

Too many 'two-ways'? 'Gäwa is a two-way school': clarifying approaches to remote Northern Territory Indigenous education

Ben van Gelderen

College of Education, Charles Darwin University

bvangelder@nungalingya.edu.au

Keywords: two-way education; Yolŋu 'bothways' philosophy; bilingual education

Abstract

The expression 'two-way' teaching and learning has a long history in the Northern Territory in relation to remote Indigenous education. However, it is not applied with any degree of consistency; the term 'two-way' functions as a summary expression for a diverse array of pedagogical approaches. This article presents qualitative research from the remote, Yolŋu 'homeland' community at Gäwa in north-east Arnhem Land as Indigenous first-language, case-study data. It also aims to disambiguate 'two way' models as current community aspirations are compared with historical policies and applications of 'two-way' approaches from across the Northern Territory. These include Indigenous perspectives, Indigenous learning-style, team-teaching, bilingual education, 'bothways' education and domain separation.

Introduction

In the Northern Territory, 110 out of the 151 Department of Education schools are situated in remote or very remote areas, 44.4% of the student population is Indigenous, 48.8% come from a language background other than English (Department of Education, 2016) with over 100 distinct Indigenous languages functioning as first languages (Northern Territory Government, 2017). Historically, educational approaches have often been associated with the expression 'two-way' teaching and learning. Although in the Northern Territory the phrase 'two-way' is a rich source for research, both in terms of pedagogical theory and practical implementation, it is also a confusing and contested domain. A crucial complication concerns the fact that in the academic sphere, quite different approaches to teaching utilise the same 'two-way' epithet. Indeed, even in meta-data analyses, confusion around 'two-way' is evident. The Menzies Health Report (Silburn et al., 2011) notes at least four completely different meanings for the term 'two-way' and opens with an extensive (and at times overlapping) glossary of relevant terms. But even it asserts that 'the term 'Both-ways' has been used for some time in the Australian context as a synonym for 'Two-way' (Harris, 1990)' (Silburn et al., 2011, p. 24), thus conflating 'bothways' education and domain separation (Harris' book) into one concept. As will become apparent, these are related but distinct 'two-way' approaches. A similar example concerns a 'grey-literature' report regarding Indigenous pre-service teacher education where it was asserted that 'the term two-way education and both-ways education have been used interchangeably throughout much of the literature and have in essence the same meaning' (Bat & Shore, 2013, p. 9). Although the first statement is undoubtedly true, the second is clearly not; 'bothways' has a rich and complex intercultural meaning not apparent in various other 'two-way' iterations. Thus, this paper will present qualitative findings from research at Gäwa and link these local responses to a process of disambiguation between the various 'two-way' approaches. It is hoped the findings and clarification process might facilitate further empirical, action-based, case-study, first-language research so desperately needed (Silburn et al., 2011, p. 25).

Context and positionality

In 2009-2010, I lived at Gäwa, a small (40-50 resident) Yolŋu homeland community on Elcho Island, north-east Arnhem Land. Gäwa is an ancestral estate of the Warramiri clan of the Yolŋu conglomerate

and is situated at the northern tip of the island, a rough 70 km drive from the township and ex-Methodist mission of Galiwin'ku. In the 1990s, a movement to literally return-to-country arose where Warramiri Elders and their kinship networks cut a road through the bush and progressively established water supplies, houses and a school to enable their traditional, intergenerational transmission of culture and language to continue (Nungalinya College, 2017). It is an inspiring story of vision, resilience and persistently fighting for educational equality (Harris & Gartland, 2011). Despite the age of declining resourcing and funding for bilingual education (Devlin, Disbray & Devlin, 2016), Warramiri Elders' great passion is for their children to retain their traditional heritage whilst also receiving a full 'mainstream' education (Guthadjaka, 2013). As a *balanda* (white) teacher, I began teaching from what I knew of EAL/D best practice, utilising the (then) new Australian Curriculum, but was also encouraged to incorporate local language and cultural knowledges as both *balanda* staff and Yolŋu explicitly informed me; 'Gäwa is a "two-way" school'. In essence, the current research is a reflection on my five-year journey to ascertain what (in theory and practice) that sentence really means. Back in 2009, I was quickly drawn into team-teaching with Elder Kathy Guthadjaka, incorporating Warramiri and Djambarrpuyŋu (the Yolŋu *lingua franca* of the area) into the curriculum. I came to deeply appreciate the depth and vitality of Warramiri 'Language and Culture', and marvelled at the resources Guthadjaka had researched and compiled to pass on this knowledge. Over the years 2011-2016, we began collaborating on the theorising and structuring of the 'Warramiri website' to both house these resources and reflect on how Yolŋu may take up or resist/reposition digital technologies (van Gelderen & Guthadjaka, 2017). As is customary with long-term involvements, I was also adopted into the Yolŋu kinship system at Gäwa and was expected to take the reciprocal rights and responsibilities seriously. Thus, in becoming connected to the Warramiri-Djambarrpuyŋu *yothu-yindi*¹ dynamic, in all of life (including research), I was bound to both honour Yolŋu methodologies and social dynamics whilst utilising my skills and expertise to further community aims; a form of 'double participation' (Christie, 2013b, p. 54). Furthermore, some bias is evident in my positionality as I lived and worked at Gäwa in 2009 at the height of the controversy surrounding the Department of Education's ill-fated 'first four hours in English' regime (Devlin, 2009), and this time undoubtedly tainted my approach to the literature review of previous departmental policies and funding decisions. Also, during the research period I began employment at Charles Darwin University, but maintained strong links with the Northern Territory Christian Schools (NTCS) system which officially oversees the Gäwa school. However, despite being aligned with the overall philosophy of NTCS and appreciating the autonomy the system offered at Gäwa, I was also cognizant of the fact that no formal policies existed around language and cultural pedagogies, leaving the community in a potentially vulnerable position, depending on the understanding and preferences of future generations of *balanda* teachers. Therefore, from a multi-layered insider/outsider positionality, the research aim was to formally record community members' philosophies and pedagogies concerning 'two-way' education, both to directly shape the website formation and to assist the creation of formal school policies so future *balanda* teachers could best partner with the Gäwa community in maintaining their educational priorities.

Literature review

The expression 'two-way' teaching and learning is used to connote a diverse range of approaches to pedagogy, curriculum content, language use and organisation of schools in the remote, Indigenous education sphere. Despite its popularity, it is now probably ubiquitous to the point of losing genuine analytical value and, at worst, has degenerated into summarising almost any bureaucratic attempt at 'cross-cultural consultation' in Indigenous communities (Ford & Klesch, 2003, p. 33). Nevertheless, a number of distinct approaches can be identified with direct relevance to the Gäwa community.

Indigenous perspectives

In 2018, 'Indigenous Perspectives' is somewhat of a mis-nomer as the official ACARA (2010) terminology has been altered to 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures'. This is certainly an

1 The 'mother-child' kinship is fundamental in the Yolŋu patrilineal, exogamous clan system. Adopted as son to Elder Kathy Guthadjaka, I was Djambarrpuyŋu affiliated, not Warramiri, but 'there is always a connection between a yolngu yothu and its yindi, there is always a connection between a yothu piece of land and its mother land' (Marika, Durruwutthun, & White, 1989, p. 19).

improvement, although the substantive content and positioning remains unchanged, and as of 2013 (when the research began) 'Indigenous Perspectives' was the term utilized. Although not deemed a 'two-way' approach, the 'cross-curriculum' priority area is the national standard and expectation and is therefore worthy of initial consideration. As one of the three 'cross curriculum' priorities, Indigenous Perspectives is a mandatory aspect of the curriculum, but only as relevant to other subject areas such as History and Social Sciences, English, Maths etc.; it 'is a priority, but it is just not a priority when the main priority is to shape up a national curriculum that will be accepted by all the stakeholders' (Nakata, 2011, p. 1). Notwithstanding the long connection to bilingual schooling and other initiatives, over the last decade the Department of Education (DoE), Northern Territory policies have enacted this more 'one-way' approach. Having softened from the mandatory 'first-four-hours-in-English' (Devlin, 2009), in the early years of this decade there was still an emphasis on English being predominantly used as the instructional language in the 'prime time' (first four hours) and Indigenous first languages only used to support this English teaching through 'introducing' concepts (DET, 2011a, p. 2). If a specific community wished their children to be literate in their own language, the Department supported this by allowing use of school facilities 'after hours' (DET, 2011a, p. 2). Post the Wilson Report (2014) prevailing DoE policies are not as available and/or are still in development as part of the Indigenous Education Strategy, 2015-2024. However, the full breadth and depth of the Australian Curriculum is now mandatory and it has been argued that the English literacy, standards-based reform platform has re-established a Foucauldian 'regime of truth' in the Northern Territory of Indigenous identity as disadvantage (Vass, 2013). Gawa is one of the very few non-Departmental, remote schools and therefore does not fall under its policy jurisdiction. Its isolation, small size and independence undoubtedly shields the community from some of the impacts of this rhetoric, but new *balanda* teachers are not immune to the prevailing 'definition of educational success measured by comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scores on standardised literacy and numeracy tests' (Disbray, 2016, p. 237). Furthermore, as alluded to, new *balanda* staff are almost always drawn from larger southern cities, conversant with the ACARA expectation, and typically from Christian school environments whose theological underpinnings may not support integration of Indigenous culture into curriculum development. Suffice it to say, *any* 'two-way' teaching and learning approach may challenge established beliefs and pedagogies, again demonstrating the need for explicit research on Gawa community aspirations.

Indigenous learning style

Two way teaching is characterised by the incorporation of more "Aboriginal way" pedagogy, including more negotiation, collaborative group work, problem solving, integration and hands-on activities. (Education Department of Western Australia et al., 2000, p. 10)

Once again, in 2018, the term Indigenous 'learning style' has become contentious to the point of abandonment, and 'culturally responsive pedagogies' (CRP) are much more relied upon (Perso & Hayward, 2015). However, it is relevant background to the research at Gawa as the approach still has some national application² and the historical theory behind much of this definition of 'two-way' education is to be found in Harris' (1984a) early work at the Yolŋu community of Miliŋinbi. A pedagogical framework slowly evolved which positioned the Indigenous and 'western' approach as quite opposed to each other, requiring teachers to rethink their own deeply held (but culturally determined) beliefs about teaching. In fairness, a learning style appreciation was never intended to replace scaffolded teaching patterns which involved bridging across to more formal 'western' styles (Harris, 1984b). Nevertheless, the concept came under increasing attack as academics argued that the paradigm created stereotypes and eventuated in political disengagement (Nicholls et al., 1998). Nakata (2002) also questioned the binary nature of the 'western' versus Indigenous style duality, maintaining this was the major cause of policy 'headache'. After all, how can schools possibly pursue cultural maintenance *and* parity of mainstream outcomes if the one detracts from the other? A generally accepted consensus (What Works, 2011) is that there is no distinct Indigenous learning 'style', just as there is no distinct Indigenous 'culture'. Nevertheless, the reimagined interpretation of the Indigenous 'learning style' approach as culturally responsive pedagogy still asks teachers to alter their own teaching methods by aligning them with the most appropriate practices

² Yunkaporta (2009) argues that there is much synergy between 'high' Indigenous and Western teaching and learning approaches, and his '8-Ways' approach is popular in schooling and tertiary education settings.

to effectively teach Indigenous students; learning to build pedagogy informed by local, traditional methodologies.

Team teaching

The Two Way Approach occurs when representatives of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are involved in the education process, providing a balanced or Two-Way perspective on all aspects of schooling. (Bevan & Shillinglaw, 2010, p. 13)

Team-teaching is not a theoretical position as such, but an attempt to use the practical, daily realities for the greatest impact on student learning. In most Northern Territory remote schools, there is both a qualified teacher and another responsible adult, usually a local community member, working in each class. Names include Assistant Teacher, Teacher Assistant, Teacher's Aide, Tutor and Indigenous Education Worker depending on qualifications and school preferences. But the common factor is the presence of two people working side by side; literally a 'two-way' dynamic. Thus, team-teaching can be used in conjunction with approaches as diverse as First-Four-Hours-English, to full bi-literacy. Despite this variety, there is significant historical precedent concerning team teaching and bilingual education (Devlin, Disbray & Devlin, 2016). Indeed, in the decade preceding the formal adoption of bilingual education in the Northern Territory, many Mission schools employed local Teacher Aides with associated recognition and in-service training (Harris, 1975) to assist in classroom teaching. And after the call from Kinslow-Harris (1968) to value the 'vernacular', the approach was officially endorsed as foundational to the pilot bilingual programs of the early 1970s; time was set aside each day for planning, with explicit acknowledgement that the qualified teacher would also 'need help in understanding and achieving competence in his/her role as teacher educator and in establishing supportive relationships with the Aboriginal member of the team' (Watts, McGrath & Tandy, 1973, p. 36). Later, it was the work of Beth Graham (DEET, 1986) who built on this model, outlining the three distinct phases; Planning together, Teaching together and Learning together. In time, team-teaching became another approach linked to the phrase 'two-way'.

Bilingual education

In the Northern territory, the terms 'bilingual education' or 'Two-Way' learning are used for 'mother tongue medium' programs, that is, programs where children are taught for the first few years of school by teachers, or teams of teachers who use the children's home language to teach them. (Simpson, Caffery & McConvell, 2009, p. 9)

As we have seen already, the bilingual approach is certainly *not* the only concept referred to as 'two-way' learning. Nevertheless, this does remain the most dominant and controversial definition. Undoubtedly, this is due to the Northern Territory government's decision to formally change the name from 'Bilingual Education' to 'Two-Way Learning' following the recommendations of 'Learning Lessons', the 1999 review of Indigenous education (Collins & Lea, 1999). Thus, it is not surprising that for many, bilingual education is synonymous with 'two-way' education. But to be precise, even within the bilingual approach there are a number of models, depending on whether first language *literacy* is incorporated or only oral language development, and whether (and how) a 'step' model is implemented; with teaching in English gradually increasing in percentage each year as the language of instruction (Devlin, 2011). Indeed, as a specific area of historical educational research, it is a powerful example of the interplay (or lack thereof) between government policy development, pedagogical theory and actual data/evidence supporting rationale for change (Devlin, Disbray & Devlin, 2016). But for present purposes, we must leave aside this theoretical framework, the complexities of language maintenance vs language revival and whether there was any justification to downscale support (Devlin, 2009; 2010, Simpson, Caffery & McConvell, 2009). However, it is important to note that Yolŋu communities have a long connection with advocacy in this area. Miliŋinbi, Yirrkala and Galiwin'ku, coming out of relatively Language-friendly Methodist Mission policies (Berndt & Berndt, 1988), and aligning with their own multilingual kinship structures³, established formal bilingual

³ Traditionally, Yolŋu first learned their mother's language as an infant and then progressed to their father's (and own) language which was always from the other moeity (dhuwa or yirritja).

schools in the early 1970s (McKenzie, 1976). Indigenous educators speaking various Yolŋu languages were early supporters in maintaining that Language learning was a top priority (Manydjarri, 1973; Bakamana & Djuwandayŋu, 1978). Shepherdson College at Galiwin'ku (only 70km from Gäwa) retains a step-model approach. The Annual Operational Plan 2011 recorded a clear teaching goal as 'improvement in reading and writing in Yolŋu Matha' (DET, 2011b, p. 2). To this end, the Literacy Production Centre (LPC) is a key component of such a strategy, producing resources in Djambarrpuyŋu for use as class texts and individual readers. The issue is complicated by the fact that there are many Yolŋu languages spoken at Galiwin'ku and 'in response to the community's desire for their young people to learn Yolŋu languages other than Djambarrpuyŋu' (Hall, 2016, p. 315), separate 'dialect' programs have functioned sporadically since the late 1980s. In fact, this specific need was one of the reasons Gäwa school was established in the first place and became a key focus of our ongoing research with the website; that Warramiri could live and learn on their ancestral estates, maintaining a distinct Warramiri identity (Guthadjaka, 2013).

'Bothways' education

Two-way in the sense of an exchange between Europeans and Aborigines involved... the 'two-way' alternative here is based on the concepts of a two-way flow in reciprocity and exchange between groups. (McConvell, 1981, p. 62)

Although the formal Bilingual education policy was the most well-known, from the early 1980s there were moves to establish an even more radical platform; an intercultural school system. In fact, the first academic mention of the phrase 'two-way' in the Northern Territory context (as above) had this deeper epistemological exchange idea in mind. To some extent the concept was introduced in contrast to bilingual education and was positioned as a 'grassroots', Indigenous initiative (Wearne, 1986). A 'two-way' school would involve learning the 'three Rs', but would also focus on the passing on of traditional language and cultural content knowledge. Moreover, the school would acknowledge existing Indigenous epistemologies and processes of negotiation; 'knowledge will only come together if there is respect for our knowledge and where Aboriginal people are taking the initiative, where we shape and develop the educational programs and then implement them' (Wununmurra, 1989, p. 12). This challenge of genuine integration seems to have evolved independently in a number of Northern Territory locations and was taken up academically in the late 1980s by Indigenous educators. Many reiterated the concept of 'two-ways', utilising traditional understandings to reveal local metaphors describing the mixing of two cultures and learning philosophies. Yolŋu leaders often took the initiative and spoke in public forums and articles about *ganma* (Marika, Ngurruwuthun & White, 1989), *galtha rom* (Marika-Mununggiritj & Christie, 1995), *garma* (Marika, 1990), *nathu* (Yunupingu, 1994), to name some of the most famous. Such works are deep and profound considerations, worthy of their own individual analysis (Christie, 2007). But as an inadequate synthesis, they are concerted attempts to both engage with western educational frameworks, but to attain balance by appropriating such frameworks into the pre-existing Yolŋu epistemological and inter-clan, moiety and kinship relational processes, all to create spaces to design and implement curriculum. It was ultimately a question of *power*: 'what we want is BOTH WAYS education- balanda and Yolŋu ways- but we want Yolŋu to have control over both sides of the curriculum' (Yunupingu, 1989, p. 4). Thus, Yolŋu educators have been clearly advocating 'a bicultural or 'bothways' education for aboriginal children' (Lanhupuy, 1988, p. 3) for many years, the metaphors highlighting not just that *both* knowledge and cultural systems are represented in the curriculum, but that they are *integrated* together into a holistic, synthesised learning environment. 'Bothways' also focusses on the power dynamics of decision making; emphasising a practice of relational discussion, negotiation and consensus to all matters of school curriculum, pedagogy and language use. It is surely a paradigm for working within the 'cultural interface' (Nakata, 2007), where critical analysis of both Indigenous and 'western' knowledge traditions is key, of providing 'language and tools for navigating, negotiating, and thinking about the constraints and possibilities that are open' (Nakata et al., 2012, p. 133). Thus, 'Bothways' 'two-way' education is more than giving a space for Indigenous concerns to enter the curriculum; it is a negotiation of the curriculum itself as an intercultural domain. At Gäwa, the 'Bothways' philosophy has been consistently reaffirmed by Guthadjaka who has shared her own, Warramiri clan-based metaphors in various academic forums (Guthadjaka, 2010; 2010b; 2012; 2013).

Domain separation

A last twist is found in Harris' book *Two-Way Aboriginal Schooling* (1990). He argued that even in functioning bilingual schools, the 'hidden curriculum' of mainstream education undermines Indigenous values and norms in a range of ways. Furthermore, the two domains of Indigenous Knowledges and 'Mainstream Culture' are so different, there was need for 'separate places for teaching, separate bodies of content and separate teachers for each culture domain' (Harris, 1990, p. 14). It was certainly never intended as a one-size-fits-all framework, but a delineation which would allow Indigenous educators to pursue important community goals, while mainstream teachers could focus on the mandated curriculum without any misgivings. Thus, schools overall (comprised of classes, teachers and timetables) would function as two, distinct 'domains'. Despite being broadly researched, the 'domain separation' approach was criticized as over-stepping the original 'two-way' intercultural approach (McConvell, 1991; 1994). However, Noel Pearson advocates for something quite similar as part of his Cape York Institute: students to 'orbit' between the two worlds of their Indigenous roots and the Mainstream, the practical strategy for schools to establish a 'domain (to) be called "Class" (to) be clearly separate from another domain, "Culture"' and that 'early morning to early afternoon be dedicated to explicit instruction in basic numeracy and literacy' (Pearson, 2009, p. 71) via the 'Direct Instruction' model. Following this initiative, the 'Direct Instruction' approach was rolled out to nineteen remote Indigenous schools in the Northern Territory in 2016. Whether schools also maintain/reinvigorate the 'Culture' domain remains the moot point in terms of 'two-way' applicability.

Methodology

The methodological framework was inspired by the fact 'Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning' (United Nations, 2008) and relied upon the critical Indigenous qualitative research field, mandating the genesis, accountability and evaluation of any research be undertaken by the local Indigenous participants (Denzin, Lincoln & Tuhiwai Smith, 2008, p. 2). But even within the Northern Territory context, profound language and ontological/cosmological differences exist between Indigenous communities. Fortunately, in this regard, significant work has been undertaken by Christie and others in collaborative research with Yolŋu communities specifically, over many years at Charles Darwin University⁴. We relied explicitly on the methodological framework generated through these research projects. As a synthesis, key principles included notions of *transdisciplinary* research across knowledge systems, acknowledging that all research in Indigenous contexts is characterized as 'some of this and some of that at the same time' in terms of Indigenous researchers and non-Indigenous 'negotiating rules of engagement, evidence and validation' (Christie, 2006, p. 81). Research must be *generative* in terms of contesting 'the role of judging observer... (instead) the researcher is an engaged observer, and works to generate change practices through the research position' (Christie, 2013, p. 3), and socially *conscionable*, as 'the academic tradition comes with its sealed package of epistemic criteria based upon reason. But Yolŋu often judge truthfulness in research through other criteria to do with... agreement in good faith' (Christie, 2009, p. 32). The essence of the approach exhorts researchers to take seriously and accommodate local Yolŋu methodology as part of the research process itself. This may make the research more complicated, but 'this messiness is something to be accepted and examined; it is productive' (Christie, 2006, p. 82). Therefore, it was crucial to maintain and reflect upon the Warramiri Elders' explicit instruction around genuine community consultation (which involved each and every adult resident of Gāwa community, including *balanda* teachers), as opposed to more typical ethnographic expedient, purposeful or even probability selections (Freebody, 2003, p. 78). However, conversely, we needed to abide by the maxim of Yolŋu decision making concerning the 'right people talking to the right people in the right place at the right time in the right order' (Christie, 2013b, p. 49). Thus, though there were various interviews throughout the project, it was not a foundation of 'epistemic equality' (Christie, 2013b, p. 49); the meetings with Kathy Guthadjaka as acknowledged

4 Significant multi-year research projects such as 'Indigenous Knowledge Traditions, and Digital technology' (<http://www.cdu.edu.au/centres/ik/ikhome.html>), 'Teaching from Country' (<http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/index.html>) and 'ICT and Capacity Building in Remote Communities' (<http://www.cdu.edu.au/centres/inc/>) all directly involved Yolŋu outlining methodological principles.

Warramiri educational expert and Elder, James Wälun Bukulatjpi (Ceremonial Custodian) of the Warramiri, and the *wulman* ('old man') of the Wangurri were paramount. Practically, I have chosen to represent this in the findings by foregrounding a quote from Guthadjaka, Wälun or *wulman*, then reflecting on the shared nuances or lack of alignments with the other Gäwa community members.

Another important application of this framework was to conduct all the interviews in specific clan Yolŋu languages, even when my language skills were largely only in English and Djambarrpuyŋu, because 'sticking to your own language is a sign that you are taking your ancestral responsibilities seriously and can speak on behalf of land' (Christie, 2013b, p. 47). Subsequently, the interview process was slightly more stilted, but having lived with almost all of the Yolŋu participants over a number of years in a very small community, such code-switching, multilingual conversations were normal practice. The process of transcription and translation (undertaken by me with Warramiri Elders and Yolŋu Studies lecturers' support) was lengthy, but crucial in honouring first-language priorities. The process also necessitated later conversations, reformulations and informal meetings at Gäwa and Darwin; thus embodying another key principle; 'to work slowly and allow new ideas and practices to emerge here and how, and grow slowly through mutual respect and a history of shared experience' (Christie, 2009, p. 32). From the generative viewpoint, the on-going work (begun in April 2017) of assisting the current *balanda* teachers/principal in implementing the priorities and vision outlined in the research is perhaps most important of all, and is referenced where appropriate throughout the subsequent sections. Practically, the research involved interviewing and recording twelve adult community members at Gäwa (and five Elders from closely related clans) in July, 2013 as semi-structured interviews. Overall, the methodological process was envisaged as a 'two-way' process itself whereby Yolŋu and western-academic traditions were honoured, both to precisely position the pedagogical emphases for future teaching practice at Gäwa and to establish terminology to facilitate further transdisciplinary research in remote Indigenous Australia. Ethics clearance for the research was obtained through the Charles Darwin University Human Research Ethics Committee in 2012.

Data and discussion

Indigenous perspectives

Guthadjaka: This is what Yolŋu are seeing-balanda see education one way and Yolŋu another way. They (Yolŋu) don't see just one way that is separate, just like that. It can be taught at home, or it can be taught at school- the same knowledge. It's important they learn in the heart, not just the mind. If you teach just the mind, it separates you. If you are taught how to feel on the inside about your home, people, how to help people, then your family will truly grow.

The interview questions were designed to be as broad as possible to allow individuals to focus on their passions. And it is clear that the priorities *are* broad for what education truly entails, and that Warramiri children are to be taught holistically. Or positioned the other way around, there is an implied concern that mainstream *balanda* educational practice forces a *dislocation* for Warramiri children. This dislocation is literal in the sense of compartmentalising school versus home, and also figurative in relation to 'head' knowledge versus the 'heart'. There is also a form of progression revealed in that children who are taught identity (*about your home, people*) and an ethical framework (*how to help people*) will then succeed and prosper (*your family will grow*). In one sense there is nothing new in these statements as Guthadjaka and other experienced Yolŋu have contrasted Yolŋu and *balanda* educational philosophies in the past during 'Teaching From Country' sessions (Christie, 2010). However, this fundamental positioning of education with identity and heritage is a crucial foundation and was certainly supported by other community members who spoke of quality education as:

Working together, both helping, the spirit and the mind, getting wiser, growing up with knowledge.

Having kids understand who they are, where they come from and value that... that are proud of that... that they understand who they are because of their relationship back to their homeland and their people.

(There should be no) big, ugly division between life at school and life at home. I think there should be a blending of things... and I think it's healthy that they should. People think that it's ok to live their lives in departments and we don't want to see that happening with our kids.

Thus, for Warramiri Yolŋu, education is vital to identity formation, based on the foundation of an integrated, holistic, and whole-of-child commitment. However, there was never talk of a single, generalised Indigenous 'perspective', or even for Elders to talk beyond the scope of their own Yolŋu clan, let alone concerning a generic Indigenous standpoint. Indeed, even Wangurri Elders who had been specifically asked by Warramiri Elders to be interviewed, made comments such as 'You have the 'old man' out there at Gāwa. You have all you need to know!' highlighting the point that due to the highly complex and regulated kinship system, Yolŋu are 'keen to avoid being held responsible in any way for the management of, and particularly the access to the resources of others' (Christie, 2007b, p. 33).

Indigenous learning style

Wuŋman: If they (balanda) come in and learn, that's good. They shouldn't come in and take-over. If you build the foundation on rock... I built my school like this and when balanda came, they have to work with us and learn.

The *wuŋman's* quote emphasises that the new *balanda* must 'learn', but taking in the surrounding conversation, he was mostly referring to 'learning how Yolŋu learn'. In a similar fashion to the drop-off in 'learning style' terminology in academic writings, he did not position this in opposition to *balanda*, but more highlighted how an appreciation of individual students' experiences pre-formal schooling and an understanding of their home learning environment was still crucial information for teachers' classroom planning and practice. Other Gāwa community members did not comment much in this area but referred me to how they had made recommendations for new *balanda* teachers on this topic previously. Areas highlighted in 2012 included the need to 'get to know them (the students) very well. There should be much involvement and loving, long-term relationships... teachers also need an understanding of how our manners and customs should function so that they can recognise when the rules are being broken' and that corresponding '*raypirri* (discipline) should be spoken often and on the spot at every opportunity' (Guthadjaka, 2012). There was also an emphasis that 'art is a good place for us to get involved in the school and for building self-esteem and encouragement' and that 'we feel at home when we are outside... kids who struggle with long classroom hours could be helped with practical things like Junior Rangers or workshop experience' (Guthadjaka, 2012). Thus, at Gāwa, the emphasis is again relational focussed, involving appropriate behavioural management, inside-outside classroom balance and contextualised learning approaches.

Team-teaching

Guthadjaka: I want that to happen, for there to be teamwork, to plan together the balanda teacher and the Yolŋu teacher. The balanda will help the Yolŋu Assistant planning, not the teacher working by himself. That's what bilingual is- both roads, both ways.

From Guthadjaka there is a clear aspiration for team-teaching (as defined in the bilingual era) to be reinvigorated (*both roads, both ways*), undoubtedly because she was a long-term teacher in previous decades. *Balanda* teachers and principal expressed a willingness, but also frustration/lack of knowledge as to *how*, practically, to build this capacity.

Having aides in class is great, just changes so much of what you can do and achieve... I think that's vital.

We're always trying to put out the feelers... because they need training, you know. If you're going to be an aid in the classroom; 'You want to be in the classroom? Way, yaka manyamak!' (No, no good!) But once they come in for activities, like I had open classroom if you will, with people coming in there, it's not such a threatening place.

We can't accomplish this thing that we're hoping to accomplish on our own, it's just not going to work without commitment from community and good aides in our classroom space. Not just someone who comes and is around, but who engages in a meaningful way to bring that aspect of community into the classroom. And to assist us to know what we're talking about to work with it. All those layers that we don't understand.

The issue of teacher assistants and training is a complex one, and the small numbers of community members at Gäwa is a significant challenge in this area. Encouragingly, the Gäwa Christian School, 2018 Annual Action Plan appropriately responds to this need, investing significant professional development funds into 'training options for Yolŋu staff... so they can be confident in leading small groups and co-leading whole class lessons... working toward building teaching teams: allocate time, seek commitment from all staff' (Gäwa Christian School, 2018).

Bilingual education

The lack of historical consensus regarding bilingual education was reflected in the responses from Gäwa. Significantly, everyone (both *balanda* and Yolŋu) supported bilingual education in some form, but how it should practically look was quite varied, and even Guthadjaka seemed unsure of what was the optimum model:

Guthadjaka: Well, it could be 50/50, bilingual can be like that. Or it could be English when they reach...I don't know nowadays what the percentages are supposed to be. Maybe K (principal) could ask the community; what is the new policy going to be, what path should we take? Bothways or one-way? One way dominant and the other small?

There was a range of responses from other Gäwa interviewees:

Bi-literacy is a goal that you would set, an end goal. That in the end, kids would be able to read and write just as effectively in their own language as in English.

For writing at school, reading and writing: Yolŋu Matha. Most kids can talk Yolŋu Matha, but it is important to have Yolŋu Matha learning; reading and writing.

First, start with Yolŋu Matha- should be at home all the time and the school. Then, as you grow, you step into English to get more education.

First the English, with the Yolŋu Matha at home. At home he can learn Yolŋu Matha, at school he can learn English.

Thus, clearly no consensus on bilingual/bi-literacy approaches, even from such a small homeland community. This topic is worthy of its own separate analysis, and, in fact, the area is significantly complicated by the fact that Warramiri literacy (as opposed to Djambarrpuyŋu) is also the aim of Gäwa Elders. We have canvassed some approaches to balancing the Warramiri, Djambarrpuyŋu and English literacy demands elsewhere (van Gelderen & Guthadjaka, 2019), but to demonstrate the further level of complexity of *multilingual* education in Indigenous communities, some last words from Wäluj :

The kids are only speaking one language, Djambarrpuyŋu, not Warramiri yet. This is a concern. They should be transferring over to Warramiri, both in school and in everyday life. Like having two 'books'. Often my grandchildren don't understand Warramiri, they are just Djambarrpuyŋu speakers and sometimes they ask me, 'Why do you speak Warramiri?'

(Laughing). Yes, the school should do it like that, having Warramiri books.

'Bothways' education

As mentioned, Guthadjaka has long championed a Warramiri 'bothways' approach, so it was no surprise to record comments from her and others along these lines. Indeed, it was where a clear passion and interest was displayed in interviews:

Guthadjaka: (At school) They should learn the Yolŋu way, about caring for the land, looking after people, respecting the teachers and the other children and whatever other little law there is that they need to know.

Other Gāwa interviewees were also explicit, offering various specific examples:

We need to teach our culture, boys hunting with spears, girls going for shellfish first and then into the bush for yams and other food there. The Elders out there (at Gāwa) they have the knowledge... It's good to have both; balanda teaching English, Yolŋu teachers teaching Yolŋu.

Yes, cultural aspects; dancing and painting and totems...where they come from. Learn all that in school. Later, when they grow up, the children know and they have to teach their own children the same way.

They should be learning the songs and the stories. They should be taught whatever belongs to there... Wāluŋ should be teaching what belongs to the land at Gāwa.

Yes, all (aspects of) 'culture', everything in the school!

Arguably, at Gāwa, the 'bothways' intercultural education philosophy can be viewed as the capstone concept for 'two-way' education with the other approaches as necessary preconditions. That is, the localised perspective/foundation highlights the holistic nature of Warramiri identity and education which informs a specific teaching and learning 'style' emphasis dependant on local child-rearing and traditional methodologies. Turning this from theory to practice is greatly aided by a team-teaching approach whereby local teachers truly plan activities and co-teach classes, a bilingual approach formally utilising this process for teaching First Language and literacy. Finally, the 'bothways' philosophy relies on all the aforementioned and enters into the contested space to negotiate curriculum and to integrate traditional knowledge and decision-making processes from whole-of-community priorities. Significantly, proceeding from discussions concerning these research results (and for the first time in the school's history), in 2018 Gāwa aims to 'develop a clear, local articulation of what 'both ways learning' means in philosophy and practice for our school (in English, Warramiri and Djambarrpuynŋu)...this will be articulated in the website, staff handbooks, job descriptions and curriculum documents' (Gāwa Christian School, 2018).

Conclusion

'Two-way' terms Indigenous Perspectives, Learning Style, Team-Teaching, Bilingual Education, 'Bothways' Education and Domain Separation are not necessarily commonly utilised in research reports. Also, even after such a process of disambiguation, approaches can potentially blur together in practice, depending on school-based contexts. However, clarifying the historical and policy foundations behind each approach certainly aided our research at Gāwa, enabling a triangulation process to identify community aspirations and facilitate further generative policy work to proceed. At Gāwa there exists a desire for all levels, besides domain separation which was not mentioned in any way, despite the small homeland context which would make it quite feasible. Warramiri Yolŋu are emphatic; they desire holistic, but linguistically diverse, integrated education practices to build strong identity. Of course, this is not a new aim: 'throughout the last 40 years Yolŋu have said consistently that they want their children to learn

both ways, Yolŋu and Balanda' (Hall, 2016, p. 307). However, it is hoped that the current research will enable *balanda* policy makers and teachers to better understand and implement this message. As a concluding personal reflection, I am acutely aware that *balanda*, (with their research, and their policies) come and go; since the interviews, the two *balanda* teachers and principal at Gäwa have moved on after four years' service, and this is actually a lengthy tenure for remote, Northern Territory contexts. On the other hand, the Warramiri connection to Gäwa is incredibly long and consistent. But individual Yolŋu also pass away, the *wulman* from the Wangurri clan the very day after he generously shared his thoughts with me. Out of respect, and due to its powerful summation (and subtle rebuke), I give the last word to him:

You have to decide about what I said earlier, about the teaching, when I'm gone. New generation, new children. They should be learning at home first, and when the school comes, they can work together... If we have good policy, it will stay there. People won't come and ask me, it's already in place.

References

- ACARA (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority). (2010). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures*. Retrieved 30 June, 2012, from <http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/CrossCurriculumPriorities/Aboriginal-and-Torres-Strait-Islander-histories-and-cultures>
- Bakamana & Djuwandayngu. (1978). Our Culture program. *The Aboriginal Child at School*, 6(5), 51-52.
- Bat, M., & Shore, S. (2013). *Listening differently: an exploration of the grey literature on Aboriginal teacher education in the Top End of the Northern Territory. Review of grey literature produced for the MATSITI funded project: "Pathways for Yolŋu Teachers: rethinking initial teacher education (ITE) on country*. Darwin: School of Education, Charles Darwin University.
- Berndt, R., & Berndt, C. (1988). Body and Soul: more than an episode. In T. Swain & D. Rose (Eds.), *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions*, (pp. 45-59). South Australia: The Australian Association for the Study of Religions.
- Bevan, C., & Shillinglaw, D. (2010). Bigges Mob Mirlimiri. Teaching Two Way: Codeswitching Cultures and Dialects. *Literacy Learning: the Middle Years*, 18(2), 11-17.
- Christie, M. (2006). Transdisciplinary Research and Aboriginal Knowledge. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 35, 78-89.
- Christie, M. (2007). Yolngu Language Habitat: Ecology, Identity and Law in an Aboriginal Society. In G. Leitner and I. Malcolm (Eds.), *Australia's Aboriginal Languages Habitat* (pp. 57-78). Berlin, New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Christie, M. (2007b). Fracturing the skeleton of principle: Australian law, aboriginal law, and digital technology. *Learning Communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts*, 4, 30–39.
- Christie, M. (2009). Engaging with Australian Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Charles Darwin University and the Yolngu of Northeast Arnhemland. *Learning communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts*, 7, 23-35.
- Christie, M. with the assistance of Yinjiya Guyula, Dhänggal Gurruwiwi, John Greatorex, Joanne Garrgulkpuy & Kathy Guthadjaka. (2010). Teaching From Country, Learning From Country. *Learning Communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts*, 10(2), 6-17.
- Christie, M. (2013). Generative and 'ground-up' research in Aboriginal Australia. *Learning communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts*, 13, 3-13.
- Christie, M. (2013b). The Box of Vegies: Method and Metaphysics in Yolŋu Research. In M Vicars, T. McKenna and J. White (Eds.), *Discourse, power, resistance – Down Under, Vol. 2* (pp. 45-56). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Collins, B., & Lea, T. (1999). *Learning Lessons, An independent review of Indigenous education in the Northern Territory*. Darwin: NT Department of Education.
- DEET (Northern Territory Department of Employment, Education and Training). (1986). *Team teaching in Aboriginal schools in the Northern Territory*. Darwin: ISBN: 0724516212.
- Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y., & Tuhiwai Smith, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Department of Education, Northern Territory Government. (2016). *Annual Report: 2015-2016*. Darwin, NT: Northern Territory Government.
- DET (Northern Territory Department of Education and Training). (2011a). *Literacy framework for students with English as an Additional Language*. Draft policy document. DET File: 2008/2492; doc2010/08120. Retrieved 12 August, 2011, from http://www.det.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/20104/LiteracyFrameworkEALLearnersPolicy.pdf

- DET (Northern Territory Department of Education and Training). (2011b). *Shepherdson College: Annual Operational Plan 2011*. Retrieved 12 August, 2011, from http://www.det.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/19129/ShepherdsonCollege2011.pdf
- Devlin, B. (2009, June). *Bilingual education in the Northern Territory and the continuing debate over its effectiveness and value*. Paper presented to Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies research symposium, Bilingual education in the Northern Territory: Principles, policy and practice, Canberra. Retrieved 18 August, 2011, from http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/special_ed/20090914/language/docs/Devlin_paper.pdf
- Devlin, B. (2010). What's the Issue? *Languages education in Australia*. 4(7). Retrieved 18 August, 2011, from <http://www.languageseducation.com/news101118.htm>
- Devlin, B. (2011). A bilingual education policy issue: Biliteracy versus English-only literacy. In N. Purdie, G. Milgate and H. Rachel Bell (Eds.), *Two Way Teaching and learning: towards culturally reflective and relevant education*. (pp. 49-69). Victoria: ACER press.
- Devlin, B., Disbray, S., & Devlin, N. (Eds.). (2016). *History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory*. Singapore: Springer.
- Disbray, S. (2016). Policy and practice now. In B. Devlin, S. Disbray, and N. Devlin (Eds.), *History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory*. (pp. 237-246). Singapore: Springer.
- Education Department of Western Australia, Catholic Education Office of Western Australia, Association of Independent Schools of Western Australia. (2000). *Deadly Ideas*. Western Australia: Deadly Ways to Learn Consortium.
- Freebody, P. (2003). *Qualitative research in education: interaction and practice*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Ford, L., & Klesch, M. (2003). 'It won't matter soon, we'll all be dead': Endangered languages and action research. Wadeye aboriginal languages project. *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 23, 27-43.
- Gäwa Christian School. (2018). *Gäwa Christian School 2018 Annual Action Plan*. Unpublished.
- Guthadjaka, K. (2010, October). *Literate Australia: Health & Wellbeing Visions - Two Way Learning*. Paper presented at the Building Literate Nations Inaugural National Forum, Sydney.
- Guthadjaka, K. (2010b). Teaching when nothing is lying around. *Learning Communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts*, 2, 25-31.
- Guthadjaka, K. (2012, July). *Meta narrative, technology and how we tell our story*. Paper presented at Northern Territory Christian Schools Association Over the Top Conference, Darwin.
- Guthadjaka, K. (2013, June). *Bilingual Education: Both Ways Learning; A Practical Approach*. Paper presented at Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (SNAICC) National Conference, Cairns.
- Hall, N. (2016). Forty years on: seeking a way for the future- *dhawal'yurr yuwalkku dhukarr*. Reflections on bilingual education at Shepherdson College, Galiwin'ku. In B. Devlin, S. Disbray, and N. Devlin (Eds.), *History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory* (pp. 307-324). Singapore: Springer.
- Harris, M., & Gartland, G. (2011). *Children of the Intervention: Aboriginal children living in the Northern Territory of Australia. A submission to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child*. East Melbourne: Concerned Australians.
- Harris, S. (1975). Beyond common sense in bilingual education. *Aboriginal Child at School*, 3(4), 3-27.
- Harris, S. (1984a). *Culture and Learning: tradition and education in north-east Arnhem Land*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

- Harris, S. (1984b). Aboriginal learning styles and formal schooling. *Aboriginal Child at School*, 12(4), 3-23.
- Harris, S. (1990). *Two-Way Aboriginal Schooling: Education and Cultural Survival*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Kinslow-Harris, J. (1968). Linguistics and Aboriginal Education. *Australian Territories*, 8(1), 24-34.
- Lanhupuy, W. (1988). Address to the d-bate graduation 1987. *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 1, 1-4.
- Manydjarri, C. (1973). Comments on the bilingual education program. *The Aboriginal Child at School*, 1(3), 44-45.
- Marika, R. (1990). Workshops as teaching learning environments. *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 4, 43-55.
- Marika, R., Ngurruwutthun, D., & White, L. (1989). *Always Together, Yaka Gäna: Participatory Research at Yirrkala as part of the development of a Yolngu education*. Yirrkala: Yirrkala Literature Production Centre.
- Marika Mununggiritj, R., & Christie, M. (1995). Yolngu metaphors for learning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 113, 59-62.
- McConvell, P. (1981). Supporting the Two-Way School. In J. Bell (Ed.), *Language planning for Australian Aboriginal languages*. (pp. 60-76). Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal development.
- McConvell, P. (1991). Cultural domain separation: two-way street or blind alley? Stephen Harris and the neo-Whorfians on Aboriginal education. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 1, 13-24.
- McConvell, P. (1994). Two-way exchange and language maintenance in Aboriginal schools. In D. Hartman & J. Henderson (Eds.), *Aboriginal Languages in Education*. (pp. 235-256). Alice Springs: IAD Press.
- McKenzie, M. (1976). *Mission to Arnhem Land*. Adelaide: Rigby Limited.
- Nakata, M. (2002). *Some thoughts on the literacy issues in Indigenous Contexts*. Melbourne: Language Australia.
- Nakata, M. (2007). The Cultural Interface. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 36, 7-14.
- Nakata, M. (2011). Pathways for Indigenous Education in the Australian Curriculum Framework. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 40, 1-8.
- Nakata, M., Nakata, V., Keech, S., & Bolt, R. (2012). Decolonial goals and pedagogies for Indigenous studies. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 120-140.
- Nicholls, C., Crowley, V., & Watt, R. (1998). Black and White Educational Theorizing: an evaluation of the impact of 'Aboriginal learning styles' theory on Australian Aboriginal Education. *Ngoonjook: a Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 15, 32-60.
- Northern Territory Government. (2017). *Indigenous Languages in NT*. Retrieved 9 May, 2017, from <https://nt.gov.au/community/interpreting-and-translating-services/aboriginal-interpreter-service/indigenous-languages-in-nt>
- Nungalinya College. (2017). *Nungalinya College 2015 Media Studies classes. Gotha's story- My story and life at Gawa*. Retrieved 3 November, 2017, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zsxd0idIATU>
- Pearson, N. (2009). *Radical Hope: Education and Equality in Australia*. Melbourne: Black Inc.
- Perso, T., & Hayward, C. (2015). *Teaching Indigenous Students: cultural awareness and classroom strategies for improving learning outcomes*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

- Silburn, S.R., Nutton, G.D., McKenzie J.W., & Landrigan, M. (2011). *Early years English language acquisition and instructional approaches for Aboriginal students with home languages other than English: A systematic review of the Australian and international literature*. Darwin, NT: The Centre for Child Development and Education, Menzies School of Health Research.
- Simpson, J., Caffery, J., & McConvell, P. (2009). *Gaps in Australia's Indigenous language policy: dismantling bilingual education in the Northern Territory*. Canberra: Research Program Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- United Nations. (2008). *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf
- van Gelderen, B., & Guthadjaka, K. (2017). The Warramiri website: applying an alternative Yolŋu epistemology to digital development. *Research and Practice in Technology Enhanced Learning*, 12(14). doi.org/10.1186/s41039-017-0052-x
- van Gelderen, B., & Guthadjaka, K. (2019). A Yolŋu 'Bothways' approach to English and Warramiri literacy at Gäwa. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 41(3), 252-279.
- Vass, G. (2013). 'So, what is wrong with Indigenous education?' Perspective, position and power beyond a deficit discourse. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 41, 85-86.
- Watts, B., McGrath, W., & Tandy, J. (1973). *Recommendations for the implementation and development of a program of bilingual education in schools in Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory*. Canberra: Department of Education.
- Wearne, G. (1986). *Towards 'Bothways' Schooling: an exploration of the role of Non Aboriginal Educators in the context of Self Determination and Management*. (Unpublished Master's thesis). Deakin University, Victoria, Australia.
- What Works. (2011). *Are there such things as Indigenous learning styles?* Retrieved 25 August, 2011, from <http://www.whatworks.edu.au/dbAction.do?cmd=displaySitePage1&subcmd=select&id=367>
- Wilson, B. (2014). *A Share in the future: review of Indigenous Education in the Northern Territory*. Darwin: The Education Business.
- Wunŋmurra, W. (1989). "Dhawurrpunaramirri": Finding common ground for a new Aboriginal curriculum. *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 2, 12-16.
- Yunkaporta, T. (2009). *Aboriginal pedagogies at the cultural interface*. Unpublished PhD thesis. James Cook University, Townsville.
- Yunupingu, M. (1989). Language and Power: the Yolŋu rise to power at Yirrkala school. *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 2, 1-6.
- Yunupingu, M. (1994). Yothu Yindi-Finding Balance. In *Voices from the Land (Boyer Lectures)*. Sydney: ABC Books.