CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
The future of Indigenous Australians, especially Indigenous youth, in remote regions is a subject of great concern to all Australians. The view commonly presented in media reports and public commentary is unrelentingly bleak. While we recognise the challenges young people face, in this book we intend to dispute that view. The prevalent media images, newspaper headlines and opinion pages are so focused on examples of dysfunction that few Australians would ever imagine that many Indigenous young people are quietly leading productive and meaningful lives and moving confidently toward a future while walking in two worlds. Throughout this book you will meet some of these Indigenous young and dedicated individuals who reinvigorate faith in the potential that lies unacknowledged in the remote context. Our aim is to showcase a range of ‘out-of-school’ youth learning contexts in remote Australia, to analyse the factors that enable positive learning and to provide some working principles for facilitating and supporting effective youth learning in the remote Indigenous context.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

In 2007 we—Inge Kral and Jerry Schwab—embarked on an ethnographic research project in partnership with The Fred Hollows Foundation and The Northern Territory Library. Then, as now, low school attendance, poor English literacy scores and the educational and social disengagement of young people in remote Indigenous communities was portrayed as a ‘crisis’. While we acknowledge that mainstream education is an effective learning pathway for some, our combined experience in working with Indigenous communities in remote Australia suggested that there were many Indigenous young people in those communities for whom mainstream education appeared not to hold the answers to their visions of the future. Consequently, we were keen to explore other pathways to learning and other options for re-engaging the young people who find themselves outside the fence of institutional learning. Specifically, we decided we would not explore the merit or otherwise of education ‘in school’. Rather, our research focuses on two domains: ongoing learning in the out-of-school hours, and ongoing learning across the lifespan. Accordingly, our interest is in two groups: early school-leavers (aged sixteen and above) and young adults in the post-school age group. Our project, the Lifespan Learning and Literacy for Young Adults in Remote Indigenous Communities project, asks three key questions:

- how can early school leavers and disaffected young adults in remote communities be re-engaged with learning;
- how can literacy be acquired, maintained and transmitted outside school settings; and
- how can learning and literacy be fostered across the lifespan?
The Lifespan Learning and Literacy for Young Adults in Remote Indigenous Communities (2007–2010), later known as the ‘Youth Learning Project’, was jointly funded by the Australian Research Council (ARC), The Australian National University (ANU) and The Fred Hollows Foundation (FHF). This participatory research project explored, documented and showcased the many ways in which Indigenous youth—aged between 16 and 25—are extending their learning, expanding their oral and written language skills, and embracing digital culture in community-based domains outside of institutional learning environments. Jerry Schwab was the project’s Chief Investigator and Inge Kral was an ARC Postdoctoral Fellow. Professor Emerita Shirley Brice Heath from Stanford University in the United States was an important collaborator and advisor to the project. Though focused broadly across a range of communities and organisations, an important feature of the project was the close collaboration that evolved between the researchers and around fifteen young people and organisation facilitators from key research sites in the Northern Territory and Western Australia:

**NGAANYATJARRA MEDIA**, at Wingellina in Western Australia

**LIBRARIES AND KNOWLEDGE CENTRES** at Lajamanu and Ti Tree in the Northern Territory

**DJILPIN ARTS ABORIGINAL CORPORATION** at Beswick (Wugularr) in the Northern Territory

**YOUTH PROGRAMS** at Yuendumu, Nyirripi, Willowra and Lajamanu in the Northern Territory

**NGAPARTJI NGAPARTJI** intergenerational language and arts project in Alice Springs in the Northern Territory

**THE ALICE SPRINGS PUBLIC LIBRARY** in the Northern Territory
As the project got underway it quickly became clear that a key feature of literacy and learning among Indigenous youth in remote Australia today is their adoption of and intense engagement with digital media. This new reality reframed our original research questions and has given our project—and this book—its particular focus.

In our research we noticed that although many young people may be walking away from compulsory schooling and training, they are not rejecting learning. Instead, and importantly, our observations and interactions with young people indicate that when alternative learning opportunities are provided, youth are participating and successful outcomes are being attained. Our research shows that through engagement in locally-based, personally meaningful projects, youth are forming the understandings, skills and competencies they require to enter young adulthood as bilingual, bicultural beings—drawing on the language and culture transmitted by their elders, but also transforming it. They are also developing the linguistic and conceptual tools—and the work-oriented habits and attitudes—required to move towards responsible adult roles. Significantly, many are doing this in learning environments that are outside school or post-school training and so remain invisible to many policy-makers and government officials. These learning environments, or learning spaces as we call them and elaborate in detail later, effectively stimulate productive learning and the acquisition and development of language and multimodal literacies, organisational learning, enterprise generation and employment. Here young people (even those with minimal education) are developing the agency and creative capacity to determine new pathways that differ from previous generations.

In this book we seek to portray the creativity and agentive participation of remote Indigenous youth. In particular we explore their involvement with their communities and the outside world, and with organisations and sites that catalyse learning and engagement. We show them to be deeply committed to learning; able to speak, and often literate in, one or more languages; fluent in new forms of cultural practice and production; and active participants in the changing modes of communication in the digital age.

The aim of our project was not to find a replicable or prescriptive model or method but to look at the factors that create the learning spaces that support productive activities. Drawing on what we have observed from the various individuals, communities and organisations, our research seeks to promote approaches that successfully re-engage young adults with ongoing learning and literacy development outside school and formal training. Although the contexts that we present differ, some principles are transferable. It is those principles, detailed in a later chapter, which we believe can support sustainable language and literacy development, learning and cultural production.
THE RESEARCH JOURNEY

We approached this research project with a large degree of scepticism about current approaches to literacy and schooling in the remote Indigenous context. Having seen many new education policy initiatives and curriculum innovations come and go with little apparent long-term change, we were interested in exploring non-institutional approaches to youth, learning and literacy that have been detailed in the international literature, yet remain largely unexplored in remote Australia. As we will show later, that literature resonated strongly with our individual experiences in many remote Indigenous communities. Significantly, much of the emerging international literature attempts to move beyond conventional theories of learning focused on schooling. This literature emphasises a socio-cultural theory of learning and a view of literacy as social practice. Moreover, it indicates that assumptions about how and where learning should take place are being challenged by new youth media practices.

Importantly, we approached the research as anthropologists rather than educationalists. As researchers we brought different perspectives to the project. Jerry is an anthropologist specialising in education with many years of research experience working with Indigenous people in Australia and overseas. Inge is a linguistic anthropologist who has spent more than two decades working in the field of Indigenous language and literacy in remote Australia as an educator and researcher. As a discipline, anthropology—and its key methodology of ethnography—offers a unique and powerful lens for exploring issues of learning, youth, media and literacy.

Why anthropology?
Our ethnographic approach is underpinned by theory from anthropology. Anthropology as an academic discipline encompasses many fields. Notably, literacy has been a key object of study in anthropology. Over recent decades studies in education anthropology, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics have shifted the emphasis away from a traditional, cognitivist view of literacy as a set of technical skills that are possessed or lacked, towards studies of the social and cultural behaviour associated with literacy. A fundamental tenet of anthropology is that cultural forms are transmitted from one generation to the next through socialisation, as well as direct and indirect teaching and learning. In this study, we wanted to examine how learners acquire (or are socialised into) the dispositions, knowledge, skills and practices (including language and literacy) required to function as competent members of social groups and cultural communities, in out-of-school settings.
**Why ethnography?**

Linguists and anthropologists have opened up new understandings of the interrelationship between culture and literacy with the application of ethnographic methods to the study of communication. Ethnographic studies of literacy stand at the interface between anthropology and sociolinguistics and look at the social practices, social meanings, and the cultural conceptions of reading and writing. As researchers we have been strongly influenced by anthropologists Brian Street and Shirley Brice Heath and their ethnographic approaches to language and literacy research (Heath 1983; Heath and Street 2008; Street 1995). Street and Heath suggest that an ethnographic approach requires researchers to take young people and their cultural practices seriously by looking at what is happening, rather than what is not happening. Consequently, the ethnographic approach undertaken in our project emphasised detailed descriptions and portrayals of what is happening on the ground in specific communities. That ethnography provided the raw material from which we drew insights into various developmental pathways for youth. Importantly, one of the outcomes of the ethnographic approach was a resultant shift in the focus away from a deficit perspective, to highlighting the positive manner in which Indigenous youth are interpreting and responding to contemporary circumstances with creative agency.

Typically, ethnographic methods include:

- participant observation (observing while being involved as a participant in the everyday activities of the people involved in the study);
- writing field notes about what happens;
- making audio-visual recordings of events and activities;
- gathering contextually relevant artefacts; and
- conducting formal and informal interviews with people involved with the study.

In this project we used a participatory or collaborative ethnographic research methodology to investigate the ways in which Indigenous youth are extending their learning and expanding their language and multimodal literacy practices through engaging with digital technologies and multimedia production.

Ethnographic ‘data’ was gathered in projects and sites from participant observation, ethnographic notes and in-depth interviews to build locally informed accounts of the social processes shaping youth learning, language and literacy practices.

Additional data informed our understanding about what was happening on the ground:

- Limited collection of base-line data on post-school age adults including: education, training and employment background; and measures of language, literacy and numeracy competence.
- The collection and documentation of perceptions of opportunities and options for the development of community learning and literacy in non-school contexts.
- The observation and analysis of youth cultural productions (films, songs, theatre) and audio-visual recordings of language use and practice in learning, production and performance.

Finally, a review of existing literature filtered connections and observations through various theoretical frameworks.
Why youth?
While enormous research effort has gone into the study of Indigenous children in school, in part because research in institutional settings is easier, research in ‘out-of-school’ settings or among youth who have left school is relatively rare. The latter is true, we believe, because media and government policies typically view many young people in remote Indigenous communities as a ‘lost generation’, illiterate, unemployed and drifting. Yet our experience suggested this was not necessarily the case and so we set out to explore more deeply the reality of life and learning among these young people.

Though ethnographic accounts of contemporary youth practice are few and seldom privilege the youth voice (Hirschfeld 2002), anthropology is ‘well-situated’ to offer an account of how youth in different socio-cultural contexts ‘produce and negotiate cultural forms’ (Bucholtz 2002: 526). In Australia few anthropologists work directly with adolescents or young adults in remote Indigenous contexts and few accounts reflect the actual practices and perspectives of young people. In fact, Indigenous youth have been relatively invisible or marginal to anthropological research altogether. While a handful of ethnographies or anthropological studies refer to children and adolescents, primarily within classical life cycle descriptions (for example, Malinowski 1963; Goodale 1971; Tonkinson 1978), few have specifically focused on children or youth. Annette Hamilton’s important study of child rearing in Arnhem Land (Hamilton 1981) and Victoria Burbank’s account of female adolescence in an Aboriginal community (Burbank 1988) are two exceptions. More recently, ethnographic accounts have focused on the negative consequences of rapid socio-cultural change (Brady 1992; Robinson 1990), while others have addressed complex issues associated with changing youth socialisation (Fietz 2008), learning (Fogarty 2010), and intergenerational change (Eickelkamp 2011). Nevertheless, there are immense gaps in our knowledge of contemporary adolescence and little attention has been paid to critical questions associated with contemporary adolescence and learning, language socialisation, and cultural production and transmission. Yet internationally, as we discuss further later, a growing body of ethnographic research is addressing adolescent language socialisation, learning and new media in community-based settings.

Why digital media?
As mentioned earlier, what began as an ethnographic research project oriented around youth learning and the acquisition and use of alphabetic literacy practices in everyday settings dramatically altered over the course of the project in response to the real world context that we were encountering. What we discovered was that we were observing and documenting a broad spectrum of changing youth practice in the remote Indigenous world, much of which was starting to pivot around digital media. As time went on it became apparent that our research was uncovering local examples of the profound changes in communication practices worldwide brought about by the onset of the digital revolution and the associated impact on social, cultural and technological practices and
processes. Indeed, over the past decade youth and digital media have become the subject of substantial ethnographic inquiry (Buckingham 2008b; Hull 2003; Ito et al. 2010) generating a wave of interest in changing communication modes and learning processes.1

**Why learning?**

Readers may wonder why we focus on ‘learning’ rather than ‘education’ or ‘schooling’? Over the years we have witnessed the sincere efforts of many hard-working and inspired professional educators and we in no way wish to diminish their accomplishments. What is apparent however is that no matter how committed teachers are to educating Indigenous youth, the issues are increasingly complex and require solutions beyond the traditional calls for the provision of better resourced schools and better trained teachers. The situation has not been assisted by the dismantling of good bilingual programs, the marginalisation of local Indigenous teachers and the growing emphasis on nationally standardised English language National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) benchmark testing. All of these have contributed to undermining the potential of the process of formal schooling in remote Indigenous Australia. The NAPLAN tests deployed in remote schools almost invariably show that Indigenous students lag well behind other students in terms of their literacy, numeracy, writing and other skills as measured by such tests. We would argue that standardised tests are blunt instruments for assessing the capacities of students; they are problematic in that they actually tell us little about students’ capacities for learning or how to most effectively support learning either inside or outside the classroom (Schwab 2012). Nonetheless, NAPLAN test results are used uncritically by the media and politicians as a shorthand method of gauging and comparing educational outcomes. In Indigenous communities and schools, media attention has been harsh and the refrain of ‘failure’ has been relentless. It is perhaps not surprising that early school leavers (most of whom have disengaged from formal learning) comprise the majority of young people in remote Indigenous communities.

While we certainly need to reconsider the ‘schooling’ of Indigenous youth, we also need to pay much more attention to the process of ongoing and adaptive learning across the lifespan that goes on outside school. Similarly, we need to highlight the important role played by youth-oriented organisations in facilitating many aspects of youth learning. It is these points that we elaborate in this book.
Our research on the ways Indigenous young people engage and re-engage with learning begins with a purposeful step away from traditional educational notions of knowledge acquisition as a formal instructional process deliverable in bite-size chunks to waiting students. In this traditional model, knowledge is ‘taught’. It is decontextualised and abstracted from everyday life: content is separate from context. By contrast, our research has been deeply informed by the notion of ‘situated learning’ and its emphasis on context, ‘social practice’, and engagement in learning at all stages of life through both formal and informal means.

We posit that learning is a fundamental feature of human life. It can take place through three different mechanisms (Gee 2004: 11-13). First, learning may involve a natural, seemingly unconscious process—for example in acquiring a first language or learning to walk. In contrast, learning may take place through overt instruction; learning physics or calculus, for example, requires explicit instruction. In this second form of learning it quickly becomes clear that not everyone has the same capacity to learn and understand the principles and application of specific bodies of knowledge. A third learning process can be described as cultural, where learners observe masters at work over an extended period of time. In this process masters model techniques or behaviours and the learners imitate (and often fail). Ultimately the learners ‘learn by doing’ and gain competence and earn a new identity, as a mechanic or a chef, for example.

In our research we found that learning that was most effectively stimulated and fostered in particular contexts or sites was of the third type. These sites we characterise as ‘productive’: as sites where learning involves the production of new knowledge, skills, confidence and often the reconfiguration of identity. These sites we have called learning spaces. Our description and analysis of productive learning in these sites is the focus of this book.

HOW THE PROJECT EVOLVED

As we have established, in this project we have used an ethnographic approach to language and literacy research. Ethnographic accounts of remote Indigenous youth tend to be acquired only when researchers can develop long-term associations and immerse themselves in a collaborative endeavour where trust and relationships are slowly developed.

As the primary researcher on the ground, Inge visited each of the main research sites for differing amounts of time throughout 2007 and 2008. She met many young people and community and program facilitators and used standard participant observation methodology and open-ended interview techniques, as well as gathering baseline literacy data. It was at this point that it became clear that digital media had become integral to young people’s everyday social and cultural practice and was an important dynamic in the ethnographic research process. In March 2009 fifteen young people and facilitators from six of the sites were brought together for a week-long workshop at Thakeperte, an
outstation near Alice Springs. At this workshop a compilation DVD of the young people’s work and digital stories was made. Out of this workshop emerged a core group of youth research collaborators (who you see named on pages 12–13 and whose quotes appear throughout this volume). By meeting each other and sharing and producing media work together they started to identify with each other as a group and a reciprocal learning and research relationship developed. In 2008 and 2010 we presented our preliminary research findings at the American Anthropological Association Annual meeting and met with colleagues Shirley Brice Heath and Glynda Hull. Inge also visited similar community based youth organisations in the United States. These interactions confirmed that we were on the right track.

Inge made a further fieldwork visit to each of the sites in mid 2009 and collected an additional set of audio-visual recordings. This visit consolidated the growing relationship of trust and mutual respect. It also led to two of the key youth participants, Shane White and Maxwell Tasman from Lajamanu Community, travelling to Darwin with Inge to present their work and the outcomes of the research project at the Symposium on Indigenous Dance and Music at Charles Darwin University (CDU) in August 2009. A month later, in September 2009, ten young people and their project facilitators came together for a three day workshop at the ANU’s North Australia Research Unit campus in Darwin. During this workshop we filmed and edited four short films and prepared oral presentations for our one day public Youth Learning Symposium at the Darwin Convention Centre with an invited group of over a hundred academics, researchers, policymakers and those who work directly with youth organisations.4

As ethnographers in this project our job has been to notice what others often don’t notice about young people. In other words, by taking young people and their activities seriously the focus can be shifted away from a deficit perspective on youth learning and cultural practice, to highlighting the positive manner in which Indigenous youth are interpreting and responding to contemporary circumstances with creative agency. Though not our goal, in many ways our research findings are unarguably an affirmation of Indigenous youth potential. In working alongside young people in a collaborative manner, we gained insights into the capacity of youth, the meanings they attach to definitions of success, and their enacted intentions to shape their social surroundings and future options.

Importantly, the young people in this research project have had agency in the research process and in their own self-representation. Furthermore, through involvement in the project they have become aware that their various projects, productions and ideas have value not only in their own community, but also to a national, and international, audience.

Young people learn videos. We have come together to share story and skill and we learn from each other. I think this thing really good. We are learning more computer. We have come to talk with Inge about learning. Together we are getting stronger and stronger. We are working for jobs in media.

AZARIA ROBERTSON
DIGITAL STORY SCRIPT
Thakeperde, 2009
While many of the young people we observed and who taught us about themselves and their lives seem remarkable, they are not necessarily atypical. Many have found school alienating, training programs frustrating and unfulfilling and they have struggled to find their own way to contribute and grow toward adult responsibilities in their home communities. Many were early school leavers and would be assessed as having low English literacy skills yet they have blossomed when they have found local, creative activities that have value to them and their communities. They are ‘below the radar’, quietly doing meaningful work (though not always recognised as such). Interestingly many did not think of themselves as particularly special or different from other Indigenous young people in terms of capacity, but they saw themselves as responsible and committed to purposeful, productive activity.

Though we never envisaged it as such, the ethnographic process itself has been transformative, acting as a catalyst and enabling young people to begin a dialogue with researchers and others from outside their world, to stand outside their everyday context. They have begun to participate in public domains and debates, as evidenced in the growing presence of youth media workers at national conferences and symposia. In our view this highlights the need for other researchers to work directly with adolescents or young adults in remote contexts, and to provide accounts that reflect the actual practices and perspectives of Indigenous youth (Kral 2011b). Such an approach mirrors the international trend towards the development of collaborative approaches to youth research (Cammarota 2008; Heath and Street 2008; Jessor et al. 1996; McCarty and Wyman 2009) and research in minority Indigenous contexts (Fluehr-Lobban 2008).
KEY YOUTH PARTICIPANTS AND COLLABORATORS

AMOS URBAN

AUGUSTINA KENNEDY

AZARIA ROBERTSON

BELINDA O’TOOLE

ELTON WirRI

CHRIS REID

JOANNE ANDREWS

FRANCIS FORREST

GAYLE CAMPBELL

JULIE MILLER
CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

KEY YOUTH PARTICIPANTS AND COLLABORATORS

LANA CAMPBELL  MAUREEN WATSON  MAXWELL TASMAN

NATHAN BROWN  NATALIE O’TOOLE  REVONNA URBAN

RICARDO WESTON  SADIE WILLIAMS  SHANE WHITE
I really enjoyed doing the Youth Learning research. I’ve learned a lot of good things and meeting other young people from different communities. It was important to do this research because we know that we can do all these things. If we learn a little bit then we can get started. It’s important to let the people know that we can do all these things, not just whitefellas, but other young people, by encouraging them.

To me doing this research has changed a lot how I think about things. Now that I have shown the white people that I can do this and that. So that in the future if the community needs help I would know what to do, how to help them. So come and work with us and we’ll show you what we can do. Working together as a team, like ngapartji-ngapartji and learning about each other for the future. We’ll show you what we can do and how we want to do it. It’s like a kick-start for all young people like us. It’s really important for the younger generation, for how they are gonna grow up and how they are gonna be: finding the balance anangu way and whitefella way.

NATALIE O’TOOLE
WINGELLINA COMMUNITY, 2010

With this research thing we learnt new ideas from different people from different communities and we can share our skills with each other and we can make it useful. By meeting all the different people from other places, by all the groups working together we started to understand different things. When we first started doing the research it all changed, like we went to different places and met other people, with their skills and ideas and like putting all those things altogether and using it. Like we’ll have it on a DVD or book so that people can look at it... So all the different things that we been learning, that’s for people to look at it and understand how we been learning.

So from this research thing, that’s where all the ideas and skills like come altogether in one, you know. So people can use these ideas, like young people, younger generation can look at these sort of things that we been doing and all the other different communities are doing, all the activities, and anything. Music, all those things. And now, to us, we see it as, like it all comes all in one, as one big idea, you know. Lots of ideas in one. Like that, for people to look at and to use in the future...

CHRIS REID
WINGELLINA COMMUNITY, 2010
AIM OF THE BOOK

We admit we are ambitious in our desire that this book should be useful to several audiences. We began the project with a plan to write a community handbook, with a range of practical suggestions and examples to promote literacy and learning. But as the project progressed and we paid more intent attention to what we were observing and learning, it was clear that there was something much more significant emerging than a set of ‘best practices’. What we saw was that the Indigenous young people we met and who shared with us their insights and experiences were quietly yet deeply involved in a range of meaningful and productive learning activities in their home communities. At the same time, many were clearly part of an international, and generational, change among youth facilitated by new media. To truly understand what we were seeing, we needed to engage much more deeply with the international conversation and theoretical literature that has up to now had little connection with the remote Indigenous Australian world. The result is a book that we hope will inspire and suggest ideas to communities, but which goes well beyond that original vision of a handbook. We believe this book will have value not only to Indigenous community members but also to youth workers, government officers, policy makers, students, educators and academic colleagues.

In spite of our ambitions, we are well aware that individual readers will find different sections more engaging than others depending on their interests, roles and experiences. For example, the case studies will assist readers who want to know ‘what’ or ‘how’ while the theoretical sections will assist readers who want to understand ‘why’. Though we have aimed for a layout that is readable, engaging and accessible, inviting readers to dip in and out of various sections, we believe that the individual chapters do provide a range of connected stories. These stories portray the often rich lives of many young people in many remote communities—their experiences of learning, literacy, new media and their pathways through life and work. We hope Learning Spaces will provide policy makers with a new perspective on Indigenous youth in remote communities, as well as insights and ideas about how future policy might be shaped. At the same time, we believe the descriptions of various learning spaces and the productive learning occurring within them will inspire youth workers and Indigenous community members to think creatively about how to support formal, and informal, learning in their communities.
STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

In this chapter we have provided an introduction to the project from which the book emerged. We have set out our research questions and approach, our methods and our disciplinary backgrounds. We have also sketched the key theories that underpin our view of what we observed and learned. In all this we have tried to set the stage for the book and attempted to lead the reader through the logic of our research, explaining how, where and why we have focused on youth, learning and new media. In Chapter 2 we develop the ideas of learning spaces and ‘productive learning’ and provide an overview of the sites and settings within which we worked. Chapter 3 is more theoretical than the other chapters and moves the discussion from the local to the global by connecting elements of learning spaces and productive learning described in Chapter 2 with international research through a focused series of questions related to literacy, learning, media, youth and identity. In Chapter 4 we draw on more examples from our research and build on insights from international theory and research to provide a series of design principles for learning spaces in remote Australia. Chapter 5 summarises the main findings of our research and suggests what we believe are the most important implications for communities, practitioners and policy makers.

Chapter 1 endnotes

1. Australian researchers have also addressed youth issues (Wyn et al. 2005) and media technologies in remote Indigenous settings (Dyson et al. 2007; Ormond-Parker et al. 2012; Rennie et al. 2010).

2. Visits were made to Artists for Humanity in Boston MA: http://www.afhboston.com/ and Riverzedge Arts Project in Woonsocket RI: http://riverzedgearts.org/


4. At the Youth Learning Symposium connections were made with Eve Tulbert, an anthropology graduate student from the University of California, Los Angeles and Nora Kenney from the Kidnet research project connecting adolescent youth aged 12-18 around the world via a private social network (Space2Cre8: http://www.space2cre8.com).

5. For example the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) 2010 Information Technology and Indigenous Communities (ITIC) Symposium, Canberra 2010 and the AIATSIS National Indigenous Studies Conference, Canberra 2011.