EMERGING MODELS OF LEADERSHIP IN REMOTE ABORIGINAL SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

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Models of Leadership in Remote Aboriginal Schools in the Northern Territory

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Education

11 September 1998
I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master of Education by research of the Northern Territory University, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

Helen Maree Nolen

1998
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Aboriginalisation or localisation of leadership in schools in remote areas of the Northern Territory is becoming more widespread in this last decade of the second millennium. Emerging models or ways in which Indigenous leadership is practised in some of these schools is the focus of this research project.

Developing understandings of the history of education in its western guise and ways in which teacher education has been practised, as well as other influences which have impacted on people within remote communities are essential in order to contextualise the changes which are occurring in school governance and decision-making.

Group interviews with senior Aboriginal teachers in five remote schools provide the core data for an analysis of preparation for leadership for executive teachers, decision-making structures, strengths, supports and difficulties in leadership, and areas for localised decision-making. Preparation for leadership for executive teachers in remote areas which occurs primarily through mentoring programs and accredited study courses in educational administration are detailed to provide a framework for initiatives which are being taken.

Leadership theories from the western perspective provide a partial understanding of what is occurring in the localisation of educational leadership and management of some remote Aboriginal schools. A number of significant developments have occurred including ways of incorporating shared leadership into the executive of the school, greater collaboration between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members, and an increase in collegiality. This interplay between traditional and western leadership styles has the potential for transforming education in remote communities.
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>ACER</td>
<td>Australian Council of Educational Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACG</td>
<td>Aboriginal Consultative Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEP</td>
<td>Aboriginal Education Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIM</td>
<td>Aboriginal Inland Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnTEP</td>
<td>Anangu Teacher Education Program (AnTEP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APSI</td>
<td>Action Plan for School Improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSPA</td>
<td>Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Assistant Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATEC</td>
<td>Aboriginal Teacher Education Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALL</td>
<td>Centre for Australian Languages and Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASU</td>
<td>Curriculum Advisory Support Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>Compact Disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEC</td>
<td>Community Education Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Catholic Education Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS</td>
<td>Commonwealth Teaching Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAA</td>
<td>Department of Aboriginal Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>D-BATE</td>
<td>Deakin-Batchelor Aboriginal Teacher Education Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCC</td>
<td>Darwin Community College</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELIC</td>
<td>Early Literacy In-service Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLC</td>
<td>Homeland Learning Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEC</td>
<td>Indigenous Education Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEA</td>
<td>Local Education Advisor</td>
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<tr>
<td>LPC</td>
<td>Literature Production Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>LSL</td>
<td>Long Service Leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOM</td>
<td>Methodist Overseas Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC</td>
<td>Missionary of the Sacred Heart (Religious order of men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACG</td>
<td>National Aboriginal Consultative Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTA</td>
<td>Northern Territory Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTDE</td>
<td>Northern Territory Department of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCTEP</td>
<td>Off Campus Teacher Education Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLSH</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (Religious order of women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RATE</td>
<td>Remote Area Teacher Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>RATEP</td>
<td>Remote Area Teacher Education Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAL</td>
<td>School of Australian Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>Standard Devolution Package</td>
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<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Teaching Assistants</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEE</td>
<td>Theological Education by Extension</td>
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</table>
Homeland Centre Hub School Communities

(DARWIN REGION)
- Naityi Nambiyu (2)
- Barunga (1)

KATHERINE REGION
- Numbulwar (5)
- Barunga (1)

EAST ARNHEM REGION
- Lamahay (2)
- Gove Camp (2)

BARKLY REGION
- Temsam Creek (1)
- Ampeljanawaja (2)
- Utopia (2)
- Alcoota (1)
  + Harris Range (2)

ALICE SPRINGS REGION
- Lilla (1)
- Naria (2)

(1) indicates the number of Homeland Centres serviced
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND CONTEXT
INTRODUCTION

The present focus on leadership within educational institutions reflects the general ground swell of interest surrounding leadership issues within business, industry and management sectors. With the appointment of Aboriginal teachers to the executive of some schools in the Northern Territory (NT), Indigenous leadership in remote Aboriginal schools is being viewed from a variety of perspectives. Despite the present reality of seven Aboriginal principals in schools in both Northern Territory Department of Education (NTDE) and Catholic Education Office (CEO) systems, to date there has been little analysis of these developments.

Often leadership is equated with management, yet each has quite distinct intents. For the purposes of this research, it is necessary at the outset to define these terms in order to focus and contextualise the study of leadership in remote Aboriginal schools in the NT.

To 'lead' means 'to go,' indicating travelling from one place to another, a journey. Leaders are those who go first along the way, they are the pioneers, the role models. The word manage means 'to handle, or control'. The differences between the two words, of leaders going in advance and showing the way, and management with its practicalities of handling things, suggest that management and leadership could be viewed as separate functions within schools.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Within the NT there have been significant developments relating to self-management and leadership in both urban and remote schools.

Leadership is being shown in a variety of ways in the NT. Currently seven Indigenous principals and senior teachers as well as neophyte teachers in seventeen schools are being mentored in a variety of ways in both classroom and executive positions.

2 'To give a lead' is to go in advance, to show the way over the fence, a term derived from the hunting field. See Ernest Weekley, An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English, 2 vols., Dover Publications, Inc. 1967, p. 832.
4 Personal communication, Program Coordinator AEP Initiative 9, Curriculum Advisory Support Unit, (CASU), Darwin, 1997.
After living and working in the Kimberley region of Western Australia for some years I became aware of the need to find alternative ways of leading the educational enterprise we call schooling, if there was to be ownership of education and empowerment for Aboriginal students and adults, especially in remote communities. Education in its western guise had been present in some communities for more than fifty years with seemingly little interest in dialogue and partnership between teachers, (who mostly were non-Aboriginal), parents and communities. A small number of Indigenous educators were in schools, but they were limited in the ways that they could exercise local leadership in school structures which were implanted and controlled from Western perspectives.

Literature pertaining to Indigenous leadership, especially Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leadership or management in schools was difficult to locate, indicating that to date there has been little research into leadership and leadership possibilities in remote schools. There has been scant documentation readily available on leadership issues in remote schools with no research on Indigenous leadership issues by Indigenous educators to be found. Indicators of emerging styles of leadership which were distinctively different from western models in remote schools were sought. Within this study, the term models refers to the ways in which the real world of the remote Aboriginal school is viewed and described from the leadership perspective.

The right of a non-Aboriginal person to research this topic may be questioned, yet this researcher believes it is a topic of significance for all educators and may offer pointers for other schools in Australia. There is no attempt to claim to speak on behalf of Aboriginal peoples, nor to construct realities and identities for them. In the future, the authoritative voices of Indigenous research into this topic will supersede this study.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

An investigation into leadership in remote Aboriginal schools required methodologies that would be helpful in interacting with Aboriginal peoples living in small scale societies. Embedded within ethnographic methodologies is the awareness

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'Schooling' is a common term in Aboriginal communities usually relating to Western constructs of education, and referring to the process of attending school, being taught in a school, the education received at school.
of the importance of culture. This study of leadership in five remote Aboriginal schools in the 'Top End' of the NT provides exploration into the culture of the school and leadership within the educational system as well as the interplay of school leadership with the local community.

Broad questions were designed to address a number of issues in the context of education and leadership in the remote school setting:

1. Have programs been developed to prepare teachers to move into executive positions in schools?
2. Can remote schools reflect leadership styles which are in accord with Aboriginal leadership patterns?
3. What leadership initiatives have been introduced to reflect localisation of schools?
4. How does educational leadership from the western perspective impact on leadership in remote Aboriginal community schools?
5. Can Indigenous leadership in remote schools offer possibilities for western educational leadership?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As far as can be ascertained, this initial study detailing Indigenous leadership in the context of remote Aboriginal schools, opens the door into what could be an important area for future study. Notions of leadership are developing in management, in business and industry as well as in education, and holistic connections are being made. Indigenous perspectives are being seen as increasingly important if our world is to be healed of many of its present maladies. It is possible that Indigenous educational leadership, with strong foundations in community, in collaborative styles of engaging in activity, with ways of sharing power and decision-making could be an important voice for future educational endeavours. The research has implications for a range of people.

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6 Louis Luzbetak in *The Church and Cultures*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1988, p. 74, provides a useful working definition of culture: 'Culture [i]s a dynamic system of socially acquired and socially shared ideas according to which an interacting group of human beings is to adapt itself to its physical, social and ideational environments.' A classic definition by Clifford Geertz in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, New York, 1973, p. 89, views culture as 'an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic means by which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.'
Aboriginal communities
Individuals in Aboriginal school communities have shown an interest in the study from its initial stages. It is hoped that the study will assist Aboriginal executive teachers and researchers as well as others who have an interest in the field.

Offices of Education
In this study one focus has related to ways in which Aboriginal executive teachers engage in professional and personal development through mentoring programs as preparation for leadership roles in schools. I hope personnel within Education Offices will be encouraged to consider the pivotal role mentors have in remote schools.

Teacher Education
Although teacher education is not the major thrust of this study, post graduate educational administration programs have broad implications for leadership preparation in schools and complement mentoring programs.

Theory Development
There has been little theorising about educational leadership in remote Aboriginal schools. There is a need to develop both literature and theory in this field.

Studies in educational leadership in remote Aboriginal schools could provide pointers for future developments in education and perhaps in other organisations as well. How people in executive positions are prepared for leadership in remote schools and some of the initiatives which have developed within those community schools could nourish the hunger to belong, which is so deep in the human psyche.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY
The research conducted over a two year period was divided into two interrelated parts: first, an investigation into the academic literature on leadership from both Indigenous and Western perspectives; and second, field research conducted in five remote schools with total or near-total Indigenous student populations.

This research focuses on leadership in remote Aboriginal schools in the NT, with reference to management and self-management being made when and where necessary.
Some of the programs and processes which have impacted on education and leadership within remote Aboriginal schools include: devolution processes leading to aspects of self-management; teacher education programs both on and off campus; school based groups including school councils which have been catalysts in working towards localisation of curriculum and school management; and the ways in which teachers and principals provide educational leadership in their communities.

If different styles or structures are emerging in the schools which have localised the position of principal and members of the executive, the indicators or pointers to their development could be helpful for people in remote schools in other areas of Australia.

THE ARGUMENT AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis outlines a number of models of leadership which are emerging in remote schools across the NT. It is argued that there is no one 'best' way of exercising educational leadership in remote communities because of the unique nature and set of historical circumstances existing within each community. I propose aspects of community education and some of the participatory ways of engaging in leadership which are to be found in some remote schools could provide significant pointers for 'mainstream' schools.

A history of education and leadership, is traced in Chapter Two, providing an overview of the historical context of education in the NT, with particular emphasis on Western education for Aboriginal students and Government policies which operated in missions and government settlements. As well as an examination of these developments, an outline of the evolution of teacher education programs is provided. Two significant initiatives for developing leadership and management possibilities for Aboriginal teachers in remote schools have been considered; the mentoring program of the NTDE and the Batchelor College courses in Educational Administration.

Chapter Three provides an appraisal of leadership theories from the Western perspective, with possible links and applications to Aboriginal community schools being noted where relevant. A literature search indicates that no previous studies in the specific area of Indigenous leadership in remote schools has been conducted. As a seminal study, it was necessary to use broad brushstrokes to cover the field of
leadership from the Western perspective and then make connections where possible with aspects of Indigenous educational leadership.

Two theories of leadership from the Western perspective which interplayed with themes emerging from the data generated in interviews were given special consideration; servant-leadership as developed by Thomas Greenleaf and notions of schools as communities expounded by Thomas Sergiovanni. Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, the work of Ferdinand Tönnies underpinned understandings of community and bureaucratic systems relevant to this study. Also of relevance, is the Theory of Prismatic Society, which was developed to discern the conflict arising between the interaction of Indigenous modes of organising society with the highly differentiated modes of Western bureaucratic societies during colonial times. Yet none of these theories provide sufficient theoretical frameworks for describing what is evolving in remote Aboriginal schools. These theories are discussed in Chapter Three.

The next chapter provides an outline of the research methodology. Group interviews with the principal informants, Aboriginal executive teachers in the five remote schools were supplemented with interviews from community members, mentors, those involved in church leadership, and others identified as key stakeholders.

Chapter Five presents findings from the study which are grouped according to a number of themes. Ways in which these themes connect with aspects of educational leadership theory from the Western perspective are discussed in the next chapter before arriving at a number of conclusions and recommendations.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study looked at a very small sample of five remote schools in the NT, from approximately ninety such schools. The statistics for 1996 give the total number of government schools in the NT as 144, with 27 non-Government schools, the majority

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of which are in remote locations. For the geographical spread of remote schools refer to the map of Schools in the Northern Territory 1996, located on page xv. Using ethnographic methodologies, five sites generates an enormous amount of data and provides enough variation for the study, but to generalise about leadership for all remote schools from the size of the sample may be difficult. As research in this field is new, any conclusions will be of a tentative nature.

Being a study of schools in remote locations, travel by air proved to be an easy but very expensive choice. Logistically as well as financially, five schools was the maximum number which could be accommodated in the study. All five schools as part of the research were located in the Top End, under four different superintendents in three of the educational regions of the NT.

A number of people identified as key informants were unable to be interviewed due to community and cultural commitments. This meant that the data collected from two sites was not as evenly distributed as that from other sites. A further limitation of this study is that the voice of Aboriginal educators as presented in the data is interpreted by a non-Aboriginal researcher. The speech, writings and interpretations of Aboriginal educators on educational leadership are just beginning to be disseminated, especially through mentoring programs and the Batchelor programs in Administration, so to date, there is little material available.

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CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY
EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

An historical overview of education is offered in order to contextualise school education within remote Aboriginal communities, as well as teacher education and leadership developments within those schools. This will include a sketch of the history of education in traditional Aboriginal societies from pre-contact times through to the development of schooling from a Western perspective within the NT. In addition, a brief overview of the Western contact history of this region is necessary in order to contextualise Western modes of education and their interface with traditional Aboriginal groups in the NT. As well as education and schooling, other influences have impacted on notions of leadership and leadership training for remote schools. Indigenous leadership from other spheres within communities, and movements from within the broader Australian and international educational scene have affected leadership preparation in remote Aboriginal schools. Two of the more notable of these are the Mentoring program within the NTDE and the Certificate and Diploma courses in Educational Administration delivered through Batchelor College.

TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL EDUCATION

For thousands of years Aboriginal peoples in this region of Australia have successfully educated their younger generations into the mores of their societies through both formal and informal processes, with an orientation towards moral and social training. The vagaries of the environment dictated that small family groupings were the most efficient foraging units. All life was governed by relationships: relationships with land and sea, relationships within families, relationships with neighbouring groups, and relationships with the ancestral beings who created all that is.

Within traditional Aboriginal communities young people learnt in a variety of ways, but perhaps principally verbally and through a range of contextualised informal ways including observation, imitation, doing, and so on; with some means of communication being gesture, sign language and facial signals. Developing these

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skills was essential to survival for hunter gatherers. As the young went through the various stages of initiation, they gradually began to acquire ritual knowledge, through song, dance, story, incorporating them into a fuller life within the group. Religious knowledge was bestowed by elders when they perceived that the initiates were ready.

WESTERN CONTACT HISTORY

From 1824 to 1849 British naval and military settlements were established in the north, at Port Essington, known as Victoria Settlement, Fort Dundas (Melville Island) and Raffles Bay, having little impact on the area before their abandonment. The Catholic missionary Angelo Confalconieri, arrived at Port Essington in 1846 and worked with local Aboriginal people near Port Smith about twenty miles from Victoria, quickly learning the local language, translating prayers and New Testament readings and compiling the first dictionary of an Aboriginal language in the Territory, until his untimely death in 1848. In 1863 the South Australian Government annexed land from New South Wales and proclaimed it the Northern Territory of South Australia. Lt Colonel Finniss selected the site of the first settlement he named Palmerston at Escape Cliffs near the mouth of the Adelaide River in 1864. This settlement was abandoned in 1866. In 1869 Goyder surveyed and selected another site for settlement to be named Palmerston at Port Darwin which became the permanent settlement in 1870. While digging post holes for the Overland Telegraph, gold was discovered near Pine Creek, which led to a rapid increase in population in the 1870s, both to the settlement of Palmerston, later renamed Darwin as well as to Pine Creek.

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5 Built between 1870-72 to connect Darwin and Adelaide with the sea cable linking Indonesia and Australia.
EUROPEAN EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The first school in the Northern Territory was opened in Palmerston in 1877. Educational growth reflected the slow growth in population, and by 1911 there were only three schools in the NT, at Palmerston, Pine Creek and Brocks Creek. Tardiness was evidenced within other quarters of educational endeavour: the first formal examination of students was in 1913, the first permanent high school was established in Darwin in 1956, and not until 1966 was an appropriate course provided enabling students to articulate to university. There was no permanent tertiary or post school education facility provided until 1974 through Darwin Community College (DCC). With such slow growth in educational facilities, continual changes in the administrative structure of education and remoteness from other population centres, it is little wonder that education was not seen as a high priority for the majority of citizens of the NT. The prevailing attitudes to education, including the belief that Aboriginal people were not educable, reflect in general terms why there was no provision by the government for the education of Aboriginal students apart from Kahlin Compound and The Bungalow (Alice Springs) until 1950.

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6 ibid., pp 49-50 details the request of Philip Levi, pastoralist for the inclusion of an Aboriginal child. Teacher John Holt doubted the propriety of 'admitting aboriginals to the same School with white children'. The Government resident was concerned 'parents would not be willing to allow their children remain'. The SA Council of Education stated that it had no power to exclude any children from a public school. The Palmerston board of Education was forced to agree that Aboriginal children could attend, but they must be clean.
7 M Urvet, Development of public educational services in the NT 1876-1979, research working paper, Centre for Higher Education, University of Melbourne, 1982, p. 5.
8 Urvet, p. 2.
Northern Territory Former Missions

- Bathurst Island 1911 Catholic
- Port Keats 1935 Catholic
- Daly River 1886 Catholic 1955
- Phillip Creek 1946 CMS
- Alice Springs
  - Hermannsburg 1877 Lutheran
  - Aritunga 1942
  - Santa Teresa site 1953 Catholic
- Port Essington
  - Crocker Island 1941
  - Coulburn Island 1956 MOM
  - Elcho Island 1971 MOM
- Irrakala 1935 MOM
- Rapid Creek 1882 Catholic
- Onpeli 1925 CMS
- Millingimbi 1923 CMS
- Rose River 1908 CMS
- Croker Island 1921 CMS
- Rose River 1952 CMS

CMS: Church Mission Society
MOM: Missionary of Mary
Catholic: Catholic Mission
Lutheran: Lutheran Mission
MISSIONS AND EDUCATION

The establishment of missions across the NT meant that some Aboriginal children were presented with aspects of Western education. Refer to the map (figure 1) on the previous page for the location of the different missions and when they were established. Apart from the aborted effort of Angelo Confalonieri, in 1848, the arrival of German Lutherans in 1877 establishing the Finke River Mission at Hermannsburg, marked the beginning of the missionary era in the NT. The school began using Aranda as the language of instruction.\(^9\) In 1882 a small group of Jesuits arrived in Palmerston. They already had extensive experience working with Indigenous peoples in the Americas and were keen to adopt their Paraguayan model.\(^10\) In 1885, when they felt they were sufficiently fluent in Larrikiya, a school commenced for the children at their Rapid Creek Mission. They withdrew in 1890, to consolidate efforts on the Uniya Mission at Daly River. The first band had gone down to this region in 1886. School classes began at Uniya almost twelve months later, using the Malak Malak language. From about 1895 the school was conducted in English, with Malak Malak continuing as the language of the station.\(^11\) After three separate attempts at settlement the Jesuits withdrew in 1901.\(^12\)

In 1911, the Commonwealth assumed responsibility for the Northern Territory including education.\(^13\) The Government policy of segregation\(^14\) influenced the type and quality of education and training provided for Aboriginal students, which was mostly on mission stations. The education of 'half-caste'\(^15\) children which commenced in 1910 with the opening of an orphanage for girls, conducted by the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, after they had established a Catholic primary school for European children in 1907.\(^16\) The first government school commenced in Kahlin Compound in Palmerston in 1913, for 'half-caste and

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\(^{9}\) J. Harris, 1990, p. 392; Austin, p. 56-57 details the introduction of English into the curriculum at Hermannsburg in 1888, and how it unwillingly became the language of instruction after the turn of the century.

\(^{10}\) J. Harris, 1990, p. 462, provides a succinct overview of this model based on the Paraguayan Reductions, a series of Guarani Indian communes the Jesuits established along the Rio Plata in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. '...the Reductions preserved the Indians from total loss of land and from capture into slavery, as well as promoting a "civilised" way of life'.

\(^{11}\) J. Harris, 1990, p. 476.


\(^{13}\) M Urvet, p. 5

\(^{14}\) *The Northern Territory Aboriginals Act, 1910* was very prescriptive about the control which the Protector of Aborigines had over the day-to-day lives of Aboriginal people. For detailed analysis of Aboriginal Policy, see Tony Austin, *Never Trust a Government Man: Northern Territory Aboriginal Policy 1911-1939*, NTU Press, Darwin, 1997.

\(^{15}\) The term 'half-caste' is offensive, but as it is found in the documentation, it will be used within the confines of its historical context.

\(^{16}\) Austin, 1992, p. 52, Thomson, p.12.
Aboriginal children'. In Alice Springs, the first government school was built in 1914. The teacher Ida Standley, who was also Matron at The Bungalow, taught classes for European children in the mornings and 'mixed race' children for a shorter time in the afternoons. Later the Aboriginal students were transferred out of town to Jay Creek.

In the period 1911 to 1944, apart from the expansion of various religious groups into remote areas to establish missions, little was done by the Government to provide education for anybody, let alone considering that Aboriginal peoples had rights to access education.

Missions have been a two edged sword for Aboriginal peoples. They contributed to the dislocation of families with the resultant loss of language, culture, and identity. This was particularly so where people from many different cultures and languages were brought together because of government policies and police actions. They were forced to conform in many ways to the dominant European culture of the superintendent and mission personnel through the industrial mission approach and the dormitory system. Missions, reliant on Government monies to keep their establishments going, were obliged to conform to Government policy to ensure they were kept solvent. On the other hand, missions provided protection, sanctuary and medical care for people from the hostile actions and diseases of settlers. A small number of missionaries tried to understand language and culture, in many instances acting as linguists, and becoming the first recorders of some languages. There is evidence that in some places local languages were used as the medium of instruction in transmitting the message of the Christian faith.

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18 The Bungalow, the 'half-caste Home in Alice Springs 'a squalid little collection of tin sheds, with the most primitive facilities masquerading as dormitories, kitchen and clinic... next to the police station and immediately behind the pub' (Austin, 1997, p.65) was established in 1914.
19 Ida Standley was assisted by Topsy Smith, see Austin 1997, pp. 64, 96; for detail on Jay Creek, pp. 252-253.
20 For an overview of the development of missions by the various denominations in the Northern Territory-Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican (CMS), Methodist (MOM), refer to Table 'General Education, Missions, Aboriginal Education and Aboriginal Teacher Education' in Appendix 1.
21 Even on Church missions there were very meagre contributions from the wider Australian churches and overseas sources. Government subsidies were often reluctantly paid; see Austin, 1997, p. 101, pp. 168 ff for policy toward missions during Cook's era.
22 J. Harris, 1990, p. 392. This was particularly evident in Central Australia with the missionaries arriving before the onset of violence and establishing trust before providing a safe haven for the dispossessed and hunted Aranda.
23 *ibid.*, p. 471 describes the Jesuits as competent linguists at Uniya, working through 20 editions of the catechism before they were satisfied they had done justice to the complex grammar of the Malak Malak language; p. 472 together with the Lutherans the Jesuits showed exceptional grasp of the importance of using Aboriginal languages; pp. 790-793 outlines the policy of the MOM and CMS in relation to Aboriginal languages and culture- not that policy became reality in many instances; the 1950s heralded the modern era of bible translation; p. 815 speaks of Nell and Len Harris and their early translation work on the bible at Oenpelli and Roper River.
GOVERNMENT POLICIES IMPACTING ON ABORIGINAL EDUCATION

A number of government policies have impinged on the provision of education for Aboriginal students. Bleakley, in his commissioned report stated:

Until the Territory is further developed and facilities for the education of white children are provided, any attempt at compulsory education [of Aborigines], ... would be out of the question. The rescue of half-castes from the camps and education in institutions should be compulsory.

Bleakley expresses thinking commonly held, inferring that white children would have first access to education because they were deemed more teachable than Aboriginal children. His comment relating to removal of 'half-caste' children from the camps and placing them in institutions, often far from their families and land did occur in the NT under the power of the Protector of Aborigines.

As indicated earlier, missions were pivotal in providing sites for the protection, segregation and education of Aboriginal and 'half-caste' children. The introduction of dormitories on many of the missions, to separate the children from the influences of traditional or camp life, was seen as especially important if they were to be 'civilised', to acquire the habits and values of the authority figures who embodied European life. We can now see this practice was one of the contributors to the destruction of Aboriginal cultures.

Assimilation

Early efforts at education from the government sector were directed towards 'half-caste' children, with the establishment of schools at Kahlin, The Bungalow (Alice Springs) and Bagot. Some children were removed from these establishments and sent to Bathurst Island, and later to Melville Island, Groote Eylandt and Croker Island missions, ensuring total, and in many cases, perpetual separation from family. This process was more devastating than dormitories on missions.

24 Austin, 1997, explains Spencer's policy on provision of education, p. 44. The term 'Aborigines' is used only when quoting early source material. It is acknowledged that today many people find this term offensive.
26 Dormitories did not always operate on some missions due to staffing difficulties and at times shortages in food supply, so the children would be sent back to the camp or village at these times.
27 Refer to Appendix 1, Table, Education in the Northern Territory, for when schools began in these locations. See Austin, 1997, pp. 64, 65, 189: Kahlin, 1913, The Bungalow, 1914, Bagot, 1938.
28 Refer to Appendix 1, Table, for the establishment of these missions, and the religious group running the institution. With the release of Ronald Wilson's 1997 Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
In 1945, after the Second World War, the Commonwealth Government requested South Australia to take charge of public education in the Northern Territory. In 1950, a dual system emerged, with South Australia maintaining responsibility for Community education and the Commonwealth Office of Education controlling Aboriginal education. This development coincided with the establishment of the first government schools for Aboriginal students at the government settlements of Delissaville, Bagot, The Bungalow and Yuendemu. In 1950 there were twelve mission schools catering for 597 students. The education of Aboriginal children was absorbed into the Commonwealth policy of assimilation. This policy was introduced to elevate housing, health and educational standards. Assimilation followed the segregation and protectionist eras of missions and government reserves.

...the policy of assimilation aims at ensuring that all Aborigines and part Aborigines will attain the same manner of living as other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians...

Assimilation was practised long before it was officially articulated as government policy, especially in the NT under the influence of C.E. Cook, Chief Protector. He was not interested in education as schooling, but in the broader realm of training in manual and domestic skills in the preparation of young people for the workforce.

Assimilation aimed at developing one group of people within Australia, disregarding people's origins, cultural practices and beliefs. It failed to take into account the richness of cultural diversity and difference. This policy assumed that all people aspired to 'the same manner of living' and wanted to 'enjoy the same responsibilities'. To be influenced 'by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties' as other Australians assumed (without ever asking them) that this is what Aboriginal people wanted.

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29 Community education refers to the provision of general schooling, mostly in towns.
30 Urvet, p.27.
31 Watts & Gallacher report, *An Investigation into the curriculum and teaching methods used in Aboriginal schools in the Northern Territory*, 1964, pp. 26-27, lists the 12 mission schools: Roper River, Oenpelli, Angurugu, Bathurst Island, Port Keats, Arltunga (Santa Teresa), Goulburn Island, Elcho Island, Milingimbi, Yirrkala, Hermannsburg, Umbakumba. By 1963 there were 16 mission schools catering for 1,558 students.
32 Watts & Gallacher, p. 33 the elaboration given by Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories at the Missions Administration Conference Darwin 1961, and a later interpretation given at The Conference of State and Commonwealth Ministers in 1963. See also McEwan declaration: John McEwan, Minister of the Interior, Commonwealth Government's Policy with respect to Aboriginals, Northern Territory of Australia, 1939, in Austin, 1997, pp. 303-304.
33 Austin, 1997, Ch. 7.
Further changes
A further change in governance occurred in 1955 when Aboriginal Education was transferred to the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration, Department of Territories, where it remained until 1973.  

At the beginning of 1956 there were 14 government special schools and 14 mission schools catering for 1,633 Aboriginal students. The churches maintained an important role in education at this time, with the majority of Aboriginal students at school attending mission schools. When the demand came for qualified teachers in schools, and a reduction in the pupil/staff ratios, mission schools (mostly in the late 60s and early 70s) gradually came under Commonwealth Government control. In 1997 the situation is somewhat different with the majority of Aboriginal students in remote areas attending government schools, on stations, in Community Education Centres (CECs) and Homeland Learning Centres, (HLCs). (For the location of HLC schools, refer to Map, Homeland Centre Hub School Communities, p. xvi). About 800 students attend the six Catholic schools in remote areas in the Territory. Aboriginal students in Government and non-Government remote Aboriginal schools number 8,280, which is 20.4% of total students in NT schools. About ninety, or nearly half of all schools in the NT are to be found in remote areas. Many of these schools have a number of HLCs attached to them.

Given the many changes in administration for schools in the Northern Territory, from 1911 to 1973, it is little wonder that the tyranny of distance and fragmentary policies, combined with shortages of experienced teachers contributed to the depressing quality of education. The whims and espoused policies of the various governments; protection and restriction, assimilation, integration and now self-determination have all impinged on the myriad changes in the administration of

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34 Urvet, pp. 26-27.
35 Watts, Gallacher Report, pp. 106-107. Mission schools were to remain outside the Government sector. Port Keats, Santa Teresa, Bathurst Island (Girls and Boys schools) Daly River and now Woodykupildiya, operating under the Catholic Education Office, maintain strong links with the Education Department especially through Bilingual programs operating in the first three schools.
36 1997 student census data from NTDE Statistics and Demography Unit, total NT Government and Non-Government students is 40,583.
37 P. Jull, The politics of northern frontiers: a discussion paper, Northern Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, 1991, pp 54-55 sees the term self determination

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<th>CEC</th>
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<td>1509</td>
<td>4097</td>
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<td>32.29</td>
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Aboriginal education in the NT. Since 1973 the aspirations of Aboriginal peoples have begun to impact on the institution of schooling in communities in remote areas, with the emergence of locally trained teachers and an Indigenous leadership in communities and in schools.

INTERFACE BETWEEN WESTERN AND ABORIGINAL EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The two dimensions of education in the Northern Territory, Aboriginal and European, have come together in different ways, especially over the last twenty years. Two notable initiatives to emerge are bilingual education and two-way education.

Bilingual Education

Following the release of the Watts, Tandy and McGrath report, bilingual education was commenced in five schools.

Bilingual Education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums 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 the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self esteem and legitimate pride.

Consequently, in schools which adopted a bilingual program many people were employed as literacy workers in the Literature Production Centres (LPCs). This approach to education was not suitable to introduce into many communities because of the complexities of their language situations. Complexities include a number of different languages spoken by significant numbers of people within the community; the traditional owners of the area being a minority group within the population, hence the language of the 'country' not being the most commonly used language; Kriol, although being the most common language of communication not having the status of a 'proper language' to be a language of instruction; the community articulating that they want English as the medium of instruction in the school.

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38 Watts, Tandy & McGrath Report, *Bilingual education in schools in Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory*, 1973, reprinted 1975. On Dec. 14, 1972 Gough Whitlam announced the Bilingual Education Programs for the NT. Aboriginals were to be taught in their own languages.

Bilingual education did not necessarily mean that schools became more Aboriginal in their approach, nor that their educational methodologies necessarily reflected Aboriginal cultural ways. Decisions about bilingual education were introduced, controlled and monitored from outside the local communities by members of the dominant culture, so the bias was towards a non-Aboriginal perspective. Nor did this program for the advancement of Aboriginal education, necessarily reflect Aboriginal control and decision making (a goal desired by some communities), so there have been weaknesses as well as strengths for Aboriginal communities. Over a period of twenty-five years it is possible to delineate the major strengths of the program; increased status of Aboriginal languages, emphasis on Aboriginal teacher education and a political climate which gave space for Aboriginal leadership to emerge.\(^{40}\)

'Both-ways' education

A second initiative, originating from Aboriginal aspirations is what has been referred to as 'two-way schooling' or 'both-ways education'. Harris\(^{41}\) has written extensively on this concept in Aboriginal education, and recently there has been much debate by non-Aboriginal theorists about the concept and its implementation.\(^{42}\) Within 'two-way schooling' there is equal emphasis on two strands of knowledge, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal coming together, with learning about Western culture coming from within the values of Aboriginal knowledge. There is a balance between the two knowledge systems, with the children growing up grounded in both systems, but building on Aboriginal foundations.

We can't just start building on a balanda foundation, and looking at it through the eyes of the balanda and thinking with the mind of the balanda. If we do that we will be without a foundation, just flying or floating. Like me I am Gumatj, my Law is under my feet, claiming it, I am in my place, All my culture, Law, custom, is under my feet. I am standing on it. If we are set in our foundation we can then see clearly and together we can head in a direction where Yolngu and balanda are equal. This is what our children must see.\(^{43}\)

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40 S. Harris and B. Devin (forthcoming), The Northern Territory Bilingual Education Program: Some Historical Reflections.
This is the type of education that Aboriginal people in some areas are articulating as important for the young members of their communities, education in the two systems, 'with both ways level' from Aboriginal perspectives.

**TEACHER EDUCATION**

Teacher education has been one catalyst for the emergence of publicly articulate, confident Aboriginal people across the NT who are developing as leaders within their own communities and in educational institutions at all levels. There have been several influences on the ways in which teacher education has developed to its present stage.

**ABORIGINAL TEACHER EDUCATION TRAINING**

Most mission schools provided informal Aboriginal teacher training for assistants working in the schools. Systematic teacher education training for those employed in schools has evolved over the last forty four years into nationally accredited courses attracting broad interest. Initially the Wards' Employment Ordinance, enabled the 'Training Allowance' for Aboriginal people to be introduced in remote communities enabling some Aboriginal people to be employed in the classroom. The difficulty was that the quality of training depended on the vagary of the teacher in charge of the class and often meant the Assistant Teacher being assigned menial tasks. All instruction was in English.

The ferment and monumental changes which took place in the Northern Territory in the 1970s profoundly influenced the lives of Aboriginal peoples. The impacts of landrights, the outstation movement, bilingual education, self-determination and self-government for the NT, were felt in the classrooms of remote Aboriginal

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44 Other ways in which significant leaders have emerged have been through adult education and community management. See David Benn, Community Politics in Arnhem Land - Maningrida and Galiwin'ku, MA Thesis, Northern Territory University, 1994.
45 The Welfare Ordinance of 1953, gave the Director of Welfare and his officers wide powers, including the promotion of 'the wards' social, economic, and political advancement by providing educational and employment opportunities and ensuring better standards for health, hygiene, nutrition, and housing', in A. Heatley, The Government of the Northern Territory, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1979, p. 141.
46 Early literature refers to Teaching Aides, Aboriginal Teacher Assistants, Teaching Assistants. The current term is Assistant Teacher (AT).
48 Outstations are more correctly termed Homeland Centres today.
communities and affected the roles of Teaching Aides. Increasing numbers of Aboriginal people were employed by schools, especially after the introduction of bilingual education, and in most remote communities the school was, and still is, the largest employing body. It was imperative that some form of formalised training be introduced beyond what was provided by the class teacher. In 1960, Kormilda College in Darwin was the venue for the first short term courses for Teaching Aides. These courses, from four to eight weeks in duration, were developed for the following purposes; to provide instruction in teaching methods and techniques, raise general academic standards and widen the range of experience of the student to provide closer contact with European culture and society.

By 1968 Aboriginal teacher training was taken seriously with the introduction of the first full time one year course. A career structure was put in place with advancement from TA1 to TA2 level after completing the course. Further developments were introduced in 1970, with a second year of full time study for Teaching Aides 'who had done well in their home school'. A major difficulty with this program was that the 'success' of the Aboriginal student teachers was determined by the non-Aboriginal teacher or principal. Assessment tools were subjective with no independent monitoring of achievement. Those deemed 'successful' were able to proceed to the next level of training. Those who completed the second year of the Teaching Officers Course at Kormilda were promoted to TA3. By 1973 negotiations were completed with the Darwin Community College (DCC) and Canberra College of Advanced Education 'to provide the equivalent of a third year of teacher education for Aboriginal Teachers'. On receiving this award, they could be admitted to the Commonwealth Teaching Service (CTS) as two-year trained teachers and granted permanent status.

49 A residential secondary college for Aboriginal students opened in 1967. It was envisaged that it would be a transition college, and students would eventually be enrolled in the mainstream high school, but this never occurred.
51 Morgan, 1988, p. 6.
52 Department of Education, Northern Territory Division, Annual Report, 1973,, p. 5. In reality the third year was provided by DCC.
53 ibid.
In 1973 new understandings of the role and status of Aboriginal teachers in schools were realised with the release of the Watts, Tandy and McGrath Report on Bilingual Education. Recommendations relating to in-service training for Aboriginal teachers in the classroom each day gave broad suggestions including development of understandings of educational objectives, competence in teaching strategies, and sequencing in both planning and evaluation. Many of the specific recommendations for teacher education which this report made were implemented in the Aboriginal Teacher Education Centre (ATEC), established at Batchelor, 100 kilometres south of Darwin in 1974 where an Aboriginal Vocational Training Centre had already commenced in 1972. The concept of an Aboriginal Teacher Education Centre was excellent, but the administration proved difficult, with the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) owning the buildings, NTDE running the first and second year programs, with DCC running both the third year program and the School of Australian Linguistics (SAL). By 1979, the ATEC achieved independence from DCC, and in 1983, ATEC had an accredited Associate Diploma of Teaching, qualifying the recipients to be teachers in remote schools at Band 1 level.

The college has had an enormous impact on the educational aspirations of many remote communities throughout the NT, initially in the 'Top End'. Recent developments include the Alice Springs campus established in 1990, and annexes opened in the same year in Darwin, Nhulunbuy, Katherine and Tennant Creek. Batchelor College seeks to serve the interests of Aboriginal communities in education and training as they strive to achieve their aspirations of self-determination and self-management. Its three schools of Education, Health and Community Studies offer courses across a broad range including early childhood, primary, adult education, health work, community management, recreation, youth work, lands, parks and wildlife management, office administration, broadcasting and journalism, at certificate, associate diploma and diploma levels. After four years of Batchelor College, teacher education students graduate with a three year status Diploma of Teaching which is nationally accredited.

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57 Introducing Batchelor College., promotional leaflet, 1997b.
Despite the achievements of students from Batchelor College, there have been strong criticisms of their outcome levels and a plea for higher standards of classroom practice and literacy.\(^58\)

**RATE**

Batchelor College has continued to provide teacher education programs both on-campus and increasingly off campus. The Remote Area Teacher Education (RATE) program, enabling students to study part-time and remain in their communities for Stage One of their teacher training commenced at Yirrkala in 1976. Through demand this was extended to many other communities. To complete Stage Two and Three, it was necessary to study full time at Batchelor. In 1988 Stage Two was offered at Yirrkala as a full time course on a trial basis. The RATE program now includes all four stages of teacher education and operates with a lecturer on site, or in cluster groups with tutors and area lecturers. Students come together for block sessions which are held either at Batchelor, in larger centres or in nearby communities.\(^59\)

By 1984 another variation to RATE evolved, the HLC RATE program for Stage One, to meet the needs of HLC teachers, with the visiting HLC teacher acting as tutor.

The teacher education program has been developed within the following parameters:

1. assisting community development;
2. assisting the development of Aboriginal perspectives on contemporary issues;
3. retaining the graduates' social standing within their communities and cultures;
4. involving development of knowledge of 'both-ways';
5. reflecting community aspirations and expectations.\(^60\)

**D-BATE Program**

The Deakin-Batchelor Aboriginal Teacher Education Program (D-BATE), a joint venture between Deakin University in Geelong, Victoria, and Batchelor College enabled teachers who had an Associate Diploma of Teaching (Aboriginal Schools) to

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upgrade their qualifications to the third year level of the Batchelor of Arts in Education program from Deakin.

The D-BATE program, in operation from 1985 to 1988 was seen as a short term measure until a more satisfactory local program could be mounted. In the years 1987-1990, there were 24 graduates from the course. From this number were some of the first Aboriginal principals in NT schools. Courses followed an action-based critical inquiry approach and were community centred, reflecting a commitment to Aboriginal self-determination and being explicit in the notion of localisation of schools. It was held that 'students' work should involve them in consultation and collaboration with senior members of their communities to help prepare and educate all for leadership roles in education in the community'. It was within the context of this course that senior Aboriginal teachers through action research, explored ways in which educational practice in schools could more suitably reflect an Aboriginal pedagogy suited to their own particular contexts. Many of the strategies used in the D-BATE program have been successfully incorporated into the 1990 accredited Batchelor College Diploma course.

OTHER TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR REMOTE AREAS

A number of other teacher education programs have been developed in different states for students living in remote areas to enable them to continue their education, whilst remaining in their home communities, as not all have been able to access Batchelor College.

AnTEP

For students in the north west of South Australia, the Anangu Teacher Education Program (AnTEP), commenced in 1984 under Torrens College, now the University of South Australia, with Emabella as the off-campus base. AnTEP is now also operating out of Yalata in SA and Yipirinya College in Alice Springs, NT, as well as in a number of communities in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands.

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61 Uibo, 1993, pp. 41-43.
AnTEP aims to train bicultural teachers who have the flexibility to teach all aspects of the local school curriculum. AnTEP also aims to produce graduates that have the confidence and ability to make valuable contributions to the formulation of local education policies, and to participate in the development of future school curricula and pedagogy.65

Personal and professional growth are seen to be as important as receiving teaching qualifications. All graduates of this program so far have been women, a pattern repeated in most teaching courses across Australia.

RATEP
In far north Queensland, the Remote Area Teacher Education Project (RATEP), was established in 1989, involving the co-operation of James Cook University of North Queensland, Queensland University of Technology, Cairns College of TAFE and the Queensland Education Department through its Peninsula Region. RATEP students direct and manage their own learning using course material on CD-rom which incorporates video and computer technology, enabling completion of studies in their home communities in consultation with local tutors.66

OCTEP
Since 1992 Aboriginal Teaching Assistants (ATAs) from some communities in the Kimberley region of Western Australia have been using the RATEP program through the Off Campus Teacher Education Program (OCTEP) from the Broome Campus of Notre Dame Australia, on licence from the Cairns College of TAFE. Like their counterparts in far North Queensland, the Kimberley students have an on-site tutor, have access to university staff through telephone, fax and e-mail, and participate in short block sessions on-campus.

SUMMARY
These four teacher education programs, RATE, AnTEP, RATEP and OCTEP, enable students, most of whom are mature aged women, to continue their family and


cultural obligations whilst engaging in full or part time study. All programs have proven that students are able to successfully complete studies without suffering homesickness in being away from 'country' for long stretches of time. Establishing a pool of trained, confident, articulate women who are able to reflect their communities' aspirations for their young people will eventually lead to Aboriginal control and leadership of education. Batchelor College which has been accessed by people from the north of Australia for over twenty years, has contributed to the level of teacher training of local teachers and its programs have been critical in enabling localisation of leadership to occur in schools in the northern parts of the Territory.

In the future, advanced technologies including multimedia and telelearning will be integrated more and more into the education programs offered to people in remote communities. 'The social and cultural advantages of living in (remote) home communities are now able to be combined with the educational advantages of access to peers and the human and other resources of higher education institutions'. George concludes:

> The social communicative aspect of the telelearning model has the potential to provide access to peers, teaching staff and other resources in conjunction with multimedia delivery in a small group context. This is essentially the emergence of a new model of delivery, one which takes seriously access and equity issues, and acknowledges the rights of all Australians to educational opportunities in culturally congruent contexts.

Despite the success of teacher education programs and new opportunities and possibilities arising for the future it is recognised that there are limitations within the existing programs, and indeed strong criticism from some quarters. Zhang, critical of the marginalisation of students in teacher education programs for Aboriginal communities asserts:

> Because of the structure and requirement of certain courses, Aboriginal students are equipped with limited educational knowledge and trained specifically for Aboriginal schools in their home communities. While acknowledging their strong traditional and cultural knowledge, should Aboriginal students be compensated for the deficiencies in subject matter

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knowledge and skills required for a person to be qualified as a teacher in the dominant system?70

She is critical of literacy levels offered to students in a teacher institute and sees that little is being done to redress the problem.

Politically, teachers are ambivalent when answering the students' request and hunger for English language and the knowledge of the dominant system. Although most teachers realise that students' poor literacy skills become the major obstacle in the process of teaching and learning, the intention of not to make black white, the fear of assimilating Aboriginal students seems to have more power in practice. Therefore, although Aboriginal students are constantly told that their literacy skills are poor and need to be improved, they are not taught systematically how to improve it.71

The pressing need to redress low literacy levels of teachers in community schools has widespread implications for the future students of these teachers if they are to be challenged and extended beyond the threshold of present levels of attainment. Future study and leadership training programs for teachers will possibly be hampered if the processes of literacy attainment impede the development of knowledge in the content area. Since 1994 Batchelor College has used the National Adult Language and Literacy framework in developing criteria for different tasks which would support lecturers and students in redressing low literacy levels of students. (p.c).

The next section addresses the teacher education and leadership training possibilities which have been developed in the Northern Territory.

TEACHER EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Many Indigenous cultures have struggled to develop appropriate teacher education facilities which honour the needs and aspirations of their communities, for example the Indigenous nations of Canada, the United States, New Zealand, several South American countries including Peru, and the Sami and Lapps of Northern Europe.72 With globalisation, knowledge of the developments, problems and issues impacting on Indigenous groups as they struggle to develop appropriate teacher education and recognition for leadership are now being shared in different ways through

71 ibid., p. 3.
networking with exchange visits and technologies such as the Internet. Different ways of practising leadership in schools will inevitably develop through sharing of experiences.

In order to contextualise what has developed in the NT a very brief overview of the historical development of Aboriginal leadership in schools is given. Initially, moves towards localisation of leadership in the NT were very tentative. A perusal of the Annual Reports of the Department of Education Northern Territory Division, established in 1973 and its successor since 1979, the NTDE, indicates varying responses to appeals for localisation of leadership in remote schools. Early reports made no mention of Aboriginalisation or localisation, but detail the development of teacher education training initiatives.

The Director's foreword in the 1978 NTDE Annual Report briefly mentions the situation at Ngukurr where the school was closed for six months, after which a new approach was tried with the appointment of an Aboriginal principal and a non-Aboriginal Local Education Advisor (LEA) put in place as a support to the principal. 'By the end of the year positive evidence had accrued to show that this represented a useful step towards providing a form of education acceptable to Aboriginal communities.' The change was described as 'an exciting development' where the main policies of the school 'were and are Aboriginalisation, catering for outstation children and training of Aboriginal Teaching Assistants to develop teaching skill, mainly on site.' Interestingly, all the Annual Reports from 1979 until 1987 record the principal of Ngukurr school as the person filling the non-Aboriginal LEA position, with bureaucratic requirements and accountabilities prevailing despite the rhetoric of an Aboriginal principal.

Even ten years ago the possibility of Aboriginal leadership in schools was viewed as an exception. The 1987 Annual Report contains details of the 'Trial Aboriginalisation program at Yirrkala Community School where Aboriginal staff are being trained to take over the running of the school.' This trial program 'provides Aboriginal teachers with the opportunity to work in promotion positions alongside senior experienced officers who act as their mentors.' Five people were involved in this program at Yirrkala, a Band IV Associate Principal in training and four Band 2

74 ibid., p. 18.
76 ibid., p. 22.
Teachers in training, with the aim of the program being preparation for Aboriginal teachers to run their own school.

The success of this trial program enabled other schools to pursue their own Aboriginalisation aspirations; Galiwinku appointed an Aboriginal Associate Principal and Aboriginal Assistant Principal-in-training in 1988 and Milingimbi commenced their program in 1989.  

As more schools sought to become involved in Aboriginalisation programs it was evident that a more systematised approach was required to accommodate the demand. Two programs which are endeavouring to meet the need for local leadership training are the Mentoring Programs operated by NTDE and Catholic Education Office (CEO) NT, and the Graduate Certificate and Graduate Diploma courses in Educational Administration from Batchelor College.

MENTORING PROGRAMS

The mentoring program has impacted markedly on the professional support and development of people for executive or leadership positions within schools. Mentoring has been commonplace in the business world, and is now fairly widespread for neophyte classroom teachers, especially in the NT and for Aboriginal leaders. Literature is now emerging on mentoring for those assuming principalship. In the NT mentoring has become more formalised over the past five years within the NTDE and CEO, as executive teachers undergo a period of acculturation into their new roles, with an emphasis on both professional and personal development.

Mentoring is not a structured step-by-step training program designed to teach specific skills (although these are part of mentoring when and where appropriate). It is a very personalised professional development process where listening, questioning, reviewing and planning are integral elements. The

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content, strategies and outcomes which are negotiated become the mentoring program.\textsuperscript{79}

A History of Mentoring in NT Schools

There has been a significant history of mentoring in remote areas of the NT, so this is not to be regarded as a new initiative, although nuances have been added to the role of mentor. The visiting teacher program, wherein visiting teachers based in hub schools travelled to Homeland Centre schools to support HLC teachers, was in many respects an embryo mentoring program.

The Ngukurr community through a series of events in 1978 assumed control of its school. A local partly trained Aboriginal teacher was identified as principal, with a non-Aboriginal LEA working alongside him providing professional and management support. When the principal went away to complete teacher training, another local person was identified to take his place. Since the first move, two men and two women representing different family groups have occupied the position of principal with assistance from four different LEAs or mentors. The experience in Ngukurr was a foundational mentoring program for the Territory.

Yirrkala community has been at the forefront of initiatives for local leadership and management in the NT. In 1987, the community designated a person to be trained for the position of principal, and a period of mentoring was begun before he assumed the principalship in 1989. Four designated senior teachers were also mentored into other positions within the school, as were a number of others in the same region. Since this time several schools in Arnhem Land have localised many of their executive teacher positions, with some of these people taking on principalships.

It is interesting to note that to date, all Aboriginal principals and principals-in-training are in the northern regions of the NT. This is possibly due to close proximity to Batchelor College and a longer history of access to teacher education training including on-site teacher training.

Prior to 1990, mentoring occurred within the confines of the school, depending solely on the relationship existing between the individual mentor and mentoree, with no extra support or direction from the NTDE or CEO. The \textit{ad hoc} nature of each program and the selection process of some of the mentors left some people very

\textsuperscript{79} Sue Reaburn, \textit{Mentoring: a process of professional support for Aboriginal classroom and executive teachers}, Working draft, Jan 1997, p. 8.
dissatisfied with the process, resulting in very good people being lost to the education system because of unfortunate experiences. 80

A formalised framework for the mentoring program is now being developed, with clearly delineated mentor roles, for recently graduated or neophyte classroom teachers and for executive teachers. Mentoring programs are presently operating in seventeen schools of varying sizes across all regions in the NT. The mentoring program operates in individual schools according to identified needs, with mentors perhaps working solely with an Aboriginal principal-in-training, mentors working with newly trained teachers only, or in some cases, in combination roles. Many of the principles operating in classroom teacher mentoring are continued through to mentoring at executive level. Skills and knowledge acquisition, although important, are not acquired at the expense of supporting leadership and management processes and attributes, including effective planning, decision making, and problem solving. 81

To be sure, leadership is fostered within classroom teachers, but executive teachers are provided with additional time and space to reflect critically on their leadership practices.

A body of literature is emerging from participants in the mentoring experience in the NT, and these rich reflective résumés attest to the benefits, as well as the struggles from both sides whilst engaging in the process of professional and personal development. A case study of the mentoring program at Yirrkala school in 1994-5 reflects on aspects of the journey of leadership and mentorship for Nalwarri Ngurruruwuthun. 82 Sr. Anne Gardiner details adjustments she made in her understanding of Aboriginal aspirations in education as part of her learning during the mentoring process working with Teresita Puruntatameri. 83

Mentoring, as a process of professional support, underwent an appraisal within the NTDE during 1996, the results of which should soon be finalised.

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80 One perspective on this issue can be found in Ann Stewart, 'Somehow there's a brick wall in the middle' An examination of the bureaucratic discourse of the Northern Territory Department of Education and its effect upon processes of Aboriginalisation, unpublished research paper as part of M Ed Admin, Deakin University, 1994, pp 64-71.

81 Reaburn, pp. 59-60.


that the recommendations arising from this appraisal will further strengthen competent, confident and well skilled teachers to sustain positions of leadership at all levels of the school. It is to be hoped that the mentoring process will continue to play an important role in development for leadership, as aspects of the program are well suited to Aboriginal styles of learning. Watching, observing, working with, gradually taking up more difficult tasks, having someone beside and behind, are all important ways in which tasks are learned, and skills and confidence are developed. It is imperative that mentors are carefully chosen, as dependency could so easily develop in the evolving relationship between mentor and mentoree.

Mentoring can play a key role in supporting those in leadership positions as different leadership, decision-making and management processes evolve to meet the emerging challenges of community schools in remote areas. However, it is not without some difficulties.

A number of studies, none being in Aboriginal schools, however, have expressed concerns about the mentoring process and the potential risks associated with it, indicating that further research is needed in this area. A summary of these studies and concerns has been made by Long, including: the energy required for such a time consuming task; poor planning and unrealistic expectations of the mentoring process; unsuccessful matching of mentor and mentee; lack of understanding of the mentoring process; work tensions relating to responsibilities; few available mentors, especially women; overuse of the available mentors; lack of access for women and minority groups; reproduction of the mentor's style; poor relationships between the mentor and mentee; high visibility program; career advancement especially for mentees; and insufficient resources or termination of resources.\textsuperscript{84} Admittedly these studies all come from the Western domain, and many are connected with business organisations, but they may provide salient pointers for future comparative studies with mentoring programs for Aboriginal teachers in remote schools.

**BATCHelor COLLeGE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION COURSES**

Batchelor College, an Indigenous training institution offering courses for students on-campus and in remote areas, has since second semester 1995, delivered certificate and diploma courses in educational administration for executive teachers, principals, or those aspiring to leadership positions in Aboriginal schools in the NT. Several

years of negotiation preceded the development and delivery of these courses. The Certificate is the equivalent of one academic semester of full time study and forms the first half of the Graduate Diploma, which is the equivalent of one academic year. A comprehensive course is provided which builds on the philosophy of education espoused by Batchelor College. An excellent overview of educational administration from Western and Aboriginal perspectives is provided in four units for the certificate and eight units at diploma level. The course contains the following units:

1. The administrative environment in community schools 1
2. Curriculum and community
3. The administrative environment in community school 11.
4. Culturally appropriate curriculum
5. Exploring the manager concept
6. Individual project 1.
7. Educational leadership in an Aboriginal community context
8. Individual project 11.

Emphases are on practical knowledge in administration, and of the elements, processes and directions of schools within the NT. Legal, financial and office management systems and procedures as well as the language of the bureaucracy are strong components of the course. At diploma level, opportunities for detailed study of administration and leadership are provided, and as well, students explore culturally appropriate approaches to educational administration while developing research processes and skills.

These courses are a welcome addition for the training and preparation of people into executive and leadership positions within schools and provide further opportunities for the localisation of schools to move from rhetoric to reality. An important body of literature will evolve as Aboriginal students reflect on leadership, administration, management, bureaucracy and curriculum from Indigenous perspectives. (personal communication, lecturer in Educational Administration, Batchelor College).

It is too soon to gauge the impact these courses are having on present leaders and those aspiring to leadership, but present indications point to positive outcomes for teachers as they gain confidence, knowledge and skills about the administrative, bureaucratic and leadership aspects of schools contextualised to remote community realities within education systems.
SUMMARY

In tracing an overview of education in the NT, beginning with education within family settings, through to formal Western education as it has impacted on remote Aboriginal communities, a backdrop has been provided for the developments which have occurred in teacher education in the NT and beyond. During the mission and assimilationist eras there was little thought that Aboriginal peoples would be leading the educational enterprise in their own communities. With the changes in the 1970s, particularly through bilingual education and the development of Batchelor College teacher education programs, the dream that eventually a sufficient pool of trained teachers in communities would one day lead to localisation is gradually being realised.

By providing some understanding of the present climate for schools, notions of localisation and emerging forms of Aboriginal leadership and leadership training within communities can be properly situated.

LEADERSHIP IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

This section will consider issues regarding leadership in Aboriginal communities and in schools. A summary of traditional patterns of leadership in Aboriginal societies will be provided, along with aspects of the contemporary situation in communities and within the churches.

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP IN ABORIGINAL SOCIETIES

In traditional Aboriginal societies, group action was the norm, where 'the leadership organisation is known and where senior men have been important'.85 Elders had the power, conferred through kinship or clan membership, age, wisdom, and knowledge; yet not all senior people possessed all aspects. Edwards provides a useful summary of early writings on leadership in Aboriginal societies, asserting that the current debate centres

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85 S. Bennett, Aborigines and Political Power, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, St Leonards NSW, 1989, p. 16.
on the question as to whether social control was maintained by kinship ties and obligations, religious observances and traditional laws or whether individuals and groups played a significant role in maintaining this control, extending their religious influence into secular affairs.  

It is generally agreed that religion and kinship determined authority, its role and sphere of influence. Shimpo asserts,

the source of authority in a clan seems to derive from a combination of four sets of conditions - seniority by birth order in the clan, the amount of religious knowledge achieved, skills as a good warrior, and strength of personality-including intelligence.

Most writings speak of male authority and leadership especially within the context of religious ritual. Galarrwuy Yunupingu expands on three types of leader within traditional Aboriginal society, the born leader, the made leader and leaders-in-training. He queried whether teachers see themselves as leaders-in-training. This notion of teachers as leaders, and leaders-in-training will be expanded upon in a later section.

In early anthropological studies in Australia, scant attention was given to female authority and leadership, reflecting the paucity of female anthropologists and ethnographers. Women did have their own leadership and authority and it was expressed in different ways, as outlined by Bell.

CONTEMPORARY LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITIES

For many remote communities, traditional ceremonial life is largely intact and traditional roles and practices are still followed. Within other communities there has been a revival of traditional ceremony and leadership roles. The expression 'bosses' has often been used to refer to those in authority or leadership positions within ceremony. This expression may be indicative of the perceived relationship of non-

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87 Edwards, 1987, pp 161-171, draws on a number of sources including Tonkinson, Berndt, Strehlow, Hiatt, Meggitt in making his conclusions. See also M.C. Howard, (ed.) Aboriginal power in Australian society, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982.
89 G. Yunupingu, Yutana Dhawu, Yirrkala Literature Production Centre, Dec 1989 p. 15.
91 David Thompson, 'Leadership and Aboriginal Churches' in Nelen Yubu, no. 60, (2), 1995, pp. 9-22; Fred Myers, Pinupi Country, Pinupi Self: sentiment, place and politics among Western Desert Aborigines, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1986, delineates the role of
Aboriginal to Aboriginal in early contact days and has now been incorporated into aspects of traditional life.

As Western society has impacted in communities there are three main arenas where contemporary leadership is exercised; the community council, health and education. The usual pattern has been that those who have had access to Western education and speak English well assume leadership in these fields because they have greater facility in dealing with outside agencies. Where these are effective, they often have the support of kin with power in more traditional domains. This will be alluded to in a later chapter. Ceremony and other aspects of community life related to negotiations with outside agencies are still separate domains, but it is more probable now that some people exercise leadership roles within the two areas. Kolig sees this emerging leadership differently:

...a new leadership is emerging which is divorced from religious expertise and which manages the collective drive for control of resources, and economic development. ... The power sought is of course ultimately a means- not an end in itself- necessary to achieve, for Aborigines collectively, material betterment and a measure of autonomy from white dominance. ...The Aboriginal leadership increasingly partakes in instituted political and bureaucratic processes by participating in representative bodies, committees, advisory councils, and the like.92

For some communities, a fourth sphere of influence has been the Christian churches, where forms of local leadership have been exercised over the last thirty years. Within all these areas, my observation has been that aspects of corporate leadership have been subsumed into these new structures as the preferred style of operating.

During the 1960s, prior to the development of Nungalinya College, the MOM adopted a policy of offering scholarships to the Methodist Lay Training College at Kangaroo Point in Brisbane. Several people from Arnhem Land who attended the College have become outstanding leaders outside church spheres at local, state and federal levels. 'Their immersion in Western culture during that time down south, equipped them for Aboriginal leadership in Western contexts or on Western issues.'93

93 John Kadiba, 'Methodist Mission Policies and Aboriginal Church Leadership in Arnhem Land', Paper presented at Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, Macquarie University, 17 July 1996, p. 18. Among people awarded scholarships were Bunung (Bunuk) Banabi, Barayuwa, Wali Wulanybuma, Gajil Djerrurkburk, the late Rurrambu Dhurrkay, Galarwuy Yunupingu, Djininyini Gondarra.

'bosses' in ceremonies with that of 'workers' as well as understandings of 'white bosses' today as being external to the community.
Nungalinya College and Leadership

Since its inception in 1973, Nungalinya College has considered leadership training for people from remote communities one of its major objectives while offering certificate and diploma courses in a range of areas including Theological Studies, Bi-Cultural Life Studies and Community Organising Studies. The founding constitution of the College stated its mission as conducting 'Leadership training in the fields of community, of community development, recreation, civic and administration, home management and other general educational fields'. Depending on the strand, students engage in either block intensives and projects in community, or in semester or year long courses residing in Darwin. With the establishment of Wontulp-Bi-Buya, a branch of Nungalinya College in Townsville in 1983, diversification and regionalisation occurred. A notable feature of leadership formation through both Nungalinya and Wontulp-Bi-Buya is that it is based on the Theological Education by Extension (T.E.E.) model. The vision of the College has moved beyond serving only remote communities in the North to providing courses for Aboriginal people from town and urban settings throughout Australia.

At Nungalinya College, leadership studies enable participants to reflect on traditional leadership, different styles of leadership and the complexities of power and authority from within and outside the community. Theory and praxis meet as understandings are developed in leadership skills, organising skills and communication skills.

Strong, committed Aboriginal leadership emerged in the Uniting and Anglican Churches in Arnhem Land in the late 70s and early 80s and Nungalinya College was pivotal in the preparation of these men and women for ministry. The college produced its first ordinands in the 1980s. This tradition of leadership and leadership training for people in community settings, maintaining strong links with traditional cultural styles of leadership as well as developing understandings in the Western

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94 During the 1960s, CMS and MOM established a joint training committee to plan a combined approach to training Aboriginal leadership. These joint courses led to the establishment of Nungalinya College under the auspices of the Anglican, and United (now Uniting) Church and helped foster an Aboriginal Church in Arnhem Land across denominational barriers. AIM and Baptists were invited, but did not finally agree to cooperate. In 1973 the first principal was appointed. See John Harris, p. 859; John Kadiba, 1996, examines the delay by MOM in evolving a church leadership training policy; see also his forthcoming PhD Thesis. The Catholic Church became a full partner of Nungalinya in 1994 after many years of cooperation.


96 See Robert Bos, 'Wontulp-Bi-Biya: A unique educational enterprise', in Jim Houston (ed.) The Cultured Pearl, The Joint Board of Christian Education, Melbourne, 1986, pp. 252-253. Many students, particularly in Theology are enrolled in these extension courses, especially interstate students, as well as in mixed-mode delivery courses according to their circumstances.

97 Community Organising Course Information, Nungalinya College.
mode, provides possible pointers for leadership and leadership development within schools.

Nungalinya College has exhibited a strong commitment to Aboriginalisation through the employment of Indigenous educators and managers across all levels of teaching, management and administration. An important milestone was achieved in 1995, with the appointment of the first Aboriginal principal. Shared leadership and collaboration is practised at all levels within the college.

It is interesting to note that most of the schools with Aboriginal principals in the NT are from Arnhem Land, where localisation of Church leadership has become the norm.

Prior to the establishment of Nungalinya College, Aboriginal church leadership was not an intentional goal, with little attention paid to promoting Aboriginal training and leadership. Aboriginal pastors were expected 'to live up to European expectations of the role of the minister' and 'to fit the Western model of church administration'. A number of men have died at a young age in their ministry. Perhaps for these early leaders, the expectations placed on them from within and beyond the community had been too great.

Pressure on these Aboriginal leaders is great. They are often called... to minister for the rest of their lives in the close communities of their relatives and clans with all the personal tensions that implies. They are often over-used by outside churches and Christian organisations desperate to include Aboriginal people in their programs. Many of them have found the demands of their work lead to neglect of their families.

During the 1980s a distinctive style of Aboriginal worship developed, one of its features being shared leadership.

One person may lead the community singing, another may lead in prayer, yet another may preach, another may lead Holy Communion and others still may lay hands on the sick and suffering.

Shared leadership has been very effective with Church ministry, enabling people to use their gifts for the building up of their local community and for establishing the reign of God. This principle of shared leadership has been encouraged at Nungalinya

98 See Kadiba.
99 J. Harris, 1990, p. 858.
100 ibid., p. 861.
by both staff and students and has been an important modelling tool for students as they prepare to return to their communities.

The influence of the college in remote communities cannot be quantitatively measured, but it is certain that communities who have had members studying at Nungalinya have benefited with new vision and new hope being injected into the community, particularly when two or more students return. Shared leadership has been effectively practiced in Church life for some years now with many benefits reaped in communities. Many teachers belong to these Christian communities and often play important roles in the faith life of their people. Notions of shared leadership, compatible with traditional community life, and with Christian community life have been part of revival and renewal in many Arnhem Land communities in the 70s and 80s. Despite the developments made so far, there are still many serious concerns to be addressed and hurdles to be overcome before it can be said that a truly inculturated church with authentic local leadership is a reality for people in this part of Australia.

SCHOOL GOVERNANCE AND DECISION-MAKING

Each school has its own set of circumstances to work through in establishing suitable management or governance structures, with different communities at different stages of understanding what is possible or desirable for them. Aboriginal people taking on positions that have been traditionally filled by non-Aboriginal people and expecting them to operate in exactly the same way is not realistic.

Before detailing the structural changes which have occurred in three schools in the NT at Shepherdson College CEC, Yirrkala CEC, and Murrupuriyanuwu Catholic School in fulfilling Aboriginal leadership expectations, a brief overview of the NTDE policy on devolution is provided, as it is a component of many localisation initiatives.


103 The terms inculturated and inculturation are reported to have been first coined in 1973 by G.L. Barney, a missionary and professor at Nyack Alliance School of Theology NY, who reminded his fellow missionaries that in the process of inculturating supranatural components of the gospel into a new culture, the essential nature should be neither lost nor distorted, in Anscar Chupungco, Liturgical inculturation: Sacramentals, religiosity and catechesis, A Pueblo Book, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1992, p. 25.
DEVOLUTION

Devolution has been the espoused policy of the NTDE since the 1980s. Moves towards self-management in schools were being promoted by various bodies during the 1970s. The first school councils were established in selected urban and rural schools prior to self-government for the NT.

A number of documents guided the path to self management in schools. Directions for the 80s ¹⁰⁴ advocated the establishment of school councils to foster greater community involvement in education and to encourage parents to participate in their children's education. Towards the 90s; Excellence, Accountability and Devolution in Education,¹⁰⁵ proposed sweeping changes including greater self-management and accountability at the local level. The following year, an amended document, Towards the 90s volume 2 ¹⁰⁶ was released. Aspects of this document included school development planning, selection of executive staff, financial management and staff development.

The Economic Review Committee (ERC), established in 1991, slashed spending in the public sector including education. An unfortunate consequence was that the mandatory devolution of administrative functions in schools was linked with economic rationalism and a flattening of the bureaucracy in the public sector. Self-management had been gradually evolving since 1973, but 1991 was seen as a catalyst year.¹⁰⁷ Devolved functions under the NTDE's policy of self-management have impacted on remote Aboriginal schools, with schools responding in different ways to suit their local situations.

The following section will outline what has occurred in three schools as self-management and localisation occurred.

¹⁰⁴ NTDE, Northern Territory Schools - Directions for the 80s, 1983, Government Printer, Darwin.
¹⁰⁵ NTDE, Towards the 90s, Excellence, Accountability and Devolution in Education for the Future, Volume 2, 1988, Darwin.
SHEPHERDSO N COLLEGE

In 1992 when the first Aboriginal principal took up the position in this Elcho Island school, she felt isolated in a separate building away from other executive staff. In 1996 physical changes occurred to the structure of the administrative area to accommodate the Principal, the non-Aboriginal Assistant Principal who was also acting as mentor for the Assistant Principal-in-training, and the Aboriginal school secretary. With a team now in close proximity, feelings of isolation, and vulnerability have disappeared. The principal can now call on the skills of others when needed; with the support of a three-way team in close proximity everyone has expectations of each other and no-one has to make decisions about which they may feel uncomfortable. Utilising each others' skills and being able to make collaborative decisions ensures that culturally correct decisions will be made which accord with departmental regulations. Operating as a three-way team allows for 'a supportive network that can allow for and cope with cultural, family, financial and health pressures that would be too hard for someone on their own at the top.'

In 1996 the principal wanted to restructure the executive, changing the principal's position from Executive Teacher ET6 to ET4 with three equal positions at ET4 level, reflecting the equality of the positions of leadership in the team. In 1997, this has not yet occurred, with two positions remaining at ET4 and the ET6 position. A bursar has been added to the staff to take up much of the accounting and administrative work, which was previously performed by the non-Aboriginal mentor in the leadership team and well understood by the Aboriginal teacher at ET4. All three are now freed to provide educational leadership in issues that are vital for the continued development of both staff and students in the community.

YIRRKALA CEC

At Yirrkala, in North East Arnhem Land, during the 1980s, the community began looking at ways in which their own understandings of education and schooling could be implemented within the school. In 1984 the school council composed of members of the sixteen clans represented at Yirrkala School and the HLC schools was established, as a policy making group. This group evolved into Nambara School Council. There are several meanings attached to the Yolngu philosophy of

\[108\] Information relating to Shepherdson College was taken from an unpublished paper written by John Brewster, 'Executive Teacher Mentoring Program Shepherdson C.E.C.', 1996.

\[109\] ibid.

\[110\] Greg Wearne in 'Towards Bothways Schooling: An exploration of the role of non-Aboriginal educators in Aboriginal Schools in the context of self-determination and management', a
Nambara, one of them being 'a shelter of knowledge which relates things and events in the everyday world to the deepest truths held in trust by the old people'. With the formation of the Council, 'Yolngu people were enabled to take new steps in developing their own views on education and schooling'. In 1986, the 'Yirrkala School Development Plan' formulated by the Council and members of the community to guide the direction of the school was agreed to by the NT Minister for Education. The Action Group was formally recognised as the day-to-day decision-making group for the school.

School Council
The present Nambara School Council is composed of members of each of the sixteen clans represented at Yirrkala School and the eight HLC schools, who have since 1992, formed the separate Laynhapuy School with its own principal. The Council meets three or four times a year and is the main policy-making body within the schools, shaping the educational direction, localisation of curriculum development, staffing especially through the Aboriginalisation policy, and encouragement and support of training programs. When the Council was first established it was a very active force in the school. Over the last couple of years, many of the key figures in early decision-making have passed away or are aged and the council is at present undergoing a regrouping phase. It is to be expected that all groups go through cycles or phases and need to undergo a process of revitalisation in order to return to the founding vision.

Action Group
As stated earlier, the Action Group is responsible for the day-to-day decision-making within Yirrkala school, being the Executive Standing Committee of Nambara School Council, meeting weekly and at other times when necessary. When HLC teachers are at Laynhapuy, they attend the weekly Action Group meeting. All Aboriginal members of the school staff, from the janitor to the principal, are members of the Action Group as all staff have a role to play in the care, guidance and development of the young people of the community. The richness of decision-making is to be found in the collective wisdom of the group, where each person's opinion is valued and all have an equal voice. Within this structure, decision-making will take a longer time in order to listen to everyone who wants to speak on an issue. This method of decision-making is more in accord with community decision-making practices, where all are entitled to speak on an issue. It is important that the people who have

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research paper for M. Ed. Admin, Deakin University, 1986, pp. 56-69, outlines the struggle by Yolngu at Yirrkala to develop the school council.

112 *ibid.*
the right to speak on an issue do so, so that after some time the group is able to speak 'with one voice', to reach consensus. Usually, decision-making is delayed until there is a consensus on an issue. All have the right to be heard, but in the end the leader makes the decision: leadership by consensus, but some elder decides what the consensus is. If there is no 'leader' or decisive person, consensus may not be reached in a way that is acted upon.\textsuperscript{113} Nancy Williams has written in detail about Yolngu decision-making and the processes of decision-making in relation to community councils,\textsuperscript{114} aspects of which can be extrapolated to the Action Group and the Nambara Council. However this style of decision-making is not confined to Arnhem Land, as variations on consensus making are found in many different locales throughout Australia. Stanner outlined some of the conditions necessary for reaching a consensus for decisions:

Aborigines, like us, can come to the point of rational choice and decision only in certain conditions. They need credible motive for having to choose and decide between This and That. They need information - all the information that bears on the choice and possible alternative decisions. They need time - all the time needed to work out the implications: how This will affect That and how That will affect Something Else; time to consider the alternatives; time to take into account new thoughts that did not occur to them earlier; time to strike balances between losers and gainers; time to make sure of consensus. They need high confidence in the worthwhileness of the yield from their decision. And so on. I do not know why we should suppose that choice and decision are any easier for them than for us, but it would not be difficult to cite suggestive evidence that we do.\textsuperscript{115}

An understanding of the time needed for decision-making is crucial for non-Aboriginal members of local school staffs and for those working in bureaucracies which directly impinge on the processes within the school. For Aboriginal peoples it is very difficult to stand alone and isolated from the group, as being in relationship is paramount to life. The model, or structure which has evolved at Yirrkala, involving a policy-making group, the School Council, and an Action Group, which acts rather than just talks\textsuperscript{116} has been adapted by many other remote schools to suit their particular circumstances. Teachers at Yirrkala see that it was the Action Group which initiated many of the changes in the school:

\textsuperscript{115} W.E.H. Stanner's 1972 Mackay Lecture in Williams, p. 240.
\textsuperscript{116} Raymattja Marika-Mununggiritji, Banbapuy Maymurra, Multhara Mununggurr, Badang'thun Munyarryrnun, Gandadal Ngurrwuthun, and Yalmay Yunupingu, 'The history of the Yirrkala Community School: Yolngu thinking about education in the Laynha and Yirrkala area', \textit{Ngoonjook}, Sept. 1990, p. 34.
As the work of the Action Group got going the hierarchical structure of the school had to start changing. The Action Group identified problem areas and looked for ways to start exerting control. As a sub-committee of the School Council the Action Group was the mechanism through which the School Council achieved control over everyday matters: the power, opportunities and ability to control our school because we are now able to make all decisions, plan, evaluate, raise important issues and make recommendations for our school - the way we want it to be. Together we have been struggling for the goal of improving the education of the Yolngu students of the schools and communities of the Laynha Region.117

What has been achieved in these schools, despite the complexities of a base school and HLC schools splitting into two separate school structures, has inspired others to introduce Action Groups to effect decision-making power within their schools.

The School Council and the Action Group constitute a potential for strong leadership within schools. This sharing of leadership, an enabling leadership by the principals, has in some ways multiplied the available leadership within the schools, contributing to 'leadership density'.118 The Nambara Schools Organisational Chart shows the complexity of relationships existing between different groups in the running of the school.119 The unique features of this structure are two schools, one school council, three community associations, two ASSPA committees and an Educational Manager holding all in balance.

**Educational Manager**

The role of Education Manager was developed by Nambara School Council to accommodate a leadership problem which arose. With the establishment of the two separate schools in 1992, coinciding with the Aboriginal principal taking Long Service Leave (LSL), the principals of both schools were non-Aboriginal. Aboriginal management and control of the school had been a long and difficult struggle, and the School Council members were anxious to maintain the direction the school had taken, hence the position of Aboriginal manager was created. No staffing allocation came from the NTDE for this honorary position, but its status is recognised. The education manager attends meetings with the principals and is involved in liaison as well as staffing and curriculum matters between the schools.

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117 ibid.  
118 Thomas Sergiovanni, *The Principalship: A Reflective Practice Perspective*, (2nd ed.), Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1991, p. 76 refers to the total leadership available from teachers, support staff, parents and others on behalf of the school's work as leadership density.  
119 This chart, reproduced on the following page is taken from the 1995 Yirrkala School Bilingual Appraisal, p.22.
ASSPA Committee
All Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander schools, have an ASSPA (Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness) committee. For many schools this committee was the first opportunity for parents and community members to engage in the decision-making process within schools. In the organisational chart, of Nambara Schools, (Figure 2:1), the ASSPA committee is strategically placed between the school and community, reflecting the ways in which the community is drawn into the school.

FIGURE 2.1
Nambara Schools Organisational Chart

120 ibid. Laynhapuy Schools was renamed Yirrkala Homelands Schools in 1996.
MURRUPURIYANUWU CATHOLIC SCHOOL

Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic School at Nguiu, Bathurst Island, has also developed a leadership model to suit the particular needs of the school and community. In 1995 there was an Indigenous Principal-in-training at the school, with the continuing non-Indigenous Principal acting as mentor until retirement at the end of Semester 1, 1997.

The Aboriginal Principal-in-training struggled with the mentoring process which entailed working in isolation with the mentor. Subsequently, a shared leadership model was developed, called the Milimika Circle involving herself and senior teachers in the school representative of the four skin groups and the different areas of the school.

The meaning that I took from Milimika is that school is like the ceremonial ring. Sometimes as a leader, I dance, sometimes as group leaders we dance. Our philosophy of the leadership role in the Milimika circle is that we work together as a group:

• group discussion
• listen to one another
• each have their say
• group decision-making on educational issues, eg. bilingual education and interviewing new staff, and if it's a Tiwi person we ask the spouse to be present
We perform different dances in the Milimika ring, sometimes in pairs or in a group. Our major ceremony at this stage is Discipline/Behaviour problems.
...At Murrupurtiyanuwu now there is no Assistant Principal but rather in our ceremony ring there are five people. These five are Tiwi, dialoguing together at times, and at times with the whole staff. Each one of them has a class, yet each one of them has taken on further responsibility in the Milimika Circle.121

Figure 2.2 illustrates the roles that members of the Milimika Circle have in the school and the responsibilities as deputy principals that they share with the principal in curriculum, professional development, home/school liaison as well as office procedures, discipline and behaviour of students.

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SUMMARY OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP PREPARATION

Discussion of Indigenous leadership preparation and training has been confined to education and church sectors for the purposes of this study, though it is acknowledged that leadership and leadership preparation occur in a variety of areas and ways in remote communities including the community council, health and other services as well as in commercial enterprises.

Initial teacher education programs enable possibilities for leadership within classrooms and in the development of local curricula, as well as providing role models for young students. Structures and groups such as the Action Group, ASSPA committee, and School Council or Board provide opportunities for leadership to be
exercised. Mentoring programs for both neophyte classroom teachers and executive teachers localise professional and personal development programs as people are scaffolded and supported into new positions within the schools.

Graduates from Nungalinya College have been exercising leadership within the local churches for a number of years and have provided excellent role models of shared or collaborative leadership, variations of which are now being developed within some schools.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with an overview of the history of education, of teacher education, and leadership training initiatives within the NT in order to contextualise the ground swell movement towards localisation and localisation of leadership in remote Aboriginal schools. This movement came initially from individual schools rather than as an imposed directive at departmental level.

Traditional Western leadership patterns provided the foundation for contemporary expressions of local leadership within service and business sectors as well as the Christian churches. As people become more confident in their leadership roles, expressions of leadership from Aboriginal traditional ways are increasingly being incorporated into the leadership of different sectors within remote communities including the school enterprise. The intertwining of 'both ways' is producing a creative diversity of expression of educational leadership appropriate to meet the needs of different communities. In the next chapter I will examine current established theory in the educational leadership domain.
CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY
INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide an overview of the literature on leadership in schools from Western and Indigenous perspectives. Before reviewing the literature on educational leadership, clarification is required for some concepts and terms in relation to Western contexts. Within schools, leadership is often equated with a range of terms which all impinge on, but are distinct from leadership.

DEFINING CONCEPTS

This section will clarify some of these distinctions connected with leadership in schools before providing an overview of theories of leadership. Terms to be looked at include administration, management, bureaucracy, power and authority.

Administration

Educational administration has developed as a scientific theory, yet administration involves more than making decisions based on a rational assessment of facts.\(^1\) Management and administration and control of resources have often become the focus of the educational institution, rather than teaching and learning. Administration requires working with and through others involved in the school both individually and in groups to achieve organisational goals.\(^2\)

Management

Leadership and management are different. Kouzes and Posner view the foundation of leadership relating to credibility of action, where managers get other people to do, but leaders get other people to want to do.\(^3\) For a long time management of resources, finances, programs and attendance to structures, roles and indirect communication was viewed as paramount. Management in many educational institutions was professionalised to the detriment of teaching.\(^4\) Management is closely aligned with administration, and within administration, decision-making is central. Leaders need to have management skills, and to be well versed in the bureaucratic components of the system, but not at the expense of leadership.

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Principals in schools need to be both leaders and managers if their administration is to be balanced.

Within Indigenous communities, decision-making is seen as vital for local management and control of education. The usual way for decision-making to occur and to be endorsed within communities is through reaching consensus on an issue, as was detailed in the previous chapter. School councils have become important decision-making bodies and try to be representative of different groups within communities, yet at times groups do not avail themselves of opportunities to contribute to decision-making.

In a study on attitudes to schooling at Maningrida, community aspirations for local decision-making look to the CEC Council as the ultimate decision-making body. One of the community groups expressed concerns about their lack of knowledge regarding decision-making processes, yet rarely attend meetings nor occupy positions on the Executive council which are available to them. Dissemination of information to members of the community, with community members participating in management structures is vital for local decision-making to become representative as well as a reality.

**Bureaucracy**

Bureaucracy relates to legal and organisational structures, mandates, rules, regulations, job descriptions and expectations. Weber, by developing understandings of bureaucracy and power, has influenced many later studies of organisations, especially those relating to efficiency and inefficiency. Bureaucracy provides an agent for social change relying on anonymity and distance, with moral obligations towards an anonymous clientele. Other aspects of bureaucracy include rationality, orderliness, referral, correct procedures and avenues of redress for problem solving. Owens has identified five mechanisms found in the bureaucratic approach in organisations:

- hierarchical control of authority and close supervision of those in the lower ranks
- maintenance of adequate vertical communication
- clear written rules and procedures to set standards and guide actions

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promulgation of clear plans and schedules for participants to follow
supervisory and administrative positions in the hierarchy to meet problems that arise from changing conditions confronted by the organisation

Bureaucratic managers don’t often try to implement changes to organisations, because they are more intent on implementing what is decreed (usually in writing) from higher up in the organisation.

One of the major features of bureaucracy in the context of its application to Indigenous communities is the separation of roles from personalities. Learning to understand the processes of bureaucracy is critical for peoples from small-scale Indigenous cultures, as within their traditional societies bureaucracy was non-existent. As was stated earlier, it is relationships that are important for Indigenous peoples; one can relate to a person in a position in authority, but it is extremely difficult to relate to a role in the bureaucracy. Developing understandings of the processes of bureaucracies and the distinctions of roles and functions from the people occupying those positions is essential for people in Indigenous societies.

**Power**

The concept of power within the educational institution has been viewed from a number of perspectives by different writers. Yuki defines power as ‘the capacity to influence unilaterally the attitudes and behaviour of people in a desired direction.’ In Aboriginal groups the power of kinship and religious role power have been important influences or sources of power. Owens says there are a number of types or sources of power; reward power, coercive power, expert power, legitimate power and referent power. Abbott and Caracheo argue for two bases of power, authority and prestige, grouping referent and expert power as elements of prestige power, with reward and coercive power describing ways in which power is exercised in an institutional environment based on either authority or prestige power. Those who draw on multiple sources of power will have more strength as leaders. All people possess power, which comes from three sources, ‘the power to be oneself, the power of connected activity and the power contained in ideas, dreams and visions.’

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9 Owens, pp. 67-68.
12 Owens, p. 118.
14 Razik and Swanson, pp. 44-45.
15 Starratt, 1996, p. 106.
Starratt argues that often the power of a leader is connected with the power followers have given to the leader.\textsuperscript{16} Yukl suggests there are three types of power, position power, personal power and political power, with research indicating that leaders rely more on personal power than position power to exert influence.\textsuperscript{17}

**Authority**

Everyone has power, and the potential for leadership, but there are a limited number of positions of authority in any organisation. Authority is the legitimacy to exercise power.\textsuperscript{18} It has been suggested that legitimate authority invested in the principal as the appointed leader of the school comes from five broad authority sources: bureaucratic, personal, technical-rational, professional and moral.\textsuperscript{19} Sergiovanni and Starratt propose that for schools to become more effective, a greater emphasis be placed on moral and professional authority, rather than other sources.\textsuperscript{20}

In remote Aboriginal communities kinship obligations and the authority of the Dreaming, The Law, are the binding sources of authority and the base for power. For those in leadership positions in schools there is often a clash between the obligations or duties relating to The Law and kinship and those of the school as part of a larger bureaucratic system. Indigenous principals and executive teachers balance these tensions all the time in their positions of leadership in remote Aboriginal schools.\textsuperscript{21}

**SUMMARY**

In Western schools the school principal exercises aspects of administration, management, bureaucracy, power, and authority in running a school. This does not necessarily imply however, that the principal is functioning as a leader.

For Aboriginal principals in remote schools there has been an emphasis in their training and mentoring on the management roles of the school, and on the bureaucratic tasks associated with managing resources. Aspects of management were correctly perceived by mentors, teachers, principals and other administrators as knowledge gaps. An understanding of management, power, authority, bureaucracy


\textsuperscript{17} Yukl, 1994, p. 217.


\textsuperscript{19} For a fuller description of each of these types see Sergiovanni and Starratt pp. 22-36.

\textsuperscript{20} Sergiovanni and Starratt, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{21} See Shirley Nirrupurnyndji, 'Mentoring, Me and the Community' paper given at International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, Wollongong, NSW, 1993, pp. 1-4.
and administration is necessary to enable those in leadership positions to exercise their role, but these aspects do not necessarily constitute leadership. It has been suggested that management copes with complexity, whereas leadership copes with change.\textsuperscript{22}

The following section will explore aspects of leadership theory, and where possible connections will be made to the distinctions outlined above.

**LEADERSHIP THEORIES**

Burns contended that leadership, from his perspective as a white American male is

\begin{quote}
the reciprocal process of mobilising, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realise goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

Over the last half century there have been considerable changes in the descriptions and analyses of leadership. Up until the 1950s there was an attempt to analyse the traits and behaviours of good leaders. During the 1960s a duality model of leadership gained favour; its two dimensions being concern for people and interpersonal relations and concern for tasks and production, but there has been much criticism of this model.\textsuperscript{24}

Literature on leadership in education, especially within the area of educational administration is developing rapidly. Most writings are concerned with what the leader does, coupled with the leader's effectiveness. Leadership is viewed from a myriad of perspectives, offering differing definitions, models and descriptors, and has proved to be 'a notoriously slippery concept\textsuperscript{25} producing hundreds of definitions. Recent studies have moved toward a more multi-dimensional approach and the process of leadership.

Sergiovanni has described leadership metaphorically as a set of five forces, technical, human, educational, symbolic and cultural.\textsuperscript{26} His belief is that symbolic and cultural

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{25} Owens, 1995, p. 116.  
\end{flushright}
leadership are critical qualities for transforming schooling from competence into excellence and that these qualities are contained in the vision of the leader. In outlining the technical and symbolic roles of leadership Deal and Peterson propose the need for a more balanced approach to administration.27

Another definition of leadership is that it involves 'leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations - the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations - of both leaders and followers.'28 The aspirations and values, the visions, of both leaders and followers count.

The following section very briefly discusses some theories pertaining to leadership in a Western context including trait theories, behavioural theories, situational leadership, instructional leadership, transformational leadership, servant-leadership, authentic leadership and finally, community.

TRAIT THEORIES

Prior to World War One leadership was analysed by studying the traits of great leaders in history. Decades of research based on this approach has proven to be inconclusive, with traits identified as crucial in one study being deemed not significant in another. Stogdill conducted reviews of traits studies in 1948 and again in 1974. He suggested that,

The leader is characterised by a strong drive for responsibility and task completion, vigour and persistence in pursuit of goals, venturesomeness and originality in problem solving, drive to exercise initiative in social situations, self-confidence and sense of personal identity, willingness to accept consequences of decision and action, readiness to absorb interpersonal stress, willingness to tolerate frustration and delay, ability to influence other persons' behaviour, and capacity to structure social interaction systems to the purpose at hand.29

Despite the limits of traits theory, lists of attributes of successful leaders are still being generated in literature pertaining to leadership. Yukl values the trait approach as having important implications for improving managerial effectiveness in selection of personnel for management positions, identifying training needs and for planning management development activities in preparation for promotion.30

28 Burns, 1979, p. 19.
29 Stogdill, 1974, p. 81.
30 Yukl, 1994, p. 280.
BEHAVIOURAL THEORIES

Behavioural theories focus on what leaders do: management of things and management of people. Many organisations, especially in industry, adopted Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management which viewed 'administration as management - the coordination of many small tasks so as to accomplish the overall job as efficiently as possible'. Scientific management can be very autocratic, with control, accountability and efficiency the emphases. These basic premises are still thought attractive by many policy makers, administrators and supervisors within Western schools.

Mayo and his colleagues focussed on human relations. His studies confirmed that paying attention to the social needs of workers, rather than treating them as automatons, providing opportunities for employees to socialise and interact with each other and involving them in decision-making processes, actually increased productivity. These notions were popular in Western schools from the thirties to the sixties.

Rensis Likert's studies developed understanding of the employee orientation and the job orientation of leader behaviour. He identified a range of management styles within his management systems theory, with human behaviour being the crucial variable differentiating more effective from less effective organisations.

The main causal factors [of organisational effectiveness or ineffectiveness] are the organisational climate and the leadership behaviour which significantly affect how subordinates deal with each other individually and in work groups in order to produce their end results. These variables can be used to define consistent patterns of management. ...The range of management styles begins with System 1 which is a punitive authoritarian model and extends to System 4, a participative or group interaction model. In between is System 2, a paternalistic authoritarian style that emphasises [person-to-person] supervision in a competitive (or isolative) environment, and System 3, which is a [person-to-person] consultative pattern of operation.

Likert provided links to 'situational leadership' and hinted at a much later theory, 'transformational leadership' as well as group decision-making.

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CONTINGENCY OR SITUATIONAL THEORIES

Aspects of situations which enhance or nullify the effects of a leader's traits or behaviour have been encapsulated in contingency approaches to leadership. The interplay of the situation and the leader maintains the success of the group performance. Contingency theories maintain that leadership effectiveness depends on the fit between personality characteristics and behaviour of the leader and situational variables such as task structure, position power, and subordinate skills and attitudes.

A number of different contingency theories and models have been developed all attempting to predict which types of leaders will be effective in different situations. In traditional management school administrators are encouraged to practice situational leadership, carefully calculating behaviours and strategies in a manner that reflects the characteristics of the situations they face and the psychological needs of the people with whom they need to work. There is value in situational leadership and it should be practiced, but in many schools too much attention is given to the instrumental and behavioural aspects of school leadership and not enough to the symbolic and cultural aspects.

Within remote Aboriginal schools leaders would perhaps prefer to attend more to symbolic and cultural aspects, as these are important elements within traditional societies.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Charismatic theories of leadership originate from the writings of Weber, and provide an explanation for the exceptional influence some leaders have on followers. Most theorists now view charisma as a result of follower perceptions and

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attributions influenced by actual leader qualities and behaviour, by the context of the leader situation, and by the individual and collective needs of followers.\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP}

Burns\textsuperscript{44} in rejecting the trait theory of leadership developed two polarities in his study of male political leaders: transactional leadership and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership involves some degree of bargaining, of needs and wants, of benefit to both leader and follower.

\begin{quote}
It is the leadership of the administrator who sees to the day-to-day management of the system... Transactional leadership deals with people seeking their own individual, independent objectives. It involves a bargaining over the individual interests of people going their own separate ways.\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

The development of transformational leadership has influenced most subsequent studies of leadership within the field of educational administration:

\begin{quote}
...transforming leadership... occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality... transforming leadership ultimately becomes \textit{moral} in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both... leaders address themselves to followers' needs, wants and other motivations, as well as their own, and they serve as an \textit{independent force in changing the makeup of the followers' motive base through gratifying their motives}.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}

Recent writings have emphasised the moral component of leadership. Bass identified four dimensions of transformational leaders, they were charismatic, inspirational, intellectually stimulating and considerate.\textsuperscript{47} He provided a more detailed theory and attempted to differentiate between transformational, transactional and charismatic leadership.\textsuperscript{48} Transformational leadership involves an exchange among people seeking common aims, unifying them to go beyond their separate interests in pursuit of higher goals... It is that leadership which calls people's attention to the basic purpose of the organisation, to the relationship between the organisation and society. Transformational leadership

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{ibid.}, p. 317.

\textsuperscript{44} J. Burns, 1979.

\textsuperscript{45} Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{46} Burns, 1979, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{47} Starratt, 1993, p. 9.

changes people's attitudes, values and beliefs from being self-centred to being higher and more altruistic. 49

Transformational leadership is about visions, the vision of the leader inspiring change, and empowering the group members to hold to their visions and dreams. Group vision evolves from individual visions. Building a shared vision is a facet of Servant-leadership.

SERVANT-LEADERSHIP

Servant-leadership 50 is different from traditional views of leadership in Western culture, which suggest a one-way link, a hierarchical connection between leader and follower. 51 The terms stewardship 52 and service, both rich religious or spiritual terms, are often used to describe what is at the heart of servant-leadership. The following critical characteristics have been identified as communicating the power and promise of servant-leaders: listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualisation, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people, and building community. 53 Servant-leadership involves increased service to others, taking a more holistic approach to work, promoting a sense of community within an organisation and between an organisation and the greater community, sharing of power and decision-making, and a group-oriented approach to work in contrast to the hierarchical model. 54 School administrators practice servant-leadership when they 'minister' to the needs of the schools they serve. They are devoted to a cause, mission or set of ideas and accept the duty and obligation to serve that cause. 55

Aspects of servant-leadership seem to have relevance to educational leadership as it is practiced in remote Aboriginal communities. Commitment to people's growth through a sharing of power and decision-making involving a number of people working in collaborative ways was discussed in the previous chapter in the context of

52 Peter Block has written extensively on stewardship as an aspect or extension of servant-leadership. See his book, Stewardship: Choosing Service over self-interest, Berrett-Koehler, San Francisco, Cal. 1993.
three schools, Shepherdson College, Yirrkala CEC and Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic School.

There has been a further extension of notions of servant-leadership through reflection on actions relating to authentic leadership.

AUTHENTIC LEADERSHIP

Duignan and Bhindi assert that authentic leadership relates to 'credibility, believability, trustworthiness, ethics and morality in the behaviour of leaders, managers and their followers'.\(^{56}\) They see authenticity as a quality of the leader, but is also a product of relationships and interrelationships, and can be linked with interdependence and mutuality.\(^ {57}\) Terry expands on authentic action and ethical action in his understanding of authentic leadership as courage in action. 'The primary mission of leadership is to enhance our authenticity as persons in communities.'\(^ {58}\)

Webs of relationships are vital to Aboriginal peoples. Within remote Aboriginal schools, authenticity belongs not just to the appointed leader, but reciprocates from the quality of relationships which exist within the school and wider community. Leaders within remote communities have often articulated that they see themselves as role models, models of honourable behaviour, trustworthiness and credibility for people within the school and community.

COMMUNITY MODELS OF LEADERSHIP

Sergiovanni has expanded the notion of school as community, reflecting the yearning within post-industrial societies for a return to the values of commitment, obligations and duties as opposed to the more bureaucratic style of rights.\(^ {59}\) Collegiality and team-building are becoming more accepted ways for people to collaborate together. Sergiovanni builds on the work of Tönnies in delineating his vision for schools of tomorrow. Aspects of Tönnies' theory of community are outlined later in this section.

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57 ibid., p. 201.
Sergiovanni views leadership within schools as communities as being distinctively different from present patterns of leadership within schools.

Community Theory provides us with an opportunity to create forms that better fit what we want to accomplish. At the centre of Community Theory is the principle that leadership and decision making should be idea based.\(^{60}\)

Shared ideas provide a moral base for leadership, a leadership in which all share, not just the nominated or appointed leader.

Aspects of Community Theory, of community models of leadership can be applied to remote Aboriginal schools.

A *community* is a group of people who are socially interdependent, who participate together in discussion and decision making, and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it. Such a community is not quickly formed. It almost always has a history and so is also a *community of memory*, defined in part by its past and its memory of its past.\(^{61}\)

Schools in remote areas could have distinct advantages over schools in urban areas. As people know each other, are often bound together by kinship ties and most have shared values and ideas, in many ways the school is already a community. Building communities in schools is seen as a major task facing educationalists today.\(^{62}\) The strong community roots in remote Aboriginal schools have the possibility of enriching the culture of the school. Leaders within those schools can be empowered within the community model, as ties of mutual obligations and shared traditions between people already exist.

**THEORY OF COMMUNITY**

Ferdinand Tönnies in *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Association)\(^{63}\) represented two ideals, two different types of cultures or alternative ways of living, one based in an agricultural society and the other emerging out of an industrial society. The two constructs of his theory of social relationships, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* represent the two ends of a continuum. He does not say that one is better than the other, but that there is always a movement from *Gemeinschaft* to

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\(^{60}\) Sergiovanni, *Leadership for the Schoolhouse*, 1996, p. 120.


*Gesellschaft*. It is difficult to come to English equivalents of these terms, but they are often inadequately described as approximating community and society.

Within Indigenous societies relationships with others are paramount and influence how people relate to themselves, to others, to things, living and non-living and to ancestral beings. Parts of this theory are important from the point of view of relationships. However, a limitation of Tönnies' theory within this study, is that the two societies he represents, agricultural and industrial, were the existing paradigms in Germany in the latter part of last century, but are not the realities of present day remote Aboriginal societies, where people oscillate between aspects of a hunter gatherer lifestyle through to those of post-industrial societies. Aspects of agricultural and industrial societies are non-existent for members of most remote communities.

*Gesellschaft* by its very nature fosters a loose connection with associates, even anonymity. The sense of place is no longer of importance as people are no longer dependent on family and near neighbours for support or sustenance as they are within *Gemeinschaft*. *Gesellschaft* is typical of large scale societies where bureaucratic modes of relating are the norm.

Aboriginal peoples have traditionally lived in small scale societies, hence learning to live with bureaucracy, which has evolved out of a totally different way of life, is of great significance if communities are to effectively negotiate with instrumentalities beyond the community. Bureaucracies substitute impersonal roles as an office in place of known individuals, \(^{64}\) which is so different from the way of life within family groups or small scale societies.

Sergiovanni\(^{65}\) relates that Native American and Native Indian societies uphold the values of place, of heart, of mind. For Aboriginal people in remote areas of the NT and other parts of northern Australia, this sense of belonging to family, extended family, friends and neighbours, of personalised relationships already exists. *Gemeinschaft*, building schools as communities, communities of mind, of place, and of heart, where shared values, rituals and memories are the norm, is a lived reality for some remote communities, where the people are from one language group and especially in HLCs, where people are usually from one family group. The task of building community is much more difficult in places where peoples from different

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\(^{64}\) S. Harris, 1990, p. 36. See also Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973, for elaboration on the nature of bureaucracy.

\(^{65}\) Sergiovanni, 1996, p. 12.
areas were brought together and suffered keenly the effects of colonisation and the subsequent dislocation and break downs in human relations in their societies.66

School and Community, School as Community, in remote schools could provide pointers for places endeavouring to enflesh these visions.

SUMMARY

The business world of production, efficiency and management has influenced styles of leadership and management in schools. Newer theories of leadership are moving beyond these models and metaphors from the industrial and corporate spheres as well as education, towards a more holistic integration of qualities of relationships and authenticity, involving more members of the workplace. Hierarchical patterns of leadership and management are fading as circular patterns of interaction, interrelatedness and group activities and action become more sharply focussed.67 Women and Indigenous leaders may have the possibility of offering more inclusive ways of exercising leadership in schools. The following sections look at women and leadership and Indigenous leadership.

LEADERSHIP STYLES AND WOMEN

Women have long been integral to the educational endeavour, but have not been in leadership positions in large numbers, especially in state controlled systems.68 In the educational leadership literature, women were seen as incapable of leadership; in the nineteenth century due to biology, in the early twentieth century due to supposed psychological deficiencies and in the seventies due to lack of career ambition and low self-esteem leading to their wish to avoid discrimination.

67 Max DePree, Leadership is an art, Australian Business Library, an imprint of Information Australia Group, Melbourne, 1989; Spears, Reflections on Leadership; Terry, Authentic Leadership.
68 Until very recently, Catholic schools had large numbers of religious women as teachers and holding leadership positions in their parochial system. Many girls-only schools had women principals and almost total female staffs.
Studies have shown that the leadership styles of men and women do differ. Women are more personal in their style, sharing information, sensitive to the feelings of others, promoting empowerment of followers, and motivating people by appealing to their commitment to the organisation's ideals.  

The burgeoning literature on leadership by women tends to ascribe the differences in behaviour for women leaders to gender rather than personality type. Women corporate leaders have mostly been described as exemplifying styles found within transformational leadership:

'interactive leadership', encouraging the participation of others, sharing power and information with them, facilitating their inclusion in the group, making them feel important, evoking in them high levels of enthusiasm and excitement for their work.

In evoking these styles, women have been described as easier to work with, but this is not always the preferred style when considering outcomes and measurement of performance.

Shakeshaft summarised the findings of feminocentric literature as revealing that women spend more time with people, communicate more, care more about individual differences, are more concerned with other teachers and with marginal students. Teaching and learning are central, so academic achievement tends to be higher in schools with women principals. Democratic participatory style and community building are essential to many women's administrative style, and their schools tend to exhibit cooperation.

While it is true that there may be some gender differences in leadership style, it is equally true to say that they may be attributable to non biological factors including the differing ways men, women, boys and girls are socialised into the culture. Still is of the opinion that,

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70 Owens, 1995, p. 139.
a more concerted effort at attempting to change organisational culture would do more to assist women's leadership aspirations than worrying about whether women had the 'appropriate' leadership style.  

Examining leadership styles and their relationship with women is highly relevant to the present reality of leadership in remote Aboriginal schools.

INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOLS

All seven present Aboriginal principals in the NT are women, which is significant, given that within mainstream schools the majority of principals are male, within a heavily feminised profession. Although the initial Indigenous principals were male, Kevin Rogers and John Joshua at Ngukurr and Mandawuy Yunupingu at Yirrkala, they have moved into other careers. Some of these women in leadership positions are beginning to speak and write of their experiences and this small, but growing body of literature provides a rich repository for emerging leaders.

Shirley Nirrupuranydji, principal of Gapuwiyak CEC presented her perceptions of Aboriginal leadership and her preparation for the role at an International Conference of Indigenous Peoples:

Now I am an educational leader in my own community and it is not an easy task. I see myself torn between two cultures that are just beginning to understand each other ... I often find myself interpreting between the community and the Education Department. ... I see myself as [a] Yolngu Principal, a Yolngu role model, a Yolngu leader and a Yolngu person for the community and the school ... who will make sure that our children are being offered a decent education ... [and I work to bring] the community and school together...

[As] the eldest daughter of my father ... I have responsibilities to my Dhalwangu people to participate in all aspects of ceremonies. These often compete with my responsibilities to the Department and my school. These traditional responsibilities on the other hand have also equipped me to take on the leadership role that being Principal of a school demands. Being a principal is not always easy for my family either...

I have respect from the community both through my traditional role and my role as Principal...

Yet having a local and qualified person in charge ... has also meant that some problems have emerged as the demands of the two cultures conflict. For example, everyone is related on staff and in the community, and with the demands of extended family coming to work can be hard, or with brother and

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sister relationships or avoidance relationships on staff, or disciplining staff, or communicating with certain students, a lot of tact and care has to be taken so as not to offend Yolngu traditions.

In the past Balanda have had the excuse that they are dhungu, that they don't know. We Yolngu of course, do know. And so we keep juggling the demands of the two systems, but it is worth it. They are our children, it is our school, and it is our community, and we are in control.75

A number of pressures bear on Aboriginal principals outside the difficulties arising from the position of authority within the school. These pressures are generated from within the local community; tensions related to community and family politics and power play; soliciting community support and involvement in school activities; collaborating with other local bodies on common problems, which are often health issues.76

Rose Guywanga77 sees the role of an Aboriginal principal being different from that of the non-Aboriginal principal. She perceives her duties revolving around relationships: 'This involves dealing with Yolngu and Balanda staff, students, parents and the community and related educational issues.' The lens through which she views everything is the local community, based on the local environment and knowledge of Yolngu culture. 'Balanda principals can only look at one way and that is inside the school' whereas Yolngu principals reach out toward the community 'because of different levels of communication like our different dialects, cultural background, relationships and the moieties.' Yolngu principals have local knowledge of the situation in the community, the background of Yolngu understanding to assist in handling community expectations, especially conflict situations, and can reach out and negotiate with the community without getting involved in side issues and cultural misunderstandings. Every issue must be communicated and negotiated in a proper and respectful way.

According to Guywanga, schools need both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers: 'It is clear to me that we need to teach each other. Balanda's (sic) can support Yolngu in administration and Yolngu can guide the development of a locally based curriculum.' Later she says, 'Working as a Yolngu principal involves working as a team. I think this is the best way for an Aboriginal school to work.' Teams provide the possibility of being inclusive and collaborative and of utilising the talents of all

75 Shirley Nirrupuranydji, 'Mentoring, Me and the Community' paper given at International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, Wollongong, NSW, 1993, pp. 1-4.
76 Nirrupuranydji, p. 3.
77 Rose Guywanga, 'Yolngu Principals Role', revised Term 4, 1996, in Executive Teacher Mentoring Finance Workshop Report, October 1996, from Sue Reaburn, Staff Development Officer, Mentor Program NTDE.
members of staff. Working in teams can be an aspect of building community in schools, a theme which will be developed in the next section.

The brevity of Guywanga's paper belies the richness of educational leadership vision in working in partnership with community and Balanda in Aboriginal schools.

Aboriginalisation or localisation has been articulated as a vision for many remote schools. Miriam-Rose Baumann has outlined the stages of Aboriginalisation envisaged for St Francis Xavier School Daly River, 'in order to bring the school and community together with a strong emphasis on concurrent adult education'. The first step was to have trained Aboriginal teachers. Her next move was to divide the children into Language/Family groups instead of the traditional age or class attainment groupings. Having children of all age groups, except Year 7 and Post Primary, from the one Language/Family group in one class has made the teaching a little more difficult but the teachers are coming to grips with this because the family grouping makes the discipline so much easier... An added benefit from the grouping plan is the total involvement of the community in the program of education. As well as involving the community in the education of its younger members she perceives that,

successful, authentic cultural growth must take place first in the Aboriginal adult community if there is to be a successful educational program in child education. The nature of my envisaged adult education program is based on a program broadly called one of 'conscientisation'.

Within this community women have assumed leadership roles not just in the school, but within the community council, as health workers, the arts centre, in running nutrition programs for the children, alcohol programs and in formal study programs. The vision of school and community working in partnership together for Aboriginalisation, connects all these examples of leadership with education and the school.

REMOTE ABORIGINAL SCHOOLS OF THE FUTURE

Post-industrial schools will change and there will be changes in leadership metaphors to accommodate these new designs; from principal as manager to

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79 Miriam-Rose Baumann, Eric Johnston lecture, p. 2.
80 Baumann-Ungumerr, Models of Leadership, p. 91.
principal as facilitator, from teacher as worker to teacher as leader. 81 With changes in organisation and management, there will be a 'reorientation in transformed schools from bureaucratic to moral authority, and from bureaucratic control to professional empowerment, or control' through what Sergiovanni defines as 'professional socialisation, purposing and shared values, and collegiality and natural interdependence'. 82

Recent writings on educational leadership elaborate on aspects of a reality already present in remote schools. Servant-leadership with its holistic focus, developing a greater sense of community, sharing of power and decision-making, and a group oriented approach can be glimpsed in the three emerging models for leadership which were discussed earlier in this chapter, that is servant leadership, authentic leadership and school as community.

Remote Aboriginal schools are changing. As they begin to reflect community aspirations they are becoming more individualised and the leadership within these schools is changing as localisation occurs.

The final section of this chapter examines a theory relating to the changes which occur when Indigenous cultures and societies conflict with Western cultures.

**THEORY OF PRISMATIC SOCIETY**

The theory of prismatic society developed by Fred Riggs 83 provides a limited structure for perceiving the changes and possibly the purpose of remote Aboriginal schools. As an analyst of public administration in the international arena, Riggs developed the theory to try to understand the conflict between the highly complex and relatively independent Western modes of organisation which were imposed during times of colonialism with what seemed to be less differentiated Indigenous modes of organisation. 84

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82 Murphy, 1992, pp. 116-117.
84 Clive Harber, 'Prismatic society revisited: theory and educational administration in developing countries', *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 19, no. 4, 1993, p. 486. In this paper, Harber uses the theory to examine some aspects of prismatic society including bribery, corruption, cheating and nepotism.
Riggs introduced the term 'prismatic' to refer to intermediate-type systems which mix, in various proportions, fused and diffracted characteristics from both the Indigenous society and the imported colonial structures. It is implied that both fused and diffracted models appear to be relatively static or fixed whereas the prismatic model implies an unstable and dynamic quality of change or disequilibrium. This state of flux arises as the prismatic society balances elements and values from the often opposing systems, in order to meet the demands of the emerging society.

The Theory of Prismatic Society does not fully describe the dynamic of change in some remote community schools as they undergo the process of localisation. When Western schooling models were introduced within communities, elements of social organisation from within the small scale society were often ignored and it is only recently that Aboriginal teachers have been inserting elements into their classrooms. Administrative structures within some schools within this decade have begun to reflect elements from traditional social organisational patterns.

Prismatic societies and the institutions within them, in this instance remote schools, are a synthesis of Indigenous values and social organisation and relatively new implanted ones. As society is engaged in this process of diffraction, of deflection, so also is the educational endeavour. To expand the analogy a little further, the term 'prismatic schools' may provide some assistance in speaking of the dynamic of change which is occurring as Western education with its complexities, is being critically assessed by remote Aboriginal societies. There is a state of flux, a dynamic of change occurring in remote Aboriginal societies today where fused and diffracted characteristics meet. Leaders are initiating changes in schools as people articulate

and develop the curricula and environment they believe students in their communities need in order to retain values from their traditional society as well as meet the challenges and complexities of the late twentieth century post-modern era. During this time of change both the efficiency and effectiveness of localisation will be challenged.

The process of localisation in leadership is only beginning, with 'traditional' and 'modern' values and behaviour striving to co-exist in a range of expressions. The term 'prismatic' is a helpful, though inadequate way of referring to this dynamic quality of change occurring in remote schools in leadership styles, structures and expressions. I contend the theory is inadequate to describe the present reality as the analysis has emerged from Western structures with its possible bias about differences in organisation and perceived inefficiencies of localisation.

The full spectrum of values and behaviours in local leadership is yet to emerge as schools and communities develop more collaborative ways of learning and working together using elements from both traditional and Western knowledge systems. A full appraisal of the change processes will be realistic when after a period of time there has been an integration of values on terms defined by Indigenous leaders and educators.

**CONTRIBUTION OF THIS STUDY TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP**

Indigenous leadership within the executive in remote Aboriginal schools is a recent development for the NT. There have been significant gains in curricula and in pedagogy to assist Aboriginal students in remote schools, both here and in Indigenous communities throughout the world. To date there has been very little written on Indigenous educational leadership, and the possibilities of Indigenous leadership in schools in Australia and beyond. I have been unable to locate any studies relating to ways in which Indigenous leadership is being exercised, or the patterns and models of leadership in these contexts.

Reflecting on leadership as it is emerging in some remote Aboriginal schools, where aspects of Western and Indigenous styles are beginning to dialogue, is a new area of
research. As the fused and refracted aspects of leadership and management meet to create the prismatic state of dynamic change, exciting new possibilities will emerge. Yet present theories are not able to adequately reflect the changes that are occurring.

This study is very much an initial contribution to the literature in what will possibly prove to be a rich area of investigation in the future.

CONCLUSION

The brief and partial review of leadership from a Western perspective has outlined some developments in understandings of leadership this century. Recent theories of leadership have largely built on the transformational model developed by Thomas Burns. Thomas Greenleaf's servant-leadership, authentic leadership the notion of school as community, all have relevance to what is evolving in some remote Aboriginal schools. The theory of prismatic society, developed by Fred Riggs is convenient as it relates to an understanding of the state of flux which is occurring in schools as localisation and contextualisation of leadership is occurring. Perhaps education and its purposes for people in remote Aboriginal communities in the NT are being redefined at the same time.
INTRODUCTION

As has been shown in the last chapter, little has been written about leadership in remote Aboriginal schools in Australia especially from the perspective of Aboriginal teachers and leaders. Furthermore, the literature search has confirmed that there is minimal data available relating to leadership in schools from other Indigenous groups around the world. For this study it was decided that ethnographic methodologies would be the most suitable as they can provide techniques for exploratory research with open ended approaches.

RATIONALE FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODOLOGY

It is largely inappropriate to extrapolate accepted leadership principles from schooling in urban and 'mainstream' contexts and then apply them without due care to life in remote Aboriginal communities, where so many other factors seem to impinge on living and on the world of education and schooling. Given this situation, the most appropriate methodology was that coming out of ethnography, because embedded within this approach is awareness of the importance of the context of culture. Education within the context of schools and schooling is a very western notion, when compared with traditional Aboriginal styles of education and learning. Leadership in schools has evolved from this western model, but a paradigm shift seems to be occurring in different locations in the NT as teachers and principals in remote schools begin to Aboriginalise or localise the educational structures and endeavours of their communities. Within this movement there has been a gradual rethinking of the notion of leadership and how it is to be patterned and exercised within the school. Any attempt to document and analyse these transformations would need to be grounded within a cultural perspective. Ethnography provides a way of examining the culture of leadership from the inside out.

1 Michael Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, 2nd ed. Sage, Newbury Park, 1990, p. 67. There are many different Aboriginal cultures and language groups and each community is different, but in order to take the discussion forward, I will speak in generalisations until the data from actual research sites is discussed.

PRINCIPLES OF ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Ethnography as a descriptive study of a living culture has its origins in anthropology.³ Dobbert⁴ has outlined the aims of ethnography as describing the social situation from an insider’s perspective, from an emic point of view⁵ and enabling scientific understanding by providing a detailed description of the social situation. Ethnography is contained in qualitative research, but it differs from other qualitative methods. Ethnography has associations with cultural anthropology in that it utilizes 'thick description'.⁶ Its concept of 'culture' as a tool for interpretation is inherent to anthropology.

Within ethnographic fieldwork there is a diversity of approaches. Patton⁷ identifies three styles: the holistic, the semiotic and the behaviouristic. LeCompte and Goetz⁸ see the objective of ethnography as the 'holistic reconstruction of the culture or phenomena investigated'. In a later work they state:

Ethnographers seek to construct descriptions of total phenomena within their various contexts and to generate from these descriptions the complex interrelationships of causes and consequences that affect human behaviour toward, and belief about, the phenomena.⁹

Dobbert¹⁰ claims the possibility of building up this holistic picture, gaining an emic perspective by undergoing careful preparation beforehand and engaging in a systematic analysis which is focussed around relevant issues, without necessarily spending inordinate amounts of time in the field. The semiotic, or as it is sometimes called, the symbolic style or approach to anthropology is interdisciplinary with an orientation towards linguistics, making heavy borrowings from cognitive anthropology, structuralism and functionalism.¹¹ The behaviouristic approach as the name implies is reliant on observable behaviour of events and situations in specified

⁵ Emic was first coined by Kenneth Pike, 1954-55 Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour. Glendale California: Summer Institute of Linguistics. As a linguist he borrowed the term from phonemic as distinct from phonetic. In Luzbetak, The church and cultures, p. 150.
⁶ 'Thick description' is an expression used by Clifford Geertz 1983 and Denzin 1989 to describe the detail needed when writing up data, so that readers can understand and draw their own conclusions. There needs to be a balance between description, analysis and interpretation. See Patton, 1990, pp. 375, 430.
⁷ Patton, p. 68.
⁹ LeCompte & Preissle with Tesch, 1993, p. 3.
¹⁰ Dobbert, p. 217.
¹¹ Luzbetak, p. 154-156.
settings. The diversity of approaches in ethnographic research allowed for a multi-textured pattern of engaging in the field with varying intensities using a range of methodologies. In this study, Dobbert's holistic approach was followed, though there were overlaps from the semiotic and the behaviouristic styles.

STRATEGIES FOR AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

Various strategies were employed in data collection, including field notes from participant and non-participant observation, interviews, and documents from various sources. These provided the raw data which was then subjected to a range of analyses and cross checking to ensure validity and reliability.

Participant and non-participant observation

Participant observation, one of the most common methods of ethnographic data collection, was used in order to contextualise the interviews. Gans\(^\text{12}\) distinguished three types of roles within participant observation: total participant, researcher participant, and total researcher. This study utilised participant observation where the researcher participated in the situation, but was only partially involved in order to continue to function as a researcher. The observer-as-participant role suited the brief and fairly formalised interactions with no attempt by the researcher to establish enduring relationships with the participants.\(^\text{13}\)

Interviews

Interviews were an important source of data collection, allowing the researcher to enter into some aspects of the other person's perspective. Patton\(^\text{14}\) delineated four approaches to collecting data through interviews: the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach, the standardized open-ended interview and the closed fixed response interview. The general interview guide approach was used for the formal interviews, which proved to be helpful for group interviews.

For the purposes of this research, group interviews were chosen as the major way of collecting data from Aboriginal teachers, as they allowed informality, and because operating in groups is closely aligned to traditional patterns of group decision-


\(^{14}\) *ibid.*, pp. 288-289.
making. Within the cross-cultural context people had time to talk through insights and solutions as well as to prompt each other. Questions were directed to the group, leaving group members free to respond if they wished. In general terms, Aboriginal people do not prefer formal interview situations using direct questioning. Group interviews with teachers, and members of the Action Group or other designated groups, was a strategy which enabled discussion to flow more freely. Interviews with one person, especially with an unknown and unrelated female speaking with a male could be a breach of etiquette in more traditionally-oriented communities. In one interview with a man, his wife accompanied him and contributed to the discussion.

A structure, or focus was provided by the interview guide. A set of issues was outlined and given to the informants before the actual interview so that they knew the content and purpose of the interview. The questions were not necessarily asked in the same way, or the same order, but the general intent was similar with each interview. The meaning of the question, not the precise wording, was fixed. At times other topics emerged from the interview, or issues were explored in depth as the interviews were open ended. See Appendices B and C for the interview guides.

Interviews were also conducted with non-Aboriginal principals, tutor teachers where available and personnel from Batchelor College, members of the NTDE and CEO and selected people in leadership or training roles within the Christian churches at Nungalinya. These interviews were mostly more than an hour in length, compared with the group interviews which were about forty minutes in duration. One principal was interviewed twice to seek further clarification, with follow up telephone conversations with two participants.

Microtapes were used to record interviews. Each interview was transcribed and then subjected to data analysis, using Filemaker Pro as the database manager, in order to discover patterns of themes.

**Documents**

Documents were provided by personnel from the schools relating to the school history and the local community. Writings by principals and executive teachers covering a variety of topics were also incorporated into the data base.

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15 cf. Brown et al., 1989, p. 40; Patton, p. 17
16 cf Patton, p. 339, where he speaks of the breach of etiquette for an unknown man to ask to meet alone with a woman.
17 Denzin, 1978, p. 118 suggests this is a good strategy.
Triangulation

Triangulation, based on the premise that collecting, processing and cross checking data from different sources and sites pertaining to the same study using a variety of methods, enhanced both validity and reliability of the data. The reality was viewed from various perspectives in order to describe it more fully, to help to overcome bias which is inherent in single methods, single theory, single source and single observer studies.  

Denzin identified four types of triangulation. Data triangulation in this study involved comparing and cross checking observational data with interview data, correlating what people said, checking for consistency in comments and comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view. Investigator or analyst triangulation using multiple observers or analysts was also utilised, having those who were interviewed review the contents of the interview, and some participants were selected to read drafts of the data chapter, to check the accuracy, fairness and validity of the interpretations or findings. This research examined leadership from the perspectives of different stakeholders, so differing discernments of the reality emerged as the various stakeholders may operate out of different theories of action. 

THE STUDY PROCEDURE

A number of components made up the study procedure including ethical protocols in negotiating and consulting with communities, the questions underlying the research, the participants contributing to the study, the procedures used for data collection and ways in which the material was categorised within the framework of the questions, and finally the means deployed to ensure reliability and validity of data were met.

21 Rejection of valuable data is the risk a researcher takes in returning drafts to participants. Data I considered substantial to my argument needed to be deleted as a result of this process.
ETHICAL APPROVAL AND COMMUNITY CONSULTATION

After discussion and consultation with various experienced Northern Territory educators, six remote communities in the Northern Territory were selected to see if school staff were willing to participate in research about models of leadership for remote Aboriginal schools in the NT. The schools were selected according to a range of criteria: all schools were considered remote and exhibited movements towards Aboriginalisation or localisation along a continuum; in some of the schools there were interesting developments in ways of exercising leadership; all schools had students who have participated in the RATE program over a number of years; researcher access would not be an insurmountable problem and a sufficient degree of difference existed within the schools culturally, geographically and historically.

A proposal was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Northern Territory University and approval given for the aims and intended methodology. Approval was sought and given by the Curriculum and Assessment Branch of the NTDE to approach schools directly and seek their participation. Similarly, the CEO gave approval to contact Catholic schools to seek their participation.

After initial telephone contact with the six schools, further information was sent by letter outlining my topic, proposed methods of interview, ethical matters relating to confidentiality and an approximate time frame for response. All schools contacted gave permission from their respective Action Groups or School Councils for me to visit the schools to collect data and conduct interviews. In order to confine the research to the 'Top End' of the NT for logistic purposes, one of the schools approached was deleted, leaving five focus schools. A problem emerged with one location, after permission had been granted, because the principal went on long service leave and during that leave, a decision was made to admit no visitors to that community for the next school year. An alternative school had to be approached and negotiations begun for visiting, which lengthened the data collection timeframe.

Confidentiality was maintained through the use of pseudonyms in marking the tapes. Letters of the alphabet were assigned to people and communities. In group interviews, where it was difficult to identify the speaker, bullets (• ) were used to identify a change of speaker. Whatever was said was treated in the strictest confidence and only the researcher had access to the transcripts of interviews. Transcripts were returned to informants to check accuracy before the final writing of the thesis. Informants also had the opportunity to read a draft of the data chapter. The
original tapes stored at the university, will be destroyed after the appointed time. Transcripts of the tapes will be kept for five years.

FORMULATING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The broad research question alluded to in the title of this research provided ample flexibility for different themes to emerge from the data. As different models of leadership are beginning to emerge in schools throughout the NT, reflecting different community traditions and histories, it seemed imperative to document this variety which could have a possible influence on the spread and nature of Aboriginalisation or localisation of schools.

The research questions evolved and developed throughout the course of the research, as well as the analysis stages. Areas of investigation included the following:

- How suitable are the present programs- especially the NTDE's mentoring program, and the Administration course at Batchelor, in preparing for leadership and localisation in remote schools? Are these programs empowering people for leadership?
- How do these two programs interact?
- Are there other ways in which Aboriginal teachers can come to a greater understanding of the possibilities for the functioning of schools in order to decide the type of school and school structure which are best for their particular community?
- How do Aboriginal principals balance their leadership role, which involves accountability to the local community, and their bureaucratic role, with accountability to an administration based outside the community?
- What is the difference between leadership and management and how are these expressed in remote schools?
- Do traditional roles and models of leadership influence schools leadership?
- How are schools developing ways of exercising leadership which resonate with the aspirations of the community and the cultural setting?
- What structures are in place to assist decision-making?
- In what areas of decision-making can local schools have control?
- Can 'best practices' models of leadership be identified for community schools?
- Do emerging Indigenous leadership roles within the Christian churches provide any indicators for leadership within the schools?
THE PARTICIPANTS

A broad range of people took part in this research both as individuals and as groups: Aboriginal teachers, members of school Action Groups or School Councils, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal principals and principals-in-training, personnel from the NTDE, CEO, Batchelor College and some in church leadership positions. As stated earlier, a list of questions for each of the groups is contained in Appendix B. Collecting data in a cross cultural situation meant that questions needed to be precise and very clear.

The researcher

As a non-Aboriginal teacher, I was not a member of the group being studied, and I did not reside in any of the communities of the research. As a female teacher I had some acceptance in the groups, as the majority of teachers in the schools were female and all Aboriginal principals were female. I had lived for four years in a community on the edge of the Great Sandy Desert, where I was a teacher, deputy of the school and for three terms the acting principal. I was allocated a kinship position within that community and given both a 'skin name' and later a 'bush name'. Within three of the communities in the research I was relatively well known by some participants, but came as a complete outsider to the other two communities.

Aboriginal teachers

Aboriginal teachers who had completed teacher education through a recognised institution of teacher education for students from remote areas from each of the five schools were invited to take part in a group interview towards the end of my first visit to each community. There was no compulsion to take part in the interview, but a good representation from the schools involved participated and enabled a range of voices to be heard.

Aboriginal principals and principals-in-training

Each of these people were interviewed separately from the general teacher group. In one community there is a group of deputy principals, and these people were interviewed together with the principal-in-training.

23 'Skin names' are often ascribed to non-Aboriginal residents in communities as 'kinship is the basis of social relations, indicating the general range of behavior expected in a given case. Everyone must be identified in this way.'Ronald and Catherine Berndt, The World of the First Australians, 5th edn, revised, 1988, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, p. 68. I was put into the relationship of sister with the ATA I worked with. Bush names are less frequently given, and usually only after being resident in the community for some time. They are often used as a sign of familiarity, and can relate to physical characteristics or mannerisms.
Follow up interviews were conducted where necessary and practicable, when personnel were in Darwin on other business.

**Batchelor College personnel**
This group consisted of lecturers or tutors involved in the delivery of the Educational Administration course and in the fourth year teacher education program. These interviews were with individuals. A RATE tutor resident in the communities when I visited, was included under Batchelor College personnel.

**NTDE and CEO personnel**
Staff involved with the mentoring program and support of principals and principals-in-training were interviewed, drawing on their perceptions of the program to date, its strengths and weaknesses and possible pointers for future development.

**People in church leadership positions**
Church personnel were interviewed to ascertain their perceptions of training and leadership and to confirm if there are similarities between churches and schools in issues of leadership in communities. All communities chosen for the research had their origins as a church mission, from three different Christian denominations. These churches are developing aspects of an inculturated church\(^{24}\), through local ordained or lay leadership in many Aboriginal communities. In some cases, Indigenous leadership or localisation in the churches has preceded localisation within the schools.

**Staff at Nungalinya College**
This institution was established for teaching theology and preparing Aboriginal people for leadership from the Anglican, Uniting and Catholic churches, with the Lutheran Church in association.\(^{25}\) Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal College staff have been involved in models of leadership over many years, with an Aboriginal principal appointed to the College in 1995.

The type of interview, total numbers of participants and location of interviews is outlined in Table 5.1.

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\(^{24}\) Inculturation relates to the dialogue between faith and culture or cultures leading to the creation of Indigenous patterns of Christian worship. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, the Anglican and Uniting Churches have a greater history of local leadership than does the Catholic Church. See Anscar Chupungco, *Liturgies of the future: The process and methods of inculturation*, 1989, Paulist Press, Mahwah, N.J.; Peter Schineller, *A handbook on inculturation*, 1990, Paulist Press, Mahwah, NJ.

\(^{25}\) *What is Nungalinya?*, promotional brochure, n.d.
TABLE 4.1

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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
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DATA COLLECTION

As was indicated earlier, a variety of methods of data collection were employed; field trips including participant observation, compilation of field notes, structured and unstructured interviews, documents, curriculum materials relating to teacher education programs, course outlines and interactive learning packages.

Field Trips

In 1996 and early 1997, each of the communities was visited, with the researcher spending several days in the community as a participant observer, learning how the community and school functions, collecting data and developing some relationship with the people selected for the interviews.

Interviews

Towards the end of the visit, after people had time to establish some relationship with the researcher, interviews were recorded. As indicated earlier, there was a group interview with Aboriginal teachers or members of the Action Group or other group, and individual interviews with the school principals and principals-in-training, the RATE tutor, as well as other people indicated by the school community. The interviews used the set questions as a guide for the discussion.
Documents
Access to school records and documentation pertaining to the history of the school, the community, Aboriginalisation or localisation was given, enabling a composite picture to be developed. Other written materials pertaining to the history of the community, or anthropological reports were also perused. Texts of speeches delivered in national and international forums were also made available. Reports, reviews and legislation were other sources of documentation.

Field notes
Field notes containing jottings from casual informal interviews provided a source for the daily log of events while operating in the field. Notes in diary form were recorded on computer in the evenings containing date, time, location and details of the main informants. These notes were used for preliminary data analysis. The notes also detailed the impressions gained of people, places and events, and my feelings where relevant throughout the course of each day.

DATA ANALYSIS
In order to derive meaning from the data a number of strategies and procedures were used, which also helped to validate the findings which emerged. In the initial stages of the content analysis an inductive process was used, letting the data speak for itself.

Participants
Some of those interviewed at each of the sites were invited to react to material as it was processed and analysed in order to seek confirmation of the interpretations and analyses, as well as checking the accuracy of materials. A couple of Aboriginal teachers not living in the selected communities were also asked to read material and comment on the analyses.

Organising and categorising data
As soon as the data were collected, ongoing categorising and analysis began in order to establish themes and issues emerging from the data. As indicated earlier, triangulation, cross-checking data from different sources and informants was important to check perceptions and accuracy of materials generated. Underpinning theories were sought to explain what was found in the data.

I had hoped to work with an Aboriginal co-researcher in analysis of the data, but for a variety of reasons the two people I had targeted to work with me had to move interstate.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

To ensure reliability and validity in this study a number of techniques were employed. Reliability relates to the extent to which studies can be replicated.27

External reliability addresses the issue of whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in the same or similar settings. Internal reliability refers to the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as did the original researcher.28

Although it will be impossible to exactly replicate this study because of the constantly evolving nature of human behaviour and of institutions, by providing full descriptions and careful delineation of 'researcher status position, informant choices, social situations and conditions, analytic constructs and premises and methods of data collection and analysis' external reliability will be enhanced.29

Internal reliability was enhanced by using multi-data collection procedures, tape recorders for structured and unstructured interviews, triangulation and the maintainance of a constant coding scheme on the data. Interpretations which were made were checked with participants.

Validity lies at the heart of qualitative methodologies. Using triangulation, gathering data from more than one source or site, enhanced the validity of the data, by looking at the reality from various points in order to describe it more fully. Internal validity was sought by engaging in participant observation with the selected teachers and principals in their classroom or school setting both before and after the formal interviews. This was necessary in order to establish some relationship with the teachers before embarking on the interview, matching what is assumed to have occurred with what is represented in the research.30 After the interview was transcribed, a copy was sent to the informants to check for accuracy. Also by

28 Goetz and LeCompte, 1982, p. 32.
including in the data verbatim transcripts of the interviews and including much of these as evidence in the findings validity was increased.

External validity was enhanced through the multi-site design of the research. The same methods of data collection were replicated in five different remote communities to see if there were any consistencies, similarities or differences in perceptions, experiences and patterns of leadership. My intent was not to seek generalisability to all Indigenous communities in Australia.

SUMMARY

The ethnographic methodologies outlined in this chapter detail the basic design of the research and the strategies used to ensure reliability and validity of the research method. Sources of the raw data, field trips, observation, interviews with various participants or stakeholders and field notes were all subjected to data analysis in order to establish themes or patterns. The next chapter will summarise the findings of my study.
CHAPTER FIVE

EMERGENT THEMES TOWARDS MODELS OF LEADERSHIP
INTRODUCTION

In response to my overall investigation of models of leadership in remote Aboriginal schools and after noting the research questions which were detailed in the previous chapter, this chapter details themes emerging from the interviews. Themes include 1. leadership preparation; 2. structures for decision-making; 3. areas of difficulty within the principalship for Aboriginal women, balancing the needs and demands from community with the broader educational systems; and 4. some of the patterns or models of educational leadership that are being developed in remote community schools which are presented as possibilities to be adapted to other local situations. While these four themes clearly emerge from the data analysis they are sometimes overlapping, so this chapter is not organised strictly according to these themes.

Data has been coded to maintain confidentiality of both the informants and of their communities. Two of the informants expressed concern about being identified, with possible repercussions in their future employment. The letters A, D, K, N and U represent the five communities. Individual interviewees within the five communities are represented by a letter for the individual attached to the letter representing the community. Group interviews are signified with the letters GA, GD, GK, GN, and GU above the transcript extracts which have initials for individual speakers where they have been identified. When it was difficult to identify individual speakers in some group interviews bullets (•) have been used. The initials HN denote myself, the researcher. The symbol (⊗) indicates that the speaker is a non-Aboriginal person, with the non-Aboriginal voices being those of NTDE and CEO personnel in school and office positions, mentors, Batchelor College tutors and lecturers, and Nungalinya College staff.

Where participants have used local words denoting the name of their local language, or community, these have been translated into English terms where possible and included in square brackets ([ ]). All the generalisations expressed in this chapter apply only in the five communities which were part of the research.

At times transcripts from different interviews are included in the one section. Where this has occurred, the symbol ←→ ←→ ←→ ←→ ←→ indicates a shift in interview.

On most issues which were canvassed amongst the participants there was consensus. Teachers in one community expressed grave reservations about localisation of leadership in the near future. They felt there would be too many complications
brought to bear in the school and community under present circumstances. Their comments will be included towards the end of the chapter.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As noted in the previous chapter, this thesis looks at a number of different areas related to leadership including preparation for leadership through mentoring programs and courses in educational administration as well as connections existing between these two processes of leadership preparation. Ways in which leadership and management are expressed in remote schools was a significant component of the research. Structures within schools which assist localisation of decision-making as well as areas of decision-making comprised the bulk of most group interviews as can be seen in the interview guides in Appendix 2. Areas of difficulty for those in executive positions was another significant area.

PREPARATION FOR LEADERSHIP

Preparation for those taking on leadership in remote Aboriginal schools was initially through the mentoring program, but since 1995 mentoring is often complemented with the Batchelor College programs in educational administration. The respondents reflected upon the suitability and worthwhileness of the present mentoring programs of the NTDE and the Certificate and Diploma in Administration courses from Batchelor College in preparing for leadership and localisation in remote schools.

MENTORING PROGRAMS

As was indicated in Chapter Two, the mentoring program as a process of professional support has been one of the key ways in which those identified for executive positions within schools have gradually assumed leadership. Initially all the mentoring occurred on-site. There is now broader support through the Staff Development Mentor Program of the NTDE, with the CEO mentoring program linking into the NTDE program.
A number of issues are raised in this section including the importance of carefully matching suitable mentors with mentorees, the quality of the relationship which exists or develops between the two, the mentee being able to choose the mentor where possible, community and family support, the mentoring process to be embedded within the school structure, and some of the darker aspects of mentoring.

To contextualise the history of mentoring for teachers into executive positions in the different communities Table 5.1 provides a time frame for the programs.

**TABLE 5.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>0-2 yrs</th>
<th>3-5 yrs</th>
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Mentoring programs occur in different ways and have different emphases according to the professional development needs of the mentoree. Aspects of the mentoring program begin from different starting points and often operate in different ways. Mentors usually put themselves forward for the position and are chosen by the mentoree. Team approaches are evolving in some places as different people assume responsibility for different components of mentoring according to their expertise.

> NS: When we first started we dichotomised. We had classroom teacher mentors in one box and executive teacher mentors in another box. The more that mentoring occurred the greater the demand for it. .... we could no longer afford to have the classroom teacher mentoring (unless it) was a minimum of three Aboriginal teachers and one full time mentor. In some schools we had twelve, but the twelve weren't all necessarily neophyte ... clusters were provided with a travel allocation or vehicle or whatever ... in some locations people might have up to twelve people they provided support to, but the support varied from going and giving a bit of help with something or can I get you a resource and that might be enough and others would need a lot more support.

HN: Is it the same person who is mentor for both programs, or do you have people for the specific roles?

> NS: With the executive teacher programs in the past we had enough dollars to employ one mentor to one person being mentored. ...So in the early executive teacher mentoring programs the mentors weren't necessarily selected, they were there. It was propinquity, they
were there at the time and many of the Aboriginal principals who went through those programs in the late 70s early 80s programs, they had two years full on one to one and then whoosh, no extra support. It was pretty horrific for them because they felt there were a whole lot of things they didn't know that they weren't told about, that they didn't learn and they didn't know what they were. Even after a couple of years of being principal they didn't know.

In order for the program to be beneficial, a good relationship needs to exist between the mentor and mentee. As was noted in Chapter Two, relationships are of paramount importance for Aboriginal people. Knowing who someone is provides indicators for the correct way to relate to and associate with the other person. Relationships govern all social life.

UK: I had someone beside me. We used to call it the liaison - no, not liaison.
AK: LEA.
UK: LEA, yes. Liaison. And that person guided and guided me and if I hit on hard rock I used to go to that European bloke and he used to tell me what to do and I used to follow his instructions. He was really sort of helpful during my time as the Principal.
HN: And you got along well with that person?
UK: Got along well with him.

The relationship is important from both sides, the mentor also needs to relate well with the mentee if effective professional development is to take place.

LK: I don't think it would really be possible to do the Mentor’s position, or the job, without having that rapport with the other person. It would be just about impossible I think.

MK: I think one of the most important things comes from who you work with or who you train with. If people work with people who believe in them and are able to articulate their strength and give them confidence I think that would probably make the most important difference. Certainly training, in terms of being able to get that confidence and feel that they’re developing those skills and assertiveness from a training course would help, but it’s actually the personalities of people you’re dealing with directly in your day to day work that are going to have the biggest impact, but, certainly, your training can provide an enormous amount of support and confidence building and so people know that they have good skills and know that their skills are up to anyone’s and can be assertive in applying their skills...

Being able to choose your own mentor has advantages, in maintaining and further developing relationships. Sometimes those mentors just happened to be in the school and seemed the logical choice at the time because they were known to the principal-in-training.

HN: So [your mentor] was someone you trusted and understood?
WK: Yes. Yes, and understood. But sometimes, you know, when I didn’t agree with what the mentor was saying or doing, you know, I just - I needed to have a talk to him about it too as well, because I knew he would understand.

HN: Was that easy to do though?

WK: It wasn’t easy but, you know, I had to, instead of just having my Mentor or some other European staff, you know, saying what that means, giving that - my idea for that.

BU: Yes. That was the other good part about it and it's good that the government could side up with you when it comes to those sorts of things because it's important that you find somebody that you like and you can work with, and knows the ropes and you know it's not somebody you're going to be fighting with or have somebody looking down at you ...

HN: And you've at least had that time to see how that person was working and whether you'd be able to work with her.

BU: Yeah. She was the principal here before and mind you, down here was the first time she had been on an Aboriginal community. She had always spent her time in urban areas and in other places working with other Indigenous peoples in islands and other parts of Australia. But it was good because we could sit down and if there was something there that we didn't like even though we might have gotten angry with each other, we were able, she also taught me.

As well as a supportive relationship with the mentor, it is important to have strong support from family and the community for the position of principal. This support can also be a source of strength and guidance.

BU: And you've got to, not just with the person correcting you, you've got to have your support at home, your family and friends and community supporting you. You can't do it by yourself. I've got a good support thing in there. And I was always taught too that if you were angry about something, go away and come back again. Like my husband says, don't try and sort that thing out then because you're not feeling up to it and you'll probably get too angry. Forget about what you're arguing about, you know. And you might say something else different from what you're supposed to be upset about. And come back another day and say 'Look. We've worked out things that way.' And say 'Hey look!', after a couple of days go by, 'Can we sit down and talk about these things?' And the person will say, 'Yeah, you're right, you know, we'll try that way.' Or I'd say, 'Yeah! I'll give it a go.' And that was the good part about that relationship, working relationship. And it helps you too to grow as a person, working with someone who has had experience, far more than me sort of thing, in the sense of the principalship that this person has had. It was phenomenal for the time she was in that position for. And a very good teacher for me.

NS: With the executive teacher program one of the greatest sources of support they need is in the community and in the school. And in a sense it is irrelevant who else provides support if they haven't got that. If there is
not that will and commitment to support inside the community then it is really very very difficult for them.

The relationship between the mentor and those involved in the process, is essential, but in a good mentoring program other factors are deemed essential for the process to work well:

- NS: ... yes the relationship does have to build up between the mentor and those individuals but for mentoring to be successful it has got to be embedded in the school, in the school process, school organisation, the school structure because mentoring requires time, it requires space not a geographical space, but room in the school culture, program, and practice.

In one community the view was that a team of people could assist the present leader, rather than just the mentor trained only in the western tradition.

- UK: I would like to see them - I don't believe in going away, going away training and doing - going into, say, Batchelor College or Darwin Uni. I believe if you want to do training, Aboriginal people do your training on site, what you're working on the job; that's what I believe.
- AK: Nowadays WK is Principal in training, she got LK, but really she should have somebody too like an Aboriginal person like UK or VK to be here with her, if there is some funding available.
- HN: So to have a team of people you think would be better?
- AK: Yes, a team of people that have had experience before and so she can know what she's doing and the stages she's going through with LK at the moment. That's what I think she needs at the moment.

It is going to take some time before there is a pool of people in communities who have had experience in school leadership, but it will become more commonplace for a range of people to have been in the position of principal. At present mentoring is occurring in seventeen schools and there are many different ways it is taking place, according to needs, experience and expertise of personnel.

- NS: I'll give an example [name of school] they have got a mentor who works with two executive teachers and three classroom teachers. The three classroom teachers vary, one very new, one new late last year, one new this year. They are starting at different places because they are individuals. Three of the mentorees are male and two are female on the executive, those being mentored into executive teacher level. It's a huge school a very large staff. One person can't do all that. They can't cover themselves across that many grades and classes and position descriptions for those people so she negotiates the mentoring program and others mentor. Now that may mean that she relieves and goes into the classroom for that person. It may mean that she sits down with a group of people and negotiates a program because she's got, she's an outsider in a sense. So there's different again, the program that's occurring with the executive teachers.

... in another place, ... they identified the individuals they wanted to move up in terms of salary and responsibility. It is time that they accepted
this level of responsibility but there's no position identified for them to go to, so I didn't think there was enough discussion about where's the destination for these people. And so we have negotiated over this year that they receive mentoring at executive teacher levels without particularly looking at one particular position. So they get executive experience on a task by task basis. Abstudy is an absolute nightmare so we are looking at working alongside a senior teacher and they are learning, he is learning the phone calls, letters and all that stuff that goes with filling in Abstudy (forms). He is also involved in other things with a number of other people but the program is overseen by the mentor. Where they don't have a mentor, the executive of the school mentors the Aboriginal teachers. The Aboriginal teachers mentor the non-Aboriginal executive because they have knowledge, skills and experience in learning. They have the option of employing a person as a mentor. They didn't want one because what they have is working really well. They are very happy with it. They looked at all the position descriptions, laid them out on the board and they have gone through with the two Aboriginal teachers and have said, 'Right this is the job of the executive in the school. How comfortable do you feel about doing this?' 'Great!' 'Not too confident about that.' 'Know how to do that.' So they've laid them out and they're working through them.

One of the mentors envisaged the ideal of Aboriginal teachers mentoring others into leadership positions. When this becomes a reality, true localisation and the possibility of a more distinctive style of Aboriginal education developing could occur. The following comment was made in 1996.

LK: You can't just say, 'You're-- - -'?---Yes, 'You're it'. I'd say in the next ten years ladies like WK and a few other ladies from [other places] would probably be the ideal people to teach or train the next generation of leaders I would say, if it can be done in some way. They could be the next mentors maybe.

Those not from the local community who have been occupying executive positions in the school can feel concerned or threatened when the first moves towards localisation occur.

NS: Everybody in the school wants to make a contribution to their advancement, and that was part of my negotiating because they were quite concerned, when I first went out. 'They're not ready!', 'It's too early!'... It's when Aboriginal teachers first start moving into the executive levels there is concern because it's different. We westerners naturally, because they are going to do it differently from the way we... Well, we don't know quite know what they're going to do, we are just a bit worried.

BU: ... or have somebody looking down at you. There are people like that. And I think because they know the table's slowly turning. And people working themselves out of position especially in the executive sections of the schools and they don't want that.
So it's through all our thinkings, it doesn't matter what position we hold in a sense or where we fit from Secretary of the school to Secretary of the Education Department, we need to suspend our assumptions about 'this is the way it is' to 'this is the way it will be.'

The mentoring program however, has not always proceeded smoothly and is always in need of refinement. Difficulties have arisen even although the person chosen is someone already known to the mentee, is on site, but may not necessarily have been the best person to enable professional development to take place in that particular situation.

In the past we've learned, at cost, that you can have someone actually sitting in a position, someone wants to be mentored into it, maybe very good at what they do, but not very good at being mentor ... doesn't have the right sorts of attributes to be a mentor. You could be a good leader, a good manager or whatever, but not a good communicator, good person skills, a willingness to let go. Those people were in a very difficult situation because they had two roles, one duty of care and accountability to the system and the other one; they contradicted each other, allowing that person to grow and develop and take risks and learn the job, and of course allowing someone else to make mistakes when you are accountable is not an easy thing. ...

I hesitated to be mentor. I thought at the beginning of last year, I couldn't be mentor and principal, no way, because I wasn't equipped, I didn't think, to be, give, that necessary time to mentoring. So for the first semester TN got very little help from me and it wasn't until UN came over and really challenged me, you know what are you on about with this mentoring, that it, anything took shape. It was then that TN really blew her top and said you know (inaudible) and it was her blowing her top and KN challenging me that I thought, yeah, I'm not letting go because I don't know how to let go. So I'd say yes it doesn't matter how long you have been a principal, you've been mentoring all your life most likely, but when it's an official capacity that you must mentor and you give the time necessary. Yes I would have done many things differently.

The change from one role in the school to another can be confusing, with difficulties arising in working through different sets of responsibilities.

I was frightened at first, especially in that time when I was doing my three years principal-in-training position with the mentor. I suppose because of that I've had a really good teacher you know. And if you had to do something you had to do it now, and Aboriginal people tend to want to leave things till later and I've had to, okay I might be a strong person at heart, but I'm still an Aboriginal person and those things can play on my mind. You know what should I do, do it now or leave it till tomorrow? I feel good that if someone suggests that I should go and do something now, you know the reasonable thing, I'll try and get that thing done straight away and that helps me build up as a person. One down sort of thing, the next one it's not as hard as before, sort of thing.
WK: Well, at first, when I was chosen to be a principal, I was thinking, ‘Oh’, you know, because I already know how to prepare things in the classroom as a teacher and I used to think, you know, ‘What sort of job will I be doing? Will those jobs be hard for me to work on.’ That’s what I was thinking, because as a classroom teacher you really only think of what to teach in the classroom, but as a Principal, now, that’s a different job and I used to - you know KK was working with me as a mentor and I used to - we used to work together. If I didn’t understand anything I used to ask questions, questions about the job, because at first I really didn’t - you know, I wasn’t really - I was really like sometimes confused and I used to probably just hand some things over to KK to do and that’s why I felt, you know, I wasn’t learning, so I had to work closely with KK and we used to discuss matters, both of us together, and by looking at what he’d been doing in the office .... Watched a lot of things of what KK was doing or hearing what sort of things, a conversation on the telephone, and watch him how to fax things and looking at computer how he works, but we used to work together but I was really always watching, listening and probably asking a lot questions about it.

HN: What would have been some of your fears or worries about taking it on?
WA: Well I was a bit worried and nervous for taking over this job because I thought that it was very hard and I didn’t know what to do. But um, lucky that I had this [non-Aboriginal] mentor to work with me and she helped me and ah, it was good to you know, to have her. She gave me some ideas in instructing me in some of the work that I found hard.

HN: Your mentor over two years schooled you well?
WA: Yeah, the mentor working, helping me.

HN: Would you say what things you wanted some help in or would she-
WA: Well, if I find hard in some of the work I had to go and talk to that non-Aboriginal mentor for help and then she would come and help me and we would sort of sit down work together and talk together and share together about what I found in my work and what she would find hard in her work and then we would come together talk about it, solve problems together and then we would go and talk to the Action Group or School Council what we need to do now...It was my responsibility like when [the mentor] leaves, then I take over. That was what she was trying to do with me, teaching me, giving me some of the responsibilities to handle it.

HN: And did they gradually increase over the two years?
WA: Yes they did over the two years and now that I am working on my own and [present mentor] is working with me and she is a team mentor helping all the Aboriginal staff.

As well as viewing the different sets of responsibilities when moving into other positions in the school, there could arise a difficulty of dependence in the close working relationship.

KB: Yes. I think that the mentoring scheme is a very good one. My only concern is a culture of dependency developing over a period of time because the mentor is always there to step in when those contentious issues are to be handled. The Aboriginal principals and principals-in-training and executive teachers have always expressed their fear of effectively handling bureaucratic communication because of their handicap in English. I guess this is what the program is about. With time they would master those skills.
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS

The mentoring scheme working in conjunction with the Educational Administration course from Batchelor could have long term benefits for those moving into executive positions within the schools. As was discussed in Chapter Two, there are two Educational Administration courses being offered at Batchelor College for teachers who have completed their fourth year; the graduate certificate course of one semester or equivalent and the graduate diploma course for two semesters or equivalent. The courses are delivered according to the mixed mode of all Batchelor courses, involving workshops and on-site assignments.

KB: I welcome the mentor scheme, it is a good way of learning. Over the years most school principals began their administrative tasks utilising 'Do it yourself' administration. Management in contemporary organisations has changed. There seems to be heavy pressure on school principals to maintain their teaching responsibility, learn the requirements of administration and attend to all aspects of school management effectively. The mentor program alleviates this pressure on the inexperienced principal. The mentor is always there to try out with them new ways of doing things. I would particularly want to see the mentor program continue for as long as it is needed. It is absolutely necessary for them. While I think the mentor program is a step in acquiring skills in management it is very important for them to undertake formal management and administration training at Batchelor College. Workshops consolidate applications of theory into practice which is the foundation in studying educational administration. By running joint workshops the mentors also have an insight into the theories that underline this field of study and are in a position to work collaboratively with the principals. A big advantage the students have in the course is studying in a non-threatening environment where they can culturally interpret theories and their applications.

NS: The people who are doing their Ed. Admin. course now are at senior teacher level and if the Aboriginal principals don't hurry up and get on, they will be overtaken in terms of their qualifications. So by us working together and them seeing the benefits and they certainly did because I had a private talk to the lecturer after the last workshop about how they are going to enrol for next semester. So our work is coming together and we will continue to work together wherever it is possible.

Emerging trends show those taking on executive positions in the schools are younger and have had different educational experiences from those who pioneered local leadership in schools, hence matters which seem a big issue now may not be so in the near future for some schools. Both mentoring and study courses will possibly evolve in different ways in the future.
NS: ... amongst the people who are studying or interested in studying at that particular level they are younger. They have actually done four or five or ten years of teaching in the second layer of leaders going through. They will go on and become if they want to and if they are able to, and supported to, they will become leaders on merit with a lot less mentoring support because they won't need it as much. Because their literacy levels will be different, they have had a different history of schooling from some of these older principals and as well as that their gaps in knowledge won't be as significant between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal principals. In some respects I suppose Aboriginal Principals are expected to perform the same tasks as non-Aboriginal principals in urban schools but without that cultural background, because of that gap which makes the task much more difficult for them.

Courses in educational administration and the delivery time frame do not have to emulate mainstream courses. It would be better if they did not and were structured to maximise benefits for the students. Time is needed to integrate theory and practice, to absorb new concepts and ideas as well as develop literacy levels.

KB: I think the graduate courses are proving to be very popular. Students are finding it quite helpful. However three-fourths of the students have mentioned in their evaluation reports that they find it too hard to cover all aspects of the course within six months for the Graduate Certificate and an additional six months for the Graduate Diploma. They are strongly recommending a longer time for study in these courses. However I can only make further recommendations when the course is being evaluated after five years implementation and maybe some changes could be made. I also have my own observations about the course which I hope to strongly put forward for smooth and successful running of the course.

Table 5.2 indicates the level of support amongst those interviewed in the course of this research for the programs from Batchelor College. At the time the research was conducted, only one of those interviewed was enrolled in the program, though others expressed interest and some will enrol in the course in 1998.

| LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR BATCHELOR COLLEGE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|   | Strongly support | Reservations | Unaware of the program | Question not asked |
| Aboriginal | 25 | | | 6 |
| non-Aboriginal | 4 | 2 | | 3 |
There are a number of structures embedded within schools and communities related to decision-making, which provide possibilities for staff and community members to exercise management, authority and some forms of power. Among these structures are the ASSPA committee, School Board or Council, Action Group and general staff meetings. Some schools have developed other groups to assist in decision-making in different areas. Table 5.3 summarises the structures which are found in the different schools. With a number of bodies involved in decision-making, the entire responsibility for the educational endeavour does not rest on the shoulders of the principal, nor is the principal deemed the sole leader in the school community. Images which reflect this way of viewing leadership see the principal as part of an interconnecting web of leadership, as a connector or linker. With a number of people involved in decision-making the leadership density level of the school is increased.

**TABLE 5.3**

<table>
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<th>Location</th>
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**ASSPA Committee**

The ASSPA committee can play an important role in building up community awareness and support. It fosters participation in school activities and has control over some monies, which makes it more than mere tokenism. A major emphasis of this committee in relation to programs which directly advantage the students has been to shift decision-making away from the principal and school executive into the hands of the parents. Parents have also been encouraged to engage in school activities by participating in curricular and extra-curricular activities. Devolution of decision-making has been an important thrust in federal and NT government initiatives in the 90s. Spreading decision-making throughout the community is one way in which
individual and community empowerment can occur by fostering notions of leadership within different groups.

The ASSPA committee is seen by teachers in one school as playing a key role in aspirations for localisation, along with other groups.

**GD**

HN: Does the local community have any role or part in how the school works?
MD: Some things like an ASSPA committee. There was a School Council before but it's finished. There are some things that we also get the local community involved in like an Open Day to come down, special occasions, Open Days, when kids having sports, fete day. And maybe in some lessons we can bring and doing one lesson, bring parents, mothers and have morning tea.
HN: For the future, then what do you see as needing to happen for this school to be a locally run school? What will need to happen or need to change to be a locally run school?
MD: Things like forming School Board, forming Action Group, strong people in the ASSPA committee, and in other areas, government, but that has to be local people and the teachers themselves.

All five schools view the ASSPA committee as an integral part of the school. Involving as many people as possible in decision-making can assist the leadership of the school as well as the students in bringing about a more effective school. It is necessary to involve 'strong people', people who will speak up for what they believe is right for the students and for the community.

**GU**

MU: Yeah, they used to have school council
NU: Before. That stopped now. Might be a couple of years back. Only they got in that community what ASSPA now. There's a couple of ladies on that.

Three of the schools are working towards developing or resurrecting school councils or boards. In the interim, the ASSPA committee, being the only formally constituted body where school and community relationships can be fostered, assumes an even more critical role in local decision-making and in articulating community needs and aspirations.

**BU:** We've got an ASSPA committee and that's just Aboriginal families in the community and the school. We haven't got any school council, because we feel the community's too small for that.

A non-Aboriginal staff member in another school believes that the ASSPA committee is not as effective as it could be for articulating community opinion.

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1 Group Interviews were an important way of gathering data in this research. The letters GA, GD, GK, GN, GU, above transcript extracts refer to group interviews.
Perhaps the frustration indicated in this response about the ASSPA committee not working derives from a lack of understanding of the role of the ASSPA committee by parents and community members, or by the committee members.

LD: ... the community had very little input into what was going on up here and we're abstracted from the process of how to get input. Which is an indication of how much the ASSPA Committee is not working. If the ASSPA Committee was working well then the parents would have some say or would have some kind of forum they felt they owned.

The ASSPA committee plays a key role in enabling parents and community members to make decisions about their children's education and in developing accountability for the monies acquitted by the committee. Decision-making is an important component of management and can also be an aspect of leadership. Involving a wider number of people in decision-making could possibly lead to greater numbers of people assuming leadership in the school and wider community in the future.

School Councils and Devolution

As has been previously indicated, only two of the schools have School Councils or School Boards, another two are working towards the establishment of a board, and within one school the principal perceives that the community is too small to have such a body.

The frustrations of the teachers in one school is evident in this dialogue about the school council. The teachers felt that it was too difficult to initiate changes and they felt unsupported from both community and school in speaking up about changes which were occurring.

GD
HN: You talked a little bit before and mentioned the school council, but you don't have one now. Is there any talk of getting it started again?
BD: No.
MD: No, except about getting the school board.
HN: So the school council
MD: Changing into the school board, gradually, not getting there, a formal school board, but it's not going at the moment. We are not ready to form the school board and it's very hard to informing the school, getting the people talking and it's a bit hard for us.

Within another school preliminary steps have been taken for the establishment of a school board and its eventual composition.
And um at the moment we don't have a school board, but we're looking into it in the future. We, I've already worked on setting up a school board. In the school board we'd have the principal, the parish priest, one representative from [name of group] one representative from the local council, one representative from [the] Land Council, four community members representing the four skin groups and one [Aboriginal] representing the school. That is what, how I'm working in it and after that we'll have maybe meetings about more information on to run the school board and we'll have it going.... We'll have it next year.

The principal who indicated that the community was too small to have a school council elaborated on reasons for not establishing a council:

It's too small I feel to sort of um setting up different committees and you know you have all this hassle of divisions you know in the communities and like. You start the thing that people start arguing, and fighting, squabbling among themselves, you know, it's better going ...

The release in 1991 of the Standard Devolution Package (SDP) meant that government schools began the process of ensuring all schools established a school council. One of the schools in this research has been involved in local decision-making over a long period of time, but was not happy with aspects of decision-making which the devolution package was passing to councils.

This is the devolution model. That school councils were given control over amounts of money that are decided on and fixed by other parties to spend on what those other parties have agreed the money can be spent on. While the school can reprioritise those allocations of money it's within very tight pegs. There has been acceptance of school council representation on selection panels which is a major achievement but it isn't what school council or the school council in this community have specifically asked for and that's to be responsible for selecting all of the staff of the school. Now selection panels are only used where we are talking about people in promotional positions. And selection panels are not used, are not needed or required with anything to do with selection of classroom teachers although principals may have an active role in deciding whether or not someone gets appointed to a school.

... quite often devolution is used as a way of saying how a school council has been empowered or given authority over these things, when in fact it is very very limited, restricted to particular positions.

The Action Group has become an integral part of many school staffs since the first one was established in 1984. The Action Group is made up of all Aboriginal

2 Action Groups were formed in many schools as a result of Feppi's 12 point plan in 1986 for the Aboriginalisation of schools. Feppi, was the Aboriginal Education Consultative Group to the NTDE on matters of education and policy for the provision and development of educational services to Aboriginal communities. Since March 1997 the group is known as the Indigenous Education Council (IEC).
Staff Meetings

Staff meetings are a regular part of school life where all members of the teaching staff come together for discussion, for planning and decision-making where appropriate. Planning and effective use of staff time is crucial to the effectiveness of these gatherings. Difficulties which staff of one school experienced in staff meetings will be elaborated in the section relating to conflicts, difficulties and tensions.

Other Groups

Within some schools, groups or working parties have been established, to assume responsibilities for different areas of the school such as curriculum or professional development. An advantage of these groups is that experienced teachers have the opportunity to plan, conceptualise and provide leadership for the whole staff. One school has evolved such a group, the [local word] Group, to assist in setting directions in curriculum planning and in professional development for the school.

WA: [local word] group, of all the Aboriginal experienced teachers like, who have done three year trained, four year trained teachers and we come together on Tuesdays and talk about curriculum, about professional development.

HN: So you do the curriculum planning for the school, sections or
WA: No, for the school and also we plan for the professional development for Fridays. [local word] Group is all Aboriginal experienced teachers

Another teacher expressed her understanding of the meaning of the word [local word], and the role or purpose of the group.

RA: Like a spy
HN: So they go and check something out and then
RA: Yeah, check something out, come back and report it to the others
HN: So that's the purpose of the group to check things out.
RA: Yo. For the rest of the Aboriginal teachers, rest of the staff, to look at, check out yeah curriculum, setting direction.
HN: So it's like the advance group before the general discussion?
RA: Yo. Like a plan of action, a plan or program comes into the [name] group, after the section meeting it goes into the [name] group and the [name] group collaborate more, like have more discussion...
HN: So you do a lot of the hard thinking?
RA: Yo, critical thinking, into what curriculums to have actually taught in, inside the classroom. ... And also it's a professional development session for qualified Aboriginal staff
HN: Only for the senior teachers is it?

5 The Me'ngu Group consists of senior teachers who are responsible for curriculum and professional development within the school. They meet each week.
4 Yo, Kriol expression for Yes.
RA: Qualified. ... Aboriginal staff, those who have gone to Batchelor,

HN: Was there some reason why you developed the group?
RA: It was to look at curriculum. ... To assess curriculum, to evaluate the curriculum. ... But everyone does, has an input. And we have senior teachers from homelands come in ... Sharing time, one time sharing time with them, look at their curriculum guidelines, the criteria. That's helped us in developing ours, giving us ideas.

The different structures which schools have to assist in decision-making serve different purposes for the smooth functioning of the school. From group interviews it was difficult to gauge whether all were in agreement with what was being said in relation to the structures for decision-making. Table 5.4 refers to the interpretation I have placed on comments made in relation to each decision-making structure in the five remote community schools.

**TABLE 5.4**

**IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Thinking about Beginning</th>
<th>Progressing</th>
<th>Advanced</th>
<th>Fluctuating</th>
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<td>ASSPA</td>
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<td>School Council or Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>Action Group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staff Meeting</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Groups</td>
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**LOCALISED DECISION-MAKING**

Questions relating to decision-making and localisation were asked in the interview schedules to clarify levels of autonomy which different schools exercised and to ascertain if there were areas where change was sought. Questions were asked relating to local visions for schooling, areas of control about school closures, curriculum, especially English content, discipline, class groupings, pay, selection of principal and
school leadership. Refer to Appendix B for questions contained within the interview guides.

Aims for Schooling

There were a variety of goals articulated for schools including curricula.

GN
TN: Well our aims in the school is that our kids learn both ways.

GD
MD: The aim is about teaching
BD: for the children.
MD: DD is saying for the sake of the children's learning, adults and the whole community... And it also comes along with the kids learning different things for their future.

GU
NU: For education... For the kids. In the school we've got all Aboriginal teachers. Maybe a couple of European, non Aboriginal, and also we've got like language groups.

PU: Certainly one of them would be to develop each of the languages that the children belong to. So there'd be at least five languages. Um, another is to teach English to all the students so that they are fluent in speech and writing English and there are lots of other aims too, but they are the two that come to mind straight away... keeping intact our cultural ways of thinking but still at the same time achieving the expectations of the different systems requirements.

MK: From what I've seen I don't think there's been much of an opportunity for the Principal to take control and make the school their own. There have been some, in that some programs have been instituted that the Principal and staff feel very strongly in favour of and they've had to be extremely strong to get those programs happening.

TD: ...we want all this look after the business side. We talked about, it's been too long the white man's been putting white things on us so it's about time we got to stand on our two feet. Be boss of our land, things belonging to our people. We feel very strongly about that... Don't want to leave it to white people all the time, you know... All Aboriginal staff one day at the school. I'd love to see an Aboriginal principal. It's a vision there all the time.
Ultimately control, of school staff, actually staff all Aboriginal, Principal, everyone, all over.

localised curriculum, to be to have that curriculum

...In the community through ceremony to know the Aboriginal way of living as well as the non-Aboriginal. They can sit in the mainstream and they can also sit in the Aboriginal ceremony.

...So the main aim is to have more Aboriginal teachers in this school.

Localising.

Localisation.

Local control of the school and for curriculum

**Balance**

Two-way education, or both-ways education was important for a number of those interviewed, especially in relation to the aims of the school, and in the context of curriculum and cultural transmission of both knowledge and values. The expression 'balance' came through in a number of interviews. Balance will also be spoken of in relationship with demands or constraints emanating from community and the NTDE or CEO.

RK: Balancing our culture to a European concept. It’s that two culture balancing. You get maybe some parts from this one and some parts from the Aboriginal culture together, and if that doesn’t work we go to another step and we mix that up. Bringing our culture into a European culture and bringing the European culture into our culture. Some of that part has worked but I don’t know whether they still doing that up there, whether they bringing that up and balancing that, because that’s been always our aim. When we been doing our fourth year. Even from the start, even from my first year here, we have always talked about both ways.

GA

Both schools Homeland and [this school].

And then we want those Aboriginal teachers to learn

And we also teaching each other, the non-Aboriginal teach us in the course of our teaching like we can learn about something, and next time we can teach them something, learn about language or curriculum or

HN: To make it two-ways

Yeah.

So that we can learn from each other.

HN: So you need both

You need both, to be confident and strong.

You need that good education from the non-Aboriginal side as well as from Aboriginal, both strong

---

Bullets are used in group interviews to indicate each speaker and change of speaker when it was difficult to identify speakers. Difficulties arose because I was at the school for a short time, I did not know people well, some staffs had two or three sisters who spoke in a similar way making it difficult to distinguish speakers.
Yo.
It doesn't mean everyone strong.
But strong.

One community teacher expressed that through education, whether at Batchelor College or the NTU, the two knowledge systems, community knowledge and western knowledge are being brought together by the student teacher as the gap in the cloth is stitched.

AK: You're looking at two different things. One is the way of learning and your own way of learning, so it's better to have combined learning to get you through that studies or whatever you're doing, so you can learn, so there's no confliction in between them, you know, so you know what's happening on the non-Aboriginal side and what's happening on the community side, but you're just in the middle, and that's what you ... just sort of work like needle and thread, sewing a big hole in the middle you are.

The example of the first Aboriginal teachers encouraging and inspiring the younger ones to keep going, to bring balance into the curriculum, from both the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal side was seen as very significant in one community. This balance was negotiated and arrived at through consensus decision-making, which comes out of traditional decision-making methods.

RK: It was Us! Us leading them and encouraging them. They saw what we did and they said, 'What our older ones did we should follow them now, carry on what they did', and we used to encourage them even down here when we had the school here before that other one was set up, the old one. We used to sit down here in a meeting, you know staff meeting, and we'd talk to them and we'd tell them, 'You've got to do this. You've got to do that', even though some of us disagreed on each other but then we'd come again and discuss that same matter again, to make it balance properly. So that's how it came; we realise that now.

In arriving at an appropriate curriculum there was dialogue and discussion, even disagreement before the correct balance between the two cultures was achieved.

RK: That's our main aim, education in this community, not only education in a European or western style like that, education in our cultural way and then we balance the two cultures, as I said before. Because that has worked lately. In the past, mixing those two cultures together, yes. It has worked and our school is run normal without any people interfering from everywhere. Seeing that this country, is where, this country where it happened.

GA
• Local control of the school and for curriculum...
• ...Bilingual school here for teaching the language, because language is power. That's why the kids learn our language first.
In the following comment, the teacher perceives the teaching process as one of dialogue between the two cultures.

BU: I was able to make it so that it wasn't a really hard thing for me to become a teacher because I could pick and choose good things from the non-Aboriginal way of teaching and there was a real strong thing in me of absorbing a lot of good things that mum was teaching me too, to teach our kids our way and my non-Aboriginal friends that I have looked upon as models for me in being able to model myself in a sense to make myself into a teacher in the sense that they could benefit too the kids.

As well as developing a strong two-way curriculum, people being strong within themselves is essential for maintaining effective leadership. Working within two cultures is never easy and it is necessary to exhibit strength of character in holding what your heart and mind tell you is essential.

BU: But the good part about me is that I am a strong person, a lot of things that have come to me, I don't get hurt as much, like with pressure and time and rushing around, meeting deadlines, giving answers back to different people, that sort of thing you know.

HN: So what do you do to stay true to the Aboriginal side?
PU: Well that's when you've got to balance up, say well okay perhaps we'll go so far, but that's as far as I'm going. And I know you're the management, the head of this section. You've got to listen to me now. I know how far I can go and I'm not going any further. Take it further, you go back to that committee now and you tell them. So you have to know, you really have to know, you have to be really strong as well to be able to say to people whether they are in higher positions than yourself. I was only a little project officer and I used to not just worry about what positions those people were, um and didn't let that frighten me. And sometimes I might you know make mistakes, but I, you got to go with what your heart and mind are telling you to do.

Class Groupings

Before the advent of schools in remote communities, younger people received knowledge within the contexts of multi-age and multi-skilled groupings. Multi-age classrooms are becoming more common in remote Aboriginal schools and three of the schools in this research project have one or more multi-age classes in the school. Leaders are expressing the desire to return to this style of learning for their students. Within the western domain there has been much study of this concept of multi-age learning and there is a multi-age support officer within the NTDE assisting schools and communities who wish to implement multi-age classes within their schools.
One school has multi-age groupings when elders come from the community to provide instruction for the students. The teachers and members of the community decide how the groups will be organised.

**GA**
- And then we have [language name for type of learning].
- When the elders come in and they teach the kids
- Open
- Open learning

**HN:** Open learning knowledge you are calling it?
- Yeah.
- A lot of kids, different levels, multi-age
- Yeah

**HN:** How do you decide then who goes into which class?
- We use the Aboriginal system to decide might be
- Or clans or language group to agree

This school has introduced one multi-age class in the upper primary section of the school for 'mainstream' learning as well as its multi-age groupings involving the whole school for cultural learning.

In another school the multi-age group is for a specific purpose, to develop the skills of those deemed requiring special assistance in developing educational skills.

**GN**
- Yeah Butterfly
- That's special education
- Different ages, different levels
- Butterfly

**HN:** Who then makes the decision about who goes in that unit?
- Teachers
- Classroom teachers
- Then they talk about to the principal
- Then kids from normal classes from transition to year three go to that classroom

In another school, the students are in multi-age groups according to language groups.

**BU:** ... we've got ten different language groups here from the [local] region itself there are about fourteen different languages and dialects, you know, and we've got ten of them here [in this place] and with the language groups, I've got six in different classes, and languages and dialects.

**HN:** And you've got them divided up into
- Six

**HN:** Six class groups now

**BU:** Yes. Sorry, four classes that are in their own language groups, ones that are related, the dialects, one could be light, one could be heavy in the same classroom together. So I might have one language group in one class and might have two language groups together in a class with one teacher. And the teachers are from all those language groups it just happened. I didn't plan it.
HN: That was the way it was meant to be.
BU: Must be, like I wanted to have the kids in each of the language groups and they said 'Yeah, let's try.' And then, 'Who's going to be the teachers?' and then I bin realise all the people who training at Batchelor were finished their courses, they were from all these different language groups, so it must have been meant to happen, you know, what I'm doing. And I feel really proud because people are really confident in themselves, whereas before I was a bit worried and I think it might have been to do with whoever was tutoring them at Batchelor was disempowering them, confusing them, relying on them really heavily to take up responsibility and they weren't ready.

Further information was provided in another interview:

GU

HN: As well as having the children in language groups how do you decide which children go into which class? Is it just on their language groups?
NU: Yeah, just on their language groups.
HN: For the group of children who speak languages that are different from, there is no teacher to take that group?
NU: Which one? [language named] Maybe one or two.
MU: [language named] yeah [another language] maybe one or two, not many [language named] kids.
HN: So you just put them where you think they will
MU: No, [principal named] decides that.
NU: She decide that.

In one of the schools, previously the students had been arranged in multi-age classes according to local clan structures, so that students were more closely aligned with their teacher and each class was family. For various reasons a decision was made at a later stage to revert to single aged or composite classes.

HN: So you had each of the classes arranged in
AK In their own clan groups, they all arranged in their own clan groups and even that there was the one teacher in that clan group still that teacher had other members of the family in the classroom, just taking, you know, children in each different little groups, you know, like in stages, like they used to have transition, year 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, say there were six classes in one clan group at a time before it finally came into the stages now, at what they call Years 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 and Transition. Really this school started off as a clan arranged classes.
HN: That was in the mission days or when you took over as Principal, UK that you arranged it in clans?
AK: When he took over.
UK: That was when VK took that side of things.
HN: He started the clan groups and then you continued it?
UK: Yes.
HN: And when did it change back to European style?-
UK: I think it was - back in this building.
AK '88.
HN: Was that discussed with the community or did it just happen?
AK: Yes, because, you know, there were so many kids in a clan, see, and they all had their own little teacher, see, but then again they had to cut it down just to get into the mainstream.
HN: I'm interested though, because there's been a big change from that style to what's happening in the classrooms now, and what I'm interested in is who decided that change to happen and how did it come about. Do you know that or you weren't in the
AK: No. I was in the library by then. I was the teacher/librarian for the school. Still, yet again, I could tell you a little bit, like the teacher said, 'There are rooms but it cannot fit the whole clans in a room, so it's best if you can sort of cut down the classes and put them in the mainstream, like Preschool, Transition up to Year 7 and Foundation Course and that's how it happened. That was in 1988 in this school.
HN: When they moved up to these new buildings?
AK: Yes, when they moved up to this school.
HN: Are the people happy that the changes happened?
AK: Yes, because then, again, when they're happy, well, they know who their children's teachers are and so they just send them along. You know, teasing and fighting is the main problem, but at least the parents and the community know that their children are getting an education in the school from their own teachers from the community.

It is apparent from the information provided, that what in essence is a very sound way of structuring school classes for remote areas may or may not work according to the number of languages and families in the community, and the imbalance in the sizes of those groupings, with some classes extremely small and others far too big to enable effective teaching and learning to take place. Decisions for change cannot be arbitrarily made, there needs to be wide consultation and discussion so that people understand the changes and why they are being made.

Within mainstream classes there are certain procedures which are adhered to for multi-age classes. The purists of multi-age grouping would contend that most remote schools classrooms are not operating according to their defined principles of curriculum planning and delivery, based on the developmental needs of the students. It is imperative that teachers in remote schools understand the principles of planning for multi-age grouping, and have experience of classes in operation before embarking on the experience, but there will always be variations of expression of multi-age classes within Aboriginal schools.

School Closure

Control of decision-making about school closures in relation to funerals was perceived as important by all groups in the sample. In small communities everyone is affected by death and ceremonies associated with funerals. At certain times, families can be involved for months on end, with students and teachers experiencing
prolonged absences from school, often travelling to other remote communities or HLCs in order to participate in mourning rites.

Decisions about closures are sometimes made by the principal in conjunction with the mentor.

**GD**

MD: Principal. When there's a funeral going on she doesn't really actually close the whole school she just lets the teachers who are members of the family, teachers and children go to the funeral. School is still open.

HN: How would you like it to be?

MD: We'd like it, like closing the school.

BD: For one full day

MD: One full day yeah.

**GK**

OK: Funeral? What about funeral?

HN: Who decides about closing the school then?

OK: WK or LK, LK and WK.

**GN**

HN: Well, what about then for funerals? Who decides if school will be closed or when it will be closed?

- Us mob. [name of group].
- [name of group] policy

HN: You have already made decisions about that? Can you tell me then what your policy is on that?

TN: We made a [name of group] policy for funeral service. Only certain families go, get that certificate from school. The kids get certificate, get permission from the office.

HN: So, it's for some people, not for all?

- Close relations, yeah.
- For close relations.
- They leave the school area with a note from the office. They leave the school area for the whole day and then the rest of the school go when it's time for Mass and funeral ceremony.
- We all go.

HN: So it's not the whole day for everyone?

- No.

**GU**

MU: On that day I reckon, when that body flies from Darwin into the community.

HN: That's what you usually do? And do you make the decision to close the school for the whole day or part of the day?

NU: Part of the day

MU: When that body arrives, we just go out then.
Discipline

Within most schools class teachers discipline their students, with the principal and parents brought in for more serious misdemeanours. One school has devised a discipline policy with steps for handling different situations, another thinks that local people should decide.

GD
BD: Local people
HN: Is that happening now?
MD: No.
• Yeah, it's happening but slowly.
BD: Slowly

GK
WK: Well some teachers send their kids to me and I have to deal with them.
HN: And you have to work it out?
HK: Sometimes we just get the parents eh
• and work it out with the parents
• Sometimes we just work it out on our own in the classroom
HN: For little things you can do that.
• Little things you can, but like I was saying you got more bigger problems, you get the council, clan groups. Sometimes too big to handle by ourselves

One of the first policies teachers in the [name of group] devised was their discipline policy as they were concerned about students missing school or causing trouble for teachers. One of the roles within the circle is discipline for matters which cannot be resolved within the classroom. This frees the leader of the school from minor discipline.

GN
MN: That is my role. With the aid of TN, but we work it out together, and that's my role, the discipline in the school. Teachers bring them kids to me and we take them, and if there's a lot of problem then the all five of us together.
HN: And then do you ever have to bring family in?
• Mmm.
HN: And when they come back to school, do the family have to bring them back to you?
TN: Family if that same kid do the same thing, he's got to be suspended from school for two days.
• Yeah.
• Warning
• Contract.
TN: We have a contract for the parents to sign. We got three contracts. If a kid misses school for more than three days, you have to have warning
• Warning.
• Second warning do the same thing
TN: Do the same thing, then we send for parents. They have to sign the paper making a promise or deal with the teacher.
HN: And all the community understands those steps too?
• They have warning if their children miss school.
• They have to come up to school and sign that contract too.
• If they break that contract, the kid leaves the school, gets suspended.
• TN and NN talk to those parents and they are the ones who make the decision whatever.
• That’s on the [name of group] statement.

Staff Selection

Localisation of staff is seen as an ideal, but there was strong feeling that there is still an important place for non-Aboriginal staff in the school, especially in English language, teaching at secondary levels and staff development.

GU
MU: ... But we still need non-Aboriginal teachers to come in la school eh. Like for English, for help with reading.
HN: What other roles do you think that non-Aboriginal teachers could have in the schools as well as helping with English and reading?
NU: Maths. And like one school we visited [place named] the non-Aboriginal teacher and Aboriginal teacher in one class in [place named] yeah together.
HN: They were both trained teachers
MU: Mmm
HN: And you see that as perhaps the ideal way?
MU: Interesting for us to look you know what they doing, both of them teachers in the class ...

GA
• There would be roles there for non-Aboriginal to have their expertise in areas of secondary education or language.
• English language
• Or staff development
• We’re not saying we only want Aboriginal teachers here, but to have ultimate control.
• Non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal working together
• Yeah
• We do need non-Aboriginal.
• We do need non-Aboriginal to teach together with Aboriginal ways.

For selection and appointment of non-Aboriginal staff a range of possibilities were offered.
GD
BD: Aboriginal teachers.
MD: Like getting a couple of the council members and the local people, like a
couple..
HN: So it could be like this new school board you are developing?
ND: Yeah

---

GK
WK: If we really want non-Aboriginal teachers to come and work here we need
to have to let the [regional] office know.
HN: But you could tell them?
WK: But the people in the Education Department will have to look for that
people themselves. Go and find that person with the skills that we want
for here.
HN: So you can say what sort of person you want and they look around for
you?
WK: Yeah, I think it's like that
OK: We asked for ESL, we asked for it. We made the decision here and then
the principal and thing
YK: Then interview the person in town. Go write to the department and ask for
to have that position here.

Teachers in this school have not said that they necessarily want the school and/or
school council to select the staff, but they have stated the skills they want the new
staff member to have and then the regional office tries to locate people matching the
criteria spelled out by the particular school.
Another school stated that it wanted the school council to have control of
appointments of all staff to the school, not just for the principal and those in
promotional positions as at present.

SUPPORTS AND STRENGTHS IN LEADERSHIP

Leaders have articulated that they derive their strength in leadership from a number
of sources namely their spirituality, family, community, culture and identity, and
collegiality. Ways in which leaders are strengthened and supported are outlined in the
following section.
Spirituality

Several people spoke of their spirituality sustaining them, enabling them to keep going, especially in times of adversity or when they were feeling low. Spirituality is difficult to describe; it permeates and surrounds everyone as the ocean does a fish, but is not always perceived, nor named for what it really is: the animator, the life source, the ground of our being. It gradually unfolds throughout life, and is shaped by family and culture. There was an acknowledgement by people that the strength of their leadership often came from a power outside themselves.

HN: How do you remain truly Aboriginal and at the same time meet all these demands from Department, Catholic Ed, all these other bodies, that in a sense impinge on the school?
BU: (Laughs) It's not very easy, but I manage to get through in doing the different tasks that I am expected by the community, the school, the children, the teachers, to do and I think it's because I am wiser, ah! (Laughs) Education I suppose, furthering my level of education has given me some strategies to sort things out. I'm at peace with myself and with The Great Spirit, and I know that I cannot do these things by myself, and because I'm a strong believer in The Great Spirit that he's the one that's helping me through, and there's a purpose for me to be here to do those things.

PU: I think it's er, well another thing that comes to mind in terms of leadership is you've got to be able to, you've got to be spiritually intact as well, mentally, socially intact in order to be able to handle it, because I'm sure sometimes you just feel like you know, you can't get on with everyone whether they are your relations or not. So if they do or say things, you've got to work out how to deal with that situation without worsening it.
HN: So what gives you the strength to handle the situation, you're saying is from the spiritual
PU: Yeah and it's working out ways of keeping yourself all balanced in every way, having different strategies that keep you balanced like I mean.

Family

As well as a relationship with God, The Great Spirit, Supreme Being or whatever name is given to the numinous, the beyond, the ultimate, there is also the strength to be found in relationships. Relationships and a strong sense of collegiality are essential for well-being, and are strong sources of support and nourishment for people in the community and in the school as community.

BU: It's probably the power better and greater than I am helps me too, you know. Because I am a strong practising Catholic that helps too. And not only that, but because of us mob sharing and talking and bringing things out I can go through healing process too amongst different people, my family sometimes get with me. Even during school if I'm hurting... A person in the city probably wouldn't do that, I get in the car pick up a
couple of kids get permission for them to go out with me, get some old people, we go fishing for the afternoon or the day. When I feel I can't do anything that day because I might be hurting and that sort of thing helps, you know. I've got an assistant principal here and I think the teachers are reliable people.

Family, community and culture have been perceived as sources of strength to enable people to keep going as they provide leadership in different ways in schools.

RA: My family, my culture, my identity that gives me that strength to be determined and looking back to how my father was so determined. He had that sort of role working with Aboriginal, with non-Aboriginal. And he was able to carry that over every day and every week and every year to be strong and to be determined.

Community

The strength of community support is essential in striving to reach set goals. School and community must work in partnership, with people working in collaboration, especially in remote areas. The school is a significant institution in communities and without partnership and a sense of ownership by the community, the difficulties will be enormous.

GK
WK: If you want to start off an Aboriginal school you got to work together with the community, like help each other. Like when we went out for workshop at [another community] found out that the community was behind the people at school.
HN: And you're working pretty much for that here too aren't you? With the community behind the school?
  • Yeah
  • Yeah.
  • You've got to have support from the community.
  • Otherwise you'll fail, but if you've got some support from the community, you'll go for your goal.

Staff

Providing strong leadership in the school requires working in respectful ways with colleagues and members of the community as well as people in the education departments.

HN: So what do you see then as the main strengths of leadership in this community and in this school?
RA: Main strengths?
HN: Yes, what is it that provides good leadership?
RA: Good role models, empathetic, to have a balanced view.
HN: Balancing what?
RA: Balancing non-Aboriginal, the Aboriginal viewpoints... and to be skilled, to be articulate, and critical, what's going on to be able to analyse situations to come up with the solution that's not problematic. With I don't know, talking things through. Counselling also the staff. ...
... And I guess respect, respecting colleagues as professionals.
... you'd have to find someone who's really gifted with courage, working with council. .. And it's only leadership that has to be recognised by the elders too, skills, negotiating with the staff. You have to have a balance to be able to fit yourself into the non-Aboriginal world as well as Aboriginal world, to go in and out easily and that's hard to do. ...Yeah, to maintain and sustain it, I guess. That is hard.

HN: And what gives you the strength to keep going?
WA: What! My strength?
HN: Or helps you to keep at the job each day?
WA: Well coming to work every day. Um working with all the staff in the school, getting ideas, sharing ideas with each other, helping each other. I've got this [local word] group, strong [local word] group, the senior staff.
HN: They give you the support?
WA: Give me the support, Council, Action Group, so I am not on my own. I've got these people surrounding me, giving me support, making me strong, directing me, so that I won't get weak. So they're pushing me really hard to do this job, you know.
HN: But they are surrounding you as well.
WA: People surrounding me, so I am not on my own, there are also our superintendent, which is good, really helpful.
HN: So you have a fairly strong relationship and communication with him?
WA: It is going well and getting there.

AREAS OF DIFFICULTY WITHIN THE PRINCIPALSHIP

Issues involving conflict and tension affect all in leadership positions. Family members in remote communities often expect favouritism from principals and those on the executive. Resolving conflicts, meeting the demands of community life and fulfilling the roles and expectations of those in the broader educational system all affect those in executive positions in schools.

This section details some of the difficulties expressed by Aboriginal women in their role as educational leaders in the community. Real and potential conflicts have been articulated including the pressures arising from community members taking the side of their children in school disputes, disciplining colleagues including family members and devising strategies for handling conflict. A source of difficulty
expressed by teachers in one school related to a sense of powerlessness in contributing to school development and improvement plans. Balancing the demands from management and bureaucracy with those arising from cultural obligations is a further area of potential difficulty.

Conflict Issues

Areas of real pressure for leaders relate to issues of conflict or potential conflict with family pressure

NN: They still have their little, they are very sensitive, nobody can be a tall poppy. And um, so it's very difficult for [Aboriginal] people to be leaders because you have got to really think, if I say this, what's she gonna say. The pressure of family relationships the whole thing.

BU: They've got to sacrifice some of the things that they do, to discipline themselves. It's harder for Aboriginal people to take up responsible positions than it would be for a non-Aboriginal person. It would be four or five times harder because you're working with your own people and your own families, immediate family and they put pressure on you to go, you know, for favouritism and all that sort of thing. If there's a fight in the school you have to stick up for your family and not the other lot of family, so that sort of thing and because Aboriginal people a lot more comes to the unity, so if you're stronger I suppose than the rest of society and it hurts, you know.

Principals having their own children in the school can be a source of pressure or tension, especially when it comes to discipline, or when there are fights involving different families. Well thought out strategies and procedures are required to alleviate tensions.

BU: And also having your own kids in the school it's a bit harder. Principals in other places they have their kids go to another school, you know. So when it comes to discipline for our own kids, like my son, I always get some of my other teachers to go talk to that child for me, you know. But you are not just only being an educator in the school, you are an educator in the whole community. You've got everyone who cares, and you have dealings with everyone. For me I feel you're the most important person in the community, in the council, because you see those families at different times, all the time, through the week, at different times, and you know their background. Like empowering them, asking them to sacrifice things. I'll give an example. My son was in a fight with another little boy, not punching or anything, it started over a ball or something and his cousin stepped in and told the other kid to lay off and this kid got wild and went home and picked up his family and brought them back into the school. That family went along and hit my nephew in front of me and my sister,
you know and my little boy was with me. We could just be mad at that person, could have throttled her you know, and a lot of sort of what's is name could have come out of that and we just stood there and protected, took the kids away and prevented them from getting more hurt and took them away. And it was really hard for my sister and me to do this because that's my way and the teachers that are coming up behind me, our way of educating the community, trying to control the anger and they can't just lash out on anyone, anybody. And you have to look after each other. Be caring. Respect. If it's someone that you just don't like, you've got to give them the opportunity too, you know. And you have to leave all your, like you might have something against that person, and you know we're only human those sorts of things, don't whatsiname in your work area. Give that person an opportunity while they're at the school. You can't just say I don't like that person, you've got to give them an opportunity. That's our way of teaching people, to love, care and respect, other people you know. Ever since that time those people haven't come back. And I'm working with them now, trying to help them, mental health, behaviour management, workshops with the people from the health department in trying to teach them how to. Lot of families here are a bit mixed up themselves and they confuse the kids and they want to play up with you in school and throw things at you and stuff, and they stick up for them if they are in the wrong. So they're going through that process now some of the families, teaching them not to take sides for their children if they are in the wrong, you know. If you've also got to punish them you know, growl at them or punish them.

HN: So, that's how you are you doing it, with the teachers or with the families?
BU: Both. We run behaviour management programs in the school for the teachers to understand kids better with that sort of problem and now we've got a workshop for the families and health department is organising that in having to come in every second week talking with the families and children involved.

A critical issue for leaders in remote schools is devising appropriate ways of working through conflict situations, especially in relation to staff and to poor performance. Principals have expressed that they find it hard to deal with staff members who are frequently late for work, especially when they know all the reasons why staff are not at school on time. It can be even more difficult dealing with non-Aboriginal staff.

LA: But when you come to deal with poor performance or grievance in the school the procedures that have been written down are all informed by this hierarchical accountability stuff. There is no role for collaboration, no role for a collaborative ethos in the school because the supervisors that make judgements have to put on hats that they normally don't wear. I know there are particular contexts but they're the situations that cause the trauma for the Aboriginal staff. And they are the situations, well go and talk to [principal in another community] of the trauma of having to deal with an obvious poor performer on her non-Aboriginal staff and what that does to the morale of the school. What it did here, like I just know from those two examples, and what it has done to other places in the past.

KB: I was given a privileged opportunity to run a session on conflict management. Incidentally this is covered in the course. Handling conflict situations is one area they lack skills in dealing with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers. This issue came up in one of our previous
workshops and since it seemed to be of major concern to all of them it was decided that it would be addressed at our next workshops. At this particular workshop I was asked to run the session. At this session everyone had an opportunity of sharing with the rest of the group a conflict situation they might have experienced. I followed this up with a theoretical background/perspective and then demonstrated how they could put theory into practice by using some of the examples they have given during the round-table session.

Often the preferred strategy for Aboriginal teachers is to remove themselves from a conflict situation or hope that it will all go away. Yet new tactics are needed for those in leadership positions.

KB: ...most times avoidance is used as a strategy when they cannot handle a contentious issue. It is good to avoid sometimes, but only when maybe because you want a cool off period to come back and deal with it. ... A principal once told me she had a conflict with a non-Aboriginal mentor and she walked off the school for days. To me it sounded so hilarious but to her it was the best way to deal with it. I did ask her one important question which really made her think about her role as a principal and a role model for the children and the community. 'When you finally take over the school as principal and the mentor had left, who would run the school when you walk away from problems too difficult for you to handle?' We had a good conversation about the behaviour and I was able to point out to her the repercussions of such an act.

Within group leadership situations, there are positives but there are also issues that need to be ironed out, in terms of how the team perceive and support each other. Taking time to dialogue and sort out issues within the different roles and functions is essential for teams to be effective.

NN: Oh, it's a great help and it's taken a lot of stress and strain off my shoulders and it's working well, but we've got to be able to talk more and not to be judgemental. Because if TN is in the office a lot, she's got to be in because she's learning. She can't be outside where they are, so those little things have to be nutted out.

HN: Like it could cause jealousy, is that what you are suggesting?

NN: It could. Could very much.

HN: Because she's the nominated, appointed one?

NN: Yeah. She's seen to be the one not out with the nitty gritty, but she's always there ready and she'll go whenever they want her. But it's just the jealousy of an insular township.

... And it's not only school issues, see. You've got to remember that the relationship groups can be you know, you've got four, one from each skin group and in their way two skin groups, opposite skin groups marry and the other two don't talk to each other. So you've got all of that and then if there is a fight and it's affecting your skin group from another skin group, you've got to really... It's those sorts of pressures. It's good for the administration, but when it gets into the personal it can cause complications.
Powerlessness

A major difficulty experienced by staff in one school is that of powerlessness in the wake of decisions being made. The example given was about buildings being erected and the perceived lack of time to talk things through. This situation of powerlessness is more likely to occur where there is little dialogue and consultation and no space nor time has been given to nurture and foster Aboriginal leadership.

GD
MD: It's all the principal and the [outside body].
HN: And you don't think there's enough talking
MD: No.
BD: No
MD: Not much communication, just the principal and the [outside body] mob which buildings should be put up.
HN: Do you think there is any way in which you can talk about that more with them?
MD: First of all we need to be a lot stronger, and have the guts to go and say blah, blah, blah. (Laughing)
HN: How do you think you can do that? What sorts of things would help you to be strong to do that?
MD: Maybe form, get some very strong leaders, people who can really talk up and very tough and just go forward and have our say.
HN: You feel at the moment you can't have your say?
MD: No. Each time we have this meeting all of us Aboriginal teachers we just sit there, put our heads down, or just scratch out on the paper. All of the most of the European teachers do all of the, most of the talking and the planning and all that and the different ideas....
MD: Only that meeting about Aboriginal staff together was about having culture meetings.
BD: Ideas and planning sports.
MD: For sports but when there's whole staff, staff as a whole, we just sit, just we might say something wrong or when you talk up people look at you, too shy to speak out, or they get bombarded by questions.
MD: This is the school where we don't even know where we stand.
MD: And we don't even know, you know what I mean, how the structure of the principal, coordinators and all that. ...
HN: What would give you the confidence [to question]
MD.: As I said before you need stronger people.
HN: You seem a strong lady to me.
MD: When you feel you stand out, you have back up, some people behind you (laughing)
HN: And quite a few of the teachers would be feeling this way?
MD: Yep. Not the few, the whole, the lot of us. We just feel like a dog, a puppy on the at the end of the leash. It's all whitefellas school. Not much been listening, or most of the European teachers don't listen to us.

The tensions and frustrations articulated here derive from feeling powerless and voiceless. These feelings are more likely to occur in situations where the school remains a non-Aboriginal and alien institution, where little account is paid to Aboriginal knowledge systems and styles of education, where collaborative
methodologies are not employed. It was a shock to see and hear people and their aspirations not listened to, and to feel the sense of hopelessness which this generated.

Bureaucratic Roles and Expectations

Many in leadership positions, or those preparing executive teachers, have expressed difficulties related to the administrative, bureaucratic role of principalship. Expectations are placed on people to perform, and usually this means to perform as a non-Aboriginal principal.

MK: Principals, I think, spend an enormous amount of time and energy on simply keeping up with departmental requirements and there just isn't any space left for being innovative and creative and focussing on that school will - and this keeping up with requirements has that thing of failing. If you don't keep up you're going to fail, you're going to be a bad principal and show that Aboriginal people can't do it.

HN: So that's how you learnt about the bureaucracy of principalship and all that paperwork?
BU: Paperwork and money and confidentiality and feeling responsible and doing things straight away and not leaving them till later. And attending meetings, even though I hate going to meetings, go. And if you are feeling that you shouldn't go, don't be afraid to talk to the bosses, like the director, or whatever, say I don't think I should come to this meeting. Don't be afraid, go and approach those people. Go and can ring them up anytime and ... in the sense of support and that they bend over backwards at times to help us get up, if they can to support us, get up and pull everything together. They're on tap all the time, you know if we have to call on them to help me.

Learning to access 'western cultural capital', and to communicate when required in formal, non-personal ways with those in external bureaucracies requires teachers in executive positions to learn new skills and ways of communicating. This has been an area of struggle, but creative solutions are being found through professional development and in structured courses seeking to redress gaps in literacy, knowledge and experiences, but longer time frames are required for the formal courses.

KB: The integration of what they are learning, is just learning that theory and practice. The certificate is only one semester and all the students who come into the course have that literacy handicap and I find it so hard to integrate that literacy into theoretical aspects of the management course. ... You find that you can spend a whole morning session just trying to read one article. ... It's not easy for them. How to write critical literacy and how to write academic essays. This is why I am saying they need a lot of time in the course for them to actually put all of these things together. ... A whole term is spent on that critical literacy, so what about
the management side of the course, you know the course itself, there is no time....

Aboriginalisation, or localisation of schools, will mean different things in different places, but the first step is to listen as people begin to articulate what they want for education in their communities. There will be differences across schools in how issues are tackled, in the solutions arrived at.

NS: If they are expected to do the same tasks in the same way in the same time frame, that's an unreal expectation and in a way that is setting somebody up to fail. Part of the challenge of Aboriginalising a school is to restructure the organisation and the management and the decision-making so that it's not hierarchical, so that it's not patriarchal and so that it doesn't have to be the same.

Bureaucratic demands can detract from the real business of schools which focuses on student learning and developing curricula to enhance this learning. One principal perceived that concentrating on the leadership offered by individual teachers working in conjunction with the principal's leadership is what is needed to build up leader density in the school rather than the principal, and ultimately the students, being constrained where attention to bureaucratic and management functions receive priority.

LA: ... we actually look at the educational leadership that is demanded of a teacher and we built on that foundation and we enhance that and you would then have the [name of principal] of the world who are fantastic at working at the classroom level and working with kids, seeing their leadership role of enhancing what is happening in the classrooms as opposed to being encouraged to see that the responsibilities actually are to do with actually making sure different papers are filled ... And the bureaucracy places demands on them. [name of the principal] is rung up to be asked, you know relatively inane questions, when her time would be better off working with a couple of the teachers to actually talk about the poor performance of kids they have identified as poor performers. ... That's the educational interaction that she is highly competent at and it's not seen to be an important part of the principal's job. But it should be. You know, to be knowledgeable and to extend people's ideas about what they can actually do.

Another principal articulated the need for balance in meeting the obligations relating to management, to colleagues and to students and their learning needs.

BU: We have time out, for times when me and the deputy can sit down together and lighten our burden, and work and all that sort of thing, pressure. You have to have that time and by being available for everybody, like especially your colleagues in the school, supporting them, our teachers got time with the mentor, or study at Batchelor, the student teachers, visiting them in the classroom, supporting them helping them,
run a class at different times. Got to be there all the time, not sitting there, lock yourself in the office. You have to be there for the kids, take them out, play with them, sort of thing, game of softball, help them with whatever, take them out hunting, go walkabouts with them. Go trips with them with the old people.

Working within the constraints of western bureaucracy in management causes immense frustration at times, yet learning how structures work and meeting deadlines are crucial for being able to negotiate through the system in accessing monies, in writing submissions and getting needed information.

KB: All those things have to do with management because I noticed they have an orientation where if things would happen when they happen. Again because they don't understand how that western structure works and you have set deadlines for things and you have to plan ahead. I've really had problems with that. For them there have been times in the workshop where they have been really angry and say, 'But why do we have to? We don't have to go according to their time or their way of doing things. How about if they come, change over now and do things our way'.

Bureaucratic systems will not adapt to Aboriginal styles of doing things, but there are other ways of approaching the management difficulties posed, as outlined in the final section of this chapter, relating to different leadership possibilities.

A source of tension identified by one principal related to school councils and their responsibilities regarding maintenance of buildings. The very remoteness of most Aboriginal schools means that it is usually extremely difficult to provide general upkeep. Planning and projecting what requirements will be in the future could provide enormous worries for councils and principals into the future.

LA: I believe quite firmly that school councils are completely in the main unaware of the responsibilities they have actually had put onto them under devolution in relation to having the responsibility for all of the planning and projections in relation to buildings and facilities. We inherited buildings and facilities here in this school which were completely inadequate, unhygienic, substandard and ill equipped for the work they were required to do. It is our responsibility to articulate why these things should be fixed up. Because under devolution all stuff gets initiated at the school level by the principal on behalf of the school council. It doesn't get um, initiated or standardised if you like, by groups within the Department. They rely on the thing being initiated from the dirt. Getting back to the leadership you were asking about before, is that then because this is something that I have become only most recently become aware of its full implications. I think there are principals and people in leadership roles in other schools in this region who aren't aware of those things either and are not equipped to actually take up those, or to initiate some change, or actually to take up the argument. It's a completely unsatisfactory situation. ... Like in my context here, the key role for a principal, or a principal like myself, is to be able to provide information to the school council, to give information couched in terms
of being able to describe what policy restrictions are or what the limitations are and how we can act and who can act and in what way we can act. Being able to map out what alternatives are within those limitations.

**Rushing**

One of the difficulties expressed by a number of people was the notion of being rushed, being rushed through studies, being rushed through training before they felt ready and able to take on further responsibilities. This was stated by both classroom teachers and those doing further studies in leadership.

A principal talked about the problem of rushing people in their training, and its consequences.

BU: And I feel really proud because people are really confident in themselves, whereas before I was a bit worried and I think it might have been to do with whoever was tutoring them at Batchelor was disempowering them, confusing them, relying on them really heavily to take up responsibility and they weren't ready.
HN: Pushing them?
BU: Yeah, pushing them and that's the easiest way of breaking people, especially Aboriginal people and that's why you get a lot of people lying in the gutters now. Because they put people up on pedestal when they not ready.

Members of staff elaborated that decisions about localisation, including class groupings, were implemented too quickly for them to be adequately prepared; they were completing their teacher training (fourth year) and at the same time assuming full control of the classroom. They would have preferred that it was otherwise.

HN: So you were quite happy changing to that way?
NU: We were a little bit
MU: Little bit. Because we wanted really to finish our study first then go into the classrooms, but we have maybe one year la classroom and another year doing study for part time teaching and studying same time. Like a bit too much.
HN: You would have preferred to finish your study first?
MU: Mmm. Like still have the non-Aboriginal teachers teaching Aboriginal kids. But that plan just bin go too fast, eh. UU, then she came in as a principal.

A staff member from another school, in speaking about a perceived imbalance in power structures in management in the school reflected that changes need to happen
slowly. People need to know possibilities for change, but they initiate any changes on their own terms.

LD: There is still too much reliance on what has been set up here, the system and structures. One of my responses to this question is that in-servicing should be workshops for them to work out their power structures, what kind of power structures they want. I was able to draw in the sand with some senior teachers here the power structures here as we see it and the power structure as we understand as they have at [name of school] and it was an enlightenment for them. It was like a fairly major intuition to some people because they could see that there was a lack of balance here as compared to what was happening over there. I'm not saying that they've got to rush into it. They've just got to know that these things are available to them. I think maybe too much too quickly is not a good thing.

In ascertaining the roles of the mentoring programs in preparing and supporting executive teachers, principals-in-training and class teachers, difficulties of trying to squeeze too much into the program and rushing people into positions too quickly were introduced.

HN: And do you think one of the problems with the mentor program, a lot of the things you can't anticipate ... because the mentor then goes and the person is left in the position and doesn't always have access to the mentor. The situation arises and you've got no one really to talk with about how do I deal with this particular situation? You can't prepare them for everything.

KB: In one of the professional development workshops I advised them about rushing into the leadership positions. Aboriginal self-determination and self-management is a must for everyone involved in Aboriginal education. However I believe it would be doing them an injustice by rushing them into these positions without adequate preparation. Some of the principals I work with cannot work independent of mentors within two or three years. I therefore advised them to be patient and not allow internal and external pressures to necessitate their actions.

Many Aboriginal teachers have begun teacher education with rich cultural knowledge, but often there have been gaps in certain aspects of western style education which could have a bearing on the ways in which schools are administered.

BB: Informally students have always wanted to know about my experiences as another Indigenous person who has studied outside Australia. Basically they were hungry for strategies in dealing with Western structures which they find very [constricting] in their work environment. I have often told them the one fundamental way is education. Having a good education and using that as a stepping stone. For these students even though I come from another Indigenous culture I am a role model. They are slowly coming to the realisation that with genuine commitment and determination they can achieve and succeed in a western dominated society. In some of my workshops I have shared with them the steps I
went through in gaining my education to my current position. It was quite a shock for me to know that I spent so many years educating myself.

HN: Did they think there was an easy path?
BB: Yes. 'Oh yes absolutely! Relating my experiences made them think about their learning. Realising after primary and secondary education, my tertiary studies involved three years here and four years there, then another three years. They strongly believed it was not something one can achieve in a year or two. It was vital for me to do this because I found myself under pressure from students to give them everything and make them behave, to quote one of them 'exactly like me!' This expectation was too much on me, but I have always handled it quite well. Over time they come to realise it is a whole lot of things put together.

Some students feel cheated in being rushed through courses, without adequate time for integration. Most non-Aboriginal teachers have twelve years of formal schooling, four years at university or college and then opportunities for post-graduate study before assuming leadership positions in schools. Length of years of study does not necessarily make one equipped for leadership, but there is a sense that time is given to preparation, to the development of knowledge and skills. Some Aboriginal people are articulating that there are gaps in their skills and knowledge, that they do not have access to 'secret English.' They believe if they have the key to that secret way of dealing with the white man they will be able to relate on equal terms and have equal power.

The 'Big' Picture

As well as taking time in leadership preparation, it is necessary to have a sense of the total picture in education, management and leadership, which is another key to success, to power.

• RR: You can't have external leaders. It has got to come from the leadership within and you can only have leadership that is powerful when they have position, when they see it. That is where by this drawing and labelling and learning to understand the interactions that are going on, how the whole thing hangs together, what is going on what is actually happening and they get it into that story form and which Paulo Freire referred to as the analysis of reality and you've got to analyse reality in their terms in their language in the way they see it in order for them to identify where they want to go and how the strategies they (inaudible) that they themselves might be able to put in place in order to achieve that.

... In your work as a community development person, sixty, seventy, eighty percent of your work is in helping them in coming to grips with that analysis and the start to see the big picture, so they can start to

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understand it and to take off. That thing about the big picture is important.

Part of the 'big picture' relates to modern western worldviews and the bureaucracies of agencies beyond the remote community. The perception of someone who spent many years in a number of desert communities is that there are gaps in knowledge and understandings about elements of education, of non-Aboriginal knowledge systems. These gaps are limiting the control which communities can exercise over the educational process. It would be helpful for people to have more of the jigsaw pieces filled in in the total picture for education.

RR: ...so all I am just saying is that they are used to seeing the big picture, (in their own context) they are used to singing for 24 hours the songs that will take them over the country. ... they are searching for the big picture stuff and what is happening is that in education ... no one is intelligently bringing the big picture or introducing all the elements that are starting to cause trouble to show them the relationship and how it works and how they can assume control or how they can really cope with that and just every element of that educational process they need to be putting into painting form, that's the easy form, or into butchers paper and so on ...

As well as the gaps in knowledge about the total picture and where pieces of the puzzle fit together, one person sees that there are not effective structural mechanisms for decisions to impact on the school. This is especially true where school councils are non-existent. If new structures are introduced into schools, it is imperative that there is an educative process for people to gain an understanding of the larger picture, and to see themselves as part of that larger picture.

LD: They can go away and make a decision in the camps or in the Council, but there's no effective system of feeding it into the school system at the moment. Even though a new structure has been set up it is still very much in the teething stage and I can perceive that being a problem in itself in that they are only just getting used to this notion of decision-making and power. Maybe in a couple of months or a couple of years they might understand how that works and how to use it, but at the moment as far as I am aware, they haven't been told of any schedule for in-servicing to help them understand that system.

VISIONS FOR SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

When members of school staff and school councils conceptualise the educational picture for members of their communities, visions can begin to be worked towards. One principal has a vision of school and community working together for a
sustainable future for the community, as well as becoming financially independent. This vision incorporates secondary students working with the adult education centre.

BU: Yeah, we've got to think of a way to help these people, to create something that has never been there, you know. And because the kids are so close to the bush I thought maybe for horticulture you know. Horticultural farms, barra farms eventually. We gonna start up and I think there's money coming to start up for horticulture, and the adult education, people in the community is interested. Already working at the nursery with our high school students here. And they are getting the garden all ready, and they are going to start with mangoes for sale, grafted ones, Bowens, stuff like that.

WOMEN AND COMMUNITY

The seven Aboriginal principals in remote schools are all women as are most Aboriginal executive teachers. Being a woman, with family and cultural obligations as well as duties to perform in the school can add extra burdens on those in executive positions in the school.

One difficulty in traditionally oriented communities involves negotiating avoidance relationships with certain males from the community. Working within a carefully structured team situation, such as the [name of group], ensures there will be a team member who can speak with certain males when necessary.

NG
HN: You have a few men employed around the school?
• Day to day
• Yeah.
• So they can carry those boxes. (Laughing)
HN: And you can tell them what work to do and they will listen?
• Them two, can talk to them men.
HN: And in the Action Group they [men] come to the meetings?
• No
• No they don't, only the teachers
HN: So they don't have any meetings with you? But someone can talk to them?
• Like because it's cultural. This one can't talk to those three men, because she's like brothers.
• These three.
• That one easy job, we take the hard job (those that talk to the men).

As well as pressures women have in walking the fine line between fulfilling community obligations, especially in relation to family and meeting requirements as
educational leaders, there are those who feel the pressures and frustrations of alienation between the school and community.

OTHER TENSIONS

The teachers in one school were experiencing great frustrations in having no voice in the school. Discussion centred on Aboriginalisation or localisation of the leadership of the school quickly focussed on difficulties because of the complexities of the community situation. These women were feeling the isolation of the life of the school from the life of the community and the disinterest of the majority of the community members as to what was happening in the school.

GD
MD: We have ... problems all the time, try to ... change many things , like just to get the people in, the local people into the school. ... Get's a bit hard.
BD: Only a few people come....
HN: Would it be different if there were an Aboriginal principal or would it be harder?
MD: Harder
BD: Harder
MD: Definitely much harder because it's a very wide community, ... so many people living and so many different tribes and different languages spoken around the community. As a whole we only speak one language that's our language, just to communicate [with] each other, but all these other different dialects are spoken only by the old people and that's only used at home or out bush ... the same problem goes on, going on for a long time, like this tribe being too bossy to this tribe then... one tribe saying we much stronger than you mob. Then we ended up in
BD: Fight ...
HN: And when it comes to localising, and you have your own Aboriginal principal, or leader or principals, how do you think that should be worked out?
MD: Working towards Aboriginalisation, it's hard, it's hard, it seems to us like it's out of the question.
HN: But one day it will happen.
MD: Maybe in twenty or forty years time.
MD: Yes, because I don't think, we just don't think looking further down, ... having these Aboriginal teachers in every class and the principal, Aboriginal principal, and Aboriginal deputy principal, and Aboriginal coordinators, hard and causing problems and even trouble. ... Also would cause problems. Even though you try do this or that, each time doing different things there's always this problem. Like if one person is having trouble all the others go maybe back up, backing up for that person, then big argument, then end up big fights. That's what we would be afraid of, inter-tribal wars, things like that.

Two non-Aboriginal staff members interviewed articulated the alienation of the school from the community and the lack of awareness by the majority of non-
Aboriginal staff to the cultural denigration which was arising from the present structures of the school.

People need to develop an understanding of the 'big picture' of education and the connection between Aboriginal education and the global picture of the political, cultural and social development of the wider society in in working towards change. Much preparatory education needs to occur before localisation can become first a vision, and then a reality if that is what people want. The present actuality for the teachers in this school is that they can only anticipate the problems of localisation of leadership without envisaging any constructive possibilities for change.

Localisation of educational leadership in remote Aboriginal schools in the NT is occurring on different levels and at different rates as has been shown in this small sample of five schools. Possibly there are a number of teachers, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal who have similar feelings and frustrations to those expressed by the teachers in the above extracts. The road ahead for localisation of leadership will not be smooth in many school communities, but the example of those who have already taken up the baton is a powerful reminder that dreams can become realities.

DIFFERENT LEADERSHIP POSSIBILITIES

Different ways of structuring leadership and management roles within schools are emerging. If leadership and management are seen more explicitly as separate entities, maybe new ways of developing these roles could be created.

This section recognises some of the ways in which changes are occurring reflecting the state of flux which is emerging in management structures in schools. These changes, both projected and actual, include flexibility in accommodating leadership and decision-making mechanisms where aspects of the Western and traditional societies meet, in order to honour both cultures. Some changes have occurred to reduce the pressures on Aboriginal principals as they endeavour to meet obligations within their communities as well as those relating to being leaders and managers of schools. These modifications include changes in school governance structures, where the position of manager was created to accommodate local complexities of two schools and one school council; shared leadership structures where different people assume aspects of the leadership role at different or the same times; separating decision-making and financial management as well as areas of leadership and management.
One school has created the position of educational manager to liaise between the principals of two schools which sit under one school council:

HN: And what are the main responsibilities you have as the manager?
RA: Working out, working with the two principals in staff selection, selection and being on panels, also writing letters on behalf of the schools to the regional superintendent.
HN: Things that concern both schools?
RA: Yeah, principals can talk to me, show me, mainly about selection of staff. Looking at CVs when people apply. ...
HN: So, it's more of a consultative role.
RA: Looking at yeah, consultative role
HN: And do you sometimes have to act as a go-between between council and staff, or the community as well?
RA: Yes, yes. And also I have to go in with the principals to the regional principals' conference.
HN: When they have meetings,
RA: Yo, I have a status yeah. That's recognised by the Department. Also I am there when there's a crisis, and they need me, I am there to help like with staffing or and also in curriculum issues I am there to help.

A mentor spoke of the different ways in which Aboriginal executive teachers will adjust ways of working to relieve pressure and stress on individuals. Possibilities for the future were also mentioned.

NN: They'll do it their way, totally different from what I envisage now, and I can see them, more and more taking on responsibility, doing things and getting things done. But in the big picture not every white principal is able to do all the paperwork and take on everything that comes on their desk. You just can't do it. So like, are we expecting too much, too soon. They've got to be put into the situation otherwise they learn by observation so they see how I run it, [use my model]. Then when we go to town, TN and I, it used to be two looking after the place, but now we've decided it's four. They've said what they feel comfortable in doing, so I feel that they've, we've come a long way in group leadership, even though we've got our little failings every now and then but at least they are doing what they can and in the way that they can do it.
HN: What about the stuff that comes from outside, ... in some ways it's a paper warfare?
NN: It is and it's not important, and that's good. ... I'd worry if the lights were not on or the toilet was blocked, but that has not reached them yet. That is just not in their way of life. Same as the paper war is not in their life.
NN: So I see that in this school, I feel for many years there will be a manager type person that will deal with the finance and will also deal with sitting with them to say this is what this paper says. Don't ask them for a signature, explain what the paper says and then give them time. ... But to get back to the paper, some people feel that it would be a sliding point I guess that the person sitting behind the desk wouldn't be the principal in full because she wasn't able to grasp the details of all the paper that comes in. That in one way is true, because you have to have your hand on every little tick that comes, but we've got to allow them the space and the time to come up with a way that they are going to be able to do it and also [departments] have got to realise and I've said it at many ... meetings that what's important in a school? Is it having all the papers up
to date or is it looking at education for the kids? And so much time goes into all this business that really the principal should be the leader in education, more so than in pastoral care I think. We are here to educate the kids, so I think we've really got to look at our remote schools if they are going to be success stories as Aboriginal people would want them to be, there has to be a difference in the way we run our administration.

This mentor sees there is the possibility that the Aboriginal principal will not be seen as the 'principal in full' if a management role is assigned to a non-Aboriginal person with full understanding of finance and management activities in the school and the Aboriginal principal filling leadership roles related to, for example, vision, curriculum, and school-community relationships. Yet Aboriginal principals could have enormous pressures placed on them from kin in relation to use of school resources such as motor vehicles and money. One way of alleviating this pressure with money, is for decisions about finance to be made locally, but to have the management of accounts administered by another person.

**NN:** They know their weaknesses in money. TN has said, no way, (to handling school finances) because they know the pressures from the camp. So we just keep like that. So they are being exposed. What they understand is the day to day running and what you've got to do and what you've got to have.

Other schools not part of this research have for some time been making financial decisions, with the management of orders and payments being processed by a designated officer at the regional office. The decision-making is localised, but the handling of school monies does not happen on site, and this has proved to be a very satisfactory arrangement for all parties.

Strong communication must exist between the personnel occupying these two key positions of educational leadership and management of resources in the school. It is premature to be predicting how these roles may finally evolve, but satisfactory arrangements do already exist. The process of Aboriginalisation, of localisation of schools, if controlled by Aboriginal people, taking the time they feel they need to develop competencies and skills for the positions they are assuming, and being in control of the change steps in that process, will occur, and differently from the perceptions of non-Aboriginal people. This does not imply that they will be seen as not the 'principal in full' if there is a sharing of administrative tasks.

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7 See Cameron, 1996, pp. 163-164.
HN: So are you suggesting then that maybe there's an educational leader and there's a business manager?

NN: Yes
HN: And that the business manager
NN: Must be a teacher. That business manager in this school I would see may not be called a manager. He or she would have to be a teacher because you are working in a school and you are dealing with teachers. You would have to have a knowledge of curriculum and of finance.

The following possibility sees that an administrative position could be identified for a non-Aboriginal, freeing the Aboriginal principal to provide educational leadership for the school and community.

NS: Some places are just thinking about, like they might have an Aboriginal principal and two, and all the executive of the school might be Aboriginal. And everybody else expects them to do the same thing in the same way and they are just starting to say, ... you don't have to. All that's required is in the position descriptions, but we could rejig these. We could put all the awful administrative stuff into one position over there and we identify that for a whitefella. We could do that. Why can't we do that? They are just getting to know what they can and can't do which is part of the development process.

The person with bureaucratic responsibilities may be distinct from the one who provides the information and sets processes in place. These bureaucratic requirements are seen as the ultimate distractions in the task of actually leading the school enterprise.

LA: I think that things like who might have responsibilities and bureaucratic sort of responsibilities and who might actually provide the information and the process for deciding how that responsibility will be met needn't be the same people. They need to be actively involved so that it safeguards the accountabilities that are responsible. Most of these things are related to acquiring and allocating and deploying resources, whether it's financial, staffing or whatever. And um, you know, that there are some requirements that you cannot escape, like who is responsible for making sure the stuff is audited and so on. But in the life of the school, those things really are the ultimate distractions.

Within one school, what was initially a frustrating situation with mentoring and its style not being helpful for the principal-in-training produced a totally new initiative, even though it ended up being a much more complex task for the mentor.

HN: How were you able to structure in a positive way that was helpful for all of you?
NN: Well I think, for TN herself, when she thought 'I can't do it alone, I need support,' we really need to look at, because that support still makes TN boss and we've got to work on this one very clearly I think. It was her idea to have the support from the [name] group, but it's still a job for me to be able to mentor five people instead of one. So with leadership for a
mentor, you just need to be a mentor and nothing else. But here you've
got the office depending on you, you've got teaching that you've got to go
to, you've got in-services, like you've got the works that you're
responsible for so to mentor five people is quite difficult.

There were frustrations on both sides in this situation, by the mentor in letting go of
the principalship to gradually share responsibilities and by the mentee in working in
isolation from other staff members. A new form of leadership evolved from this
difficulty. In Chapter Two it was indicated that it is very difficult for Aboriginal
peoples to stand alone without the support of others. Sharing leadership has been part
of traditional ceremonial life and has been developing in some of the Christian
churches since the 1970s. A creative innovation to the dilemma and frustrations of
the principal-in-training emerged with four others being chosen to share in leadership
through the [name of group] circle.

TN: It all started up in 95, when I got this position principal-in-training and
then NN and I had to work out which people in the staff I'd work with. So
NN got in the first group there were NN, [...] the literacy teacher linguist,
 [...] the deputy principal. I was working with those three people and then
in March there was some upsets you know and then somewhere in March
or April NN turned to me and said 'What you want to do?' she said to me.
So I had this dream when I was working in the school, so I said I would
rather work with my own people, because they understand me, I
understand them and we speak the same language. So I came up with
these four ladies, they represent the four skin groups. So I said to her this
is what I want. So I called them, talked to them how I chose you four
women to be, to work with me, to support me in my role of learning from
them and also they are learning from me and they said yes, they would
accept. And they accepted it and here it is. ... They were surprised I think,
when I told them I wanted them on the team. When I said, when I asked
them, to be my support people and they said yes.

The place of the cleared ground prepared for a dance or ceremony provided a parallel
for the school as a place of ceremony. The principal-in-training saw that the school as
a place of ceremony was mirrored in the traditional ceremony. After some dialogue,
she chose four teachers representing the four skin groups to support her in the
[traditional name] circle, not as assistant principals, but as the [name] Circle.

An exciting expression of group leadership for this school is that a structure from
within the culture has emerged to meet the challenge of having one person designated
as leader or principal of the school. Aspects from the core of traditional life are
respected in the notions of group leadership and in the coming together on a prepared
ground to participate in the ceremony of education. This model of shared leadership
in the educational endeavour, where both traditional and western perspectives are
SUMMARY

The sample of five schools in this research produced a variety in expressions and understanding of leadership. It is clear that some Aboriginal communities want control of their schools and are keen for their principal and a significant number of their teachers to come from the community. One school expressed the difficulties that could arise in the community if localisation of leadership occurred at present. It has been recognised that a partnership with non-Aboriginal teachers in both teaching and in the executive of the school is a helpful way for participatory management to occur.

Conflicts and difficulties are realities for any principal, and Indigenous principals have their own complexities to work through as leadership is localised within remote schools. Truncated educational experiences within the Western domain has meant that some principals have had to engage in explicit and extended mentoring to develop the 'big picture' in education, especially in the bureaucratic structures and procedures of the educational endeavour. Balancing the demands of educational leader in the school with family and cultural obligations can be a further source of stress for executive teachers.

Leadership, as a forging ahead, paving the way for others to follow, is a reality in some remote schools as Indigenous principals, in partnership with their executive and other bodies associated with the school and community, develop group models of exercising leadership, management and authority within the school. Some of these leaders are showing that it is more appropriate to lead 'not from the apex of the organisational pyramid but from the nexus of a web of interpersonal relationships.' In the next chapter I will discuss how established theory can be made sense of within the context of these findings.

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CHAPTER SIX
DISCUSSION
INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was indicated that some teachers in remote schools are reflecting critically on inherited structures of governance and leadership, and in a few places are beginning to develop alternatives. Different ways of exercising participatory leadership are emerging, including engaging a number of people in management and leadership roles in the executive of the school. Educational leadership within the broader Western and Australian society has undergone a paradigm shift over the last decade with more co-operative ways of exercising leadership appearing, yet the dialogue between Western educational leadership and Indigenous educational leadership has barely commenced.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY AND ABORIGINAL EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Ways in which aspects of Aboriginal educational leadership engage with some Western educational leadership theory will be outlined in this section, especially aspects of servant-leadership, authentic leadership and leadership and community. Elements of prismatic theory in relation to the state of flux which is ever present in remote communities is also elaborated.

School as community
Recent literature on educational leadership from the Western domain reflects the need to create communities within schools. For many remote schools it is not necessary to develop a sense of community, as this is already present within the settlement, especially within smaller more cohesive groups or homeland centres. Small communities with strong cultural roots and family ties have the possibility of functioning as an integral part of school life where adults and children work together for part of each day. In places where there is a vibrant sense of community, the school leaders listen to what is articulated as aims for education of the children. Decision-making involving dialogue and discussion is shared among a number of people; it does not rest solely with the nominated or appointed leader. Action Groups, School Councils and Boards, and in some smaller communities, the Community Council, are some of the groups participating in the decision-making process wherein community models of leadership are fostered.
Collegiality, team-building, interdependence and collaboration are important themes expanded upon by Sergiovanni in his understanding of school as community.\textsuperscript{1} Community theory draws on a number of strands including Indigenous societies where kinship of mind, of place and of memory\textsuperscript{2} is a reality. Aspects of this theory resonate well with what is occurring in educational leadership in some remote schools. Viewing school as community, as a learning community as a caring community, helps shape the notion of leadership that is required in the school. Personal leadership evolving from trait theories or bureaucratic leadership is not helpful for exploring the leadership evolving where school is imaged as community.

As well as notions coming from community theory, aspects of servant-leadership are reflected in the leadership styles of many who are engaged in leadership in some remote schools.

**Servant-leadership**

Within servant-leadership the leader is not the 'big boss' at the top of the hierarchical pyramid, but rather is in the midst of the community modelling service to others and engaging others in the leadership.

Educational leadership as it is presently exercised by most of the Aboriginal women who formed part of this research offers exciting possibilities for the practice of servant-leadership, where power and decision-making are shared in collaborative ways, fostering a sense of community through holistic approaches to learning. Group-oriented approaches to living have been the traditional ways of operating in small-scale societies including Aboriginal societies in the NT. Mutuality and interdependence may be seen as key features of the way in which teams work for the education of students and the community. From the literature written by Aboriginal principals and from interviews conducted in the course of this research it is clear that in the NT, leadership is being shown by these women. They have initiated changes in the structures of their schools as they have endeavoured to establish more participatory modes of working with staff and members of the local community through shared leadership and delegation of roles. The leadership density of the school staff and the community is increased with a greater number of people participating in leadership and decision-making.

\textsuperscript{1} Thomas Sergiovanni, Moral Leadership: Getting to the Heart of School Improvement, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1992; Building Community in Schools, 1994; Leadership for the Schoolhouse: How is it different? Why is it important? 1996.

\textsuperscript{2} Sergiovanni, Building Community in Schools, 1994, p. 8.
Women in leadership have begun to incorporate collaborative and group approaches in schools, as was explained in Chapter Two. These groups include the Mel'ngu Group, Milimika Circle, the three-way team approach at Elcho Island and Action Groups. Aspects of the ways in which these groups operate can be extrapolated to concepts found within servant-leadership. Servant-leadership theory could be further developed in the future, in relation to leadership and power in the Christian community in the light of New Testament writings. With the localisation of Church leadership in remote communities and possible correlations with educational leadership, servant-leadership with its emphasis on stewardship, growth of people, community building and healing provides an important starting point in theorising about Indigenous expressions of leadership in schools.

A strong partnership between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal staff is essential in order to develop a potent educational climate in remote schools. New facets of leadership can be shown from collaborative partnerships of teachers working with others within the school and from the community. Situations can be negotiated to accommodate the pressures which can come from cultural, family, health and financial responsibilities. Working as a team enables the school to continue operating when one or more people are obliged to fulfil their family and cultural responsibilities. This group-oriented approach in the sharing of power and decision-making is at the heart of servant-leadership as was contended in Chapter Two.

**Authentic leadership**

Notions of credibility, honesty, trustworthiness, morality and ethical behaviour are all to be found within authentic leadership as articulated by writers such as Terry, and Duignan and Bhindi.3

As was indicated in the previous chapter, good leadership provides role models who are empathetic and bring a balanced view to issues and situations. Many of those interviewed stated that they saw themselves as role models for the students. Being credible and believable for the students as well as being expected to live by high ethical and moral standards within the community places demands on teachers, but they are prepared to live what they proclaim. Being authentic is demanded of all in leadership positions in schools. Within remote Aboriginal communities authenticity as a quality of leadership is highly visible to all members of the community. Women in leadership have built on existing kin relationships within the community and have

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fostered interdependence in the groups which have been established to assist them in
decision-making. This is another way in which they foster authenticity. From my
research, women in leadership in remote Aboriginal schools reflect many of the
attributes which the findings of Bhindi and Duignan ascribe to authentic leadership.

**Theory of Prismatic society**

With localisation of school leadership, patterns within the administration of the
school will probably undergo further changes to provide greater flexibility in team
situations. This reflects the intermediate state of Riggs’ Theory of Prismatic Society,
where styles, structures and expressions of management and leadership are in a
dynamic state of disequilibrium and change as Indigenous and Western societies
meet. This theory coming from the public administration domain explains the
interplay which develops when the Indigenous society and Western bureaucratic
systems meet. With the localisation of educational leadership, Indigenous leaders are
experiencing tensions and pressures which were not evident when schools were
administered by Westerners who grew up with 'Western cultural capital' able to
negotiate with ease within impersonal quantified bureaucratic systems.

With the advent of Indigenous educational leaders in schools, elements of social
organisation from the traditional society are becoming publicly manifested within the
school. A dynamic period of change is occurring as leaders express more
participatory ways of sharing leadership. Separation of aspects of leadership into
different functions or roles has been one notable aspect of this change process,
especially where it relates to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people working in
partnership providing educational leadership and management of resources.

As the theory of prismatic society was developed to explain what was occurring
within the sphere of public administration in countries which were colonised by
European powers, I believe that it does not fully describe what is emerging within
educational leadership, but does reflect the element of change and difficulties which
arise as Indigenous and Western cultures meet and often clash with a resulting new
way emerging.
Summary
As new ways of reflecting Indigenous leadership within remote communities continue to emerge, further speculations will arise as to appropriate ways of practising educational leadership.

Parts of educational leadership theory from the Western domain can be applied to describe what is evolving in some remote Aboriginal schools. From the research which I have engaged in I do not believe that to date there has been an adequate exploration of Indigenous educational leadership nor one theory which describes the change in schools and school leadership as the construct of school becomes incorporated into Aboriginal cultures in remote areas today. More research, more dialogue and more theorising is still needed to understand the bigger picture of what is emerging today.
CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSIONS
INTRODUCTION

This thesis has explored some of the ways in which localisation of educational leadership and management of resources in remote Aboriginal schools is being practised today, as well as articulating a limited number of possibilities for the future. The methods employed in the study and the findings are detailed to provide some feedback for those involved in the research, as well as others interested in what is evolving in some remote Aboriginal communities in the NT.

Cogent features of this research include its originality within the scope of leadership and Aboriginal education and the employment of group interviews for data collection. As the conversation about Aboriginal educational leadership continues, there is a growing awareness that education and educational leadership from an Indigenous perspective could provide new vistas and directions for leadership.

Possible ways in which schools and communities can work more closely through the leadership initiatives of local principals will be elaborated later in the chapter. Developing the role of school manager could be further explored in communities, especially in those places where people have expressed that for the present they do not want to localise the position of principal. Differentiating between educational leadership and management of resources could be both freeing for principals and a source of tension as they endeavour to balance the two roles. School Councils should not be mandatory in those communities which feel for various reasons that such a group is not appropriate, yet some infrastructure for assisting the principal in decision-making needs to be in place. Localisation of staffing does not necessarily mean all positions are to be held by local people, in fact it may be advantageous to have both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal staff in schools. Careful selection of mentors is critical in maintaining effective professional and personal development for those moving into executive positions in schools. Developing both literacy and knowledge in the content area is vital for the continued success of courses in educational administration. Greater flexibility in the ways in which leadership teams are established creates the possibility for innovative future developments meeting the needs of the community as well as being accountable to educational systems.

The following section outlines the limitations of the study.
CONSTRAINTS OF THE STUDY

The research charted new ground in leadership studies, as to date, no critique of leadership in remote Aboriginal schools has been found. Being an original study in the field of Indigenous educational leadership has proven to be both a strength and a limitation. The literature relating to Indigenous leadership and schools was established to be thin, providing few pointers for analysis or comparison. Recent studies in educational leadership from the Western perspective indicate that the dialogue between educational leadership and Indigenous perspectives of leadership could lead schools in new directions for the future. Two possibilities which have been outlined are developments in the understanding of schools as communities, and the practice of shared or group leadership. Leadership as a process involving all members of the executive in the school, as well as staff and interested people in the community provides for leadership density. Collaborative leadership considers the equality of all members of the executive, with several schools beginning to travel along this path.

As an introductory study into the field, the conclusions to be drawn are very tentative. It is mostly within the last decade that Aboriginal principals have begun leading schools in remote areas. Longitudinal studies have not yet been a possibility. Monumental shifts in awareness in leadership studies within the Western domain over the past decade indicate that new realities within educational leadership are possible. Aboriginal principals are at the forefront of changes relating to sharing leadership, in working in close partnership with the broader community, and in developing a culture of community within the school.

Ethnographic research procedures were utilised in this study, providing the most suitable methodology for establishing relationships and interacting with people in cross-cultural contexts. Given the time and budgetary constraints, it was possible to visit only five sites. Many other schools within the Northern Territory could have provided rich data for reflection, but travel to remote areas, especially air travel which was the only viable option in my circumstances, proved very expensive. Drawing on a larger number of schools would have been useful in order to improve the validity of the data. This study was conducted in schools constituting the 'Top End' of the Territory, but encompassing four of the nine regions of the NTDE.

All remote Aboriginal schools which have localised leadership are situated in communities which were originally established as missions. Due to a number of circumstances, this correlation between localisation of leadership within the churches
and the pattern of localisation within schools was unable to be pursued in the thesis, even though it was detailed as one of the original areas of investigation. Nungalinya College with its focus on leadership training for people in remote areas in a number of fields including community organising and theological studies has played a key role in localising leadership in the churches especially in Arnhem Land. Indigenous leadership has been promoted across all levels of the college since its inception, leading to the appointment of the first Aboriginal principal in 1995.

As a non-Aboriginal teacher, working with an Aboriginal co-researcher in all stages of the research could have assisted in grounding the material and the analysis, rather than expecting a couple of people who had been interviewed to engage in critical reflection on the material. This plan of collaboration did not eventuate. The final analysis is limited to my own interpretation and perspectives.

Despite these limitations, it has been possible to draw a number of conclusions from the research.

**IMPLICATIONS**

A number of possibilities or implications arise from the data and these will be spelt out using the themes managers, leaders, school councils or boards, staffing, mentoring, educational administration courses and localisation as these are some of the areas where more detailed analysis seems to be required.

During the research period, a blurring in understanding between leadership and management kept recurring, which requires further clarification and development at the local level. In the light of the literature it does seem necessary to make distinctions between leadership and management functions, although there is an overlap between the two. These distinctions could be significant for members of the executive in remote Aboriginal schools in the light of issues which have emerged both in the literature and in the data. One notable point is that Aboriginal principals have indicated they can be placed under pressure from family regarding the use of school resources including money. Ways of circumventing these pressures have already been put in place by some principals and school executives, including administering of finances from the regional office.

I believe these changes have occurred for pragmatic rather than philosophical reasons, but that new understandings and possibilities for the role of principal as
educational leader could emanate from these arrangements. It does not necessarily follow that the principal will be seen in a lesser light because he or she does not attend to the management of resources.

Managers
One school council, reflecting on its complexities of a base school with a number of HLCs then separating into two separate schools still under the one council, created a managerial position when principals of both schools were non-Aboriginal. The present reality is an Aboriginal principal at the base school and a non-Aboriginal principal of the HLC Schools, with the manager's position continuing. Refer to Figure 2.1, The Nambara Schools Organisational Chart for details of the management lines which exist in the schools. The role of manager includes keeping staff true to the ideals of the elders as well as assisting principals and staff in a variety of practical matters. The manager, through family influence within the clans, provides leadership from the Indigenous perspective as well as in policy and curriculum leadership from extensive studies in the Western domain.

A managerial role, possibly given a different title, could conceivably be introduced into other schools where there are few trained Aboriginal teachers, and where the community wants control over aspects of the school. It is envisaged that this person would work closely with the principal on a day-to-day basis, especially in policy areas which reflect community aspirations. It would be ideal if this person was a trained teacher, but this may not be the reality in many remote communities, especially in some of the smaller southern communities of the NT. A liaison role between school, School Board or Council, and the wider community could be a way for Aboriginal leadership to be exercised in the interim before there is an Aboriginal principal. Difficulties could arise, however, if the manager had to work in isolation from a strong peer support group.

Leaders
As was indicated in Chapter One, leaders show the way, they move into uncharted territory. Most present Aboriginal principals have stepped into the unknown, where they are the first to localise the position of principal in their school community. Leading by example, they are the role models for the students, other staff and community members. Leaders, as well as being strong, committed and capable, draw others into partnership in the educational endeavour by sharing roles and responsibilities, and through delegation. Leaders are visionary, having a future orientation as they set standards of excellence. Holding management of resources in balance with educational leadership can be a source of tension, especially when
managerial tasks become all absorbing. The challenge of leadership is to get others to want to do things rather than relying on management which organises others to do them.

**School Councils and Boards**

Some communities are working towards change in the area of the power of the school council in decision-making. As was shown in Table 5.4, two of the schools have a council or board, two are working towards the establishment of a board and one school deemed that the community is too small to have both a community council and a school council. Cameron's 1996 study on Devolution described a school without a school council, but where the school and local community council work closely together. The absence of a school council may be seen to restrict community input into decision-making, or it may be that since the principal and a number of teachers and support staff are members of the community and related to each other, community input occurs anyway without the formality of a council. Within this reality the onus is on the principal to consult, to decide, to implement her decisions and to field reactions.\(^1\) As was explained in Chapter Five, one principal felt that division and dissension could arise in their small community if a school council was established. These two schools show that it may be unnecessary to duplicate formal structures in small harmonious communities, especially where self-management is evolving to suit the local situation. It does need to be borne in mind however, that there is the possibility that undue stress could arise if too much is expected of the principal from the community council in these situations.

In larger and more complex communities, which are often more politically volatile, the formal structure of a school board may be essential to appease the needs and voices of the different language groups and factions within the community.

**Staffing**

If remote Aboriginal schools are to become fully localised, it would seem that localisation does not pertain only to staffing, that is, a majority of classroom teachers and possibly executive teachers coming from the local community, but relates also to decisions about staffing. As was indicated earlier, school councils can make decisions about staff promotional positions, but not about general staffing appointments, although the principal may have an active role in decisions about staff appointed to the school. Perhaps the parameters attached to the roles and powers in decision-making of school councils need to be negotiated according to the particular circumstances of each school community. The present reality of having power in

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some areas of staffing, at principal and promotional levels, but not in connection with general staff appointments, creates tensions for those schools seeking local control of decision-making relating to staffing. Two schools, raised this issue, perhaps reflecting the agitation arising from the *Towards the 90s* documents, with the 1988 document deleting devolution of staffing to school councils, but some councils are still wanting this control.

It is conceded that in some remote areas it is extremely difficult to attract staff from outside the community, let alone encourage them to stay for any length of time. Quite often there are staff shortages which affect morale and there is the cycle of poor student attendance, reduction in staff numbers and staff shortages. In many places there is not yet a sufficient pool of local teachers, (and possibly never will be), to fill all the positions which have been designated in the localisation plan of the school. The central and southern districts of the NT which were not part of this research commenced teacher education training at a later stage than some community schools in the 'Top End', so have different time frames in working towards localisation. Many of these schools are much smaller than 'Top End' schools, with fewer possibilities for local professional development, especially for those moving into executive positions in schools. It could be extremely difficult to implement effective mentoring in two and three teacher schools, so there are still many challenges ahead in staffing and in the mentoring of neophyte teachers and those aspiring for promotional positions in some remote schools.

Localisation does not necessarily mean that all staffing positions are filled by Aboriginal people. As has been indicated previously, Aboriginal teachers in community schools welcome non-Aboriginal teachers, but have expressed they want ultimate control of the school to remain with the Aboriginal staff and community.

The numbers of non-Aboriginal teachers in some remote schools will decrease in the future. Increasing demands will possibly be placed on the non-Aboriginal staff members as they work collaboratively in cross-cultural team situations. Competent experienced teachers are required, yet so often the scenario is the antithesis. Recruits fresh from teacher-training in southern states struggling to find their feet in a classroom, being the only teachers available, are assigned to remote community schools. Mentoring, teamwork, collaboration and support are required from all staff in the process of working towards localisation.
MENTORING

Mentors hold key positions in remote Aboriginal schools. Both the literature and the data have indicated that mentoring is a critical factor in the professional and personal development of neophyte and executive teachers. Mentoring plays an important role in the preparation of executive teachers and principals-in-training.

A number of problems have emerged within the mentoring programs of the past and these are gradually being addressed. Careful matching of mentors with mentorees is essential according to the qualities and range of understandings and experiences which the mentor brings to the process of professional development. Mentors for those in or working towards executive positions need to have had experience of leadership in executive positions, in the NT if possible, as well as having teaching experience in remote Aboriginal communities. The expectations on mentors can become too great if they do not bring these prior experiences to the position. In some cases the mentoring experience could be set up for failure if the mentor, new to community life, is too focussed on his or her own needs rather than on the professional and personal development requirements of the mentee.

Being able to work effectively with people in cross-cultural as well as possibly in cross-gender situations adds further complexities to an already difficult professional and personal development program. Networking meetings of mentors and mentees provide further professional development experiences and ensure that there is ongoing support for what can be a lonely and difficult experience.

Due to the personalised nature of the program, it is difficult to provide adequate immediate preparation to mentors or to develop a manual of mentoring. Successful mentors are people possessing commitment to localisation processes, professionalism and the attributes necessary to 'pass the baton' to another without building a dependency relationship.

Schools are adapting mentoring to suit the professional and personal needs of people, especially where the mentor works with both neophyte and executive teachers in larger schools. It is unrealistic to expect that one person can provide for the wide ranging needs of a number of neophyte and executive teachers. In larger schools a number of people can take on different components of the mentoring process, with perhaps the appointed mentor working as relief teacher to free a classroom teacher to work with the mentee. These collaborative arrangements have the possibility of building the leadership potential of many members of staff. The mentoring process
has already proven that it is suitable and adaptable to the needs of Aboriginal teachers as they move into formal leadership positions in the schools.

It is recommended that there be a gradual reduction in the time given to mentoring as the executive teacher assumes more of the educational leadership and managerial tasks of the school. Building a climate of collegiality both within the school and with other Aboriginal principals will assist in lessening the isolation which has been associated with past experiences of leadership.

STUDIES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The Batchelor College programs in Educational Administration, both the Graduate Certificate and the Graduate Diploma have been operating since mid 1995. Leadership, bureaucracy and administration from Western perspectives are contextualised to the remote Aboriginal community school as executive teachers engage in both critique and praxis.

A difficulty for course delivery at post graduate level is the relatively low literacy levels of many students from remote communities. A longer time frame than anticipated has been required to teach the content. Spending time developing critical literacy and other literacy skills is essential for people in executive positions, but these should not occur at the expense of developing knowledge in the area of educational administration. It is imperative that teacher training institutions, especially Batchelor College address the issue of literacy in a systematic manner in its RATE program so that teachers moving into post graduate studies are not further marginalised and treated as other as was indicated by Zhang in Chapter Two.

LOCALISATION

Different possibilities for restructuring roles within the school have proven feasible. Previous administrative styles and structures from the Western perspective will not necessarily be carried into the future.

Examples of team leadership have been developed in a number of schools. At Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic School the Milimika Circle consists of a group of four who support the principal and all five women share in leadership functions according to their individual gifts and areas of expertise. At Elcho Island, Rose Guywanga maintained that schools need both Yolngu and Balanda to teach and support each
other with Balandas supporting Yolngu in administration and Yolngu guiding the development of a locally based curriculum, providing the possibility for a leadership partnership. A non-Aboriginal principal articulated the possibility of a manager role for a non-Aboriginal teacher assuming responsibility for the finance and physical resources of the school and the Aboriginal principal having responsibility for other areas.

The issue of management of resources and finances is contentious, and requires skilful negotiation. There are two issues relating to finance; first, devolution and second, pressures in handling monies at the local level. With the advent of devolution, schools which are entrepreneurial in generating funding apart from general allocations have more flexibility, and are able to be more creative in the provision of professional development activities for teachers and educational opportunities for students. The second issue relates to local handling of monies and pressures arising at the local level with demands from family for loans and access to school facilities and equipment. Some schools have already put in place a mechanism to remove some of this pressure. Financial decisions could be made at the local level by the school council and/or the principal, with management occurring through the regional office, with orders and payments being processed by a designated officer.²

With localisation of leadership occurring in an increasing number of schools, the ways in which those schools function could be different in the future. If a number of the administrative and managerial roles are identified for a non-Aboriginal teacher, the possibility emerges of encouraging flexibility in the visions and practical expressions of both management and leadership. Communication will be crucial in ensuring both power and information are shared between those in the roles. The principal could then be freed to devote more time to working with others in leadership and decision-making related to curriculum, and teaching and learning tasks which are central to schools, rather than being isolated in the office, absorbed in form-filling and maintenance issues.

Maintenance and upkeep of buildings has become an issue for NTDE schools under the devolution model, and could be a source of enormous pressure for remote schools principals who possibly have limited experience with these issues.³ Devolution of policies, of administration and of programs to school councils was deemed to be the

² See Cameron, 1996, pp. 164-165 on arrangements made for Gapuwiyak school.
³ NTDE, The Standard Devolution Package: A Practical Guide to Educational Decision Making for School Councils, NT Education, 1991 is 300 pages long, and includes sections on funding, financial operations, property management, employment guidelines, capital works funding procedures, appendices and the Action Plan for School Improvement. See also Cameron, 1996, which looks at devolution in two remote Aboriginal schools.
means to achieve self-management of schools. The management of Action Plans for School Improvement (APSI) is the responsibility of the principal requiring the endorsement of school councils. School councils, (or in their absence, some other group taking on advisory functions), are key bodies for local self-management. A sound working knowledge of both the devolution document and its implications are vital for principals and school councils in their efforts to develop effective control of decision-making and localisation. Regional offices as outside support agencies will continue to play a key role in supporting localisation of decision-making and also as points of accountability of public monies.

SUMMARY

Leadership and management can be exercised in different ways, as has been shown throughout the thesis. Flexibility exists within present school structures under devolution processes for schools to plan, organise and implement structures and programs which suit the circumstances of their particular communities. A number of schools are establishing patterns of group leadership to accommodate the demands which are placed on Aboriginal people in educational leadership as they strive to fulfil their cultural and family obligations as well as meet the demands arising from their positions within the school.

Within the next section I spell out some areas which I perceive requiring further research.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As this is an early foray into the field of Aboriginal leadership in schools more detailed studies are required in order to ascertain the effectiveness of these early leadership experiences as well as gauging the impact of localising leadership in schools and communities.

There has been much discussion about the poor educational outcomes, from the Western perspective, of Aboriginal students. Future studies may suggest whether academic achievement has been increased with localisation of leadership. Charol Shakeshaft's studies have indicated that academic achievement tends to be higher in schools with women as principals. Evaluating whether these indications are borne out
in remote Aboriginal schools as well as mainstream schools could be confirmed in future studies.

An area requiring further investigation relates to whether localisation of leadership leads to a reduced turnover of staff numbers and the effect this has on students and their learning. Another possible area for research is whether there is a correlation between localisation of leadership and an even further localisation of staffing.

More extensive studies are required to discern whether some of the trends that have emerged from this small sample of five schools are true indicators of leadership and localisation issues occurring across remote Aboriginal schools in the NT and in other remote areas of Australia. Collaborative models of leadership take time to develop, and the examples which have been cited have arisen to meet a distinct circumstance in time in a particular place. The issues faced and solutions devised in these communities may not necessarily be generalised to meet the needs of other remote communities.

As Aboriginal educators begin to reflect on and record their experiences of the dynamic state of change which is occurring in the educational endeavour, new theories of Indigenous leadership will possibly develop. Out of these reflections, possibilities for comparative studies could emerge.

CONCLUSION

This study details leadership as it is expressed in five remote schools in the NT. Educational leadership is distinct from management of resources and with the emergence of local leadership in remote schools these two components are beginning to be seen as separate realities.

Preparation for localisation of educational leadership in the NT has developed principally through mentoring processes, and since 1995 has been complemented by courses in educational administration from Batchelor College. Both approaches are critical in developing both professional and personal competence for teachers at the executive level in remote community schools.

As aspects of both the inherited structures of schools and elements from traditional societies are critiqued and reflected upon, new models or ways of exercising leadership in schools are emerging. Collaborative teams, where aspects of leadership
are shared at the executive level, reflecting components from traditional Aboriginal societies as well as aspects patterned from Western educational leadership are being generated. These teams are usually composed of Aboriginal teachers and non-Aboriginal teachers who act as mentors, where school and community work together for the education of people of all ages in remote locations.

For some Aboriginal teachers, struggling to have a voice in decision-making in the staff, the possibility of localisation of leadership seems an impossible dream, but there are people who have been able to actualise what seemed so improbable even thirty years ago. They are the leaders who have blazed the trail into an uncertain and unknown future. It is imperative that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers foster collaborative partnerships of interdependence as the landscape of educational leadership crystallises from its present shimmering mirage.
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APPENDIX A

TABLE: EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Education in NT &amp; Policies relating to all students</th>
<th>Missions &amp; Govt Settlements</th>
<th>Aboriginal Education</th>
<th>Policies, Statements, Reviews, Commissions, Reports in Aboriginal Education</th>
<th>Aboriginal Tr Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Control of education under South Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>First school at Palmerston tr J Holt 34 pupils</td>
<td>Finke River Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New school at Hermannsburg</td>
<td>(Lutheran)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Palmerston declared school district</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Board of school district met for first time</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Jesuits arrived at Rapid Creek (Catholic)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Jesuits at Uniya, Daly River (Catholic)</td>
<td>Hermanburg edn switched from Aranda to English</td>
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<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>School classes began at Uniya using the Malak Malak language</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Rapid Creek Mission abandoned</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Primary school at Pine Creek</td>
<td>Malak Malak continues as language of Uniya mission</td>
<td></td>
<td>Uniya, school in English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Jesuits withdrew from Uniya</td>
<td>Jesuits withdrew from Uniya</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Jesuits withdrew from Palmerston</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>MSC priests to Palmerston (Catholic Mission)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>OLSH srs establish St Joseph's School for European students</td>
<td>Roper River Mission (CMS) OLSH srs to Darwin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>OLSH srs establish orphanage for 'half-caste' girls</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Commonwealth control and administration of education</td>
<td>Bathurst Island Mission</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Catholic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>First teacher from Qld to Darwin</td>
<td>OLSH srs to Bathurst Island</td>
<td>School for 'half-caste' chn from mainland at Bathurst Island</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>- first formal examination of students</td>
<td></td>
<td>School at Kahlin Compound</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- new public school in Darwin</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- itinerant tr to Daly River region to work with chn of settlers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>School built at Alice Springs Classes for European chn in mornings, tr Ida Standley</td>
<td>The Bungalow established in Alice Springs</td>
<td>Part Aborigines taught by Ida Stanley at Community School (The Bungalow) in afternoons</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Goulburn Island (MOM)</td>
<td>School for Tiwi chn on Bathurst Island</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Two schools on Bathurst Island combined</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Special class at Darwin primary to prepare older pupils for high school</td>
<td>Groote Eylandt /Emerald River (CMS) for 'half-caste' chn until 1933, till 1943 for evangelisation Angurugu Elcho Island, abandoned 1922</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>High school component of Darwin Primary</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Inspector of Qld Dept of Public Instruction inspected and reported on schools</td>
<td>Milingimbi (MOM)-1924,1935 Elcho Island (MOM)</td>
<td>23 girls taken from Kahlin to residence at Myilly Point</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Northern region adopted Qld system of education and curricula</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Oenpelli (CMS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Northern Region- Qld Central Region administered by SA Dept of Education Edn Branch headed by supervisor responsible to Govt Resident of North Australia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Qld Correspondence system for northern region</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chn from the Bungalow transferred to Jay Creek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>J.W. Bleakley Chief Protector of Aborigines in Qld inspected mission stations in NT</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Bleakley, <em>Report on the Aboriginales and half-castes of Central Australia and North Australia</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Re-amalgamation of NT, Branch returned to Dept of Administrator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Dormitory system ended on MOMs. Change of policy to include training and educating of adults</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Jay Creek abandoned, chn moved to Old Telegraph Station</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>SA school inspector to Alice Springs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Chn taught at Catholic Presbytery in Alice Springs. School opened at Tennant Ck</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Little Flower Mission (Charles Ck, Alice Springs)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Conference of Federal and State ministers - co-ord nec for Aboriginal Ed</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Umbakumba (Fred Grey) became CMS in 1958</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>First Govt Aboriginal school at Bagot, Qld tr appointed</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>First policy statement of MOM</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our Lady of Victories Mission Garden Point (Melville Island)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Haasts Bluff Govt Settlement Snake Bay - central depot</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Education became one of branches of Northern Territory Administration</td>
<td>Port Keats School at Port Croker Island (MOM) for part-coloured chn from Kahlil, resumed again 1946 Elcho Island recommenced</td>
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<td>1942</td>
<td>Arltunga Mission (Catholic)</td>
<td>Aranda people moved further out of town Milingimbi/Elcho Island permanently estd (MOM)</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>Areyonga Ration Depot</td>
<td>Ella Shepherdson began school at Elcho Island</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>Administration of NT Education contracted to SA Dept of Education</td>
<td>Snake Bay- settlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>SA took control of staffing of all NT schools</td>
<td>Commonwealth responsible for buildings, maintenance and equipment Supervisor of Edn in NT based in SA Assistant Supervisor based in NT Secretary to Supervisor based in SA 2 schools operating</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Commonwealth to provide for special schools for Aboriginal students</td>
<td>Haasts Bluff- outpost of Hermannsburg Delissaville-settlement Warrabri Phillip Creek (CMS) now Alekarenge OLSH srs school at Port Keats</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Preschool education began</td>
<td>Haasts Bluff as ration depot</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conference on Education of Aborigines Broad policy guidelines developed including policy of assimilation</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>Maningrida Trading Post established, Lajamanu (Hooker Creek) settlement failed</td>
<td>Alice Springs</td>
<td>Survey into problems of educating 'full blood' Aborigines. Meeting to discuss future admin of Aboriginal Edn. Commonwealth Office of Education assumed responsibility to administer system of education for Aborigines. Education of Aboriginals became part of broader policy of assimilation.</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>Establishment of government schools for Aboriginal students</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>6 week course for teachers recruited for Aboriginal schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Commonwealth schools opened at Delissaville, Bagot, Bungalow (Alice Springs), Yuendemu</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>First school on pastoral lease at Brunette Downs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Phillip Creek settlement</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>Govt schools at Areyonga and Beswick Creek</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>Numbulwar (Rose River) (CMS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Warrabri (Phillip Ck) School</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Arltunga Mission moved to present site Santa Teresa</td>
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<td>Approval given for training and employment of Aboriginal Teaching Assistants, partly to help ease the problem of staffing.</td>
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<td>1953</td>
<td>Missions/Administration Conference</td>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>Santa Teresa School</td>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>Policy of Assimilation official</td>
<td>Haasts Bluff - Govt settlement</td>
<td>Subsidies available to pastoralists to provide schooling for station Aboriginals.</td>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>Part time school at Borroloola (AIM)</td>
<td>Jay Ck, Snake Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Preschool at Bungalow</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>Murray Downs - pastoral property school</td>
<td>North Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>High school established in Darwin, 144 pupils</td>
<td>Lake Nash - Government school</td>
<td>Aboriginal Edn transferred to Welfare Branch of NT Authority</td>
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<td>1957</td>
<td>Maningrida - Govt Settlement MOM chaplaincy provided</td>
<td>Hooker Ck (Lajamanu)</td>
<td>Welfare Ordinance became law</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>Adjustment Movement on Elcho Island</td>
<td>Umbakumba transferred to CMS</td>
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<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Haasts Bluff moved to Papunya</td>
<td>Papunya Preschools at Yuendumu and Warrabri</td>
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<td>1960</td>
<td>First course of study offered to ATAs</td>
<td>To provide instruction in teaching methods and techniques</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Report to Minister on educational needs of Territorians (not released)</td>
<td>Wave Hill - pastoral property</td>
<td>Native Welfare Conference, removal of legal restrictions so as to promote advancement of Aboriginal people - Assimilation Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Report of Select Committee reported to Legislative Council of NT on educational needs of people of NT</td>
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<td>23 assistants attended course for ATAs for 12 weeks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Conference of state and Commonwealth ministers: Assimilation Policy restated</td>
<td>Dec 63-Jan 64 20 assistants attended 60 assistants have attended one or more courses</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Katherine Primary upgraded to higher primary Leaving honours at Darwin High</td>
<td>37 Special schools for Aboriginals 12 Govt, 5 Govt on Pastoral leases, 5 subsidised on pastoral properties, 15 Mission,</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Groote Eylandt Rural School (Alyangula) School of the Air in Katherine school leaving age raised from 14 to 15 yrs</td>
<td>MOM policy for training Aboriginal Church leadership</td>
<td>Watts Gallacher Report: An investigation into the Curriculum and Teaching Methods used in Aboriginal Schools in the Northern Territory</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td>First MOM local preachers' course offered</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Dept of Education and Science provided administrative structure</td>
<td>Groom Point mission handed back to Welfare Branch Croker Island 'half caste' mission closed, chn taken to Somerville Homes in Darwin</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>Abolition of Education Branch of Northern Territory Administration Community Education with Dept of Education and Science Agreement of 1944 with SA revised. SA Dept and Commonwealth Dept of Science to co-operate in providing edn in NT NTA transferred to Dept of Interior</td>
<td>55 special Aboriginal schools 42 Govt run on settlements, pastoral properties, missions</td>
<td>5 courses run by now. 83 successful students 66 placed in schools (Geise p. 89) First full time one yr course of Aboriginal tr training Career structure begun TA1 to TA2</td>
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<td>1969</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Committee to inquire into educational and related needs of Aboriginal and disadvantaged students in NT</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>2nd yr of full time study for teaching Aides 'who had done well home school'. When completed 2nd yr promoted to TA3. Success of Aboriginal trs determined by non Aboriginal tr or principal</td>
<td>Katherine- special projects to foster links between school and disadvantaged groups</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>ACER asked to prepare report on organisational structure of proposed CTS. Director of NT Community schools- JR Steinle</td>
<td>In service for all preschool trs on problems associated with edn of Aboriginals and other disadvantaged groups. Traeger Park- special projects to foster links between school and disadvantaged groups.</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>Darwin Community College established</td>
<td>Karmel Report: Schools in Australia: Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission</td>
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<td>'Free to Decide' policy of Uniting Church, where people to take full control of their own destiny; reaction to self-determination policy</td>
<td>First outstation schools from Hermannsburg, First visiting teachers appointed in Yirrkala area</td>
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<td></td>
<td>National Aboriginal Consultative Group (NACG) appointed</td>
<td>DCC offered ATAs who had completed 2yr course, further 1yr study; 2 students completed course and awarded Aboriginal Teachers Certificate and permanent 2yr status with CTS</td>
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<td></td>
<td>DAA owned &amp; maintained buildings</td>
<td>Batchelor College established, many of Watts, Tandy &amp; McGrath recommendations implemented in ATEC at Batchelor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Outstation schools from Maningrida and Yirrkala</td>
<td>1st and 2nd yr programs Ed Dept 3rd yr program DCC</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ACG: Report to Schools Commission: Education for Aborigines</td>
<td>DCC moved 3rd yr of program to Batchelor</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>First theologically trained ordained minister for MOM Elcho Island and Lake Evella schools handed over from MOM to Education Dept</td>
<td>Watts: Access to Education: an evaluation of the Aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme Pilot on-site teacher training program at Yirrkala Proposal for separate Dip T for Aboriginal teachers equal but different</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>Post missionary era review Uniting Church</td>
<td>National Aboriginal Education Committee (NAEC) Assimilation Policy nationally revoked</td>
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<td>ATEC became independent of DCC On-site teacher education begun at Shepherdson College and Maningrida</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>Feppi formed as Aboriginal Education Consultative Group for the NT First Aboriginal Principal at Ngukurr- Kevin Rogers, with LEA support 40 outstation schools</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Transfer of education function from Commonwealth to the NT Cooperative School Appraisal</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>Draft Green Paper policy framework on Education in the NT: Aims and Directions for the 80's (sic)</td>
<td>Dhpuma College closed</td>
<td>Penny: Report: Training of Aborigines for teaching in the Aboriginal Schools of the Northern Territory</td>
<td>Aboriginal teaching diploma formally proposed in submission</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Green Paper on Primary and Secondary Education in the Northern Territory: Directions for the 80s</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Associate Diploma after 3 yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Legislation passed for establishment of School Councils Semester System began in schools</td>
<td>Watts, B.H. Aboriginal Futures: A review of research and developments and related policies in the education of Aborigines</td>
<td></td>
<td>ATEC called Batchelor College</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Northern Territory Schools: Direction for the Eighties</td>
<td>Action Groups in schools developing determination of Aboriginal people to take control of edn decision making processes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Associate Diploma accredited as on-campus course. Diploma proposal quashed</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Northern Territory Schools: Direction for the Eighties</td>
<td>First Action Group established at Yirrkala School without the support of the principal Banyjil School Council formed</td>
<td>NTDE: Information Statement No. 6: Education for Aborigines: Strategies for Improving the Academic Performance of Aboriginal Students in Primary and Secondary Education</td>
<td>Minister of Ed-should only be one diploma in NT and to be conferred by DCC</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Aboriginal trs need to complete final yr at DCC to be equal and same</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>Commissioned report on Teacher Education in Australia</td>
<td>Feppi 12 point plan NTDE Report: Aboriginal Education in the NT</td>
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<td>Policy statement on teacher education for Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. NTDE Report proposals include provision of more Aboriginal teachers to Aboriginal communities. Plan by 1990 to appoint up to 20 Aboriginal principals and no. of trained teachers to increase by up to 50. Pilot Stage One RATE program of HLC schools commenced at Yirrkala D-BATE program commenced</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Towards the 90's: Excellence, Accountability and Devolution in Education.</td>
<td>Trial program for Aboriginalisation of Yirrkala School, Associate Principal-in-Training and 4 Band 2 Teachers-in-training 150 enrolled in RATE program Graduation of first three D-BATE students</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling in Australia</td>
<td>Mandawuy (Bakamana) Yunupingu first Aboriginal Principal of Yirrkala School Millingimbi begins Aboriginalisation program Ngukurr 3 yr trained Band 1 Acting Principal 11 Community Education Centres (CECs) National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy (AEP) House of Reps Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs: A Chance for the Future: Training in skills for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Community Management</td>
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<td>SAL transferred from NTU to Batchelor College</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Action Plan for School Improvement</td>
<td>1990-1993 Action Plan for School Improvement</td>
<td>13 teachers in mentor support programs towards taking up promotional positions</td>
<td>National Aboriginal &amp; Torres Strait Islander Education Policy in the Northern Territory</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Action Plan for School Improvement</td>
<td>14 HLCs in Hermannsburg Trust Area handed to NTDE from Finke River Mission</td>
<td>13 teachers in mentor support programs towards taking up promotional positions</td>
<td>National Aboriginal &amp; Torres Strait Islander Education Policy in the Northern Territory</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>The Northern Territory Board of Studies Mission Statement Public Sector Employment and Management Act (No. 29 of 1993) (teaching service no longer separated from public service)</td>
<td>Miriam-Rose Baumann principal of St Francis Xavier School, Daly River Rose Guywanga principal at Shepherdson College</td>
<td>National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy: the Strategic Plan for the Northern Territory, 1993-1995 Triennium National Review of Education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>Enterprise Bargaining dispute</td>
<td>68 teachers in 23 locations provided with access to professional support through mentoring scheme</td>
<td>Yunupingu: Report of National Review of Education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples P. Hughes: A National Strategy for the Education of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples</td>
<td>Course Document for the Graduate Certificate in Educational Administration Graduate Diploma in Educational Administration</td>
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<td>1996</td>
<td>Enterprise Bargaining dispute</td>
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<td>1997</td>
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1997 March, Peppi changed name to Indigenous Education Council (IEC) Semester 2, Teresita Puruntatameri principal of Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic School
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS
Group Interview Guide
For Staff and other Groups

Local visions for schooling
What do you see as the main aims of the school?
What role does the local community play in your school?
What do the school council and the community see as the main priorities for the school now?
... and into the future?

Aboriginal control or localisation
Who should decide when the school holidays should be?
Who does decide?
Who should decide when the school should be closed for a funeral?
Who does decide?
Who should decide which white teachers work in the school?
Who does decide?
Who should decide how much English is taught in the school?
Who should decide how to discipline children who misbehave?
Who should decide how much teachers or parents who work in the school should be paid?
Who should decide what type of buildings are best for the school?
How do you group the students in the school?
How do you decide who goes into each class?
How could local people get the understanding or confidence to do this?

Decisions relating to the appointment of the principal
How are the leaders, principals for the school selected?
Who decides about the selection of leaders for the school?
How do they come to their decisions?
With whom do they need to consult?

Perceptions of localisation
How do you see your school as an Aboriginal or locally run school? Now?
... and for the future?
What needs to happen for it to become a locally run school?

Preparation for leadership
What needs to be put in place to help Aboriginal teachers develop understandings of the administrative or business side of the school?
What role does the teacher education program from Batchelor have in developing leadership for schools.
Is it happening now?
How do you see this could happen?

Group leadership in school
What types of group leadership do you have in your school?
For example, school council, action group?
Is it important to have forms of shared leadership in your school?
Interview Guide
Principals and the leadership team where applicable relating to leadership and leadership preparation

Own preparation
How do you feel you were prepared or trained for the job of principal?
What would you have liked to learn about before you started out in the job?
Do you feel you know enough about the white world to work well as a principal?
How do you learn about the administrative, the bureaucratic side of the school?

Future training for people
For the future, what training or preparation would you like to see for people who will take on leadership roles in the school?
Preparation in the white world?
Preparation in the Aboriginal aspects of schooling?

If you were preparing teachers to become principals, leaders of schools, what would you consider important for them to develop, to learn about before they begin this role?
For the non-Aboriginal aspects of school?
For the Aboriginal aspects of school?

Who could help teachers prepare to become leaders of the school?

Does the teacher education program from Batchelor, or anywhere else have a role to play in developing leadership for schools?
How do you see that this could happen?
Is it happening now?

Present reality of leadership
What do you see as the main tasks or roles of leadership in your school?
What control do you have to employ and to dismiss staff at the school?
Tell me about any changes you are planning in the school.
How do you check things out with others before you bring changes into the school?

Are there any other things you would like to say about your role as principal, as leader of the school?

What ways would you like it to change in the future?
Interview Guide
Batchelor College Personnel

What do you see as some of the difficulties for Aboriginal administrators in schools in the Northern Territory?

What do you perceive as the main tasks or roles of leadership for principals in remote schools in the Northern Territory?

For the future, what training or preparation would you like to see for people who will take on leadership roles in the schools?

What do you see as critical in preparing Aboriginal teachers for roles in leadership in remote schools?
In preparing for the Aboriginal world?
In preparing for the white domain?

How effective do you think your programs in
1. teacher education and
2. Educational Administration
are in preparing executive teachers for positions in schools?