

The 1998 Wentworth Lecture

Raymattja Marika

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. I would like to dedicate the 1998 Wentworth Lecture to the late HC Coombs, and I will begin with my story.

Yäkum ngaya Raymattja. Likan yäkum ngaya Marika. Waripum ngaya yäku likan djinawam' Gunutjpirr Gunuwanga.

Djinawam'yum likandhu nhänha yaka mam'thuman nyäkuru ngayili, ngalanguru ngaya ga nhä nyäku dhäruk. Djinaku mathawu ga romgu ngaya marnggiyin dhäwu'wu, ngaya ngarrungan marnggiyin nhänharayu, kjinaku romgu yolnguwo ngaya marnggiyin, bili ngaya yakan nhängal nyäkuway bapa'miguny. Ga bulu waripuny gulku'warrany ngalalpalminy banha dhanal gungan yakan rom yolnguwo warrawu, ga nhalpiyan ngalma ngarru nyena djinal yutunga romnga.

Banha ngalmaliny ngarrung dhä-munyugum mulkuruyu romdhu, banha yaka ngalmalingu. Yolnguwo rom yakan dhäyan bewakthuwän, nuku yolnguwo, djalkiri rom yakan marnggiyin yolnguwarra be ngätjil baman, ga dhangu waphthun. Dilakthu rom yaka mayan ga gungan ngunha bala galinga ngärra'nga dhanalinggum dirramumuwum ga bulu warrangul rom.

Banhayam rom dhanal yakan marnggiyin, ngätjilingu rom ga dhäruk dhanal yaka bäki, ngätjilingu dharukmurru, manikaymurru, ga ganurumurru, miny'tjimurru, ga ngayimurru.

My name is Raymattja. My surname is Marika. My other name, my deep name, is Gunutjpirr Gunuwanga. This name links me to my land, to my religious aspect of the land. It defines where I come from, who I am, and with this language, the *rom* that the elders taught over many years and centuries, this is continuing in our community.

Yolngu people have learnt this *rom* for years, through *dilak*, the elders, teaching them, and we have been learning this through our fathers and through our elders. Those rules and the language that they have been teaching us are our own language, teaching through songs, *manikay*, through *wänga*, land, and through singing, or songs that women use for crying.

Even though we live in a new world in which foreign law engulfs us, a law that is not ours, Yolngu law has existed from long before and our Yolngu

foundation has sustained us—our sacred law and our secular law.

My first real learning was about the land, *wānga*, the environment, and my relationship to my community. My grandmothers and my mothers were influential in helping me identify different foods and vegetables from the bush. Hunting and gathering for *borum*, bush fruits, and food and bush honey, *guku*, shellfish. I also learnt the value of work, *djāma*, as everybody was expected to do something—to carry wood for cooking, to cut wood for carving, to polish the wood until it was smooth for painting and for sale to keep food in our bellies.

I looked forward to the oral histories that my grandmother, my *māri*, my mother's mother, told us around the campfire. I loved the hunting trips to Wirrawuy Lagoon, where we would hunt for water chestnuts, *rākay*, the bulbs and turtle, long-necked tortoise. On other hunting trips that I loved we went in the boat with my father. This was the only boat that our family had and the children used to go with their fathers after school.

I did my schooling at the Yirrkala mission school. The mission had established a kindergarten and a primary school. All I remember about the kindergarten is that we had a Balanda school teacher and we had Balanda stories read to us and did Balanda activities—European activities. Much of it did not mean much to me but riding the tricycle did. All through my early years of school I read a lot of English literature.

After school we went out in the bush for the fruits we loved to pick, that was my favourite activity, picking fruits and going to Yamuna for the bush apples and figs and other fruits. Weekends were used to go honey hunting, learning to use our eyes to look for the tiny bees as they went in and out of the tree. We also learnt how to hunt for yams, *gan.guri* and *yukuwa*. We learnt how to get different fruits, *wāyin*, animals and shellfish throughout the seasons. We learnt what we would get during the *midawarr* season and what was available through the *rarranhdharr*.

As I got older I learnt to read and write at school in English. Books became my favourite items at school. As a young adult I started to read and write in Yolngu *matha*. We were writing stories in Gumatj for the younger children, primers for the new bilingual program.

In 1976 I went to work at the school, typing stories that the old people had made and translating them. I was exposed to a high level of Yolngu knowledge but I didn't know it at that time. My language was Dhuwaya, a new language that had been developed by children at the mission as their lingua franca. I was a woman with a child but I was still immature. In fact, there are many young Balanda who go through quality education, through high school then

university, but still remain immature. I was like that. I was ignorant of the fact that here was my own knowledge tradition, so rich, though I did not realise it was so powerful until the 1980s. It was not until I spoke in my own language, Rirratjingu, that my view of the Yolngu world would become more meaningful. It was formal Yolngu education. I was learning to understand the hard language, the esoteric language I was working on at the school. This level of language is similar to the use of old Latin in English.

The most significant book I worked on at this time was called *Balngana Mawurrku*, with one of my *bāapa*, my father, Dhunggala Marika. This book gave me a new understanding about my place, my *wānga*. It gave me a fresh new understanding of the world from a Yolngu perspective. It was more like a formal Yolngu education through attending ceremonies, *manikay*. Attending these ceremonies and listening to the language of *manikay*, to songlines, helped me to grow in my own thinking about the complexities of the content and the context of the Yolngu world view. I found that this can happen through demonstrating yourself in public, in front of a critical audience. I see it all the time with my brothers and my family. These events are part of continuing learning stages that Yolngu go through. Yolngu have to demonstrate that we have continued to hold on to our values, otherwise we lose ourselves in this ever-changing world and are accused of being a Balanda.

I will now talk about some of the histories that have occurred round Yirrkala. Some of the stories I have heard came from my *māri*, Wandjuk Marika. He told me the Macassan traders called our land Australia Buthamarrigi. We call them Manggatharra or Batharripa. They had established *gundirr* or *marngarr* trepang processing ovens. We use these places, which are known as *marngarr*. The Macassans came each year during the wet season to collect *dharripa* or trepang or bêche-de-mer. People from many Yolngu clans around the East Arnhem coast collected trepang with the Macassans and established an extensive network of trade with them for a period of more than 300 years. Rice, songs, tobacco, calico, metal, knives were some of the items of trade.

Although there were some disputes it was generally a good working relationship, until it was terminated by the South Australian government in 1907. Some Yolngu went for trips to Macassar and back, and some Macassans stayed between seasons. Children from both cultures were born, raised and educated together. Yolngu learnt Macassan words, songs and cultural traditions. The Macassans joined with us in our ceremonial life and Yolngu shared their language. There are many Macassan loan-words in our language, such as *rrupiya*, money; *lipalipa*, canoe; and *berratha*, rice. Tamarind trees, rock designs, pottery remains and old trepang processing

sites provide testimony to the rich cultural exchange which occurred. Yolngu possess a wealth of songs and stories about these events, of which only a few have been written down.

An important ceremonial leader, Dula Ngurruwutthun, told me there were Macassans south of Yirrkala at Gän.gan and at Biranybirany and Gurka'wuy, another community. At Gän.gan, Gawarrin's homeland, white men killed almost an entire clan. Then they rode on horseback to Biranybirany, where they nearly wiped out my husband's clan, the Yarrwidj clan, the saltwater people of the Gumatj Nation or language group. Then they rode to Gurkawuy, further to the south, where they nearly wiped out the Marrakulu clan, the mother clan of the Yarrwidj clan, which included the family of the famous artist Old Man Waṇambi. We have many stories that have been passed on to us about expeditions like these in southern and north-east Arnhem Land, specifically to wipe out Yolngu and to gather their skulls, which we believe were then sent on to museums overseas. As a result of these atrocities, our Yolngu elders resolved to organise themselves to defend their estates and to protect their families in the face of unwanted intrusion into their land.

The Japanese came into our area to harvest trepang, bêche-de-mer, after the Macassans were stopped at Caledon Bay, Garrthalala. At Caledon Bay they insulted a Yolngu man of the area by throwing trepang guts into his face. The Yolngu retaliated. Five Japanese were killed and one escaped. While investigating these killings, Police Constable McColl held some Yolngu women, one of whom was married to Dhakiyarr, of the Dhudi-Djapu clan, which is my father's grandmother's clan. For this he was killed by Dhakiyarr. Fred Grey, a trepanger who had made friends with my mother's father, escorted Dhakiyarr in his boat into Darwin. Dhakiyarr was tried in court and sentenced to death. His conviction was later overturned in a subsequent trial, but following his release from gaol he was never seen again.

Donald Thomson, an anthropologist, was appointed by the Commonwealth government to investigate the circumstances surrounding the cause of these killings. During these investigations, in the mid-1930s, he learnt about Yolngu culture and subsequently wrote a series of reports and other documents which constituted the first serious studies of our culture after Lloyd Warner, who had been at Milingimbi in the 1920s. Thomson talked about the *rom*, the beliefs and the laws of the Yolngu, and about the social structure and other features of our society. He was a friend and adviser of the Djapu elder Wonggu, who was the grandfather of Gatjil Djerrkura, the current Chairperson of ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission).

Donald Thomson later established a reconnaissance unit which provided a defence of the northern coastline during World War II against the Japanese. He was stationed at Bayapula, near Caledon Bay, near the site of the earlier Japanese killings. He taught the Yolngu about machine-guns and defence tactics, and also how to write their names. Some of our elders were justifiably confused about all this change of heart about killing Japanese. Some concluded the Balanda were quite mad.

I will now talk about the mission. The Methodist missionaries came to Yirrkala in 1935, intending to create a buffer zone between Yolngu and Balanda, to stop the tribal warfare and to bring the good news of Christianity. The missionaries set up a school in 1939. They used a bark shelter made from traditional materials by Yolngu men. The shelter was located near where the women's resource centre is now located. Some early missionaries prevented our people from performing Yolngu ceremonies on Sundays and were responsible for the loss of some ceremonies. They also banned the use of our languages in the mission school. The church included a pre-school, which I attended. I remember the building. Its roof was thatched with palm leaves and the floor was made of antbed, which we had to collect in an old tractor from the peanut farm. I was just a little girl, a *yothu*. I learnt to read and write by going to church and Sunday schools; I read the hymnbooks in one of the Yolngu languages, Gumatj.

The Rev. Wells was the minister at that time. He is the author of the book *Reward and Punishment in Arnhem Land*. He was sent away by the Methodist Church for helping the Yolngu with the Bark Petition in 1963. Some missionaries were helpful to the Yolngu; some were not. They built the existing church in the 1960s in front of the present offices of the Dhanbul Association, which from the 1970s took on the responsibilities of local government. The church is still being used for Sunday services. The missionaries and some Yolngu built the old mission school, near where the museum is now located. In 1969 the school was transferred to the Commonwealth and was called the Welfare School. It became a government school when the Northern Territory obtained self-government in 1978.

In 1963 leases for mining bauxite on the Gove Peninsula were issued by the Commonwealth government on land which came right to the doorstep of the mission settlement. The Yolngu clan leaders *ngalapal* prepared a bark petition in protest, which they sent to Canberra. It was a picture of their traditional clan estates and told the story of our law, our language and our identity. They sent a second bark petition two weeks later. They are still on display in the new Parliament House.

The elders feared they would become like the Larakia people, whose land was taken from them to build the city of Darwin. They feared that they would become landless and lose their language and their culture. They would be *wāngamirriw*, without language, *dhārukmirriw*, a dominated and marginalised people.

Our elders made history by taking out a writ against Nabalco and the Commonwealth government in 1968, over the establishment of the bauxite mine at Gove, and in doing so challenged the domination and legitimacy of the Balanda legal system. In 1968 they got together to have a *galtha* ceremony for the Supreme Court case. There are *galtha* areas situated all over northeast Arnhem Land, where people have come together over many hundreds of years for hunting, trading, peacemaking, politics, marriage exchange and ceremonies.

Galtha in this sense is the place where people assemble, arriving from their different territories to sit for some time with related groups of people, but *galtha* is more than this. It is a place at which important negotiations are carried out, agreements made and plans formulated. More importantly, it refers to the whole process of meeting, discussion, negotiation, planning, agreement and action. *Galtha* marks the nexus between plan and action, between theory and practice.

Thus, the Supreme Court process started with a *galtha*, and a second petition to protest against the desecration of Nhulun, Mt Saunders, where Nabalco had constructed a water tank. The elders performed a *bunggul*, a ceremony to try to explain to the Balanda that the site was sacred. They also sent a petition to parliament to make sure the name Nhulunbuy was kept. Years later we developed a curriculum called *galtha*.

In his judgment in *Milirrpum v. Nabalco Pty Ltd*, in 1971, Mr Justice Blackburn found evidence that Aborigines belong to the land but the land does not belong to the Aborigines. This finding was the beginning of the land rights struggle in Arnhem Land and led eventually to the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*. When our elders returned to Yirrkala from the court hearings in Darwin and Canberra, they realised that the younger generations needed to be competent to a very high level within their own language to be able to translate the principles of Yolngu world views and Yolngu law to the Australian institutions founded on the foreign, British system of law. They realised that the younger generations would be required to mount complicated and difficult arguments concerning the rights of Yolngu people on the land, sea and resources of their traditional estate. They would need to be able to explain clearly the principles of all aspects of Yolngu society in order to

change Balanda views about the legitimacy of the Yolngu way of life.

The administration of Aboriginal affairs in the Northern Territory was a Commonwealth matter from 1911 to 1978. During that time various Commonwealth administrative agencies were responsible for Commonwealth policies dealing with the Aboriginal population in the Northern Territory. Our elders were subject to the assimilation policies of that time. They lived under colonial regimes which were first referred to as Native Affairs and then later as Welfare, and were administered by the mission. I too lived under that policy until I was 14 years old. My elders resisted these policies through the Bark Petition that they presented to the Federal Parliament in 1963 to express their opposition to the mining which led to the litigation by the clan elders to prevent the mine in the *Milirrpum* case.

In the early 1960s a report was commissioned by the ministers of the states and territories to investigate the curriculum and teaching methods used in the Northern Territory. In her thesis, *Dhanguṃ Djourra'wuy Dhāwu*, Marian Gale explains:

The report incorporated an official acknowledgment of the diversity of Aboriginal languages represented in the NT schools. As well as the large cultural differences that existed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal pupils, it isolated a number of factors contributing to the lack of academic achievement by Aboriginal children in the current school system and made many comprehensive recommendations for its subsequent improvement. Obviously influenced by the 1953 UNESCO statement, the report acknowledged the advantages to be gained through the use of the vernacular in Aboriginal schools, but it fell short of recommending the implementation of vernacular programs. It wasn't until December 1972 that the newly elected Labor government, under Gough Whitlam, introduced a program involving teaching in Aboriginal languages.

Bilingual education started in 1974, when the Northern Territory was still a territory administered from Canberra. It was in 1978 that the Commonwealth granted self-government to the Northern Territory. After that, a Northern Territory education department was established. During Gough Whitlam's time as Prime Minister, from 1974 to 1975, the Commonwealth Department of Education established and supported the bilingual education needs of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory. In a report prepared by the Minister for Education, Kim Beazley Snr, a working definition was prepared and adopted by the Northern Territory Government. It read:

Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as the medium of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organised program

which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures.

The Commonwealth continued its control over Aboriginal education until 1978–79 when self-government was achieved.

Mandawuy, in a speech he gave last year at the Language Learning and Culture: Unsettling Certainties conference, outlined some of the major processes we had to go through to gain control of curriculum development in the mid to late 1980s. The control of curriculum, teaching, learning and literacy is all about power. We wanted the school to be a place which put together Balanda and Yolngu learning to strengthen our culture. To do this at Yirrkala school we had to invent a governance structure that would allow us to explore alternative visions of what it means to be educated and literate. We needed to create the space for us to express ourselves. We had to overcome the structural organisational barriers which had been up until then a feature of western education. This became a collaborative project between community and clans.

We have developed a vision and a five-year plan called an Aboriginalisation plan, which was accepted by the Northern Territory government in 1986. We worked with the elders, writing down their ideas, then we negotiated the elders' ideas into a form that the western education system could understand. To negotiate what we wanted, we had to be able to put our ideas in their way. The basis of the plan is the Nambarra School Council which is the school's governing body and an action group. The action group is made up of all the Yolngu *matha* speaking members of staff. Managing the day-to-day running of the school, this group, of which the principal is a member, makes decisions in consultation with and on behalf of the school council. In this way the community becomes more directly involved in the running of the school. This same model still operates today.

A system of mentor training was introduced, with Aboriginal teachers working side by side with Balanda, with equal pay. The relationship is one of partnership. This mentor system continues today as well. The curriculum became more Aboriginal. Our language became a valued part of teaching and learning. Classroom practice and management became more Aboriginal and an Aboriginal-oriented curriculum was introduced. For example, students spent a lot of time out of the classroom on visits to important cultural sites.

Out of this work came what we called our Yolngu curriculum. I want to share with you some of the important esoteric Yolngu words which

have informed our curriculum development at Yirrkala.

What is *garma*? In the 1980s the Yirrkala school introduced a program of Aboriginalisation. Yolngu community elders were asked to come to the school to help develop a 'both ways' curriculum for Nambarra School in maths. The community elders came to meetings to tell the Yolngu teachers what their school curriculum should be like. These elders gave us several words to guide the developmental maths curriculum. These words or metaphors reflect the knowledge of the Yolngu elders about how maths in the Yolngu world and maths in the Balanda world can be taught side by side, so that one does not devalue the other. Several Yolngu metaphors were used to understand Yolngu mathematical ideas. Some of these words are *ganma*, *milngurr*, *garma* and *galtha*.

Some of the ideas for our practice come from theory related to the Ganma Lagoon. *Ganma* is firstly a place; it is an area within the mangroves where the salt water coming in from the sea meets the stream of fresh water coming down from the land. *Ganma* is a still lagoon. The water circulates silently underneath, and there are lines of foam circulating across the surface. The swelling and retreating of the tides and the wet season floods can be seen in the two bodies of the water. Water is often taken to represent knowledge in Yolngu philosophy. What we see happening in the school is a process of knowledge production where we have two different cultures, Balanda and Yolngu, working together. Both cultures need to be presented in a way where each one is preserved and respected. This theory is Yirritja.

I will now talk about *milngurr*, which is Dhuwa, the opposite theory. *Milngurr* is a name of sacred spring water. It is created by the *mawalan*, the walking sticks of the Djangkawu ancestral being—my ancestor. This is a metaphor that my father used to help me to understand about teaching and learning. *Milngurr* represents the ebb and flow of water. We use this to represent the way we learn. When the tide is high, we are full of new knowledge, new ideas, new thinking. When it ebbs, we are looking for new things. We hope to produce a dynamic like this at Yirrkala, a continuous striving for a balanced environment.

Garma is also a place. It is an open ceremonial area that everyone can participate in and enjoy. If a ceremony is negotiated and produced in full view of everybody, it will be performed in the *garma* ceremonial area. Yolngu can sit and watch a *garma* ceremony and read from it the network of connections between people, places, songs and totems that make up these particular ceremonies at a certain time. *Garma* also means an open forum where people can share ideas and everyone can work hard

to reach agreement. The old people told us the school should be like a *garma* setting.

Galtha is also a place. We talked about it earlier: the *galtha* ceremony which started the Supreme Court case. In a school context, a *galtha* curriculum relates to how children are related to the land and to their *djalkiri*, to their foundations.

We used these ideas as a driving force to help inform our direction and future. In the late 1980s we began a process of incorporating *garma* into the school program, side by side with the Northern Territory maths curriculum and documents. While the notion of *garma* began to be implemented in the 1980s, we are now ready to create a working document which enables all staff, regardless of their experience and cultural backgrounds, to work with the school-based 'both ways' maths curriculum document which is informed by *garma*.

There are four strands to the *garma* maths curriculum. There is *gurrutu*, which is Yolngu, and number, which is English; and *djalkiri*, which is Yolngu, and location, which is English. But they relate to one another. Number relates to *gurrutu* and *djalkiri* relates to location. In *gurrutu* we have pattern, in the same way as numbers have patterns and names. In *gurrutu* we have individual relationships, as in numbers there are numeration, measurement and money, time, length. And in *djalkiri* the kids learn about area—the area where they come from and their homelands—as in location there is space, mapping. In the same way there is mapping in *djalkiri* too: mapping in the Yolngu way, tracking, *dhin'thun*.

Part of our *garma* curriculum are workshops driven by *galtha*. These workshops can run over one week or a few days. In them students look at Yolngu world views, including land tenure systems, kinships, *gurrutu* systems, social structures—like in *djalkiri*, such as clans, land ownerships, place names, mappings of the country. Yolngu art, traditions, *djalkiri*, *dhulang* and *mint'tji* are taught by elders. Dhäruk languages and clan languages are taught. Songs, dances and *manikay*, traditional dance, are also taught in the *galtha* curriculum workshops.

[Editor's note: at this point in the lecture, there were several brief audiovisual presentations, illustrating students' work and the descriptions of Yolngu and Balanda understandings in this work, which have not been transcribed.]

Working parties have been established at the school which are developing outcomes for the different maths strands, linking the *garma* strands of *gurrutu*, number, *djalkiri*, quantifying, location, with departmental curriculum strands of working mathematically: number, space, measurement and algebra. In so doing we have established a new *galtha* area for maths. The process of developing our *garma*

maths policy has begun and will continue producing knowledge in the Yirrkala language curriculum.

Another exciting example of bringing the two knowledge systems together is the development and recent revision of the Yirrkala school-based language curriculum. What is important with the school-based working documents is that staff are using the curriculum side by side with other departmental curriculum documents to inform their collaborative planning, teaching and learning practice, assessment, profiling and benchmarking: whose knowledge, whose language, whose priorities?

The Northern Territory Department of Education assesses all territory schools in English only. Every year children from all Northern Territory schools take part in the multi-level assessment program at Level 5 in primary school. This includes all bilingual schools, which actually are set up to teach literacy in Aboriginal languages in the first years of school, with an emphasis on oral English development. I believe that bilingual schools should have curriculum support, including funding, to develop their own way of assessing children which is appropriate to those schools. Bilingual schools undergo bilingual appraisals every three years and there should be funding allocated to support bilingual schools, particularly in the area of curriculum development, assessment procedures and evaluation of programs. Research is needed in the area of Indigenous languages, as we are still in relatively uncharted waters as far as Indigenous curriculum development goes.

Profiling is a relatively new assessment tool in the Northern Territory. The development of English profiles and other curriculum areas has been an extensive process. We were disappointed to realise that the process was very much geared to mainstream curriculum areas. Language profiling entails teachers preparing a profile on each child and assessing each child's reading, writing, speaking and listening skills. Unfortunately, these profiles have been developed for children who speak English as a first language. For English we can use the English-as-a-second-language profile, but the bicultural nature of our school program is not acknowledged. The national benchmarking process also wants to know the answer to the question: do Yirrkala children achieve the same learning outcomes at the same time as any other child in Australia? There is no consideration given to the fact that our children are learning in and through two languages, and learning about two knowledge systems or traditions.

The premise from the Northern Territory's view of profiling and the national benchmark is that only the Balanda knowledge system, transmitted in English, is important. They are making a value judgment which is assimilationist and unfair to our children, because

our children are learning in and through two languages and knowledge systems. At a school level we do assess the level of competency among the children for the Yolngu *garma* curriculum. As the teacher-linguist I collaborated with the teachers to plan the overview of learning outcomes for each term. At the end of each term we use the learning outcomes as a checklist against the performance of each child. A report card and a checklist on the learning outcome is sent to the family of each child. We used the language curriculum documents to plan the outcome for the topics that the children are taught at each level. This assessment is starting to work well, but we are new on this path. We need assistance to develop our assessment procedures, to write our own Yolngu maths profiles as well as using the ESL profiles to map our children's progress in their second language.

In conclusion I would like to ask this question. Is the government fair dinkum about bilingual education? We believe that our children have a right to know and understand their own cultural beliefs within the model bilingual program. Learning literacy in the children's first language takes precedence in the first primary schooling years from Transition to Level 3. The focus of the English

learning during this period is very much an oral one, helping the children to become a confident speaker of English before they have to grapple with English literacy and concepts. Once children have mastered literacy skills in their first language they can then transfer them to English literacy.

The task ahead is to convince the Department of Education and the Commonwealth government that Yolngu assessment and evaluation methods can and should be developed. These methods will have to involve our elders and our languages and our knowledge systems. Bilingual schools in the Northern Territory are not adequately resourced, when you consider the enormous task ahead of us. We are not opposed to profiling or to the national benchmarking process. It is just that the current evaluation systems do not take into account Yolngu curriculum which is taught in our schools and other Indigenous systems. The current system does not take into account our Yolngu *garma* curriculum or Yolngu 'both ways' pedagogy and curriculum.

Our job as educators is to convince the people who control mainstream education that we wish to be included. Until this happens, reconciliation is an empty word and an intellectual *terra nullius*. Thank you very much.

Raymattja Marika, Wentworth Lecture 1998

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