



Submission No.35

Monash Country Lines Archive Submission: Inquiry into language learning in Indigenous communities

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Monash Country Lines Archive

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Summary

This submission to the 'Inquiry into language learning in Indigenous communities' is from the Monash Country Lines Archive (MCLA), Monash University. The MCLA Program is using 3D animation to teach, learn, and archive Indigenous Australian languages. This is achieved through animating Country Lines.



Monash Country Lines Archive program

*'The loss of languages will result in the loss of knowledge.'*¹

Monash Country Lines Archive (MCLA) in Brief

- The MCLA is a team of Monash researchers, students and animators working in partnership with Indigenous communities and organisations to help preserve their language and stories and narratives through 3D animations.
- The Monash Country Lines Archive is a program of the Monash Indigenous Centre in the Faculty of Arts, working in collaboration with the Faculty of Information Technology, Monash University.
- The animations belong to the partner community/organisation.

MCLA Team

- John Bradley – Program Director
- Tom Chandler – Animation Team Leader
- Shannon Faulkhead – Finkel Fellow (Research & Project Management)
- Student and Digital Animators

Background to the MCLA Program

A way to engage with younger generations is to make the oral visual.

Current research is showing that animation can hold the key to cross-cultural communication and cross-generational knowledge sharing.² In response to this research, the Yanyuwa in the community at Borroloola worked with the Monash Indigenous Centre (MIC) (prior to MCLA) captured five Yanyuwa Country Line narratives³ through 3D (three-dimensional) animation, preserving important cultural information so that it is not lost to future generations.

Like many Indigenous Australian languages, Yanyuwa is in crisis. Thirty years ago almost 260 people spoke Yanyuwa in the community at Borroloola, south west Gulf of Carpentaria, 970 kilometres southeast of Darwin. Today only a handful of Elders remain fluent — the last custodians of ancient songs, stories, customs and land ownership that are bound up in the vocabulary of the endangered language. When these Elders die, all this specialised cultural and life experience will be lost, making the need to capture the language and information urgent. Past and present Yanyuwa Elders and Associate Professor John Bradley (MIC & MCLA) worked together over the past 30 years to create a Yanyuwa encyclopaedic dictionary and a Yanyuwa atlas of their Country. While both documents serve as important reference points for Yanyuwa Elders, the children and adolescents — who do not speak the Yanyuwa language — are growing up knowing little about the 'Law' of their land.

Anecdotally the Yanyuwa 3D animations have already begun to encourage younger generations to begin to learn their language and knowledge of Country:

¹ Australian Human Rights Commission. (2010) *The Community Guide to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Canberra, p. 31.

² This paper presents on some of the complexities of language and knowledge transmission in relation to choices by Yanyuwa Elders to animate their law: Bradley, J., Friday, G., Kearney, A., & Norman, L. (2010) "'These Are The Choices We Make': Animating Saltwater Country', *Screening the Past*, Issue 31.

³ Country Lines or Narratives – these terms are used to represent law, history, knowledge, stories, songs, performances and language. The reason for using these terms is that there is academic debate as to whether Indigenous oral knowledge is reliable source or 'History'. Until we develop a term that adequately describes the complexity and validity of Indigenous oral knowledge, we are using these terms.



During a field trip we approached White Craggy Island (Wardarrila) which has been the subject of animation. The Yanyuwa grandfather driving the boat cut the engine and asked his grandchildren if they knew the story for that country. The children were unstoppable; they retold the story in English with great excitement and even used some Yanyuwa words straight from the narration of the animation. The grandfather was extremely proud, as were the children, as were we all. That night around a campfire the children then retold all of the stories from the completed animations, with action and drama. (John Bradley)

The Yanyuwa Country Lines have not only been very positively received by the Yanyuwa community, but have drawn interest from other Indigenous communities keen to have their Country Lines preserved in a visual and virtual archive: 3D animations.

In 2010 the Finkel Foundation provided funds necessary to establish the Monash Country Lines Archive (MCLA). This gift and the financial support from Monash University has enabled MCLA to animate 20 Country Lines per year (approximately 40 minutes of animation) over the next five years with Indigenous communities from across Australia on a 'first come' basis. MCLA is currently in discussion with three Indigenous Australian communities, with a number of other communities indicating interest.

Dr Alan Finkel AM and Dr Elizabeth Finkel were inspired to initiate the gift with their Foundation Directors after seeing the Yanyuwa animations. They immediately recognised that these animations will preserve language, stories and culture for future Indigenous generations in a way that will appeal to children and adults alike.

MCLA is a program, with each community being a specific project. The animations and any material gathered to facilitate their creation, belong to the community. The use of the animations, including by MCLA, is to be decided by the community. So whilst MCLA is currently not receiving government funding, it is possible that specific projects may involve funding from various sources including government.

Each community is going to be different in terms of language knowledge, with some having fluent language speakers through to language revitalisation being one of the purposes of the community engaging with MCLA.

The MCLA Program is an exemplar of reconciling research; partnership research between Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers, and Indigenous communities. It will provide a best-practice model for ethical, community-centered, participatory research. It will help to develop and improve archival frameworks and practices to better meet the needs of the diverse communities that make up our globalised societies.



The benefits of giving attention and recognition to Indigenous languages

In addressing number one of the terms of reference – The benefits of giving attention and recognition to Indigenous languages – the following section looks at the benefits of 3D animation in on e-learning and the development of living archive using the MCLA program to illustrate the importance of Indigenous languages to Indigenous cultural knowledge and therefore attention and recognition of Indigenous languages is vital to the overall well-being of Indigenous Australians.

*'Our culture is living and has many different forms. Culture can be expressed from a traditional perspective or it can be expressed with modern influence.'*⁴

In seeking to address the loss of language and culture, Indigenous communities are increasingly engaged as active producers of digital and multimedia data and objects in online and social networking environments. The resulting 3D animations of Yanyuwa Country Lines have proven to be a powerful means of intergenerational learning. They demonstrate how language recovery and transmission of stories across generations can be achieved through collaborative use of new technologies.

As described above, the MCLA Program was developed out of the concern of loss of Indigenous Australian languages, and to develop a method that will engage Elders, language holders, and youth in intergenerational learning and sharing of language. Animation became the tool of the MCLA due to the instant appeal and accessibility for all ages, remote and urban Indigenous communities, and the broader Australian community. Through the use of 3D animation, the MCLA Program is able to recreate Country recognisable to its people.

While animation as a technology dates back almost a century, it is important to distinguish the medium of 3D animation from traditional hand drawn animation or other forms of 2D (two dimensional) animation created on computers. The fundamental difference is that 3D animation derives from a digital space not of images but from a modelled space that is very similar to those used in architectural and engineering simulations, medical visualisation and 'virtual reality' applications. Although in essence the summary of the 3D animation process is essentially a movie, what the 3D animators in fact create is a three dimensional virtual world inside the computer. Essentially, it is the sculpting of this complex world made up of many thousands, and sometimes millions, of different 3D models that constitutes the real research behind the animations. Because it is entirely virtual, this world can be repurposed to create all manner of other applications, from interactive computer games to environmental simulations. It follows that the Monash Country Lines Archives will exist not only in an animated form, but also in an infinite, plastic and moving digital space of three dimensions where almost anything is possible.

The MCLA Program also uses digital technologies to create opportunities for Indigenous Australian communities to record, store and transmit narratives of history, language and culture through 3D animation. The objects, data and records produced and gathered by this project have the potential to become a national asset as a living and growing archive of Indigenous Australia, as well as being an exciting tool for a tool for e-learning.

Each community is going to be different in terms of language knowledge, with some having fluent language speakers through to language revitalisation being one of the purposes of the community engaging with MCLA. The MCLA Program is situated at the nexus of leading edge virtual heritage modeling and 3D animation technologies, archival science, Indigenous studies and anthropology, and the needs of both Indigenous communities and the wider Australian community relating to Indigenous cultural heritage. It is highly innovative in

⁴ Australian Human Rights Commission. (2010) *The Community Guide to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Canberra, p. 32.



bringing together a unique combination of multidisciplinary expertise and the expert domain knowledge of Indigenous communities, and enabling knowledge and skills transfer and mutual learning.

The MCLA Program is an exemplar of reconciling research; partnership research between Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers, and Indigenous communities. It will provide a best-practice model for ethical, community-centered, participatory research. It will help to develop and improve archival frameworks and practices to better meet the needs of the diverse communities that make up our globalised societies.

e-Learning

There is a great deal of interest and discussion emerging on the topics of two-way learning, e-learning,⁵ flexible delivery and online educational encounters within the setting of Aboriginal communities across Australia. This reflects an understanding of the role of new technologies in cross-cultural settings and Indigenous educational settings. Nationally, educational bodies have orchestrated e-learning initiatives of vocational and educational training for Indigenous people in remote, rural and urban settings. The majority of these efforts are aimed at “building the learning and employment opportunities and outcomes for Indigenous Australians”.⁶ These are constructed along the lines of learning, coaching and training strategies in the workplace and in business, and within institutions, schools and colleges.⁷ The use of communication technology is essential to the delivery of e-learning packages, requiring such items as laptops and desktop computers, video conferencing, recordings, film and satellite internet connections. E-learning and two-way learning programmes currently dominate the online/new technology applications for education across generations and in cross-cultural settings.

This research builds upon burgeoning industry of information and communication technology and Indigenous education. At some point within this dialogue there is the space for a fantastic reformulation and shaping of new technologies for the purpose of housing and transmitting Indigenous knowledge and principles on the terms set by Indigenous communities and families themselves. This is certainly the case for Yanyuwa families in northern Australia, where their Indigenous Law, language and culture culminate in a powerful pedagogy which older individuals wish to instil in their young people today and the trialled use of animations is showing signs of success in terms of cultural knowledge and cross generational transfer of knowledge.

The project of Animating Country Lines, has generated the technological means by which to express this knowledge and pedagogy in a format that appeals to young Indigenous people but also satisfying the demands of the older people. Whether engaging the knowledge in a digital format effects the power of the knowledge encountered, remains to be seen. It is the latter long-term effect that will concern the project over three-four years. The Yanyuwa families and the researchers to the project have trialled seven animations. These animations talk about their social and political value, a high form of knowledge within the community from where they originate. At this initial stage in the research it is possible to get the sense that virtual encounters offer something of great interest to the community. There is optimism that new technologies may very well be manipulated and maintained to express Law, country, family and culture on culturally appropriate and sensitive terms and that this will have implications for the knowledge acquired by young people today and carried into their future lives.

⁵ The term **e-learning** refers to computer-enhanced training. E-learning is usually delivered via a personal computer. It includes learning delivered by other communications technologies. Methods include online lectures, tutorials, simulations, job aids, games, and more. It is an approach to facilitate and enhance learning through both computer and communications technology. Such devices can include personal computers, CDROMs, television, MP3 Players, and Mobile Phones. Communications technology enables the use of the Internet, email, discussion forums, collaborative software, classroom management software and team learning systems. E-learning may also be used to suit distance learning and is also considered a form of flexible learning.

⁶ Dickinson and Francis, 2006. [Online source], Available at: http://www.icvet.tafensw.edu.au/ezine/year_2006/feb_aprexemplar_indigenous_lear.

⁷ Gientzotis, 2006. [Online source] Available at: http://www.icvet.tafensw.edu.au/ezine/year_2006/feb_apr/thinkpiece_gientzotis.htm.



Those vocational and educational training strategies and skills packaged/offered by e-learning range from arts and cultural practices, conservation and land management skills, written and spoken English, mining, engineering and construction skills, and information technology training. Youth training strategies, such as offered by *dEadly mOb*, based in Alice Springs, passionately asserts their aim of creating online opportunities for young Indigenous people anywhere in Australia. *dEadly mOb* aims to help young people skill up to participate in community development using information and communications technology, adopting a holistic and flexible program for students to explore their career aspirations and piece together a career path.⁸ The number of e-learning programmes in place nationally is increasing, reflecting a strong appeal and commitment to new educational forms and in some cases a resistance to and deep suspicion of local-state funded educational facilities, particularly in smaller and remote communities, where recollection of a history of exclusion and in many cases an ongoing exclusion for young Indigenous people from the class room sits clear in people's memories today.

Other circumstances providing for an increased interest in and appeal of e-learning relate to global trends in the realms of Indigenous resistance to state and global power trends and ongoing physical and ideological colonising. Resistance movements manifest themselves in a range of forums, but none more than in computer networks, chat spaces, online communities, electronic networking, cyber culture and information technology. New technologies are gearing up to be important vehicles and forums for claiming, asserting and maintaining identity, and for expressing dissident voices, resistance and protest. This view has been well located in the literature of political anthropology, global communities, Indigenous knowledge and information technologies (see Becker and Delgado 1998, Buchtman 2000, Dyson, Hendriks and Grant 2006, Forsgren 1998, Goodall 1996, Morely and Robins 1995, Polly 1998, Richardson 1997, Smith and Ward 2000). As early as 1984, Field (66) wrote: "In the past ten years communication between native peoples has exploded. The increasingly unstable economy and rapid information dissemination systems have contributed to a common understanding of the economic, political and social forces affecting native people on six continents. With this, "technology has become increasingly efficient and inexpensive" thus making the internet an indispensable tool for Indigenous and other activism (Field 1984:66). As Neitschmann (1994:225) much of this resistance, research, analysis and commentary "cannot be accessed by a library card".

Discussions of learning needs within Indigenous communities and new technologies that provide for e-learning and two-way learning pivot around the celebration of these formats for their delivery of vocational and educational training. In most programs, what constitutes 'appropriate' and 'acceptable' vocational and educational concerns, and therefore what is made available through programs of training is best established through negotiation and consultation with 'whole Indigenous communities' or the 'range of community stakeholders'. Defining two-way learning, Gientzotis states:

Two-way learning is about the trainer respecting the knowledge, learning processes and perspectives of another people and recognising that they are learning about another culture and knowledge system, at the same time as sharing their own knowledge. It is about working together to find the basis from which new knowledge can be developed in a way that is relevant to the learners concerned, and can be grasped by them⁹

E-learning, a format commonly used to house and facilitate two-way learning in distance education settings (namely remote Aboriginal communities such as Borroloola) is simply a means of delivering information and training. Its definitive elements are that the learning is delivered flexibly and by way of computer and communications technology. The tools for e-learning range from computers, CDROMS, televisions, MP3 players, and mobile phones. As with any learning tool, curriculum and training programs must still be drafted and applied

⁸ See *dEadly mOb* website, available at: <http://www.deadlymob.org/col2.cfm?randID=934423>.

⁹ Gientzotis, 2006. [Online source], Available at: http://www.icvet.tafensw.edu.au/ezine/year_2006/feb_apr/thinkpiece_gientzotis.htm.



within the learning environment, in this case through a relatively new medium. Courses can be tailored to suit the specific needs of Indigenous students and wider communities of users and therefore have the potential to reflect culturally determined learning needs and wants. E-learning programs however are equally prone to failure in this intention and potentially reinstate existing hierarchies of knowledge and understanding mirrored elsewhere in mainstream educational systems.

Computer generated online dictionaries of several Indigenous languages and a small number of virtual encounters of Indigenous homelands via computer game engines have emerged in recent years. A collection of researchers at universities and colleges throughout Canada and a select few in Australia are engaged in such projects, which are based in Indigenous cultural and value systems and the aesthetic practices of Indigenous cultures globally.

While there is great merit in new technologies of knowledge transmission there can be mitigating circumstances in which a 'digital divide' renders some groups unable to participate fully in the learning environments these formats provide. This digital divide is often attributed to socio-economic conditions that prevent the acquisition of certain technologies or a lack of training available in the use of these technologies (e.g. Gibson 2002). Gibson (2002:90) notes that "The paradox is, however, that those very technologies which promise to reduce the effects of distance and inequality of opportunity also threaten to exacerbate them: those who could benefit most are often also those who are least likely to have access to information and communication technologies". A New Zealand based study of these concerns indicates that for both Maori and Pacific Islander groups the digital divide is a quantified reality, with levels of access to and use of information and communication technologies being significantly lower in these populations than in the Pakeha population (see Gibson 2002:90). Gibson (2002:90) identifies socio-economic disadvantage and unequal access to training as variables in this. He tentatively flags a third variable, one which is pivotal to understanding the role and relevance of new technologies as vehicles of Indigenous education and knowledge transmission. These relate to the issue of content, namely to what extent the divide is due to "language barriers or content barriers" (Gibson 2002:90). This suggests that if information and communication technologies are to be adequate tools for the transmission of Indigenous knowledge there must be a synergy between the virtual world encounter and the real life encounter of Indigenous knowledge, Law and culture. Ideally, the language and content should reflect the importance of community or family values unto the cultural group, and involve strategic planning and development of information systems as holistic frameworks on the terms of the cultural group.

It is within the contexts of these discussions that the Monash Country Lines Archive, has a place and identifies its greatest potentials. This project is directly influenced and informed by the knowledge, Law and culture of the Yanyuwa people, the Indigenous owners of land and sea in the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria, northern Australia. The project is committed to rethinking new technologies in education and to the expression of Yanyuwa knowledge and Law, intellectual property and cultural autonomy by way of a computer graphics program, computer game engine and virtual environment. This has applications in the education of younger Yanyuwa people on the details of country, ancestors, narrative, oral testimony, kinship and families, plants, animals, elements, weather, song lines and cultural heritage. Decades of collaborative work with Yanyuwa families and John Bradley (over 3 years), a chief investigator to the project have provided for much of the Yanyuwa narrative and oral testimony to be included in the project. These make for a virtual Yanyuwa world informed by today's elders and those elders who have passed away over the last 26 years. The wealth of generational knowledge and the time depth to some narratives is exceptional and guarantees a structure to the computer game encounter that is governed by so many of the old people that came before and also those who are alive today. It is imperative that Yanyuwa knowledge, aspirations and objectives are adhered to in the processes of constructing and engaging this virtual encounter. The computer game must express Yanyuwa pedagogical perspectives, which are at once social, behavioural, emotional, ecological, cognitive, and practical protocols. For the Yanyuwa community this signals the next phase in the use of new technologies, a process that began with several documentary films, made with Yanyuwa families in the 1980s and most recently the development of the Yanyuwa '*Diwurruwurru*' website (in



association with Assoc Prof Francis Devlin Glass and others at Deakin University). The website is based on a two-way exchange of Yanyuwa people's culture, Law and country to a non-Indigenous audience. Discussing the place for new technologies and collaborative processes required at the point of introducing and maintaining these technologies within Aboriginal communities, Devlin-Glass, notes that "Elders are also acutely aware that since schooling started in the 1950s there are three generations with a relatively tenuous hold on language and knowledge of country and see the new media as potential allies in cultural and linguistic revival, reclamation and revivification"¹⁰. Today's new media goes beyond film, video and sound recordings, and moves into a world of virtual reality and information technology. With this contemporary subtext in mind, the support of Yanyuwa families and the groundwork of long standing relationships between Yanyuwa people and the project investigators there are great potentials for this project to offer Yanyuwa people an innovative forum in which to engage their younger and middle generation community members and share with them their stories, understandings and Law.

Living Archive

The MCLA Program is actively looking to create a *Country Lines: A Living Archive* to support and enhance the Program. The will *Living Archive* plans to engage communities in the development and management of a Living Archive of animations of their Country Lines; data, 3D models and objects used in creating the animations; the community knowledge and evidence base for the animations; and related production and rights management records. Intergenerational collaboration will be a critical factor in building the *Living Archive* to support cross-generational transfer of knowledge now and into the future.

The creation of an interactive *Living Archive* of animated Indigenous language and narratives of culture and history is unique. Innovative policies, protocols and tools will enable Indigenous communities to participate in the ongoing management of the *Archive*. The use of virtual reality and 3D modeling techniques, coupled with the application of intelligent tools to the development of community and user dashboards, to facilitate community and user interaction with the dynamic, evolving *Living Archive* will be a first in the online archival world.

The *Living Archive* is also novel in moving away from paper, audio and video recording of oral traditions, to digital and multimedia representation better able to capture the dynamics of oral transmission of knowledge and active learning.

In seeking to address the loss of language and culture, Indigenous communities are increasingly engaged as active producers of digital and multimedia data and objects in online and social networking environments. Existing initiatives are producing online databases, multimedia sites and online dictionaries which capture narratives of language, culture and history. Exemplar initiatives like the Ara Iritija Archive and the Mukurtu Wumpurrarni-kari Archive¹¹ meet the need for immediate access by Indigenous communities and others to the cultural heritage of Indigenous Australia in accordance with community protocols, specify culturally appropriate metadata, and feature differentiated access layers and multiple user levels.¹² However although often labeled as online archives, they are not designed to ensure the long-term preservation, cross-generational transfer and future use of their digital and multimedia content. The myth of online digital data 'lasting forever' is alive and well in spite of the often

¹⁰ Devlin- Glass, 2006. [On line source] page 1, Available at: <http://www.deakin.edu.au/arts/diwurruwuru/yanyuwa/Resources/Default.htm>

¹¹ Christen, K., Ashley, M., & Tripcevich, N. (2010). *Mukurtu*. Retrieved from <http://www.mukurtuarchive.org/>

¹² For example the *Our Story* database in the NT Library's 'Libraries and Knowledge Centres' (LKC) program; Ara Iritija Archive (Anangu people of SA, <http://www.irititja.com>); Mukurtu Wumpurrarni-kari Archive (Warumungu community in Tennant Creek, NT, <http://www.mukurtuarchive.org>); Traditional Knowledge Revival Pathways (Cape York, Qld, <http://tkrp.com.au/index.php>)



short online life of many so-called “digital archives” projects. The *Country Lines: A Living Archive* Project will ensure that 3D Country Lines animations, their knowledge and evidence base, and related records will be preserved through time, providing cultural and ancestral insights for current and future generations of Indigenous Australians, and the broader Australian and international communities. It will provide an exemplar of a *Living Archive* designed to ensure the long-term preservation, cross generational transfer and future use of its digital and multimedia content in accordance with the protocols and rights management frameworks authorised by community content owners.

The long-term preservation of authentic, reliable digital records and archives is an area of priority research in the archival field, with many mainstream institutions engaged in addressing the challenges involved. McKemmish, Faulkhead and Russell have argued:

Australia’s mainstream discourse and collective memory relating to Indigenous Australia have largely been built on the actions of a violent past, utilising systems of remembering and forgetting that have supported a negative construction of Indigeneity within that collective memory. There is a pressing need for Australia’s collective knowledge spaces to be reconfigured to be representative of all cultural voices, but as a whole Australia is not yet at a place to recognise all that reconciliation can achieve, let alone share the spaces and decolonize them for the benefit of all.¹³

Much of Indigenous Studies today is about decolonisation and developing projects that assist in this aim whilst developing self-determination within Indigenous communities. While archivists worldwide are beginning to explore the practical capacity of digital technologies to support mainstream custodial archives, there are only a few projects investigating community archives or the power of new technologies, when linked to Indigenous ways of knowing, to decolonise the archive.

This Project addresses the long-term preservation of Indigenous culture, language and narratives in digital and multimedia forms as an act of decolonisation of the archive. It recognises the importance of preserving Indigenous stories, narratives and culture as part of a living, interactive community archive which coexists with the records of the colonial and post-colonial governments and institutions, and enables Indigenous community Elders and members to become commentators on and interpreters of their own culture, challenging the role that has been played by anthropologists, linguists, and historians.

Thus the *Living Archive* will challenge and contribute to the refiguring of archival paradigms and practices locally and globally.¹⁴ In turn, it has the potential to refigure Indigenous law and knowledge, making it available to all ages in a community and moving away from past practices of age grading and the gradual building of status. It thereby opens up a range of issues that have been unexplored issues in anthropology, Indigenous studies and archival science.

The Project will contribute to initiatives relating to the articulation, strengthening, preservation, dissemination and celebration of Indigenous history, culture, knowledge, languages and connections to land/place so that they can

¹³ McKemmish, S., Faulkhead, S., & Russell, L. (2011) Dis-Trust in the Archive: Reconciling Records. *Archival Science*, (forthcoming)

¹⁴ Harris, V. (2002). The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa. *Archival Science*, 2(1), 63-86-86; Hamilton, C., Harris, V., Pickover, M., Reid, G., Saleh, R., & Taylor, J. (2002). *Refiguring the Archive* (1st ed.). Springer.; & Stoler, A. (2002). Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance. *Archival Science*, 2(1), 87-109-109.



play their role in sustaining communities and as an integral part of Australian identity; and meeting the Council of Australian Governments' agreed key targets for the *Closing the Gap* strategy relating to Indigenous history and knowledge.¹⁵

Signature:



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¹⁵ Australian Government. (2009). *Closing the Gap on Indigenous Disadvantage: The Challenge for Australia* (p. 40). Commonwealth of Australia. Retrieved from http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/indigenous/pubs/general/Documents/closing_the_gap/default.htm



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