater Fella*.
- ⁵² John Moriarty, Interview with Author 1 and Author 2 (Sydney, 2015).
- ⁵³ Moriarty, Interview

-
- ⁵⁴ M. Denscombe, M. *The Good Research Guide for Small-scale Social Research Project*. 2nd ed Maidenhead and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003.
- ⁵⁵ The research was approved by the Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee: Approval no H10877.
- ⁵⁶ Moriarty, Interview
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Elvis, Interview with Author 1, Author 2 and Author 3 (Sydney, 2015).
- ⁶⁰ Knijnik, J. & Tavares O. (2012). Educating Copacabana: A critical analysis of the 'Second Half', an Olympic education program of Rio 2016, *Educational Review*, 64(3), 353-368.
- ⁶¹ Elvis, Interview.
- ⁶² Sandford, Duncombe and Armour, 'The Role of Physical Activity/Sport'.
- ⁶³ Ibid, 265.
- ⁶⁴ Geoff Munns, Virginia O' Rourke and Gawaian Bodkin-Andrews, 'Seeding Success: Schools that work for Aboriginal Students', *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 42, iss. 1 (2013), 1-11.
- ⁶⁵ Elvis, Interview.
- ⁶⁶ Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*.
- ⁶⁷ Elvis, Interview.
- ⁶⁸ Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*, 30.
- ⁶⁹ Elvis, Interview.
- ⁷⁰ Daryl Adair, 'Ancestral Footprints: Assumptions of 'Natural 'Athleticism among Indigenous Australians', *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* 15, no. 2 (2012), 23-35.
- ⁷¹ Elvis, Interview.
- ⁷² Adair and Stronach, 'Natural Born Athletes?'
- ⁷³ Gorman, 'Sporting Chance'.
- ⁷⁴ John Robert Evans, Rachel Wilson, Bronwen Dalton and Steve Georgakis, 'Indigenous Participation in Australian Sport: The Perils of the 'Panacea' Proposition', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 7, iss. 1 (2015), 53-79.
- ⁷⁵ Moriarty, Interview.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Maynard, 'Football Barriers'; Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*; Moriarty, *Saltwater Fella.*; Moriarty, interview.
- ⁷⁸ John Moriarty, personal communication
- ⁷⁹ Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*.
- ⁸⁰ Moriarty, Interview.
- ⁸¹ Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*; Moriarty, *Saltwater Fella*. Moriarty actually ended up never playing by the team, as Australia in 1960 was suspended from FIFA competitions by two years and after that he was not called anymore. This does not take from him the merit of being the first Aboriginal player of breaking that barrier.
- ⁸² Moriarty, Interview.
- ⁸³ Moriarty, Interview.
- ⁸⁴ Maynard, *The Aboriginal Soccer Tribe*.
- ⁸⁵ Knijnik, J. (2014). Futebol-arte, the soul of the game: a tribute to Garrincha. *The Conversation*, June 19, 2014. <https://theconversation.com/futebol-arte-the-soul-of-the-game-a-tribute-to-garrincha-28110>
- ⁸⁶ Moriarty, Interview.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ Football Federation Australia, 'Inaugural National Indigenous Football Championships launched, 30 September 2016, <http://www.footballaustralia.com.au/article/inaugural-national-indigenous-football-championships-launched/196j8n37c584a1d0k87azuhe1r>