

Against many odds

Documenting the journey of Irrkerlantye: a capacity building model for
Eastern and Central Arrernte families known as Ngkarte Mikwekenhe
Community

by

Nicole Marie Traves

Dip. Teaching, B.Ed, M.Ed Studies (Northern Territory University)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Teaching, Faculty of
Education,
Charles Darwin University.

March 2005

I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Teaching of the Charles Darwin 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.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

This thesis includes an accompanying DVD/CD package.

The DVDs and CD are inserted at the end of this written thesis.

Acknowledgements

A belated thank you to my mum, Margaret Traves (deceased 2004), who encouraged me to live life, and fulfill my dreams and passions with fervour and energy. Without her support and encouragement, I would never have remained in Alice Springs for as long as I have. It was at her funeral that people reiterated how proud she was of my work and of my undertaking this thesis. Thanks Mum.

Thank you to my husband, Damien, for enduring this process with me and for being ever patient, encouraging and supportive. It has taken large chunks out of our personal lives in the past six years.

Special thanks to: Dad for being there to nurse and change nappies for each of our girls, Grace, Georgia and Sydney, in their earliest days, so I could sit the exam and ply through the files and sources; Gail and Les for taking special care of Sydney when we thought three babies in three years would make this too difficult to finish; my Auntie Marilyn for encouraging me to take the initial steps to come to Alice Springs and leave my comfort zone at the age of 20; James for his technical expertise; Sandy for the library support; Felicity for sitting out the tough times with me; Peter for your camaraderie, laughs and fantastic stories; Graham for your overtures; and the girls – Sue, Cait, Dee, Jenny and Tania – for the supportive coffee sessions, when it all seemed too hard.

There are so many more people to thank who have been so supportive and encouraging along this journey but none more than Dr Merridy Malin for her endless patience, understanding and words of wisdom. Thank you.

To the Eastern and Arrernte families I have known and developed a great love and respect for over the last 20 years, thank you for inspiring me to never give up, to stop and talk and...to smile.

Finally, this thesis was inspired largely by two people who have an amazing faith, generous spirit, big heartedness and humble concern for their fellow human being. They had the dream and allowed me to hold it. To Michael Bowden and Margaret Kemarre Turner (OAM), thank you for the hugs, for enabling me to see your dreams and aspirations and know that a better future is always possible.

Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Contents	4
Definition of terms	8
Abstract	10
Chapter 1 The research problem	12
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 Background to the problem	15
1.3 Statement of the problem situation	17
1.3.1 Introduction	17
1.3.2 The context in which Arrernte people are living at present	18
1.3.3 The need	18
1.3.4 The difficulty for Arrernte people in achieving in western systems	19
1.4 Purpose of the study	21
1.5 Significance of the study	23
1.6 Outline of the remainder of thesis	23
Chapter 2 Review of literature	26
2.1 Overview	26
2.2 A global and national perspective	32
2.2.1 Sovereignty and self-governance	32
2.2.2 Self-governance – a key to improved outcomes	41
2.2.3 Constructs of ‘community’	43
2.2.4 Ineffective policy	48
2.2.5 Bureaucratic blockages, segmentation and departmental division	52
2.2.6 A lack of holistic and coordinated services delivery	55
2.2.7 Short-term funding cycles	57
2.2.8 Unemployment and lack of sustainable economies	58
2.2.9 Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP)	64
2.2.10 Welfare dependency	66
2.3 Working at a local level – possible ways forward	69
2.3.1 Capacity building	69
2.3.2 Capacity building and community development models	72
2.3.2.1 Capacity building models	72
2.3.2.2 Community development models	74
2.3.3 Characteristics of good capacity building and community development models	79
2.3.3.1 Effective leadership, strategic planning and sharing a common vision	79
2.3.3.2 Effective staff and positive staff–client working relationships	82
2.3.3.3 Partnerships	84
2.3.4 Sustainable homeland centres for kinship family groups as a way forward	88

2.3.4.1	Promotion of social capital	88
2.3.4.2	Intergenerational–whole-family approaches	89
2.4	Summary of the literature – a theoretical position	94
Chapter 3	Methodology	99
3.1	Introduction	99
3.2	The research methodology	99
3.2.1	Qualitative research	99
3.2.2.	Research design	100
3.2.2.1	Historical research	100
3.2.2.2	Qualitative interview	101
3.3	Selection of subjects	102
3.3.1	Rationale for the selection of interviewees	102
3.4	The interview questions	102
3.5	Data collection and analysis	103
3.5.1	Data analysis, interpretation and validation	103
3.5.2	My role as researcher and my relationship to the informants	104
3.5.3	Ethical considerations	106
3.6	The limitations	109
Chapter 4:	Historical background	111
4.1	After 1800	111
4.2	Movement of Eastern and Central Arrernte people after the 1920s	115
4.3	History of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated	117
4.4	Eastern and Central Arrernte people and western education	120
Chapter 5:	The capacity building model: development and operation	122
5.1	Introduction	122
5.1.1	History – development of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre and model	122
5.1.1.1	1996	122
5.1.1.2	1997	125
5.1.1.3	1998	138
5.1.1.4	1999	149
5.1.1.5	2000	156
5.1.1.6	2001	164
5.1.1.7	2002	173
5.1.2	The development of the health model	180
5.1.2.1	Introduction	180
5.1.2.2	Method	182
5.1.2.3	Statement of the data/student profiles	184
5.1.2.4	Mapping of programs against problems/issues	192
5.1.3	Summary	193
5.2	An overview of the capacity building model at Irrkerlantye	194
5.3	Analysis of the Irrkerlantye model	200

5.4	Reflections and comments from Arrernte family members, participants, staff and staff of related service organisations involved at Irrkerlantye from 1999 to 2002	205
5.4.1	Students and family members' reflections and comments	205
5.4.1.1	The history	205
5.4.1.2	Irrkerlantye benefits	206
5.4.1.3	Work and enterprise development	207
5.4.1.4	Student views	208
5.4.2	Staff reflections	208
Chapter 6: Summary and conclusions		219
6.1	The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre model	219
6.2	Summary of this thesis	222
6.3	Conclusions	223
References		228

List of figures

Figure 5.1: Structure of Detour in 1996	123
Figure 5.2: Model operating at Detour in 1996	123
Figure 5.3: Structure of Detour in 1997	126
Figure 5.4: Model operating at Detour in 1997	128
Figure 5.5: Structure recommended by Detour evaluation in 1997	138
Figure 5.6: Structure of Detour in 1998	139
Figure 5.7: Model operating at Detour in 1998	140
Figure 5.8: Structure of Irrkerlantye in 1999	150
Figure 5.9: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 1999	151
Figure 5.10: Structure of Irrkerlantye in 2000	156
Figure 5.11: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 2000	157
Figure 5.12: Structure of Irrkerlantye in 2001	165
Figure 5.13: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 2001	165
Figure 5.14: Structure of Irrkerlantye at the beginning of 2002	173
Figure 5.15: Structure of Irrkerlantye at the end of 2002	174
Figure 5.16: Irrkerlantye Learning Centre – revised school structure, 25/9/02	175
Figure 5.17: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 2002	176
Figure 5.18: Flow chart of issues	191
Figure 5.19: Irrkerlantye capacity building model	194

List of tables

Table 5.1: Staff in 1997	130
Table 5.2: Staff in 1998	142
Table 5.3: Staff in 1999	153
Table 5.4: Staff in 2000	160
Table 5.5: Staff in 2001	166
Table 5.6: Staff in 2002	178
Table 5.7: Health programs and health areas	192
Table 5.8: Objectives – key areas	198

Definition of terms

ABSTUDY	Aboriginal Study Grants Scheme
ADC	Aboriginal Development Commission
AIEW	Aboriginal and Islander education worker
AO	Administrative Assistant
ARO	Aboriginal resource officer
AT	Assistant teacher
ATAS	Aboriginal Tertiary Assistance Scheme
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CAAAPU	Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Programs Unit
CAEPR	Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
CC	Centralian College
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
DEETYA	Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs
DEET	Department of Employment Education and Training
DSF	Dusseldorp Skills Forum
EDCPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ERT	Emergency relief teacher
ESL	English as a second language
FACS	Department of Family and Community Services
HARYAP	Homeless and At Risk Youth Action Plan
HREOC	Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission
HRSCATSIA	House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs
ICCAS	Implement the Common Curriculum in Aboriginal Schools
IESIP	Indigenous Education Strategic Initiatives Program
JET	Jobs, Education and Training
MCATSIA	Ministerial Council on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs
NGOs	Non-government organisations
NMC	Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community
NTBOS	Northern Territory (Department of Education) Board of Studies
NTDE	Northern Territory Department of Education
NTETA	Northern Territory Employment and Training Authority

NTOEC	Northern Territory Open Education Centre
OAM	Medal of the Order of Australia
OATSIH	Office for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPP	Public–private partnerships
PTI	Part-time instructor
TAFE	Tertiary and Further Education
THS	Territory Health Services (former name)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VEGAS	Vocational Education Guidance Assistance Scheme
VET	Vocational Education and Training
YAS	Youth Activities Service

Abstract

This paper is primarily about documenting the development of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre and the capacity building model that operates as per the Irrkerlantye Strategic Plan 2004–2008. It documents the development of the model from 1996, when the program began as an alternative education program for teenagers not attending school, until 2002, by which time the program had developed into a community development centre. In this paper, I document the structure, programs and funding sources in each of these years along with the successes and barriers faced by the centre. Although a major part of the historical recount is a personal account, many people who were involved at Irrkerlantye during that time provided input into the details of the study. In order to provide the historical context of the centre and its participants, I also provide a brief historical description of the movement of Eastern and Central Arrernte families since the 1800s and their association with the Catholic Church.

Key themes that have been put forward as barriers to progress for Indigenous Australians include lack of sovereignty and self-governance, the difficulties with western applications in configuring Indigenous communities since white colonisation, ineffective government policy, bureaucratic blockages and uncoordinated service provision.

This paper also explores possible ways forward and begins by outlining a number of capacity building and community development models and their useful characteristics. The positive attributes of successful programs are discussed in relation to the Irrkerlantye capacity building model.

An analysis of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model concludes that it could be effective for the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community because of the following characteristics it contains, including:

- It is holistic in that it is open to working with all of the members within the extended kinship-based family groups in a number of aspects of life, including strategic planning, education, health, language and culture maintenance and the development of real work options.
- It is intergenerational, as it works across, and encourages interaction with, all age groups.
- The centre works with individuals and small kinship-based family groups and therefore avoids the complexities of other organisations, where some people's vision sometimes becomes blurred in the midst of power and resource acquisition.

Difficulties which have hampered the centre in reaching its full potential include:

- The lack of a substantial funding base.
- The Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Committee is not necessarily representative of all family groups. Therefore, it is in danger of being driven by the interests of one or more controlling groups or individuals, rather than being a true representation of each of the family groups it services.
- It has complex and time-consuming reporting requirements to funding bodies.
- It lacks sufficient resources for implementing all the programs identified in the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Strategic Plan, 2004 -2008.
- The physical facilities are extremely poor.

This paper has provided a sense of what it has been like to be involved in the centre and the benefits and shortcomings of the centre, through the personal reflections of those involved in the process. In addition, it has recounted the history of the model and explored critical issues impeding progress for some of the most marginalised people in Australia at present.

Chapter 1 The research problem

1.1 Introduction

Many of the half a million Indigenous Australians of our nation have been on a continual merry-go-round of research, surveys, policies, programs and funding schemes since white domination. Some of the traumas caused by white invasion include the removal of families from traditional lands, the removal of children from families and the introduction of new diseases. These factors, combined with the sudden interruption of a traditional lifestyle that had provided a stable cultural existence for tens of thousands of years, have had devastating effects on individuals and families and that have continued many generations on including, an unacceptably high mortality rate. In recent times, people have become further subjugated to a multitude of foreign governance arrangements and consequent policies and practises of government bureaucracies, some specifically aimed at solving Indigenous issues.

The issues of Indigenous Australia seem overwhelming and almost impossible to resolve at times. The attainment of a better quality of life for Indigenous Australians has been debated for decades. People have been promised a better future in many political speeches. However, the policies, strategies and funding arrangements that have followed have not dramatically improved the social, economic, education and health outcomes for the majority of Indigenous Australians. Altman and Hunter (2003, p.18) examine, at the national level, changes in the socio-economic status of Indigenous Australians during the decade 1991–2001, a period that closely matches ‘the reconciliation decade’. On the one hand, the 1990s was a decade of general prosperity, and the period 1996–2001 was one of unparalleled national growth. Their research concludes that Indigenous people have not shared in national economic growth to the same extent as other Australians and of particular concern was the relative decline over the period in educational and health status.

Indigenous health improvement has been minimal over the last 10 years. The mortality rate of Indigenous Australians is three times that of the total population. Indigenous life expectancy is 20 years less than that of non-Indigenous Australians. This is up to four times higher than the differences in North America and New Zealand, which range from 5 to 7 years. Although there has been some improvement in Indigenous infant mortality rates, they still remain 2.5 times higher than that of the total population (Ring and Brown 2002). Many Indigenous people are in a continual state of grieving as a result of these high mortality rates.

In other areas, including education, Indigenous Australians are also increasingly disadvantaged. The Dusseldorp Skills Forum (DSF) report (2003, p.35) presented findings from the ATSI submission to the Senate inquiry into poverty and financial hardship, that illustrate the disadvantage in Indigenous Australia:

- Most indicators of poverty and related disadvantage show that Indigenous people are between two and three times worse off than non-Indigenous people in Australia.
- About 30 per cent of Indigenous households are in or at risk of poverty, which indicates that over 120,000 Indigenous people are below the poverty line and the proportion is only slightly lower for young people aged 15 to 24.
- Indigenous unemployment rates, which are affected by CDEP participation, are well over twice that of non-Indigenous people in cities and regional centres and become much higher in remote areas.
- Preliminary information on Indigenous clients of Centrelink, combined with CDEP participants, show that around 50% of Indigenous adults are reliant on some form of welfare payment.
- Being fully engaged in either employment or education decreased the likelihood of poverty. [The number of] Indigenous people in full-time employment or education is around 30% of each age cohort, compared to at least 50% of non-Indigenous people in each age cohort.
- The proportion of Indigenous teenagers (aged 15 to 19) not fully engaged in work or education is three times that of non-Indigenous people.
- For young Indigenous adults (aged 20 to 24), close to 70% are not fully engaged with work or education.

The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre is attempting to redress this long-term and systemic disadvantage. It is an initiative controlled by a group of Eastern and Central Arrernte families in Alice Springs wanting to improve their quality of life. Over a period of nearly 20 years this group of families has built an organisation that now services them through a holistic and intergenerational model of capacity building. Capacity building is a process that empowers individuals and family groups to determine their goals and priorities so that they can implement actions and sustain a lifestyle with improved physical, social, economic and cultural outcomes (European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) 2003, Eade 1997, Taylor 2003, Littlejohns and Thompson 2001, Howe and Cleary 2001).

The governing body of the centre is the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated Association (NMC), established in 1997. The families committed to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community are Eastern and Central Arrernte people whose traditional homelands lie closely to the north, east and south-east of Mparntwe (Alice Springs). Flynn (2001, p.2) explained the background of the families:

Most of the people attending Irrkerlantye are affiliated with one or other of the four clans who...are traditionally associated with lands in Alice Springs... The settlement of Alice Springs and surrounding pastoral properties has progressively displaced people from any economic engagement with their countries so in most cases they have had to become entrapped in the institutional poverty cycle to survive. This poverty cycle has caused problems for the Arrernte communities who are under constant pressures to conform but with few resources to do so.

In the past, these Eastern and Central Arrernte families have accessed a multitude of programs and services but their social, economic, education and health situations have improved little despite the input of these resources. Mainstream western schooling has failed most of these people. Those who have achieved a reasonable level of literacy have engaged in only limited forms of work. Education in itself has not provided the key for these people to break the poverty cycle in which they have become trapped. Many families face a dismal future if things do not change. Without immediate and intensive intervention, social situations will continue to decline. Pearson (2000a, p.15) summarises the urgency of the situation in relation to his people in Cape York in the following statements:

- our people die more than 20 years earlier, on average, than other Australians
- our health is by far the worst of any group in the Australian community
- our people suffer from diseases that other Australians simply do not have
- we are the most vulnerable to new health threats, like HIV
- our children do not participate in the education system anywhere nearly as successfully as other Australian children
- we are over-represented in the juvenile justice system, in the criminal justice system and the jails
- there is more violence amongst our people than in other communities in Australia.

We need to face up to this reality. The kind of society we inhabit today and the lifestyles our people lead are ridden with problems. Whilst other communities and groups in Australia, and indeed across the planet, suffer from many of these same problems, the degree to which our Aboriginal society suffers from these problems is extraordinary.

The difficulties that the Eastern and Central Arrernte community face are parallel to those summarised by Pearson. The families who identify as the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community all desire improved health, education and social outcomes. However, there is a plethora of systemic blockages and barriers that need to be overcome for people to achieve these goals. The Social Justice Report of 2002 (Jonas 2002, p.117) states that:

Governance and capacity building are receiving increased scrutiny as representing the foundation for reconciliation, self-determination and realisation of rights. Governance is the expression of Indigenous peoples' demand for autonomy and

for the right to take responsibility for their own lives. All levels of government need to acknowledge that facilitating Indigenous peoples' efforts to achieve such autonomy and improved Indigenous governance is vital to achieving improvements in Indigenous disadvantage and the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights.

In the current political climate which denies the need for a treaty and denies any efforts to implement real self-governance to Indigenous Australians, the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre provides this group of Arrernte people with a holistic and innovative capacity building model that aims to effect real change for the families committed to the process there. If systemic barriers are overcome and the centre is resourced effectively, the full implementation of this model promises to be a powerful tool in facilitating a process of self-determination for a group of people that have suffered the effects of white invasion and domination for nearly two centuries.

This paper documents the development of this model, first known as 'Detour', over a seven year period from 1996 to 2002. The model began as an alternative secondary education program for Indigenous children in the Alice Springs community who were seen to be at risk and has developed into a complex intergenerational community development model. The model has five main interconnecting program areas including Community Development planning, Arrernte Language and Culture, Health and Well-being, Work and Enterprise Development, and Education and Training. The Irrkerlantye model documented in this paper embeds education and health programs in a broad intergenerational holistic model of capacity building. In mapping the development of this model, it will become evident that in order for education to be effective for this community and for health outcomes to improve, programs must be driven by a family-centred model striving for long-term outcomes in a holistic way. The Irrkerlantye capacity building model investigated and documented in this paper is a real source of hope in breaking the welfare dependency cycle that has entrapped the group of families that identify as the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community.

1.2 Background to the problem

White pastoralists began to arrive in Central Australia in the late 1800s. They quickly took a strong hold on the traditional land of Eastern and Central Arrernte people. Eastern and Central Arrernte people were suddenly displaced from a way of life that had been in existence for thousands of years and over time they became victim to the policies and institutional structures of this foreign system of governance. The effects of policies including protectionism and assimilation contributed to the ongoing displacement of Arrernte people from their traditional lands, disruption of their cultural activity and their

entrapment in a welfare system. These factors have prevented people from achieving and maintaining a reasonable quality of life and standard of living. The rationing system was the beginning of the welfare state and was implemented as part of the protectionist policy. Many would argue that it was strategically implemented to pacify people:

While the aggressive use of arms seemed prudent to many, there were critics who argued that rationing the Indigenous people was better – worth the risk perceived to arise from not being more harsh. Not only did rationing reduce frontier danger, it helped overcome one of the common problems of pastoral enterprise: shortage of labour. (Rowse 1998, p.17)

Eastern and Central Arrernte people began to use the rationing system through three main sources: the Catholic Mission (operating first out of the back of the presbytery, then as the Little Flower Mission at Charles Creek, later Arltunga and then Santa Teresa); through pastoral leases close to their traditional country, where they could receive rations for station work; and as remuneration for a few employment opportunities in the Alice Springs Township. Rowse (1998, p.67) explains:

If their extremely marginal enterprises were to have a chance, settlers needed Indigenous people's labour and their tolerance of new animals and new ways. From these disparately motivated impulses towards cooperation an economy based on the circulation of goods, rather than of money, began to emerge alongside the ancient economy of hunting and gathering.

Those who became connected with the Catholic Mission found themselves relocated three times in a period of 30 years from the presbytery in Hartley Street, Alice Springs to the final relocation at Santa Teresa, 80 kilometres south-east of Alice Springs. Rations were part of the attraction to the mission and were provided to those who obeyed the strict mission system of governance. Sometimes this required an output of work and it was the mission administrator who had a strong hold on the distribution of any rations.

By the time of the 1967 Referendum, which gave Indigenous Australians legal citizenship, many of the Eastern and Central Arrernte people were settled at the Santa Teresa mission. The 1968 decision by the arbitration commission for pastoral employees to be granted equal wages saw more people forced off stations to communities, missions and townships, where they became reliant on a cash welfare system. The dependency created through rationing continued with the introduction of welfare benefits. Over the next 30 years many of the Eastern and Central Arrernte family members left the mission to come back to reside in Alice Springs or to move closer to traditional country. Some moved permanently and others for short periods of time. Nevertheless the connection with the mission remains strong.

In 1986, some of these Eastern and Central Arrernte family members formed a group called the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe (mother of God) Community (NMC). People were

inspired by the Pope's visit in that year and his address to the Arrernte people, and, as a result, continued their work as a Catholic group, becoming an incorporated body in 1990. NMC began out of a Catholic ethos and its constitution focuses on improving social, education and health outcomes for the families (see Appendix 1 for NMC constitution).

A major priority for NMC has always been education and, as a result, the Ntyarlke Unit at the Catholic High School was established in 1987 for Eastern and Central Arrernte secondary aged youth to access secondary education. This program was successful for a few years in enabling large numbers of Eastern Arrernte teenagers to continue education in secondary programs. Staff changes in 1994 saw most of these students drop out of the system. Most of these students did not attend school again for many years. Some regained access to education through the Detour project, established to attract them back to school in 1997.

Since the white occupation of Central Australia, Eastern and Central Arrernte people have been progressively marginalised from their traditional lifestyle and then from this dominant society that quickly grew around them. They have been pushed off their traditional lands, which were central to their culture, education, spiritual beliefs and economy, and have been unable to engage successfully in western education systems and new work structures. The majority of people are subject to a state of welfare dependency and a level of poverty that is unacceptable in today's society and the country in which we live. There has been a great loss of purpose, pride, health, general lifestyle and social circumstance. General health has deteriorated to a state of endemic proportions when compared to the non-Aboriginal residents in the same region. A major problem for both Indigenous Australians and the Australian nation is that research suggests that the situation described using the latest 2001 Census statistics is likely to get worse, rather than better, over the next decade (Hunter 1999, Altman and Hunter 2003, Kinfu and Taylor 2003).

1.3 Statement of the problem situation

1.3.1 Introduction

The marginalisation of Aboriginal people described above has resulted in a constellation of serious social and health problems, including low levels of education and high rates of unemployment and incarceration. Research has shown that these social factors contribute to the high mortality and ill health among Aboriginal Australians. Alternatively, programs increasing the control Aboriginal Australians have over their life

circumstances are believed to enhance the social, health and educational outcomes of Indigenous people (Devitt, Hall and Tsey 2001).

1.3.2 The context in which Arrernte people are living at present

The families and students who access the program at Irrkerlantye, come from four town camps largely populated by Arrernte people living within the central and eastern parts of Alice Springs. They include Whitegate, Hidden Valley, Larapinta Valley and Charles Creek. Other students come from Amoonguna, which is located 15 kilometres east of town, and a number of Lands and Housing residences in town. Their homes are often overcrowded and have limited infrastructure for the number of people who reside there. The pressures faced by family members are great and the resources are few. Substance abuse is high and employment is almost non-existent. The majority of income these families receive comes from Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP – work for the dole) or welfare payments. The immediate focus for most individuals is obtaining the necessary resources to survive.

1.3.3 The need

A number of Indigenous organisations and services have been established to provide services to the families committed to Ngkarte Mikwekenhe, with little success in ameliorating their circumstances. Two hundred years of colonisation and compliance to foreign forms of governance have resulted in many blockages preventing improved education, health and social outcomes. Government reports have documented the interconnectedness of their social conditions and poor health and lack of education success. Nevertheless government agencies have continued to operate in isolation of one another. For example, the education system continues to spend millions of dollars developing and implementing new curricula and pedagogy which will have little effect unless people's social circumstances change so that students attend classes consistently. "Social inequalities existing outside the education system contribute to educational inequalities in terms of access, opportunity, process and outcomes as well as in terms of the consequences of achievements and attainment" MCEETYA (2001, p.4).

The apparent failure of education is largely due to it operating in isolation. Education for Indigenous Australians has generally focused on youth and it has had little to do with the strategies for solving larger issues in communities and family groups. There has generally been a failure in interagency collaboration, long-term commitment and long term strategies to solve the major problems in people lives. On many Indigenous

communities, health education, local government and CDEP or welfare all operate autonomously. People have become subjugated to a range of systems, over which they generally have little control.

This paper acknowledges the need for a variety of health and education systems and programs to provide services at a regional level but proposes that there is a greater need to address the deeper underlying issues in people's lives that are keeping them from achieving a better quality of life. It also highlights a need for holistic capacity building models, that facilitate processes for small family kinship based groups at a local level. Good capacity building models need to be holistic and incorporate a multiplicity of initiatives, programs and services (Taylor 2003), including leadership and governance training, employment options, health and well-being, education and training.

The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre is a capacity building model that is governed for and by Eastern and Central Arrernte people, and that, if resourced adequately, promises to facilitate an effective capacity building process for the kinship/family groups committed to the process there. This would enable each family group to work towards their educational, health and social aspirations. The documentation of the development and operations of this model is essential for the centre itself so it can examine the structure and future of the model in light of literature outlining capacity building processes and self-governance processes for other Indigenous nations around the world. A review of the literature which outlines the historical and contemporary contexts and issues that present blockages to progress for Indigenous Australians is outlined in the next chapter.

1.3.4 The difficulty for Arrernte people in achieving in western systems

There are many reasons why Arrernte people are unable to attend school, work and other programs consistently and therefore achieve outcomes academically that are equal to their mainstream peers. The major factor that affects success is consistency in attendance. In relation to attendance at school, in the 50s 60s and 70s those who resided in the mission (Santa Teresa), were expected to attend school – it was not an option to be anywhere else. However, presently travel has become much more prevalent and there seems to be more factors socially and economically that prevent people from being able to attend consistently. The following issues were identified by the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community in a meeting in 1999 as issues preventing Arrernte people from attaining mainstream academic outcomes.

- The economic situation that students come from prevents them from attending school every day: Many youth know that if they do not get their hands on some cash at certain times they will be hungry for the rest of the week. Many hours and sometimes days are spent down the street chasing family for money.
- Lack of resources and overcrowded living conditions: Some students come out of houses that regularly sleep more than 15 people each night. Many houses do not have air-conditioning and heating and people are regularly exposed to the elements and extreme temperatures of Central Australia. Most students do not have rooms to keep their possessions in or the resources to lock them up. Excessive drinking causes problems and results in a lot of sleep deprivation and ill health.
- Poor health and susceptibility to illness: As a result of their living conditions many students arrive at school tired, angry, sad, hungry, sick and despondent. They often need access to a shower, and some youth need a change of clothes, whilst the clothes they are wearing need washing. Many students are undernourished, lack energy and concentration. Many come to school sick and with sores and boils that need attention. Those that are eating at home often have a diet that is based on meat, bread and take-away food that is high in fat and sugar and low on vitamins. This is often due to a lack of resources and the large demand placed on any available resources. Many people do not have the infrastructure to keep food longer than a day or two. All these health and nutritional problems are immediate barriers to learning.
- Substance abuse: Excessive drinking causes problems and results in a lot of sleep deprivation and ill health. Many of the students who have accessed the program to date have been substance abusers. Some as young as 12 and 13 have been regular consumers of alcohol and marijuana. This has a major impact on any educational program and the ability of students to achieve academic outcomes. The actions and erratic behaviour of students engaging regularly in abusing substances, often has a very disruptive effect on students wanting to engage in an academic program and places further pressure on teaching staff.
- Mobility: Many students reside in a number of locations over the period of a week with various family members. As a result, their inability to access transport and clean clothes often becomes a further barrier to consistent attendance and engagement in a learning program.
- Limited literacy and language skills: Students' reading and writing ages are often 5 or more years below the level they should be. This prevents them from engaging

with the mainstream curriculum at their appropriate age level and that of their peers in mainstream classes.

These factors that make regular daily attendance at school or other programs very difficult are just as relevant to the older members of the Indigenous community trying to attend work everyday.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to document the evolution of a capacity building model that is currently governed by Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated. As indicated above, the inspiration for this model arose from the 1986 papal visit to Alice Springs, where Eastern and Central Arrernte people committed to a process that saw the formation of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated Association. The study will map the process in which a determined group of people and ‘friends’ have worked to develop a model they hope will facilitate real pathways for families to achieve the long-term goals they have articulated.

The primary focus of this study is on the period after 1996, when a secondary school program for students at risk, transformed into an intergenerational model of capacity building, operating at present as the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre. This documentation will provide an historical perspective for the benefit of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community and will include an analysis of the model. In order to achieve this, it will draw on both primary and secondary archival data, interviews and contemporary reports.

The thesis will investigate:

- The historical background that led to the development of the program.
- A brief history of the movement of Eastern and Central Arrernte people since 1929.
- Societal change since white invasion and the effects this has had on Indigenous people, particularly Eastern and Central Arrernte people.
- The establishment of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community.
- A brief history of the educational processes that Eastern and Central Arrernte people have accessed to 1997.
- The context in which Arrernte people are living at present.
- The development of the Irrkerlantye community development model.
- Reflections and comments from those involved in the process.

- The philosophy and structure behind the model.
- The function of the Irrkerlantye model.
- A review of literature in relation to capacity building, including barriers impeding the progress for Indigenous people and elements of successful capacity building models for Indigenous groups nationally and internationally
- The extent to which the final Irrkerlantye capacity building model is representative of sound capacity building models.

It is hoped this study will result in both practical and theoretical outcomes. The components of this study include:

- The practical component, which entailed four years of work, facilitating the development of the model.
- The theoretical component, which is the documentation of the development of the model and includes a written thesis and a DVD illustrating the development of the Irrkerlantye community development model.

This study will be useful in a number of ways.

Anticipated outcomes of a practical nature:

1. Provide Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community with an historical document outlining the development of the Centre and the Irrkerlantye Capacity Building Model.
2. Orient new staff, supporting and prospective agency employees and funding bodies into the background and workings of the model within which the centre operates.
3. Provide the wider Indigenous community with a capacity building context which others can read and reflect on, using the documents as a basis for discussion regarding capacity building.
4. Enable the wider non-Aboriginal community to understand the struggles and difficulties people have had to face and the importance of such programs in meeting the needs of disadvantaged communities.
5. Enable funding agencies and government departments to develop a better appreciation of the funding needs of Irrkerlantye, the need for better cross-agency collaboration and support, and the need to adequately fund such holistic and kinship group focused programs.

Anticipated outcomes: of a theoretical nature:

This paper will provide a review of literature related to capacity building within Indigenous communities to provide background and a context for the analysis of the Irrkerlantye Capacity Building Model. This literature review will provide a context to illustrate the ways in which the capacity building model operating at the centre has positive attributes that help people build a better life for themselves.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study will be available to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community, the Alice Springs community, education and other government department staff and other Indigenous groups and organisations. It is hoped that the findings of this study and others will influence policy so that government agencies will collaborate and provide integrated funding to such holistically focused programs.

The direct benefits of this study to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community will include:

- An opportunity for participants to reflect on, and provide evidence about, the effects of societal change on their lives.
- An opportunity to reflect on past educational experiences and positive and negative outcomes.
- An opportunity to stimulate discussion for participants in relation to their vision for, and issues that have affected, Arrernte language and culture maintenance education, health, community development and employment progress.
- A document that provides a background to and an outline of the development and philosophy of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model.
- A useful resource that provides historical and contemporary information in relation to the Irrkerlantye model and background to the model and the centre.
- The analysis of this capacity building model will also contribute to the theoretical discussion around the concepts of capacity building and community development.

1.6 Outline of the remainder of thesis

Chapter 2 helps to establish a theoretical context for this study. It researches the contribution that academic literature has to make to the theme of capacity building and explores the complex range of issues affecting Indigenous people internationally and here in Australia. It briefly reviews the barriers that have impeded progress for Indigenous people and provides a brief overview of the history of Indigenous Australians since 'white occupation'. It also explores the notions of sovereignty, treaty and self-

governance and outlines the present situation for Indigenous Australians in relation to these concepts. It particularly highlights studies and literature that outline possibilities and outcomes achieved through sovereignty and self-government by other Indigenous people, describing the situations of Indigenous people in the US, Canada and New Zealand. This chapter reviews a number of concepts including those of power and responsibility and how they have been shown to improve social, educational and general life outcomes; the concept of Indigenous 'community', providing an historical recount of the misuse of the term community in relation to Indigenous Australians and the effects this has had in blocking effective capacity building.

Chapter 2 also reviews other barriers resulting from the implementation of a foreign form of governance for Indigenous Australia and the effects of government policy, bureaucracy, uncoordinated service delivery and short-term funding cycles. It also reviews the effects of the implementation of welfare policies and the resulting effects of passive welfare dependency and the lack of a real economy for Indigenous Australians.

The final stages of Chapter 2 review the literature on capacity building and community development and provide sample definitions and models. A range of characteristics that present through the literature of successful capacity building models are also reviewed.

Chapter 3 describes and justifies the methodology used to facilitate the study. It describes the philosophy that determined the parameters of the inquiry and outlines the components of the research process.

Chapter 4 outlines a brief historical background to Indigenous Australia. It focuses more specifically on the period after 1800 and explores the events of history for the Eastern and Central Arrernte families that make up the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated and the effects of white occupation for them in Central Australia during that period.

Chapter 5 describes the findings of the investigation which focus on recording the development of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre and the model of capacity building developed there. This chapter outlines the structure and function of the key areas of the capacity building model and provides a brief analysis of the capacity building model in light of the literature. Chapter five also provides a documentation of reflections and comments from a range of students, staff and family members about the centre.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the research findings and concludes the study by emphasising the limitations and successful elements of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model for the community it services.

Chapter 2 Review of literature

This review of literature provides a theoretical and social background to the study. It will review and document elements of successful programs in relation to building the capacity of oppressed Indigenous peoples and will review a range of community development and capacity building models. It will also provide a review of the historical developments that have affected Indigenous Australians since white occupation and the current issues that continue to impede the progress of the families that make up the focus of this study.

2.1 Overview

Indigenous Australians have been forced to comply to a western system of governance since white invasion. Rowse (1998, p.7) concludes that the history of European colonisation of Central Australia can be depicted in three phases: protection, assimilation and self-determination. He describes the protectionist and assimilation phases in the following paragraphs:

In the early phase of colonization (from the 1870s to the late 1920s the moment of the last known massacre of Indigenous people), the colonial power over life or death is transparent. In that phase, despotism over the colonized secured the invaders' property (land and herds) and combined the efforts of citizens and police in murderous campaigns on which were placed no effective legal limits.

From the 1890s, rationing began to replace violence as a mode of government. Pastoralists and missionaries were learning the value of rationing as a way of rendering cross-cultural relationships peaceful and predictable... whatever the Administration did, more and more Aboriginal people were beginning to base their life partly on their receipt of European goods, and so more and more of them were radically disorientated and rapidly demoralized...

Hoping that this demoralization could be averted, from the 1930s to the 1950s the government approach to Indigenous people in this region began to become assimilationist and systematic... The transformations of the rationing relationship during the era of assimilation [include] three contexts: the pastoral industry, the Welfare Branch Settlements and the town of Alice Springs itself. (1998, p.7)

White occupation and the imposed western system of governance has had severe implications and detrimental effects on Indigenous Australia. Some of the effects include: physical brutality, death by disease, murder and massacre, the removal of children from their parents, the removal of people from traditional lands and the enforcement of a number of policies creating a welfare state, which began with the practice of rationing. Rationing was introduced as a way of controlling people without using physical violence:

The practice of assimilation in Central Australia included preserving certain features of the rationing regimes, which by the Second World War, had evolved on missions, pastoral properties and government ration depots. The assimilationist intention to induce Indigenous people to adopt the same way of life as the colonists required some reworking of these rationing regimes, and eventually their supersession, as cash was substituted for rationed goods. (Rowse 1998, p.3)

The result of the enforcement of a foreign system of governance 200 years on is that the majority of Indigenous Australians continue to live in a state of poverty and continue to be recipients of a system of welfare that has kept them in a dependency relationship with government and the plethora of services it provides.

There are many barriers preventing Indigenous people from attaining a better quality of life. Disempowerment, loss of connection with country, the welfare state, lack of success in education and lack of employment and purpose have all contributed to an increase in social and health problems in Indigenous families. Many advocate that self-determination and self-governance through the recognition of sovereignty and the negotiation of treaties are the real key to social improvement, economic success, independence and overcoming the crippling effects of white occupation. Self-governance can take a number of forms – however, essentially it is the degree to which the people have decision-making power over their lives (Mabo Jnr 2002, Mansell 2002, Cornell 2002a, 2002b). Dodson (1994, p.4) comments:

Our entire experience since the assertion of alien sovereignty over our country has been denial of the right to control our lives in every domain. Indigenous peoples have been denied the right to decide where we would live, where we would move, what we would eat, how we would work and support ourselves, who we would marry, how we would raise and educate our children, what religion we would practice and what language we would speak.

Dodson (1994, p.2) also contends that “genuine change will only occur when there is a redistribution of power”. Studies in the US and Canada have shown self-governance to be a key factor in overcoming poverty. Cornell and Kalt (2004b, p.19), in relation to studies of American Indians as part of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, conclude:

The best way to overcome reservation poverty is to support tribal sovereignty. Furthermore, the evidence is mounting that successful tribes, whether in gaming or skiing or timber or manufacturing or some other activity, can make important contributions to local, regional, and national economies. At the tribal level, the lesson is that those tribes that build governing institutions capable of the effective exercise of sovereignty are the ones that are most likely to achieve long-term, self-determined economic prosperity. They are the ones who will most effectively

shape their own futures, instead of having those futures shaped by others. For tribes, nation-building is the only game in town.

This research suggests that Indian communities that have used a holistic approach based on sovereignty and 'nation-building' have better succeeded in building economic independence and a self-sustaining infrastructure. As a result of this, they have achieved an increase in their quality of life as Indigenous people (Cornell and Kalt 2004b, Cornell 2002b). This approach focuses on creating an environment that encourages investors by being an attractive proposition from more than a financial perspective. Investment in the broad sense, encompassing time, energy, ideas, skills or goodwill, will not be just a monetary investment (Cornell and Kalt 2004b).

There are a number of ways self-governance can be achieved and a number of levels on which it can operate. There are also a vast number of processes that aim to achieve improved social conditions, control, power and self-management of Indigenous peoples. 'Community development', 'capacity building', 'capacity development' or 'community capacity building' are some of the terms used to describe these processes that can effect change for Indigenous people. These terms have numerous definitions.

Early theories and models that focused on social change in the community were termed 'community development'. Community development theory has many definitions and models. Some focus on a process that works with groups in planned structured ways that fit people's values and lifestyles to enable them to help themselves, deal effectively with their needs, problems and aspirations and thus improve the quality of their lives (Kickett et al. 1987, Biddle and Biddle 1965). Other theories such as Paulo Freire's approach, lean more towards current theories of capacity building, facilitating processes for people themselves to make changes to power structures and social order. Freire's approach is based on an educational process. It liberates people by enlightening them with new understandings of the processes and structures of the dominant society that have oppressed them in the past (Freire 1972). Hope and Timmel (1991, p.28) provide a definition by Jelin that derives from Freire's theory:

The process of social transformation is one of struggle from below, in which subordinate social sectors redefine their identities and their rights, in an attempt to widen their space for action and extend the boundaries for their social action and political citizenship.

Other approaches are variations of the above two processes. Twelvetrees (1991, p.1), defines community development as the "process of assisting ordinary people to improve

their own communities by undertaking collective action,” and defines community development work as either ‘radical’ or ‘professional’. Professional community development work is primarily concerned with skills development and ensuring that community needs are better met through improved service provision of existing agencies. Radical community development work is a process that creates radical change by challenging the systemic oppression and economic order that keeps people in a state of oppression.

Governments and service agencies have more recently defined social change and social work as ‘capacity building’ or ‘capacity development’. Capacity building attempts to link previously isolated approaches, such as organisational development, community development, integrated rural development and sustainable development, into one umbrella concept (Morgan 1998).

Hounslow (2002) comments that while some would argue that capacity building and community development are much the same, others would argue that there has been a qualitative shift in the way development is approached through capacity building. She concludes (2002, p.20) that capacity building:

- places a much greater emphasis on a tri-partite, cross-sector approach to tackling social and economic issues (particularly on the involvement of business and the private sector in collaborative work)
- poses a greater challenge to all three tiers of government (but particularly the federal government) with its explicit demands for ‘place management’ rather than program-focused management, and for a ‘bottom-up and joined-up’ approach to solving multi-faceted problems (Howe and Cleary 2001)
- often injects an element of ‘market-based’ solutions in its approach to neighbourhood regeneration
- places greater emphasis on the community itself (rather than on professionals or government) identifying its needs and defining desired outcomes – that is, on the community initiating action rather than being mobilised to act (Littlejohns and Thompson 2001)

The United Nations Development Programme (1997, p.12) defines capacity building as:

both a means and an end for sustainable human development. It empowers people to realize their potential and better use their capabilities, and assures ownership and sustainability of development programmes. A broader, more complex view of capacity development is thus emerging. It goes far beyond training or systems and structural improvements of formal organisations. It means a society-based approach, building consensus around national goals and programmes, using existing capacities, focusing on people and incorporating characteristics of good governance, while taking the larger policy-related enabling environment into

account and placing technical cooperation and official development assistance in a supportive role.

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (2003, p.4) provides a definition of capacity building that is very similar: “A process through which a society, changes its rules, institutions and standards of behaviour, increases its level of social capital and enhances its ability to respond, adapt and exert discipline on itself.”

These later definitions of capacity building emphasise the importance of the community having self-governance and the non-Indigenous community accepting the variety of governance structures, operating systems and cultural values of Indigenous people in the transformation of their social order for a new positive future.

There are other crucial elements for effective capacity building to be implemented so Indigenous Australians can enjoy an improved way of life that they determine to be appropriate. These include access and title to traditional land, long-term strategic planning, a shared and common vision, access to resources to sustain a reasonable standard of living, sustainable work activities, strong leadership and a commitment from a skilled workforce (Cornell 2002a, 2002b). In addition to this, successful capacity building programs are holistic, flexible, well managed and have an intergenerational grassroots connection (Schorr 1997, ATSIC 1993, Kleinfeld 1979).

Crough (2001, p.8) comments that “Aboriginal Land Rights in the Northern Territory has assisted many Aboriginal people to secure strong legal title to their land. The question is whether they will be able to sustain themselves on that land”. The key factors of success for an improved lifestyle and self-sustainability for Indigenous Americans documented by the Harvard Research project on American Indian Economic Development include:

- Sovereignty – decision making power, accountability and dealing with the consequences
- Governing institutions – having stability with consistent rulings, operating without political interference, with fair and non-politicised procedures for resolving disputes and having effective bureaucracies to deliver effective services and implement decisions
- Cultural match – effective governance through support of the community, and being in touch with the local political culture
- Strategic thinking – a systematic examination not only of assets and opportunities but of priorities and concerns
- Leadership – people with a vision who can communicate this to others, who can see the need for change and are willing to put the community interests before their own (Cornell 2002b, p.7)

Similarly, the ATSIC community development model also reinforces the need for a holistic long-term strategic approach. This model suggests that successful capacity building programs for Indigenous Australians contain the following elements:

- Deal with most aspects of community life
- Integrate different aspects of community life
- Are pro-active rather than reactive
- Are methodical but flexible
- Promote the development of sustainable activities
- Develop more than ‘infrastructure plans’ or simple ‘wish lists’ of projects and purchases
- Focus on a long term process (ATSIC 1993, p.9)

Embedded in successful programs are sound methodological practices. The common principles of good practice proposed by the capacity building models explored in this paper (Kleinfeld 1979, Taylor 2003, Pearson 2000) highlight the importance of the community being able to:

- Initiate, control and have direct input into long term strategic planning processes.
- Articulate a clear vision and strategic planning goals.
- Have effective organisational and collective leadership skills to access resources.
- Have effective and committed staff, and an organisation that supports and fosters positive relational practices.

Noel Pearson, Indigenous advocate for economic self-sustainability for his people in Cape York, comments that it is “the community and its leaders who need to develop strategies for the development of their communities...so that individuals are empowered and engaged in the solution of their own problems and that of their own families and communities” (Pearson 1999, p.5). Commitment and empowerment of community members is an essential element of any capacity building process.

Successes in improved social conditions for Indigenous people around the world who have been invaded and oppressed by another people can be seen by an increase in self-governance. “Sovereignty and effective self-governance open the door to development: they make it possible for other assets to pay off. Without them, not much happens” (Cornell 2002b, p.8). Cornell and Kalt (2004a) suggest that whilst it has not been an easy process there have been some successes with American Indian communities in the US

that have shown that economic development can take place on Indian reservations, under Indian auspices, and serving Indian goals. Such successes have been achieved by “tribes as diverse as the Confederated Salish and Kootenai of the Flathead Reservation, the White Mountain Apaches, the Mescalero Apaches, Cochiti Pueblo, the Mississippi Choctaws, the Muckleshoots, and various others” (2004a, p.2).

Indigenous Australians have not been officially granted sovereignty in Australia; although, recent government reports, including the 2004 House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSCATSIA 2004), have reiterated the importance of governance for Indigenous people. The issue is complex and any development seems unlikely unless the three tiers of government are willing to address the concepts of treaty and self-governance fully.

This paper will go on to explore issues of self-governance, the effects it has had on Indigenous people, particularly in Canada, the United States and New Zealand, and the implications it has for Indigenous Australians. It will also explore capacity building models, the elements of programs and models of good practice and review the barriers that are preventing Indigenous Australians from achieving a high standard of living in this country.

2.2 A global and national perspective

2.2.1 Sovereignty and self-governance

Begay et al. (1997, p.3) highlight the importance of self-governance in the following statement:

Research from around the world makes it clear that the improvement in both socioeconomic and political conditions is inextricably linked to issues of self-governance, management and leadership. The ways that groups of human beings organise themselves to pursue their objectives are central determinants of their success in achieving their objectives. Governing institutions “establish the rules of the game” through which human beings cooperate and disagree, control their own worst impulses and reward their best, and generally interact with each other both within their society and in relations with other societies. Putting in place effective governing institutions is a crucial first step in any society’s effort to establish and sustain economic growth and to assert control over its own affairs.

Indigenous people all over the world continue to fight for control of their lives and their future, by having the right to make the major decisions that will enable them to have stability in their families, a positive future for their communities and be in control of their destiny. “At the heart of this effort has been a drive for self-governance: for the

right to make the major decisions that affect their communities, their resources, and their lives” Cornell (2002b, p.1). Dodson (1994, p.4) defines self-determination as “the right to freely determine...political status and freely pursue economic, social and cultural development,” and states that this “is held to be the most fundamental of our rights as peoples; the pillar on which all other rights rest; a right of such a profound nature that the integrity of all other rights depends on its observance”.

Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, as quoted in Dodson (1994, p.68) state that “self-determination is a right of all peoples with no qualification”. The United Nations General Assembly resolutions (paragraph 59) state:

The effective exercise of a people’s right to self-determination [is] an essential condition or prerequisite...for the genuine existence of other rights and freedoms. Only when self-determination has been achieved can a people take the measures necessary to ensure human dignity [and] the full enjoyment of all rights...without any form of discrimination. Human rights and fundamental freedoms can only truly exist when the right to self-determination also exists. (1994, p.68)

The long-term aspirations of many Indigenous Australians to have quality of life and control over their lives is unfortunately still a work in progress, despite federal government policies of self-determination and self-management, and “the legal system of this country remains blind to a concept of a sovereignty enjoyed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups prior to European invasion” (Mabo Jnr 2002, p.1).

Mabo Jnr (2002) argues that the Australian High Court, while recognising native title as arising from a prior Aboriginal title to land and waters, stopped well short of recognising Indigenous people’s sovereignty. In Australia, the Howard government rejected the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation’s (2000) recommendation, contained in its final report, for a treaty, opting instead to implement a policy of practical reconciliation: “it is...not possible to foresee a time when a continuation of the current approach [‘practical’ reconciliation] will result in significant improvements in the lives of Indigenous Australians” (Jonas 2003, p.56).

The failure of Indigenous people worldwide to attain self-governance – and the current situation where international law is ignored – largely exists because of the powers held by the States. The majority of States are reluctant to let go of power and interpret the law to be, that self-determination only exists in circumstances where there are non-governing, geographically separate territories, such as the colonies that once existed.

Dodson (1994) comments that there is also some ambiguity in the United Nations resolutions, which limit rights to particular situations, and the extent to which global governance can play a part in Indigenous people's attaining self-governance is debatable. The Overseas Development Institute (2003, p.1) believes this is largely dictated by "the transparency regarding compliance with international rules and the ability of global organisations to create win-win outcomes in disputes between states".

Mabo Jnr (2002, p.3) observed that in Australia, "since the 1970s the experience in Aboriginal affairs has been to outwardly appear to maximise the participation of Aboriginal peoples into mainstream administrative structures", whilst ignoring any attempts to address the issue of self-governance and treaty seriously. Governments have systematically undermined and destroyed Indigenous governance arrangements over the centuries and imposed their own forms of governance and control.

In the last three decades there has been significant development of Aboriginal political institutions including:

- The incorporation of Aboriginal communities and executive agencies set up by them, such as councils, housing and progress associations, business enterprises and so on
- The establishment, by Aboriginal initiative, of Aboriginal-controlled agencies to provide services, such as health, legal aid and welfare, for their communities
- The establishment of land councils, both officially recognised and unofficial, to work for land rights, conduct claims for land and negotiate with governments and developers in relation to land
- The tendency for these Aboriginal organisations to join in loose federations to co-operate more effectively and to strengthen their capacity to influence or negotiate with governments. These federations are sometimes based on geographical or tribal association, for example the Pitjantjatjara Council, and sometimes on common functions (Coombs 1994, p.141)

Even though there have been some positive outcomes from these organisations, and as a result varying degrees of self-governance, their establishment in many ways has provided a diversion from the overall issue of recognition of sovereignty. All of these organisations established in the past 30 or so years have had limited autonomy and most have been directly responsible to the minister or a government bureaucrat. Coombs (1994, p.139) suggests that:

These organisations are part of the machinery of government and recruitment and promotion to positions of influence within them are predominantly by public service-type procedures, or by the Ministerial or cabinet decision. The

organisations are accountable to the minister, although those with statutory powers and funds under their control have significant autonomy. There does not seem to be any effective line of accountability to Aboriginal Communities.... The apparently growing strength of this bureaucratic form of Aboriginal influence on government and the apparent power it seems to give individuals successful within it is by no means universally welcomed by Aborigines. Some see it as the emergence of a black bureaucracy concerned primarily with its own power and personal advancement of its members. It is criticised as being almost as isolated from Aboriginal communities as the white bureaucracy it is gradually replacing.

This situation may not be transparent to the untrained eye. It does not give Indigenous Australians real autonomy or control of services established to meet their needs.

Smaller organisations that are directly responsible in some way to the family/kinship-based groups, in contrast to regional organisations representing many groups, are being promoted as more effective in achieving models of self-governance (HRSTATSIA 2004). The former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) model provides an example of how a regional model often failed to represent and adequately service smaller kinship and family groups. The regional council was made up of representatives, elected in a secret ballot, who were drawn from a particular region which consisted of many kinship groups, sometimes speaking different languages. As an organisation, ATSIC had very limited power, and regional councils often became political minefields, with family groups jostling for the few resources it had to distribute. "There is much to do in developing appropriate Indigenous Governance structures at the grassroots in readiness for the complications that will arise when we finally reach a treaty negotiation table" (Mabo Jnr 2002, p.8). Coombs (1994, p.141) suggests that any organisation designed to give Aborigines an effective influence on government policies must:

- Be firmly based on, derive its Aboriginal authority from, and be accountable to, local groups and communities and their organisations
- Integrate with itself, but without impairing their essential autonomy, Aboriginal-controlled organisations through which Aboriginal political initiative is already being significantly exercised
- Have access to expertise necessary for the formulation of policy on matters of concern to Aborigines
- Be given and accept significant responsibility for decisions about the total funding and its allocation for expenditure on Aboriginal Affairs

The House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSCATSIA 2004) was provided with a number of submissions that provided evidence to support the idea that Indigenous communities were unique and that one single model

may not be applicable to all. It reported (2004, p.105) that “the way in which Indigenous people organise themselves, make decisions and then carry out those decisions, is heavily influenced by their history, culture, land, tradition and community politics”. The Murdi Paaki Regional Council told the committee that “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies are so diverse that flexibility is required to ensure that structures are appropriate to the special circumstances of individual communities and regions”.

Similarly the committee was advised:

Looking for a model will not work. You need a diversity of models. One size will not fit all communities because they are just so heterogeneous. I do not just mean in terms of size, but in terms of their internal workings and the sorts of issues that they need to address. (2004, p.105)

The report documented a number of models of self-governance currently operating in Australia. Without a treaty and recognition of sovereignty, some would dispute the legitimacy of these forms of governance as true self-governance. The following example of models currently operating in Australia include regional models, clan models and family kinship models:

Regional

The Torres Strait Regional Authority (TSRA) is currently the only body to have been made a Regional Authority under the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act 1989*. The Authority does not provide services directly, but coordinates planning and service delivery on a regional basis and supports communities in managing their own affairs.

The Murdi Paaki Regional Council is the ATSIC Regional Council for the Bourke region in NSW. The Council has sought to develop the capacity to plan, advocate, and negotiate equitable resources for communities, and to manage or guide developments throughout the region through adopting a regional model of governance. The Murdi Paaki regional governance model seeks to strengthen the role and participation of the 16 major and seven smaller communities in regional decision making and service delivery.

Tangentyere Council is the resource and advocacy body for 18 housing associations (town camps) located around Alice Springs, while also providing services to the wider Alice Springs community. The 18 town camps are independently incorporated with approximately 2 000 residents in total. The model of governance incorporates Western and Indigenous legal and community protocols and, while it recognises the role of the Executive in the Western framework, it equally recognises the role and authority of elders within the town camps.

Clan model

Wadeye (formerly known as Port Keats) is the sixth largest town, by population, in the Northern Territory and its largest Aboriginal community. The community

consists of three ceremonial clans, with the families currently living in the Wadeye community belonging to approximately 23 different clans. There are seven different Aboriginal languages spoken in Wadeye, the main one being Murinh Patha, which is the common language. Sixteen of the tribal groups established Thamarrurr, which is a forum where representatives from each of the clans in the Daly River/Port Keats region participate. The forum does not have a chair, as relationships between clans are understood through an arrangement called 'kulu', with each clan group considered an equal amongst the others. Kardu Numida told the Committee... Thamarrurr is viewed by the people of Wadeye as a vehicle which will support them in their quest to achieve their many aspirations in social, political and economic matters. It is not a local council and does not have the power to raise revenue. The community has a significant development and reform agenda and believe that they have created a foundation but seek outside support to build for the future. It is envisaged that, with proposed joint venture partnerships in the local and regional construction industry, the community can deliver an economically viable working model for remote communities.

A family council model

Lombadina Aboriginal Corporation is located on the west coast of the Dampier Peninsula, 200 km north of Broome. Lombadina was established in the mid 1980s when it broke away from the Church Administration to establish itself as a separate community controlling its own affairs. The Lombadina community consists of approximately 60 people. Lombadina is a small community, with good management structures. Its council meets every two to three weeks, but as the community is small: 'Everybody knows what's what'. Every twelve months the council holds an election. The governance of the community is founded on strong family connections and day to day interaction. (2004, pp.105–9)

There is no one answer as to the best model. There seems to be the need for a number of different formats. Some submissions provided evidence to suggest that regional governance models made it easier for government agencies to work with communities while others suggested that regional models simply concentrate power in the hands of an elite few. The Aboriginal Corporation Enterprising Services' submission (2004, p.9) noted that a clan-based model, as opposed to a regional model, promotes better-focused groups with "greater distribution of responsibility, confidence, equity and sharing of wealth not empowering a few on big salaries and the rest on unemployment/community development". The submission by Department of Family and Community Services (FACS) and Centrelink (p.110) suggested that every community needs some sort of local structure that enables participation in local as well as regional governance matters. Every community needs a variety of local organisations to cater for various interests and needs. Regional bodies can be a good way of dealing with common issues, enabling better resource-sharing, providing economies of scale, and developing regional approaches to regional issues.

The concept of community and the importance of the recognition of small family groups as an individual nation is discussed later in this paper. Taylor (2003, p.6) sums up the situation in the following statement:

Effective Indigenous governance is unobtainable without well-resourced support services at the local level, targeting individuals and families. Building the capacities of individuals and families to support each other and participate in social and political life as they wish ultimately leads to the development of strong effective governance processes and structures. This must be achieved through the assistance of a multiplicity of locally initiated and adequately resourced research programs and services, targeting individuals and families.

Self-governance is not happening adequately for the majority of Indigenous Australians. At best, in many communities the government has handed over control of council administration, and subsequently a range of services for which they continue to provide funding and which are subject to the policies and funding structures and requirements of the overriding western system of governance. "It is probably correct to state that the current arrangements for Indigenous communities amount to self-management of a range of services and programs, rather than full self-determination" (Crough 2001, p.3).

Pearson (1999, p.7) maintains that:

Rather than entrenching hierarchical bureaucracies of governance, we need instead to encourage and facilitate freedom of initiative at the ground level. Indeed, not only encourage freedom of initiative, but our system of governance should mandate this through the institution of a complete economic and social reciprocity.

Anderson (2002, p.3) comments that "governance for an Aboriginal person is a lifetime process. It is a process which proceeds from gaining knowledge to imparting knowledge. It defines self and community...Anangu governance is the whole, it is me, it is my family, it is my land, it is the law which binds all of these, it is to what I belong and what belongs to me." She believes that although this is often seemingly in contrast to western forms of governance, they can co-exist. Combining traditional modes of governance with western models of governance is something that Indigenous groups have to address in the whole issue of governance. This is something clan and kinship group models find easier to accomplish, rather than the larger regional models that seem to revert to more western styles of operating.

Lemont (2004) comments that some Indian tribes in the US are restructuring their constitutions, as they have largely been written as generic documents, often rushed

through and not reflecting the traditional governance of Indian nations. This has created some instability for Indian nations.

Combined with the federal court's steady erosion of the sovereignty of American Indian governments, this instability has left American Indian nations less potent to address outside, and often hostile, private and government interests and less competitive with other governments in an increasingly globalized world. To varying extents, American Indian nations are amending and rewriting their constitutions to better reflect their individual political cultures and traditions, assert their inherent governing powers, enhance the accountability of elected officials, strengthen government stability, and provide a foundation for the increased exercise of sovereignty. (2004, p.2)

Cornell (2002b, p.3) comments that self-governing power "is not an all-or-nothing business, nor does tribal sovereignty mean secession... For example, a number of Indian nations are involved in cooperative agreements with federal or state governments for the management of natural resources... These are not consultation agreements; they are government to government partnerships in which decisions are jointly made." Crough (2001, p.1) suggests that:

Governance arrangements for Indigenous peoples have been established in a number of countries, including the United States, Canada and a number of Scandinavian countries. In some of these countries, and in some others such as New Zealand, treaties, both historical and modern, have also been negotiated between Indigenous people and governments.

However, the following comments by Cornell (2002b, p.9) sum up the situation that currently needs to be addressed in Australia:

What does Indigenous self-governance mean to these governments? Will it be limited to the operational administration? Will it mean non-Indigenous governments calling most of the shots, especially on the big issues? Or will it embrace genuine control over resources; freedom in the development of appropriate and effective governing institutions; significant and consequential dispute resolution powers and mechanisms; funding via block grants instead of program funds until Indigenous nations can support themselves?

A treaty has been proposed by some as the solution to achieving self-governance with some substance. A treaty would provide for a legal and political recognition of sovereignty. For a treaty to be agreed to, the issue of sovereignty has to be dealt with. The topics of treaty and sovereignty have yet to be debated thoroughly and at present seem to throw up more questions than answers. Can there be more than one sovereign nation in Australia, with a range of political, legal and social service systems operating autonomously? Mansell (2002, p.3) comments:

The competing claims and positions on sovereignty could be dealt with in a way that enables both sides to maintain their high moral positions while advancing an agreement. Statements external to the treaty document could allow the Australian government to maintain the view there is only one sovereign. At the same time the Aboriginal movement could maintain its people have the right to exercise self determination because they are a sovereign people. The process of self determination includes the right to establish an Aboriginal nation or nations politically independent of Australia.

Crough (1994, p.1) identifies that a number of entities, each exercising a certain degree of self-governance, already exist within the Australian system of governance.

The powers and functions exercised by each entity in the political system are not fixed. Constitutions can be changed, laws can be changed, and governments can enter into agreements with each other. As experience from the Northern Territory and Norfolk Island demonstrates, new self-governing entities exercising a certain degree of sovereignty can be accommodated within the existing political system.

Crough (2001) proposes a solution to the self-governance debate by suggesting an order of governance within Australian federalism, whereby Indigenous communities would be able to exercise jurisdictional responsibilities when they view the existing governance arrangement to be inadequate. This “has been successfully used in Canada for over a decade and has led to a conceptualisation of Canada as a ‘diverse’ federation within which different peoples and orders of governance belong in different ways” (Crough 2001, p.4). Also, in the United States, courts recognised not only the territorial rights of native Americans but their political rights as sovereign nations within the United States. In New Zealand, the treaty of Waitangi in 1840 provided the Maori people with title to their land and in turn the Maori people agreed to accept a foreign form of governance. The Treaty of Waitangi Act of 1975 ratified this original treaty, confirming the agreements of the treaty, and consolidating the process with the introduction of a tribunal to interpret the principles of the treaty and arbitrate in areas of dispute. All of these agreements have different structural arrangements but provide Indigenous people with recognition, respect and varying degrees of control over their lives (Crough 2001, p.1).

A treaty, or treaties, would ensure that the parameters for self-governance are agreed upon and set in concrete. It would ensure a pathway for self-governance to be implemented so that Indigenous communities in Australia have the same status and negotiating powers as government rather than the present situation where most organisations at best have limited autonomy to carry out service delivery within set guidelines and set parameters governed by someone else. Mansell (2002, p.1) states “a treaty would also define the limits of white political domination of Indigenous peoples.”

Treaties, as legally binding agreements that are negotiated with different tiers of government and extended family groups, could be the answer, but the process would be complex. Eddie Mabo Jnr (2002, p.6) poses some interesting questions that address the complexity of the treaty debate:

How will those who advocate a treaty deal with this profound contradiction between support for cultural diversity and how a treaty will devolve power to this same diversity in Indigenous communities? Who has the mandate to negotiate a treaty on behalf of all Indigenous people in this country?

Solving the issue of sovereignty greatly depends on a recognition of the multitude of Indigenous nations in Australia. A major problem in relation to the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty in Australia is to decide who has the authority to negotiate for the parties and accept any commitments negotiated. "It is far from clear who Aborigines would wish to authorise to negotiate on their behalf, or how they would wish to go about deciding the matter" (Coombs 1994, p.151).

There are lessons to be learned by exploring other models of governance for Indigenous nations in other parts of the world that have received recognition of sovereignty. Lowitja O'Donoghue (ATSIC 1993, foreword) states that:

...if we are to become masters of our own destiny, it is essential we take a lead role in planning the futures of our own communities, for if we do not, others will continue to plan for us, and inevitably impose their values in doing so. Planning holistically means re-evaluating the current situation and spending time consulting and reorganizing. To do this successfully it means getting commitment and involvement of the community at the grass roots level and having those in management positions think creatively and openly to implement new strategies.

Convincing government and the wider Australian community of the importance of this for Indigenous Australian and Aboriginal affairs is the challenge ahead. An exploration of the notion of sovereignty and treaty is essential if any real self-governance is going to take place.

2.2.2 Self-governance – a key to improved outcomes

There is evidence to suggest that self-governance can be a major contributor in developing economies that in turn improve social and other outcomes for Indigenous communities. Recent studies in the United States have shown that self-governance can be a key factor in improving self-driven, sustainable economies, with the flow on effects of this being an improvement in social conditions, health and educational outcomes and employment. Some examples of this include:

- The Mississippi Choctaw Indians, who since 1978 created more than 6,000 jobs through the creation of a number of self-owned businesses. This community also has one of the highest rates of Native Language Retention in the US.
- The Potawatomi Nation of Oklahoma, which has only a few acres of tribal land, and [which, from] living with few jobs and economic prospects in the mid-1970s, changed their situation from having only \$500 in the bank to owning the First National Bank of Shawnee Oklahoma and other businesses.
- A White Mountain Apache Tribe in Arizona in the 1980s ran nine businesses.
- The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation in Montana oversee businesses in agriculture, tourism and retail. They also have a secondary institution that receives applications from non-Indians because of its reputation for high quality programs. (Cornell 2002a, p.9)

“The experiences of a wide array of societies around the world amply demonstrate that achieving sustained, self-determined economic development is a complex and difficult task” (Cornell and Kalt 2004a, p2). The self-governance model would ultimately determine the need for economies to be self-sufficient.

In the United States, federal funds are transferred to American Indian nations in three ways: via grants, “self-determination contracts” and “self-governance compacts.” The accountability mechanisms differ according to the type of funding arrangement. In general, grants require substantial ongoing accountability to federal funders. Self-determination and self-governance funding requires significant upfront evidence of accountability capacity, but mandates few post-funding reporting requirements. These types of funding also give tribes greater flexibility in the use of funds. (Curtis and Jorgensen 2002, p.1)

Langton (1994) questions the value of the concept of self-sufficiency but suggests “what we should strive for rather is a strategic control of economic resources” (1994, p.37). Crough (1994) also questions self-sustainability as a reality for most Indigenous people in the short term. In some communities, economic resources are minimal and Crough believes that most communities would be too small to generate revenue to fund a wide range of services. The prospect of Indigenous control over resources has probably been the biggest threat Indigenous Australians have posed to the wider Australian community, big business and governments in the past and present day. It has notably added to the lack of support for sovereignty in the wider community. Crough proposes a concept of sovereignty and self-governance without self-sustainability using existing financial resources.

Why do Aboriginal people in remote areas need to be self-sufficient when the State and Territory Governments, and local government are not self-sufficient? Many of the services that would be controlled by these Aboriginal self-governing

entities would be 'citizenship services', that is, services that all Australians are entitled to, including health, education and municipal services. (Crough 1994, p.3)

In relation to this concept of having control over services, where federal or other levels of government continue to remain the funding source, Curtis and Jorgensen (2002) comment that there has been some success with this in the US. These successful models relate to Native American self-governance models that have full control of funding and programs.

The U.S. has experienced some notable success by responding to tribes' requests for increased tribal power over the management of programs and services provided to tribal citizens. In turn, many tribes have taken over the responsibility for spending funds in their communities. Rather than producing a situation in which funds are misused or spent ineffectively, contracting and compacting have, for the most part, led to efficient programs more in tune with tribal needs. Tribes have risen to the challenge of expanding their government functions by setting up internal accountability, controls and financial management procedures. The alternatives of dissatisfied tribal citizens, a return to direct service delivery by federal departments and agencies, and/or reduced grant monies are sufficient incentives for most tribes to maintain a viable system. (2002, p.16)

Self-governance and recognition of sovereignty have been documented as keys to improvements in the level of poverty, and of employment and social circumstances for Indigenous people all around the world. "Many other countries have made the practical decision that it is better for Indigenous people to run their own affairs and to solve their own problems.... The crucial question is, how long will it take Australian governments to recognise this fact" (Crough 1994, p.4.).

2.2.3 Constructs of 'community'

Leaders and workers in education and government departments will often defer to 'the Community' as this homogenous group of people that are self-determined and have a common purpose. By the 1970s Indigenous people had been moved into numerous geographical locations and many kinship groups often lived alongside each other for the first time. This laid the foundation for outsiders to refer to these groups of people as communities.

During the 1970s, Aboriginal affairs, both in Australia generally and the Northern Territory in particular, underwent significant reform. The Welfare Branch of the Commonwealth's Northern Territory administration disappeared and became part of a new national Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA). In the process former Welfare Branch officers were removed from many remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory and replaced by community advisors employed by, and answerable to, local Aboriginal community organisations. These emergent Aboriginal community organisations were

encouraged to incorporate by the DAA (primarily under the Commonwealth *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976 (ACAA)*) and were funded for the delivery of some services and the conduct of some aspects of local governance in their communities. (Westbury and Sanders 2001, p.3)

This gathering together of kinship groups into a single location cemented many people's view of what a community is. Statements such as 'it is up to the community', 'what does the community think?', 'the community must take more responsibility', 'this program is aimed at community development', are frequently heard without much thought about the make-up of the group being referred to. The big question is, what are the underlying features of positive 'constructs of community' for Indigenous Australians? Community may be defined in a number of ways, including a location, a group with a common identity or a local social system. Hillary (1955, in Kenny 1999, p.38) identified 94 definitions and found many inconsistencies between them. However, all the definitions referred to people, and most referred to social interaction, a common bond or common goals, and common territory as important elements. McArdle (1998, p.106) offers a number of terms to define community, including kinship, centre-based, issue-based, interest-based and geographic-based communities. This use of the term community to define groups of people that do not connect with common goals but may reside in the same location has been a factor impeding progress in many policies and programs for Indigenous Australians. Nugget Coombs (1994, p.7) describes the importance of the autonomous family unit, referring to:

the small kin-based hunting and gathering groups most commonly preferred in such societies. In these groups, the capacity to share resources and information, to divide responsibility and to protect, care for and teach others was vital to group survival. In other words, family and group solidarity were supported by individual autonomy and that autonomy was, in turn, regulated by wider social responsibilities.

The following description by Donovan (1988) illustrates the way in which Arrernte people, as did most other Indigenous Australian groups, operated prior to white settlement.

The Aranda speaking people were those who occupied most of the choice regions of the MacDonnell Ranges. Their territory stretched about 110 kilometres both west and east, and was about 330 kilometres in extent from north to south. Though forming one language group the Aranda were divided into six sub-groups, each with its particular territory, with those of the eastern Arrernte being responsible for that region immediately about Mparntwe. These sub-groups were further divided into smaller family or kin groups, all bound by the very rigid system of authority and precedence that governed intermarriage and movement

over another group's estate. The boundaries of the estates of these sub-groups were fixed by the ancestral beings and varied greatly in size. Some were as small as five square kilometres and others were upwards of 520 square kilometres... The normal economic unit of a group was the small family unit. (1988, p.29)

More than 200 years later, people still function in these small family groups and, as Coombs said (1994, p.140), "Aboriginal society is composed of many substantially separate communities which do not readily work together except for specific and limited purposes and periods of time". Nevertheless, our system of governance tends to overlook this major and most important factor for Aboriginal people after white settlement. Many communities formed as religious missions or government settlements or communities made up of mixed language groups, who traditionally would not have lived alongside each other. The Amoonguna Community, situated 15 kilometres south-east of Alice Springs is an example of this. This was a government initiative of the 1960s that failed in its attempt to assimilate people. People were fed in large dormitories and much of their independence was taken away. People from different language groups were forced to live alongside each other, which has caused many problems through to the present day. The community in its present form is a mixed group of families from different language groups with different aspirations. This community is governed by a local government council with non-Aboriginal administrators. The Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) provides employment for some with the majority of the community surviving on welfare benefits. It is a very difficult for the community to function in a positive way, because of its make-up. Even though people are living alongside each other they do not necessarily associate or see themselves as a cohesive group. They are only a community of people in that they reside together and are governed by a community council.

The House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSCATSIA 2004, p.36) acknowledged the receipt of submissions that emphasised the problematic use of the term community, and the way in which funding arrangements and resource allocation was aimed at large community constructs often made up of "discrete cultural and language groupings, mobile or seasonal populations, or independent groups whose major commonality is a shared location." It identified the need to be conscious of the definition of community. "As the term community is problematic, many submissions argued that the focus of government should be at the level of the individual, family or small group." The committee endorsed the following definition of 'community':

The Committee endorses a definition of community which emphasises the fluid nature of affiliations and group membership, and acknowledges the importance of cohesion, while also understanding that a community involves group members sharing interests, goals and social connections. Group cohesion is significant to this definition. (2004, p.36)

Another important issue that affects these geographic constructs of community is the fact that people are often living on someone else's country in these community contexts. This has continued to cause problems for Indigenous Australians to the present day. One of the major struggles for people has been to return to their land and operate in the economic unit that works best for them – the close kinship group.

Individual Indigenous Australian family groups have unique aspirations for themselves. The lack of effective community development consultation means many family group aspirations go unexplored. Those that have the strength to get involved and dominate the agenda of the council or a particular organisation often get the limited resources. Indigenous communities that are governed by local government councils are often made up of many family groups and are not necessarily cohesive, with a common focus. As a result, too often, the undercurrents and cultural rivalries prevent long-term strategies being implemented fully.

Pearson (2000a, p.1) reiterates that “we need to focus on locations. We need to work on locations. We need to devise strategies for places. We need to encourage, stimulate and organise around places. We need to apply ourselves to the predicaments and opportunities of locations”. Focusing on kinship groups that have common interests and goals within locations is reiterated by many as essential in effective capacity building (Rowse 1998, Taylor 2003, HRSCATSIA 2004). Reynolds (1989, p.2) comments, in relation to Eastern and Central Arrernte people:

While previously people were not, it is assumed, forced to go here or there, they were gathered into large groups, first at Charles Creek, then at Arltunga, then at Santa Teresa. Certainly everyone was a member of the Arrernte tribe – but these large groupings were not natural. Natural groupings consisted of ‘extended family’ or kinship groups – smaller groups...

Rowse (1998, p.221) reinforces the need for government, government policy and new forms of governance to recognise and analyse the importance of small kinship groups in the following statement:

Among its legacies are the community and the household, two institutional frames through which important processes of Indigenous self-determination are now

being enacted. If the term self in self-determination refers to anything, its referents must include these new and problematic forms of Indigenous collective agency. They are problematic because of our notions of Indigenous agency have also been enriched in other ways – by an appreciation of the significance of country, of the local and kin-influenced nature of Indigenous political solidarities, of the continuing significance of ceremonial sources of honour. These are the neo-traditional cultural grounds upon which the possible material benefits of ‘community’ and ‘household’ are being explored.

Further to this, Taylor (2003, p.6) reiterates the need for capacity building to be effective, and for strategies to focus on individual and family strengths:

In particular there must be a focus on family capacity to nurture and support their children so that they develop the confidence and skills to participate in society as they choose. Capacity building must aim to improve the quality of life for Indigenous Australians to increase their life chances and opportunities. Capacity building at the individual and family level aims ultimately to ensure that people have the capacity i.e. the health, well-being and the confidence, as well as access to decision making processes, to make informed decisions about issues which affect them.

The Arrernte people who are the founders of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre explored in this paper, draw resources from various larger community organisations or groups, but generally regard their small family unit, their close kinship group as their community group. Often even within an extended family group, inter-family issues and complications make decision-making processes difficult. Having a group of less closely related family members or unrelated family members frequently makes the democratic collective decision-making process almost impossible and blocks progress for people.

The Irrkerlantye capacity building model recognises the need to apply the term ‘community’ to a small family unit that is connected by country and kinship and is self-determined. The model implemented at Irrkerlantye works with each of the 12 or more family groups that have formed the association Ngkarte Mikwekenhe. It allows each group to define its participants and cultural ties to country as a foundation for the development of strategic planning exercises. The major difficulty in working this way at present is that each family unit is not established in a way that it can receive resources directly from government. Taylor (2003, p.11) poses the question that needs to be answered in order to solve the problem with the present situation in Australia – “how to develop governance structures which are totally effective in engaging with the world at large (including the community, government and commercial sectors etc) whilst being

sensitive to, compatible with and maintaining the integrity of, the cultural diversity and interests of constituent members.

The above literature suggests that for capacity building to be effective for Indigenous Australians, any governance arrangement needs to firstly consider the relationships and traditional governance of small family kinship groups. Acknowledgement of the importance of this is essential in interpreting Indigenous Australian nations. Only then will it be possible to establish effective self-governance arrangements and achieve improved outcomes in Indigenous Australian families. It may be time-consuming and complex, but if it is not attempted, little will change.

2.2.4 Ineffective policy

In the absence of self-governance, Indigenous Australians have been subjected to the policies of the dominant system of white governance. Government policy in the 1970s and 1990s has been more progressive than any policy since white occupation. However, despite these policies and the input of resources, Indigenous Australians are generally a long way from reaching the standard of living that most Australians would consider to be reasonable. Pearson (2001, p.2) suggests that:

maybe we should confront the possibility that the policy analysis and recommendations that have informed the past 30 years of deterioration may have been wrong. Our refusal to confront this possibility is a testament to the degree to which we will insist on our ideological indulgences ahead of diminishing social suffering.

Nugget Coombs (1994) presents an argument that suggests that policies have been strategically implemented to ensure the demise of Aboriginal autonomy, whilst cleverly painting a picture of acceptance of cultural diversity, autonomy and advancement:

There has been a variety of formulations of the assimilation objective, some of which have recognised that Aborigines may have views about these matters, but all embodying words ranging from assimilation pure and simple, through to integration, self-management and self-determination. The latter were concerned to delineate the degree to which differences arising from autonomous Aboriginal cultural, religious, economic and political values could be tolerated. However, an objective assessment of the measures actually introduced or proposed reveals a continuing incorporation of Aborigines into those existing institutions – educational, economic, legal, administrative and political – which are concerned to socialise white members of Australian society to conform to the purposes and procedures of its institutions. (1994, p.21)

In relation to the rhetoric that underlies policy and program formulation, Schwab and Sutherland (2001) state that the problems that Indigenous Australians face begin with the way our policies marginalise people. A better solution, they suggest would be to create programs in response to problems rather than looking at reforming the systemic approach. They outline the need for programs to change from a deficit model to a more open one, beginning with the problem and having no preconceived solutions. They conclude:

This is a philosophy that continues to underwrite many areas of indigenous policy... The development of initiatives can no longer be manifested in only compensatory education: these types of programs are not sustainable and inevitably fail to bring about substantial social change. (2001, p.6)

Progress in capacity building programs has often been crippled by rigid policy guidelines that are too far removed from grassroots situations to be effective. Schwab and Sutherland (2001, p.2) highlight the need to make policy and programs situation specific.

Public policy, if it is to promote the development of social capital, needs to be “place and people specific and deeply grounded in local needs and circumstances” (Stewart-Weeks 2000 p.91). Uniform, one size fits all policy will not work because social circumstances are local and not uniform.

By social capital, the authors mean features of social organisation such as networks, rules, norms, sanctions and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 1995, ODI 2003).

McKenzie (2002, p.70) also argues that “the support should be tailor made to suit the needs of Aboriginal people”. Economic and demographic arguments are often thrown up as reasons why programs cannot be specifically designed to meet individual community needs. Bureaucrats not wanting to challenge the system also put things in the too-hard basket. Present and past policies aimed at the broader Indigenous Australian community often sound good, but have had minimal positive effect at the grassroots level. Malin and Maidment (2005, p.6), quoting Ring and Brown (2002, p.631), believe a reason for the lack of change is that “Australia is locked into a cycle of endless consultation, policy and strategy formulation and measurement”. This seems to be the case in many aspects of Indigenous affairs. By the time government develops policy, then strategy, implementation guidelines, application processes, a budget, funding guidelines and selection processes, only a quick round of funding is possible before the cycle seems to start again without any programs having had a chance to stabilise and make a difference.

Before any of this can happen, the program has to be successful in the highly competitive field of funding applications. Pearson (1999, p.6) highlights the ludicrousness of the situation in the following statement:

...in the Aboriginal affairs policies that the State historically developed, they have almost invariably been moribund and have created the very problems we are seeking to resolve. There is simply not enough innovation, risk, enterprise and imagination within the policy mentality of the State, and until it develops these capabilities, we must recognise that the community can be the source of creative ideas and solutions – if only it is unleashed.

Policy and funding guidelines are typically developed in environments far removed from the day-to-day realities and problems they are attempting to solve. They too often produce ‘one size fits all’ approaches with predetermined guidelines, that become constraints rather than solutions to problems. Policies often seem flexible at a glance in facilitating positive outcomes for Indigenous Australians, but beneath the surface, government departments often fail to assist people at the grassroots because their parameters are too rigid. Finding funding becomes a process of working to the funding guidelines rather than from the needs of individual Indigenous groups. Mainstream policies and programs set their guidelines and expectations and expect that people will conform to them. In essence this is often due to bureaucratic timeframes. However, it makes it difficult for programs to access funding in a way that is sufficiently flexible for the organisation or group to achieve its outcomes. Nugget Coombs (1994, p.22) suggests that:

...nowhere in white Australia policies is consideration given to the possible need of Aborigines to reconcile the demands of their own Aboriginal way with those living in the mainstream. Until we and Aborigines turn our minds effectively to ways of meeting that need, the issues underlying deaths in custody will persist. It is in these deaths that we see most clearly the impact on Aboriginal people of the loss of personal and cultural autonomy and of the conflicting cultural autonomy of conflicting socialisations they face as a result of white colonisation.

Recent developments and policies in Australia that have pronounced the need for Indigenous Australians to be self-determining include:

- The 1989 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody report, which states “The thrust of this report is that the elimination of disadvantage requires an end of domination and an empowerment of Aboriginal people; that control of their lives, of their communities must be returned to Aboriginal hands” (Johnston 1991, p.24).
- “The Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation proposed a process of negotiated agreements between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and

government by way of a legislated framework to resolve outstanding issues of reconciliation such as self-determination and self-government” (1991, p.5).

- “the High Court’s Mabo decision a decade ago (and resultant commonwealth Native Title legislation, amendments and complex regime) have all significantly influenced and changed the basis of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians” (1991, p.5).
- The Minister for Reconciliation and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs in ‘Our Path Together’ stresses the importance of capacity building in overcoming Indigenous disadvantage (1991, p.6).
- The Family and Community Services framework – the *Stronger Families and Communities Strategy* is based on principles established for the ‘Indigenous community capacity-building round table’ (1991, p.6).
- The November 2000 Council of Australian Governments (COAG) meeting noted that “Drawing on the lessons of the mixed success of substantial past efforts to address Indigenous disadvantage, the Council committed itself to an approach based on partnerships and shared responsibilities with Indigenous communities, program flexibility and coordination between government agencies, with a focus on local communities and outcomes.
- The June 2001 COAG meeting confirmed its continuing commitment to addressing the social and economic disadvantages experienced by many Indigenous Australians, and reiterated its previously agreed priority areas for action under the reconciliation framework of “community leadership, reviewing and re-engineering programs and services to achieve better outcomes for Indigenous peoples, and building links between the business sector and Indigenous communities to advance economic independence”.
- The outcomes-based funding approach to Indigenous disadvantage, strongly supported by the Commonwealth Grants Commission, continued in the 2001–2002 Commonwealth Government budget. Policy and programs involving Indigenous capacity building are widely considered an important part of this approach to overcoming Indigenous disadvantage.
- The ‘Indigenous community capacity-building roundtable’, convened by the Commonwealth Government, is contributing towards this approach to overcoming Indigenous disadvantage. (Taylor 2003, pp.7–8)
- The House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (2004) recommended that “the Commonwealth Government continue to support research into governance in Indigenous communities with a view to developing a body of knowledge that can be utilised to assist in the development of effective institutional governance in Indigenous communities” (HRSCATSIA 2004, p.112).

These developments, government policy and research have all highlighted the need for the inclusion of appropriate self-determination language with stated aims of encouraging and developing capacity building processes within Indigenous communities. However, the irony is that in the past government policy in Australia has emphasised the importance of self-determination, consultation, local community input and self-identification of local needs, but somehow these concepts do not carry through to the

implementation of positive change on the ground. Why? Some would suggest that it is because these policies have already determined how things should happen and, for the efficiency of their bureaucratic systems, are often quite inflexible. Others would argue that it is because the solution lies in treaty and good self-governance models, which to date have been limited. Effective policy needs to fund and support, submissions in varying formats in a flexible and accountable manner. It also needs to be capable of responding to grassroots programs and projects that especially reflect the needs of family kinship groups. There needs to be a better system than the top-down approach that seems to have prevailed to date.

2.2.5 Bureaucratic blockages, segmentation and departmental division

A major factor impeding progress at a grassroots level for Indigenous Australians is the ineffectiveness caused by the bureaucracy and the bureaucrat. The large number of bureaucracies that are implementing government policy related to Indigenous Australians, and the ways in which they distribute funds and work independently of each other, makes any progress difficult. Dodson (1994, foreword) states that “the bureaucratic apparatus which shrouds Aboriginal and Islander affairs precludes a solution. It is the bureaucracy that obstructs and hinders Indigenous development and, in particular, Indigenous self-determination and autonomy”. Peter Yu (1994, p.28) summarises the situation with the following comment:

We have been witnessing for some time a wasteful expenditure of public resources which does little to change people’s lives for the better but perpetuates a huge bureaucratic monster which provides employment for hundreds of non-Aboriginal people from outside the region...for it is the continuing impoverishment of Aboriginal people which nourishes this unregulated and unaccountable ‘Aboriginal Industry’. The development of an economic base is a priority for Aboriginal people, but the achievement of this goal is impossible under the current policies and practices of government.

The way our system of governance operates has left us with a series of departments focusing upon separate aspects of life. Pearson (1999, p.4) states that:

...the traditional bureaucratic methods for overcoming the problems caused and the opportunities lost as a result of uncoordinated government departments and programs, namely establishing interdepartmental committees and working groups, talking about intergovernmental and interagency approaches, developing bilateral and trilateral agreements and so on have not worked and will not work.

Malin and Maidment (2005) comment that breaking the vicious cycle of Indigenous poverty and oppression requires holistically focused programs, harnessing inter-sectorial

collaboration. Flexible, holistic funding needs to be provided and monitored so that self-determined outcomes are achieved by and for small groups of people. Many Indigenous organisations have had to report and acquit funding to meet the requirements of agencies in a way that does not provide an accurate record of program delivery and successful outcomes (Personal communication with organisation managers). Agencies bound by inflexible guidelines are unable to accommodate and respond to individual needs. It is a classic symptom of the system that prevails. Organisations have a need for which they cannot directly source funding, so they make application for a grant, use the funding to meet the need and creatively manipulate the outcomes to fulfill the funding guidelines and reporting requirements.

When you look at the situation for Indigenous Australians overall and consider the multitude of current policy and funding arrangements, the outcomes in terms of overall social and economic prosperity for Indigenous Australians are minimal. The urgency of the situation is summed up by Pearson (1999, p.2) in the following statement:

Imagine if the average life expectancy of the town of Gatton was only 50 years and sliding. Imagine if the population of Cairns was in prison to the same proportion as the people of Hopevale or Arrakun or Lockhart River. Imagine if over 38 percent of the 15–40 year olds in the town of Atherton had a sexually transmitted disease. Imagine if kidney or liver failures or heart disease were proportionally the same for Gympie as it is for Cape York. Would we be as numb and complacent about the statistics as we are when faced with the reality of the social disaster of Aboriginal society on Cape York Peninsula? No. There would be nothing less than a state of emergency. The government initiatives that had prevailed and failed hitherto would be fundamentally questioned and radically revisited. Government would allocate political energy and resources as a matter of disaster relief priority.

Local organisations also suffer similar problems as large bureaucracies. Many organisations begin small and maintain intimate relationships with the client group they are established to service in the beginning. However, as these organisations grow, they often find it difficult to meet individual needs and monitor and assist the progress of the clients. As the infrastructure of a small organisation increases, the organization often has to streamline processes to cope with the large numbers of people they deal with. As the bureaucratic processes grow, often the long-term aspirations of individuals and family groups get lost in larger organisational processes. They are forced to comply with the streamlined programs established to access resources. As a result, ‘grassroots’ people often miss out and become removed from direct decision-making processes. They

become part of another system and a minimally effective capacity building process. Schorr (1997, p.19) highlights two issues that affect smaller organisations.

1. Small successful programs often fail because they are prevented from continuing because of inadequate funding, rigid rules, hierarchical management techniques and other constraints.
2. When smaller programs expand they can no longer evade the barriers of traditional financing, accountability, governance, and public perception.

The difficulties that regional organisations face in achieving outcomes is summarised in the Department of Family and Community Services (FACS) and Centrelink's submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on capacity building. It states that "clan groupings, geographical boundaries, different interests, distance, and inadequate transport and communications infrastructure can make fair and effective regional decision making difficult to achieve" (HRSCATSIA 2004, p.112).

Another bureaucratic blockage for grassroots organisations that can limit flexibility is the power of the bureaucrat, particularly those in external organizations providing funding. The bureaucrat's reluctance to be flexible and responsive or work outside the boundaries of guidelines and policy, instead approaching ideas with an inflexible manner, often prevents creativity and stifles positive projects. Taylor (2003, p.9) concludes:

The difference between the rhetoric and reality of various governmental public policies (and associated changes in direction) lies in aspects of the behaviours, attitudes and decisions of bureaucrats. Owing to resistance to change and/or other factors, bureaucratic resistance or sluggishness to respond to changed policies and approaches may inhibit and/or threaten the swift implementation and the effective achievement of outcomes agreed upon as components of such designed and planned changed relationships. The agency and influence of the bureaucracy needs to be recognized and specifically included in any dealings in ways which ensure that both the governments, and their supporting bureaucracies, actually "walk the talk" with regard to their commitment to new, innovative arrangements and relationships.

Large bureaucracies fail Indigenous people in a number of ways even though their stated policy may imply all the best intentions. Rather than applying a holistic approach, too often they attempt to solve a single aspect of the many issues facing Indigenous families. The problems and issues that Indigenous people face are interwoven. They need to be solved with a holistic approach (MYCEETYA, 2000, MYCEETYA, 2001, p.16). Large organisations have become cumbersome and ineffective. Success has shown that programs on a smaller and more highly personalised scale are more effective. Working

from the bottom up would allow people flexibility in developing strategies, guidelines and outcomes that are significant to a successful long-term strategic plan for a small group of people with similar aspirations. Malin and Maidment (2005) conclude that although small, flexible, tailor-made programs are costly in the short-term, the long-term benefits to both society and program participants in the areas of health, welfare, justice and education promise to far out-weigh the original costs. Pearson (1999, p.7) reiterates this, claiming that “rather than entrenching hierarchical bureaucracies of governance, we need instead to encourage and facilitate freedom of initiative at the ground level and our system of governance should mandate this through the institution of complete economic and social reciprocity”.

2.2.6 A lack of holistic and coordinated services delivery

Lack of coordination of service organisations is a major flaw in our bureaucratic systems that are designed to assist Indigenous Australians. Altman and Saunders (1991) highlight the fragmentation, duplication and inefficiency of these systems and services. There are approximately ninety organisations in Alice Springs that provide services to Indigenous people.

A significant factor that keeps people in a welfare-dependent state is the number of organizations they access for the services they require. People get into a cycle of accessing service organisations and become so dependent on them that they are trapped in a cycle of attaining resources. Attaining the resources of the services organisations becomes a full-time job necessary to survive, made more difficult by limited transport options. The process becomes so consuming that it leaves little time to explore new options in work or education. An example of some of the organizations that individuals have to access on a fortnightly basis in Alice Springs can be seen below:

Education

Primary school

Secondary school

Vocational Education and Training (VET) provider

Welfare

Centrelink

St Vincent de Paul

Salvation Army

Individuals that assist

Work

CDEP

Art outlets/galleries/shops

Training program

Community Development

Aboriginal organisations – various

Health

Aboriginal clinic

Mainstream hospital

Housing

Aboriginal council or government agency

Other organisations that might assist with repairs or wood delivery, rubbish removal

Indigenous organisations and fulfilling responsibilities

Land Council

Women's council

Aboriginal council/s

School council (ASSPA)

The above services are rarely inter-related. Coordination of these services around a long term strategic planning process, that focuses on the needs and aspirations of small kinship groups, may provide better outcomes. This would put the family as the immediate and central focus, rather than the service. It would be more productive than the present situation, where large numbers of individuals access a range of services, attaining essential resources for their survival with no clearly articulated long term plan. The agencies often base their service delivery on fitting individual departmental policy and program guidelines. This process can take the client needs away from the focus of the services. The often predetermined solutions of large organisations have not worked in solving the issues for Indigenous Australians to date. Lisbeth Schorr (1989, pp.293–

4), in her studies on the effectiveness of programs for disadvantaged youth and youth at risk in America, stated that:

highest priority must go to efforts to combine disparate programs into coherent combinations of services in neighborhoods where persistent poverty and social dislocation are concentrated. Government agencies must review their funding policies and regulations. Everyone concerned – voter and elected official, volunteer and bureaucrat, front-line worker and policy analyst – must recognize that investing in the futures of disadvantaged children means investing in first-class services. There is no better summary of my findings. The common elements of successful programs – comprehensiveness, intensiveness, family and community orientation, and staff with time and skills to develop relationships of respect and collaboration – add up to first class services.

Schwab and Southerland (2002, p.1) also highlight the importance and success of programs that focus on coordinating services.

2.2.7 Short-term funding cycles

The Australian three-year political cycle has been one of the blockages that has added to the volatility of Indigenous programs. Regular changes in policy and funding arrangements mean that organisations outside of mainstream funding sources are forced to apply to each new strategy and funding source as it is released.

The number of grants that small organisations have to apply for and acquit in order to continue creates unnecessary work and makes it difficult for organisations to focus on long-term strategy. The House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSCATSIA 2004, p.88) found that:

each government department has different reporting requirements in relation to funding acquittals, which means that Indigenous community organisations have to manage a diverse range of accounting requirements. This absorbs a large amount of their capacity. The Committee heard that it would assist community organisations if government departments standardised reporting requirements, the managing of contracts and reporting dates.

An example of this, which is similar to the situation that Ngkarte Mikwekenhe faces as an Indigenous organisation, is reflected in the submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on capacity building (2004, p.89) by Maggie Kavanagh, the then coordinator of the NPY Women's Council in Alice Springs:

our organisation [NPY Women's Council] currently acquits 59 grants for our 17 programs. We receive funding from 6 separate government departments and 7 other bodies—including if we are very lucky the odd philanthropic grant. We are not unlike a town council managing multi-funding sources. Most funding

agreements are lengthy, verbose in 'bureaucratese' and usually totally irrelevant to remote communities. They are based on mainstream services delivered in the cities. Most often we get one off funding, or annual funding and if we are really lucky from time to time a 3-year funding cycle. We are required largely to provide quarterly financial statements and 6 monthly written reports. Regardless of the grant being for \$5,000 or \$150,000, very often the same amount of work is needed to acquit the grant.

Current government funding processes create a situation where many organisations use valuable time chasing and acquitting funding grants rather than focusing on strategy implementation. Despite the fact that organisations might have a strategic plan, they can easily become immersed in a vicious cycle of applications, reports and acquittals to a number of agencies due to the need for a solid funding base. Much time is spent not only writing applications but convincing and raising the awareness of the employees of the funding agency of the issues and underlying history, principles and daily operations of the organisation.

It is very hard for decision makers, often facing distress and daily upheaval, to maintain a strategic approach when they are continually sidetracked by funding concerns, short-term policy cycles. This coupled with a high staff turnover on boards, committees and positions of responsibility makes strategic approaches very difficult. Regular change in policies, funding sources, funding guidelines and public perception are further difficulties organisations face.

Long-term secured funding for programs and secured participant income are essential elements of successful programs. Capacity building requires "a long term investment in people and their organisations, and a commitment to the various processes through which they can better shape the forces that affect their lives" (Eade 1997, p.3). Long-term economic security is something many capacity-building programs have found difficult to attain. They have also failed to escape the political funding cycle and attain any freedom from the welfare state. Any improvement in communities' ability to attain freedom from the welfare state by developing an economic base from which they achieve some self-reliance has a flow-on effect in overcoming many of the other barriers that too often cripple programs (Cornell and Kalt 2004a).

2.2.8 Unemployment and lack of sustainable economies

Unemployment and lack of self-sustaining enterprise options have been highlighted as barriers that keep Indigenous people from attaining a better quality of life. Pearson (2001, p.11) comments:

there has been too much of a separation of the social from the economic when we consider our problems. The fact is that every economic relationship is also necessarily a social relationship and underlying many of our social problems are these economic relationships. Whilst there is general nominal acceptance of the interrelationship between economic issues and social problems, in practice economic issues have been relegated to 'the too hard basket' and attention has been focused on behavioural problems such as domestic violence or health problems. But we cannot defer tackling the fundamental issues of the economy of our communities.

John Ah Kit (2002, p.7) attributes the failure of service deliverers to assist in improving Indigenous Australians' lives to "the complete lack of local economies". Schorr (1989, p.xxiii) comments that economic policy and welfare reform are paramount in breaking the cycle of disadvantage along with specialised interventionist programs and concludes that the outcomes of welfare reform should include:

more jobs at better pay, expanded job training and a welfare system that helped more recipients to become productively employed and provided effective income supports significantly reduce the incidence of poverty – and therefore rotten outcomes. The frequent concomitants of inadequate income – homelessness, hunger, family stress, and despair – would not continue, in such large measure, to add to the destructive legacy of the next generation.

The challenge for the majority of Indigenous Australians who are unemployed is complex. The welfare system may have created despondency amongst some, but it has also provided opportunity for people to engage in cultural and social activity that is crucial to their well-being and existence. Folds (2001, p.54), in the following statement, summarises the discussion he believes Indigenous groups need to have before any major policy or program is implemented. His reflection is based on the Pintupi people he worked with in Central Australia:

the Pintupi tradition has been to do what is necessary to sustain them physically and then to move on to other fulfilling social activities. Like everything else, work finds meaning within the relationships that sustain it. The concept of employment as a sustained, impersonal activity that overrides other considerations in people's lives is wholly alien and, where work is performed, it is completed between pressing social responsibilities, the neglect of which can result in physical punishment. The expectation that Pintupi pass up these duties to relatives, and the negotiating and fighting needed to redress grievances according to the code of Pintupi morality, in order to spend eight hours a day, five days a week in western employment they do not, and cannot, take seriously.

Finding and creating job opportunities, particularly in remote locations, that are flexible enough to cater for the demands of traditional cultural life has perhaps been the greatest challenge. Economic viability has generally been dependent on consistency of

attendance. In western work it is a given that you must attend or perform to be paid. Consistency depends on the activity being a priority, and it is an area that often creates tension and frustration for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. There is no easy quick fix but lack of discussion, and the fact that Indigenous people are generally forced to comply with a system of work that does not take their cultural responsibilities into account, is at the heart of the problem.

Taylor-Ide and Taylor (1995, p.35) suggest that many third world and disadvantaged groups have become frustrated with their lack of success, feeling they have lost control of their lives and are subject to a range of exploitations. People often know that a better life is possible through the technological revolution and images they receive through the media. They state that simplistic top-down approaches have not worked. This is often the case in Australia. The effects of government policy having been implemented in this way has resulted in a series of complex systems that have forced Indigenous people into dependency relationships. Breaking this cycle is an incredible challenge for the people at the grassroots level.

Daly (1993, pp.4–11) shows that Indigenous Australians are, statistically, less likely to be self-employed than non-Indigenous Australians. He proposes a range of reasons for this, including: the number of artists and hunters and gathers that do not identify as self-employed, the low rates of success of Aboriginal community enterprises, lack of a culture of entrepreneurship, lack of access to the necessary capital to establish an enterprise, the remote locations in which people live, and preference for government funding to fund community-based enterprises. Although many people do not identify as self-employed, many Indigenous Australians have found a supplementary income to welfare benefits through the sale of art and craft products, tourism or other part-time activities involving consultancy work using their artistic or language and cultural knowledge and skills.

Of particular interest is Daly's (1993) comment that one of the reasons for the low levels of self-employment and success for individuals in this area is the preference of government agencies to fund larger community enterprises rather than smaller individual ones. Folds (2002, p.48) suggests that:

 funding bodies insist on funding either settlements, as a whole, or versions of 'legitimate' groups within them, excluding and ignoring Pintupi polity, often wantonly scattering assets in their midst, believing that 'community' or institutional 'ownership' will ensure they are looked after. Then there is outrage

when the lack of family ownership ensures that no one takes responsibility for them.

Pearson (2004, p.3) promotes the concept of the need for self-governance in enterprise development and suggests that:

[the biggest] threat to enterprise development in Cape York Peninsula is the struggle for responsibility which is taking place between ourselves and the Queensland bureaucracy which stills sees progress through the prism of 'government service delivery' – rather than understanding that government must relinquish responsibility in order for there to be a restoration of responsibility in our society.

Difficulty in accessing and holding onto the necessary capital to establish and maintain enterprise is also a major barrier to economic development (Daly 1993, p.11). Altman (1989) noted that even where there were significant amounts of capital available from royalty payments, there was a tension between spending the money immediately on needy members of the community or investing it for the future. Folds (2001, p.77) adds to this argument by highlighting the difficulties yet to be overcome in assuming that increased income relates to better prosperity: "For example, more money means more vehicles on settlements, which means more travel and more of the temporary 'unhealthy' and unprosperous conditions of life, such as houses overflowing with visiting relatives and more trips to town to buy grog." Daly (1993, p.13) concludes:

An important difference between privately owned small business and Aboriginal community enterprises is that the latter remains dependent on public money and political support for viability. The success of Aboriginal commercial enterprises, whether run by individuals or communities, will depend, amongst other things, on the development of the appropriate management skills and rewards for those working in enterprises.

Addressing cultural perspectives, priorities and responsibilities has to be a key factor in addressing economic success. The strategies for building sustainable economic bases for these disadvantaged groups must be driven by the aspirations of people who have a long-term interest in them.

In the past, government policy has provided a range of avenues for people to get assistance in developing business plans and to obtain funding for establishing enterprise. However, this does not seem to have assisted the most marginalised and disadvantaged Indigenous groups. Perhaps they are unable to gather the energy and know-how to take advantage of these schemes, or perhaps autonomy and self-governance is the key.

The following government enterprise and employment creation scheme, implemented in Australia, in the 1980s, shows what is possible in this area. A report entitled *An Aboriginal Economic Base: Strategies for Remote Communities* (East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project 1985, p.322) proposed a scheme where the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC):

implemented a Community Enterprise Development Fund to create employment through the establishment/purchase/support of enterprises, where funds for capital purchase, establishment and ongoing working capital were made available and labour cost were subsidised through CDEP or welfare benefits and topped up through income generation from the enterprise itself.

Some of the enterprises established under this system still remain. Many are documented in the report *Enterprises in Aboriginal Australia* (Byrnes 1988). They include a wide range of ventures in tourism, art and craft, media, construction and long-term real estate and business acquisition. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine the factors of success and failure. However, 40 or more enterprises were documented as being established in the Territory in a range of different contexts. This scheme seemed to allow for major business and long-term investment schemes to be established, such as the larger enterprises in Central Australia like the Yeperenye shopping centre, Centrecorp, Tangentyere Design, Ngaanyatjarra Air, Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) and the CAAMA shop, and smaller businesses that catered for the employment of family groups such as Keringke Arts, a mixed family group enterprise, and the Ipolera Tourist Venture, a single family enterprise. It seems at a glance that the larger enterprises have been largely reliant on non-Aboriginal input to continue but in the long term these highly profitable businesses may be a substantial source of revenue for the community. Many of the smaller scale businesses established under this scheme have provided a valuable source of flexible employment, rather than a substantially profitable business investment, for people who would otherwise have limited, if any, options for work.

Cornell and Kalt (2004a, p.6) suggest that economic self-sufficiency has been difficult for many Native American groups because of some of the following obstacles, previously discussed, including:

- Tribes and individuals lack access to financial capital.
- Tribes and individuals lack human capital (education, skills, technical expertise) and the means to develop it.
- Reservations lack effective planning.

- Reservations are subject to too much planning and not enough action.
- Reservations are poor in natural resources.
- Reservations have natural resources, but lack sufficient control over them.
- Reservations are disadvantaged by their distance from markets and the high costs of transportation.
- Tribes cannot persuade investors to locate on reservations because of intense competition from non-Indian communities.
- Federal and state policies are counterproductive and/or discriminatory.
- The Bureau of Indian Affairs is inept, corrupt, and/or uninterested in reservation development.
- Non-Indian outsiders control or confound tribal decision-making.
- Tribes have unworkable and/or externally imposed systems of government.
- Tribal politicians and bureaucrats are inept or corrupt.
- On-reservation factionalism destroys stability in tribal decisions.
- The instability of tribal government keeps outsiders from investing.
- Reservation savings rates are low.
- Entrepreneurial skills and experience are scarce.
- Non-Indian management techniques won't work on the reservation.
- Non-Indian management techniques will work, but are absent.
- Tribal cultures get in the way.
- The long-term effects of racism have undermined tribal self-confidence.
- Alcoholism and other social problems are destroying tribes' human capital.

Cornell and Kalt (2004a, p.7) suggest that it is difficult for oppressed Indigenous groups to achieve economic development unless it is embedded in a fuller model of capacity building; such a model needs to enable people to have control over their physical, social, economic and cultural environments (Taylor 2003, p.5). The solution is not simple but a closer glance at the successes they claim in the US for Native Americans seems to reflect better results than here in Australia. Cornell and Kalt (2004a) report that success in economic development has enabled self-determining Indian nations to focus on establishing jobs or enterprises that satisfy the community needs in terms of unemployment. They conclude that without sovereignty and self-governance, monetary profits, satisfaction in a job well done, raising the quality of life in the community, or a reduction of dependence on the federal government will be unable to ensure the long-term success of an economic enterprise. They reiterate the importance of sovereignty and, as does Pearson (2001), an investment of human capital and a commitment from the people themselves:

the 'nation-building' approach recognizes that a big part of the problem is the lack of jobs and income. But it argues that solving the problem will require a solution both more ambitious and more comprehensive than trying to start businesses or

other projects. This problem involves more than money. Our definition of 'investors' is broad. An investor may be a cash-rich joint venture partner, but it also could be a tribal member considering a job with tribal government or with a tribal enterprise, or someone with a new solution to a reservation problem, or a tribal member hoping to start up a feed store or a beauty salon or some other reservation business and employ a couple of family members, or a newly-trained school teacher hoping to return to the reservation. Investment is not just a financial matter. An investor is anybody with time or energy or ideas or skills or good will or dollars who's willing to bet those assets on the tribal future. (Cornell and Kalt 2004a, p.7)

Pearson (2000a, p.83) provides a summary of the elements needed for building economic success through developing a 'real economy' in the context of sovereignty. These elements have so far been limited for Indigenous Australians:

- Access for people to enjoy their traditional subsistence economy
- Changing welfare programs to ensure responsibility and reciprocity are part of all economic relationships and transactions
- Development of community economies through greater self-sufficiency
- Engagement in the real market economy

Pearson (1999) and Crough (1994) both provide immediate solutions to the economic situation for Indigenous Australians by using current welfare monies in a way that enables communities to build long-term economic strategies and sustainability. "Given the opportunity, the community can devise imaginative and enterprising ideas that give expression to the reciprocity principle" (Pearson 1999, p.5). Successful economic development needs to be undertaken within a holistic capacity building model where there is recognition of sovereignty, so that the aspirations and goals of a particular self-determined group are able to be fulfilled with autonomy.

2.2.9 Community Development Employment Program (CDEP)

Long-term unemployment has been an issue for Indigenous Australians since the implementation of equal wages. The CDEP scheme was introduced by the Fraser government in 1979 and was targeted at Indigenous Australians. CDEP has some benefits and drawbacks for the Indigenous community. One of the debatable issues about the scheme is whether it is a welfare substitute or government-subsidised part-time employment. Some of the positive attributes of CDEP are that it provides community infrastructure development, income support, employment creation, enterprise development, and can assist the attainment of social and cultural objectives. Sanders (1993, p.7) states that:

the scheme's most radical aspect is that it allows for an 'Aboriginalisation' of work: participating communities are able to define the work context, with the result that employment includes clothing manufacture, cabinet making, provision of essential services, market gardening, arts and crafts production, rabbit eradication, emu farming, maintenance of sacred and other sites, firewood collection and canoe building.

Some of the issues and possible drawbacks of the scheme include:

- The scheme hides the real unemployment statistic, as CDEP participants are not included in the government unemployment census.
- It provides a bandaid approach to job creation and allows complacency in terms of the achievement of real employment outcomes on communities where limited employment opportunities exist.
- The longer-term employment and income improvement outcomes from the scheme are far from clear. The CDEP scheme does not appear to be particularly effective in reducing poverty and in some regions it may perpetuate an employment enclave for the disadvantaged.
- It provides little incentive for people to seek other employment
- The distribution of funds by ATSIC has meant some people or organisations miss out as a result of successful political lobbying for funds (Altman and Smith 1993).

Some of the issues with CDEP that Sanders (1993, p.2) identifies include:

- the inadequacy of funding and administrative arrangements
- marginal eligibility differences between CDEP and social security provision
- gender considerations
- the issue of what constitutes work
- supplementary versus substitution funding
- under-award wages and secondary labour markets
- the adequacy of capital and on-cost provision
- community self- management versus self-rights
- community self- management versus public accountability

Many of these issues are still unresolved today. Some communities have used the scheme as a base for launching small enterprises and cottage industries. In many instances, this has provided participants with supplementary income: "The CDEP Scheme has some potential to operate as a guaranteed minimum income scheme, and, in

such circumstances, to provide an opportunity to supplement incomes (in cash or in kind) beyond the ceilings set by welfare equivalent entitlements” (Sanders 1993, p.9).

For many Indigenous communities, CDEP has provided opportunities to establish and achieve culturally appropriate and flexible work outcomes that may otherwise not have been possible if people remained solely on welfare support. CDEP has enabled supplementary infrastructure and funding for materials for projects determined by community goals. It has allowed communities some form of autonomy and initiative in running projects and work programs. However, it has also made people complacent and despondent and lessened the need to create self-sustaining work activities or engage in mainstream work activities. There is little evidence that suggests that CDEP has assisted the reduction in long-term unemployment and poverty levels for Indigenous Australians. While some communities have used it to their advantage, many have not really benefited from the scheme in the long term and, like passive welfare, it has perpetuated the unacceptable levels of poverty that prevail today (Sanders 1993).

2.2.10 Welfare dependency

Based upon his own life in Cape York Peninsula region, Pearson (2001, p.11) makes a persuasive connection between welfare dependency and the deteriorating circumstances of the Indigenous population:

Australia’s definition of the great benefits of removing discrimination and granting us citizenship was to take our people out of the real economy and dump us into passive welfare. Social welfare provided by government since the 1970s produced a revolutionary change in the Aboriginal economy of Cape York Peninsula. Aboriginal people withdrew from participation in the real economy.

Welfare dependency has become such an entrenched way of life that it has become an oppressive social weight that seems almost impossible to lift. People have goals and aspirations to engage in work but without a huge intervention for all people belonging to that community, it becomes impossible for a few individuals to rise above the difficulties they face on a daily basis, to engage successfully in mainstream employment. Pearson (1999, p.2) comments that “the problems are so overwhelming that even the Aboriginal society comes to accept its own state of dysfunction”. He goes on to say that these problems have largely developed as a result of welfare dependency, the consequences of which have been no real work, and a lack of purpose and pride in the life of a large section of Indigenous Australia. He states that:

rather than unemployment being a temporary condition, where the state guaranteed income maintenance for people moving between jobs, it became a permanent condition for increasing numbers of Australian breadwinners and their families. Today we routinely see third and fourth generations dependent upon income assistance through the social security system. These people are trapped in the safety welfare net. Welfare dependency for these people is not a temporary halfway house. It has become a permanent address. (1999, p.2)

Frustration and complacency are other symptoms of welfare dependency and become yet another barrier to successful social and economic development. Jack Dann in Shaw and Dann (1999, p.5) states that “ ‘socks up to the knees people’ told us that sit down money was our right when we knew in our hearts that land and work was our right. The sweet lolly idea of sit down money and welfare services was really the biggest highway to a short life of rubbish food, gambling and tobacco and alcohol abuse.” Often the workers and the client group become equally frustrated, become complacent, accept situations as the norm and struggle to implement the necessary change to make things right again. Complacency and negativity provide a barrier, obscuring the solutions that stand before them. People may dream of a better lifestyle but are unable to see a pathway through the crises and barriers they experience everyday. They get swept along by the tide of strategies and monies that are bestowed upon them, become entrapped in the welfare-dependent cycle, and many become caught in a lifestyle of poverty, substance abuse and negative social behaviour. Pearson (2000a, p.22) summarises some of the problems of passive welfare:

- It is a poor substitute for participation in the real economy, psychologically, socially and economically.
- It kills initiative and breeds dependency.
- It discourages people from self-providing and taking their fair share through engagement in the real economy.
- It pacifies recipients rather than invigorating them into social, political and economic action to secure a better deal for themselves and their children.
- It reproduces these same problems in following generations.

Pearson (1999) talks about the need to transform the negative welfare state into a positive resource for communities. He suggests that it needs to be based on reciprocity not the passive attainment of resources. The welfare state was implemented when people were being forced off their traditional lands. This saw disruption to a way of life that involved hard work, initiative, struggle, enterprise and contribution to one's survival. The distribution of benefits to people with no expectation that they have to be earned has created a people without purpose and pride. Welfare dependency creates apathy and

helplessness, it enforces disempowerment and promotes a way of thinking where people begin to believe it is their right to receive handouts. Rather it should be their right to obtain work to sustain themselves. Pearson reiterates this in the following statement:

the resources of passive welfare are fundamentally irrational. Money acquired without principle is expended without principle. When people have only one means of existence the nature of that income obviously influences their whole outlook. The irrational basis of our economy has inclined us to wasteful, aimless behaviours. Like other people who can't see any connection between their actions and their circumstances, we waste our money, our time, our lives. (2001, p.9)

Jack Dann, in Shaw and Dann (1999, p.7) comments that it was in the history of his people that he found the answer to the welfare problem: "Too often in the past we have had people coming along with big book ideas for fixing up the 'black fella problem' that were taken from the New Zealand, Canadian, American Indian or some other so called community development model." He states:

Today with a new understanding of my life experience, I find it hard to believe that government and non-government agencies will make a big difference in helping us to get out of welfare. Welfare, whether dressed in White or Black, is all the establishment has been able to give us since the introduction of the Pastoral Award and Drinking Rights. Our history shows how the authority of the Mununumburra was covered over. Now we know that we must work to get our own power and do things for ourselves. We have to pick up the old ideas for work and use our own labour-brains and body-to make ourselves free and to build up our family groups and make them strong. (Shaw and Dann 1999, p.7)

Welfare benefits have had a crippling effect on the Indigenous people of our nation, who were already marginalised and traumatised as a result of white occupation. Altman and Sanders (1991, p.12) comment

For a range of historical, structural and cultural reasons, Aboriginal people have remained largely outside the mainstream economy... Many Aborigines have become long-term dependants on social security and other social programs, which are only intended as short term palliatives.

It is the challenge of government to be flexible and forward thinking and the challenge of Indigenous people to be bold and lateral in proposing strategies to transform the welfare system, and the frustration, the complacency and lack of purpose, into pride and productivity in a way that will assist individuals and families to be strong and independent again. Pearson (2000b, p.8) concludes that the country needs to build a new consensus and commitment to welfare that is "built on the principles of personal and family empowerment and investment and the utilisation of resources to achieve everlasting change". He also reiterates the need for a mind shift so that people do not

think they have “an inalienable right to dependency, they have an inalienable right to a fair place in the real economy”.

2.3 Working at a local level – possible ways forward

The following literature provides an overview of a number of capacity building and community development models and highlights elements essential to and effective in positive capacity building models for Indigenous communities. Throughout the discussion, elements that are particularly relevant to the Irrkerlantye capacity building model are discussed.

2.3.1 Capacity building

Capacity building or capacity development is a term that arose in the late 1990s with the growing realisation that poverty and sustainable development could not be addressed through technical and economic solutions alone (European Centre for Development Policy Management [ECDPM] 2003, p.1). Studies focusing on the Indigenous people of Canada and the US (Crough 2001, Cornell 2002b) have found that capacity building, along with self-governance, has been the key to Indigenous people achieving a better quality of life.

The following definitions (quoted in ECDPM 2003), although different, all acknowledge capacity building as a process that empowers people and enables them to take action and bring about change, to improve their life circumstances:

[Capacity development is] the process by which individuals, groups, organizations, institutions and societies increase their abilities to: 1) perform core functions, solve problems, define and achieve objectives; and 2) understand and deal with their development needs in a broad context and in a sustainable manner. (UNDP. 1997...)

Capacity development refers to investment in people, institutions, and practices that will, together, enable countries in the region to achieve their development objectives. (World Bank. 1997...)

Capacity-building is an approach to development not something separate from it. It is a response to the multi-dimensional processes of change, not a set of discrete or pre-packaged technical interventions intended to bring about a pre-defined outcome. In supporting organizations working for social justice, it is also necessary to support the various capacities they require to do this: intellectual, organizational, social, political, cultural, material, practical, or financial. (Eade, D. 1997...)

Capacity building is a process by which individuals, groups, institutions, organisations and societies enhance their abilities to identify and meet development challenges in a sustainable manner. (CIDA. 1996...)

These definitions are from non-government organisations (NGOs) working in international aid contexts. They refer to individuals, groups, organisations or countries increasing their ability to meet their desired outcomes. These organisations are very broad in their definitions of capacity building. They contain elements relevant to capacity building for Indigenous Australians and for the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community. Eade (1997) identifies the importance of capacity building being a multi-dimensional process of change and highlights some of the many contexts within which capacity building models can facilitate change, including: intellectual, organisational, social, political, cultural, material, practical, or financial contexts. Some of the other elements of capacity building that these models highlight include processes that enable people to:

- Increase their skills and capacities to perform core functions, solve problems and challenges, define and achieve objectives, and increase sustainability.
- Increase awareness and understanding of immediate situations and other social justice issues that may impact on the group, and a recognition of their needs.

Taylor (2003, p.5) provides the following three definitions of capacity building, which he believes relate specifically to Indigenous Australians.

A definition (suggested by Littlejohns and Thompson 2001) is “the degree to which a community can develop, implement and sustain actions which allow it to exert greater control over its physical, social, economic and cultural environments”.

“The ability of individuals, organisations and communities to manage their own affairs and to work collectively to foster and sustain positive change”. (Howe and Cleary 2001)

[Capacity building] as the basis for development: “Strengthening people’s capacity to determine their own values and priorities, and to organise themselves to act on these”. (Eade and Williams 1995)

These three definitions further emphasise capacity building as a facilitation process that empowers people to take action to achieve positive, sustainable change. (Littlejohns and Thompson 2001, Howe and Cleary 2001). The following definition provided by the Ministerial Council on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (MCATSIA) is favoured by the House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSTATSIA 2004, p.33), and defines capacity building as

The knowledge, ability and commitment for individuals, families, groups and organizations to:

- Maintain their cultural identity;
- Interact confidently and effectively with the dominant Australian society;
- Identify goals;
- Determine strategies to achieve their goals; and to
- Work effectively with government and the private sector to access the resources necessary to implement these strategies.

This definition is interesting because of its use of language like ‘dominant Australian society’, ‘work effectively with government’. These terms tend to paint a picture of subservience rather than independence and empowerment. The latter statement alludes to there being only one form or level of government available. This definition does not include words like sustainable, long-term, challenge or anything else to suggest the process may involve a change in the current situation. It is a more conservative definition, leading more towards earlier definitions of community development, that were less holistic and more project orientated.

Although all these above definitions differ slightly, together they outline capacity building to be a process or a state whereby a group of people have power to make decisions over their lives and implement processes that will enable them maintain and change their physical, social, economic and cultural existence in a way that they determine is best for them.

Where the House of Representatives Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSTATSIA 2004, p.31) definition seems to be lacking, the report goes on to outline these definitional deficiencies in a positive way. It identifies two types of capacity building. The first is termed ‘The Public Management Approach’. This is an external approach which emphasises the need to develop a community’s governance, administration, managerial and leadership structures and skills in order to meet accountability requirements in terms of government funding and processes. The second is termed a community development or an internal approach, where communities develop their own effective and culturally informed governance structures and develop the skills to take effective responsibility and control over *their own* issues and futures (p.33). This latter description of capacity building makes way for the concepts of self-governance to evolve so that capacity building becomes “a potential vehicle for the renewal of societal structures and the political recognition and representation of Indigenous peoples’ status” (p.34).

Taylor (2003, p.1) comments: “Capacity building, in whatever form, should respond to Indigenous community needs through a multiplicity of initiatives, programs and services, which are ultimately aimed at enhancing the sustained ability of Indigenous peoples to make informed decisions about issues of importance to them”. The following summary details the crucial elements that successful capacity building processes need as a foundation:

ethical, scholarly and accessible research at the community level, extensive support and training of emergent self-governing institutions, their leaders, staff and constituents, and importantly, commitment by all levels of government to be open to changing existing relationships with Indigenous communities, particularly in relation to power, accountability and funding arrangements. (Taylor 2003, p.18)

Capacity building models not only enable people to address immediate problems with an internal focus but are also useful in facilitating a process for individuals or groups to address the wider issues that are often the major factors impeding progress for Indigenous people. These include treaty, self-governance and self-determination or the relationships Indigenous communities have or need to develop with external organisations.

2.3.2 Capacity building and community development models

While the above definitions of capacity building describe a general process of empowering a community to be self-determining and self-sustaining, the following models provide frameworks and details of practice in the ways capacity building processes are facilitated. These models have been drawn from a variety of contexts throughout the world, and will provide background information and a context for discussion of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model.

2.3.2.1 Capacity building models

The EDCPM (2003, p.1), quoting Lusthaus (1999), outlines different approaches to capacity building, which have relevance to the Irrkerlantye model. They include the institutional, the system and the participatory approach. Their definitions are as follows:

The institutional approach aims to develop the capacity of systems of governance.

The system approach is explained in Bolger (2000), which suggests four levels of capacity (the individual, organisational, network/ sectoral and the enabling environment) and values the networks and relationships between them. It emphasises the need for a multi-sectorial, holistic approach to capacity development.

The participatory approach highlights the importance of people achieving development goals. “This approach is based on the view of people-centred, non-hierarchical development that calls for capacity development which is participatory and empowering, and in which ownership is a central element. The approach focuses on participatory action using local knowledge and expertise and building a model that suits the particular situation. This approach objects to the use of outside models.

The institutional and system approaches highlight the importance of the capacity building model being holistic - holistic and multi-sectorial; in dealing with a cross-section of the population, e.g. intergenerational; and in being able to work with individuals, organisations and small groups, depending on the objective. The participatory approach highlights the importance of working from a grassroots, bottom-up perspective.

Oxfam is a British non-government organisation that works in more than 70 countries around the world and is driven by a belief that “all people have the right to an equitable share in the world’s resources, and to be the authors of their own development” (Eade 1997, p.2). Oxfam outline seven models of capacity building (see Eade 1997, pp.36–8). The following two models, which Oxfam describe, have relevance to Indigenous capacity building in Australia and the Irrkerlantye model.

In model 1, entitled ‘Working through Intermediaries’, funding is supplied to international or local NGOs, usually for a specific project through a grant for material support, advice or information. The NGO then provides support to the community-based Organisation (CBO) (1997, p.2). As self-governance is a developing concept for Indigenous Australians and is at a very early stage of development, most capacity building models, including the Irrkerlantye model, are forced to operate programs that rely on models similar to this. Funding or assistance is received from outside agencies, either government or non-government sources. As indicated above, the funding usually comes in grants related to specific projects with stringent requirements for evaluation and reporting, and, while many capacity building efforts use this model, it can be very restrictive and time consuming.

A second model put forward by Oxfam relates to capacity building through networks and partnerships. Entitled ‘Generating Synergies’, it is based on the organisation working with “a specific combination of counterparts in order to generate changes at several levels. Creating an impact and becoming a strategic player is dependent more on informed planning and flexibility, than on having enormous amount of resources” (1997,

p.2). This model or strategy is frequently used in the Irrkerlantye model to facilitate the use of existing resources and agencies and to prevent duplication of services.

The Windjingare capacity building model documented in Shaw and Dann (1999) is perhaps the closest of all the models documented in this paper to the Irrkerlantye model. It is very grassroots in its approach and includes the following elements that are relevant to the Irrkerlantye capacity building model:

- Building up family groups and make them strong by focusing on the extended family.
- Picking up the community's ideas for work and use of their own labour to create work activities.
- Creating enterprises that are sensitive to people's situations, e.g. a low-volume eco-cultural tourist venture.
- Use of education to improve people's skills and knowledge.
- Long-term financial planning, e.g. establishment of a trust fund to purchase land and develop an accommodation centre to meet an accommodation crisis.

2.3.2.2 Community development models

Community development models that have an emphasis on project-based activities that are often driven by the agendas of outside agencies – has been slowly replaced with the concept of capacity building, with its greater emphasis on participants having control, programs being holistic and challenging the status quo (Hounslow 2002). Many elements of older community development models are evident in more recent capacity building models and processes. Some of these are identified in the following models, which are in use with Indigenous groups throughout the world.

The first two models relate to NGOs and overseas aid work. Through an analysis of UNICEF projects, Dr Daniel Taylor-Ide and Dr Carl Taylor (1995) developed a model for community-based sustainable human development called SCALE. Although this model is based on overseas third world minority groups, many of the principles may have application for Indigenous Australia in a community development context. The SCALE model is based on a belief that communities need to develop independence and responsibility for local action and resource development.

The model has three main strategies: ecosystem management, meeting basic needs and community empowerment. These three elements of this model are particularly relevant

to the Irrkerlantye capacity building model. SCALE has three underlying principles. Firstly, sustainable human development evolves from a self-assessment of local needs and resources. Community groups need to be able to carry out basic research and base future decisions upon this data. The model uses a methodology whereby local people, including students, collect data on issues that need to be explored for community planning. The model advocates that when people collect and analyse data themselves, in contrast to the process being performed by an outside agency, they are more likely not to dismiss the findings. The second principle states that “action must grow from a combination of a bottom-up and top-down programming”. It emphasises the need for different stakeholders such as communities, governments (representatives from government or non-government agencies that can assist) and experts (outside people with skills or information that the community needs) to learn to work together. It also emphasises the need for all people in the community to participate, especially those who are the most marginalised. The third principle relates to sustainability and suggests that “sustainability is possible only when action grows from community participation and self-reliance” (1995, p.11).

The SCALE model aims to provide communities with strategies to solve their own problems and develop a process that is transferable between communities and different initiatives, so that communities can learn from and support each other. The model also focuses on the need for each community group to take into consideration their cultural heritage and ecological situations. It is very relevant to the kinship/ family-based approach inherent in the Irrkerlantye model. The SCALE model, like many capacity building models, is focused on the community achieving self-reliant and sustainable human development.

Hope and Timmel (1991) have developed a community development model known as ‘Training for Transformation’. This model was developed out of 20 years of experience working with church-sponsored groups in Africa. It was based on theory from a number of sources, including Paulo Freire’s (1972) theory about raising the critical awareness and levels of conscientiousness of oppressed peoples. It aims at active participation in an education and planning process, where facilitators and participants work together in an action research approach as equals and co-workers to transform the oppressed state.

Freire’s theory is based on a non-authoritarian model of education that liberates oppressed people from the oppressors, who use their knowledge and position of power to keep the oppressed as an underprivileged class. Freire (1972, p.48) claims that

oppressors use the banking concept of education, where the students assume a passive role and accept deposits of information from a dominant and autocratic teacher. A paternalistic social-action apparatus names the oppressed as 'welfare recipients'. In this case the oppressors feel that the oppressed need to be integrated and incorporated into the society they have forsaken. Freire's theory is based on participants reflecting on their situation and taking action to transform the structures that impede their liberation. It has good elements that can be applied to capacity building models, for many groups of oppressed Indigenous people.

The following steps outline the Training for Transformation approach (Hope and Timmel (1991):

- Survey of community themes – identifying the issues which the community are happy, worried, sad, angry, fearful, hopeful about.
- Analysis of survey material – critically analysing the issues, e.g. are the issues dealing with problems about subsistence, decision making or values. Thinking about the source of the action and what will motivate people.
- Preparation of problem-posing materials – the team prepares materials to stimulate discussions and explore problems using familiar stories or anecdotes.
- Adult learning and literacy training – create a good learning atmosphere in which participants feel free to express their ideas.
- Action planning.
- Evaluation and reflection.

This model reflects one of the processes that take places in the community development key area for family strategic planning that is part of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model. The process is almost identical except that in the Irrkerlantye model the 'adult learning and literacy training' is expanded and dealt with primarily in two other key areas, Vocational Education and Training and Work Programs. This model provides a good framework for community action planning.

McCauley et al (1987, p.5) outline a community development model based on providing participants with the skills to deal with problems by stating the problems and then planning, and implementing a course of action relevant to the situation. This model is sound for working in community planning and action planning situations. Like the Hope and Timmel model, many of the principles have relevance to the Irrkerlantye situation. The steps of this model includes the following stages.

1. Community profile – building a picture – defining the features of the group, any sub-groups, physical locations of groups, social relationships, power relations, skills and resources, activities of each group, aspirations and direction of each group, and potential leaders.
2. Analysis of the present situation.
3. Planning a course of action.
4. Getting started – consultation with outside agencies for support.
5. Initial structures – development of structures to ensure the process will happen.
6. Initial group plan – decide on the actions, activities and projects – design an operational plan.
7. Implementing the first activity – begin the process with the first project – evaluate.
8. Development – completion of new plans, evaluation and support for leadership as it emerges.

This model adds two important aspects of planning that the transformation model does not detail: 1. building a detailed community profile, and 2. outlining the processes together. This detail adds valuable steps to the planning stage of an action research model. Both these types of action research are indicative of early community development work that is based on projects and are still extremely relevant as a vital part of capacity building processes.

Community planning is another aspect of community development that is still relevant in capacity building processes. The ATSIIC community development planning booklet (1993, p.6), details the community planning process at three levels, as follows:

Strategic Planning is the process where a group forms its goals and the strategies needed to achieve these.

Operational Planning often follows on from strategic planning. It details very specific actions that have to be carried out by an organisation in order to implement the strategies in a strategic plan. An operational plan will often contain the administrative budgets needed for implementation.

Project planning is often part of operational planning and is done to address specific issues (e.g. housing, enterprise, training or office administration, etc.).

This model provides an organisational framework through which project planning or action planning becomes part of a bigger strategic planning process. This is a vital

process for organisations involved in either capacity building or community development processes.

McArdle (1998, p.3) defines “community development as a process of trying to empower people who are excluded from the decision-making processes that affect their lives” and proposes a model of community development that empowers people on two levels, firstly, in terms of personal growth and secondly, in terms of social change. This model provides a number of community development tools to establish aims, to achieve outcomes and to fulfill goals:

Community development tools:

- Information gathering
- Awareness-raising
- Advocacy
- Self-help
- Networking
- Service provision
- Participation
- Resource provision

To establish aims, e.g.:

- Decision making by those most affected by outcomes
- Assisting individuals to develop ongoing set of structures to meet their own needs
- Personal empowerment, greater control over one’s own life

To achieve outcomes, e.g.:

- Development of alternative power structures
- Reform of existing structures
- Better utilization of democratic process
- Mutual support
- Break down a sense of isolation
- Increased confidence, self-esteem, assertiveness

To fulfill dreams as, eg.:

- Self-directed community
- Self-actualized individuals

The elements of this model, particularly those under the outcomes area, make this model more holistic than the other community development models outlined in this paper. The aspects of this model that outline processes for developing and reforming power structures and fulfilling community aspirations are similar to capacity building models outlined earlier in this paper.

There are many models and definitions of community development and capacity building, each with slightly different elements. Capacity building is a complex process with endless variations. These community development models illustrate that community development strategies are still valuable in more recently termed capacity building models. The following section will look at characteristics of good capacity building and community development models.

2.3.3 Characteristics of good capacity building and community development models

Attaining self-governance is a major factor for Indigenous people in order to achieve effective capacity building. Other effective capacity building strategies and strong community development strategies include leadership, strategic planning, vision, positive working relationships, partnerships, holism and flexibility. These elements of successful programs have been drawn out of a number of sources dealing with Indigenous people in disadvantaged and oppressed contexts throughout the world, including Australia. The extent to which they may be successfully applied to Indigenous Australia depends essentially on the ability of Indigenous organisations and kinship groups to accommodate these principles within their structures, traditional governance and world view.

The House of Representative Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSCATSIA) 2004, p.36) considered the work of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (the Harvard Project) and reported that

Members of the Harvard Project argued before the Committee that it was not education, natural resource endowments, location, or the availability of financial capital that were the keys to successful economic development on reservation lands in the United States. Rather, the development of sovereignty, governing institutions, cultural match, strategic thinking and leadership were the key elements of Indigenous success. The evidence suggested that such a nation-building approach encouraged the questioning of the cycle of welfare dependency.

These elements of capacity building and community development, identified above, will be explored in more detail in this next section.

2.3.3.1 Effective leadership, strategic planning and sharing a common vision

Organisations and groups that have a strategic approach and clear vision are more likely to be successful in their capacity building goals (Kleinfeld 1979). Too often, project outcomes are determined by transient employees who temporarily hold the power in organisations the long-term vision of the community become lost in other agendas.

Imbuing the vision, the values of the community, the project methodology, staff effectiveness and staff commitment are key elements of successful projects.

In terms of leadership, many organisations have been relying on non-Indigenous people to oversee and manage programs for them. The issue of leadership, as an element of the success of programs, within organisations and kinship groups, too often goes unexplored. Many programs rely on a single person to impart the vision and maintain the momentum of the organisation. This can pose problems on a number of levels:

- It creates a dependency relationship that often results in a program collapse when the leader leaves.
- It can lead to cultural misunderstandings that may create ongoing problems,
- It often leaves those people at the local level without the opportunity to develop leadership skills.

Taylor (2003, p.15) suggests that a new form of leadership needs to be implemented in Indigenous governance and capacity building contexts:

In the Indigenous community context the *charismatic, heroic, leading from the front, motivational or visionary* model of leadership is proving more and more elusive and problematic. Such models tend to create unhealthy reliance and dependence on specific individuals rather than on the community as a collective and tend to devalue the supporting structures and processes available within the community. This is not to state that our individual leaders until now have not been effective – far from it. However, a new, more innovative and perhaps shared approach to leadership, and to the development of leaders, is now required. In my view, where effective leadership is present in our communities, the leadership model most applicable (and perhaps most acceptable) in the community context appears to be one of *shared and contested* leadership.

Traditional Indigenous governance plays a major part in leadership styles in Indigenous organisations and if effectively implemented can enable programs to be more effective.

Taylor (2003, p.14) advocates:

in this context, the research of Sutherland is of interest. Sutherland, an Indigenous researcher, has found links between traditional forms of leadership and decision-making with the contemporary representational behaviours of Aboriginal leaders through the ways that such leaders seek to gain legitimacy and authenticity. She has found that contemporary Aboriginal leadership is underpinned by certain principles, referred to as principles of social behaviour (and being kinship, social relationships and nurturance), expressed through the socialisation of the lived experience of Aboriginal people and which apply in both the Aboriginal domain and the broader inter-cultural domain of contemporary society. In my view, Sutherland's research also confirms the reality of the shared and contested leadership model.

Taylor (2003, pp.14–15) stresses the need to implement new styles of leadership to mobilise communities to develop new approaches to problem solving. He suggests a style described by Heifetz:

“...instead of looking for saviours we should be calling for leadership that will challenge us to face problems for which there are no simple, painless solutions – problems that require us to learn new ways...” [and] “...we need a different idea of leadership and a new social contract that promotes our adaptive capacity” (Heifetz 1997:3) “Adaptive capacity” in this leadership context refers to the development of the organizational and cultural capacity to effectively address community problems in ways which are consistent with our cultural values and which involve two distinct elements of leadership.

Taylor (2003, p.15) suggests that the following leadership attributes are important within a framework of community institutional governance and capacity building:

[a] brief, non-exclusive suite of leadership skills, qualities and understandings: Indigenous culture; community and institutional operating environment, including the cultural, political, socio-economic, financial and legal framework influencing governance of the specific organisation; inter-personal communication and motivation; mediation, facilitation and negotiation; self-awareness; some technical savvy and the capacity for strategic planning, analysis and innovation.

If leadership is to be effective, leaders need to be adaptive and use a range of processes to solve problems and to motivate people into action (Taylor 2003). Pearson (2000a) suggests that good leadership encourages debate, questioning, common purpose, common action and responsibility.

Pearson (2000a, p.59) reiterates the need for a leadership approach to be a shared one where “equal responsibility is placed on leaders and community members” and where leaders promote the values of the community:

the empowerment of society through the devolution and sharing of power is both a matter of structural change – in the formal systems of governance – and importantly, the development and promotion of key values.

The community needs to have documented very clearly not only the vision but the procedures for implementing it. The vision needs to be clear, believed in and articulated well by the leaders and managers of the organisation. The vision needs to be imparted to staff on two levels. On one level are the day-to-day operations and project work – such as a commitment to building enterprise in the community. The second level is the commitment to, and implementation of, underpinning values that the community believe are important. Examples of this include a commitment to a non-drinking policy within

the community or to punctuality and regular attendance at work, or to underlying moral values that the community hold as important. It is pointless in having an aspiration of a particular venture on an outstation without identifying the underpinning elements that would enable it to be possible. Responsibility, commitment, punctuality, sobriety, organisation, forward planning and preparation are examples of some of these elements that would need to be teased out prior to starting a venture. An oversight of these things is often what lets projects down. A group cannot be motivated to a common purpose, and individuals cannot be inspired to pursue the common good, without common values. When employees and employers have different visions, work ethics or values, it is difficult for strategies to stay on track.

In her study of strategies that worked in the 'Eskimo School on the Andraefsky', Kleinfeld (1979) concluded that the fundamental characteristics of the success of the program were the program's stability and the implementation of a vision. The vision included the continued emphasis on teaching values rather than focusing singularly on academic success. The vision of the school remained strong despite staff turn over. The selection process for new staff ensured they were inducted with the values that the community expected.

2.3.3.2 Effective staff and positive staff–client working relationships

Schorr (1997) found in her research that staff in successful community programs needed to be highly skilled. Highly skilled and multi-skilled workers are more likely to be responsive and flexible. Effective staff have to be able to act quickly and effectively on issues. This is one important aspect of staffing an effective capacity building program. However, to Indigenous people the most important factor in staffing the organisation is the ability of the staff member to relate well to the local people, to be aware of cultural protocol and sensitive to and supportive of cultural values. Positive staff–client relationships are essential to the success of programs (Schorr 1989; McRae, Ainsworth, Cumming et al 2000). Strong and effective relationship becomes even more crucial in organisations where Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are working alongside each other. When relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are fraught with difficulties, programs become ineffective. A major factor in good working relationships in organisations and at the community grassroots level is the tone and manner in which people are addressed. Harris (1977, p.408) describes the way in which the Indigenous people of the Milingimbi (Yolngu) region see strong, direct and critical talk as rude and disrespectful. To the Yolngu, talking strongly or talking hard "are

thought to be among the most serious kinds of verbal rudeness”. This is also the case for many other Indigenous groups. Kleinfeld (1979, p.67) recommends that in working with Indigenous people:

make your voice soothing. These people who are in the leadership positions are good when they do not downgrade anyone but are friendly and talk softly with them. These leaders are easy to follow. But those who think they are above their fellow men are disapproved [of].

Another characteristic of developing a good working relationship is the importance Indigenous people place on getting to know workers personally – knowing people’s family background and where they come from. Kleinfeld (1979) stresses the importance of staff having the time to get to know their group intimately. She relays examples of small village-like situations where Indigenous people want to know the personal background of staff. A high level of respect and trust is developed in these informal relationships outside the workplace and they are essential in having positive workplace relationships. She also found in her research that in successful programs the staff had to believe in the program and importantly the values of the community. Schorr (1989, p.xxii) concludes that “interventions that are successful with high risk populations all seem to have staff with the time and skill to establish relationships based on mutual respect and trust” and who are prepared to work longer hours than would normally be expected of a position. Schorr (1997) found that staff who saw their job more as a vocation than a 9–5 paid position had more success. This often goes against the principles of work in the western world where work and personal life are kept separate and unions have tried to ensure that workers work to the standards and workplace agreements by which they are employed. Developing good working relationships with Indigenous people often means assuming roles outside of the position description and interacting socially with people in order to develop strong, personable relationships. Successful programs have staff that are prepared to work beyond their daily contracted duties.

To support and ensure positive relationships, it is important that good induction and human resource (HR) processes take place. These will include the community having control over staff selection, induction, cross-cultural awareness and performance review processes. It is imperative that new staff learn how to develop effective relationships with the community and that they believe in, and can articulate, the vision of the community. A relationship that is based on respect and equality is the key.

Staff longevity is another important factor in program success. Effective strategies need to be implemented to ensure that good staff remain in programs for appropriate periods of time, especially in remote localities where it is sometimes difficult to attract quality staff.

2.3.3.3 Partnerships

There are a number of ways in which partnerships can be formulated in capacity building models to benefit Indigenous communities. Some of the more recent successes in capacity building have involved partnerships with government and non-government entities. The House of Representative Standing Committee report on capacity building (HRSCATSIA 2004) highlighted partnerships as an important factor of capacity building. It defined partnership as having shared goals, risk, power, work and contributions and benefits to both parties. It stated:

a critical key to achieving better outcomes for Indigenous Australians is the development of effective partnerships. Partnerships are vehicles for groups to collaborate and work toward shared, negotiated goals. They have the potential to create genuine, effective relationships between government and Indigenous communities and to increase the quality of life for Indigenous people. Partnerships are valuable as a forum for greater government cooperation and more effective service delivery. (2004, p.97)

A number of options for partnerships exist between a variety of government, non-government, corporate, philanthropic and Indigenous organisations, and kinship and family groups. The House of Representative Standing Committee report on capacity building suggested that:

partnerships are being formed between Commonwealth, State, Territory and local governments, Indigenous organisations, Indigenous communities, Indigenous families and the private sector. The Committee sees the potential for complementarity and strong cooperation for partnerships between different groups to set out frameworks for working together toward agreed outcomes to enhance the capacity of Indigenous communities and individuals and to reduce Indigenous disadvantage. (2004, p.93)

Eade (1997, p.48) stresses the importance of these “partnerships being based on equality, mutuality and trust” and reiterates the importance of the resource partner not dominating the agenda. “The ways in which this happen are varied: explicit and up-front demands for particular reporting and monitoring systems, or conditions on the use to which the funds may be put; or implicitly pushing for certain forms of management or particular agendas.” These issues are the downfall of many partnerships, preventing them from

being true partnerships, and they are prevalent in many of the current funding arrangements between government and Indigenous organisations in Australia. A finding of the House of Representative Standing Committee report suggested that:

governments, too, are becoming increasingly aware of the role they play in Indigenous disadvantage and of the need to develop stronger communities which can engage with governments, philanthropic organisations and the corporate sector in partnerships. As issues become more complex, and the limitations of government more apparent, it is clearer that government programs are far from the sole determinants of social and economic conditions. (HRSCATSIA 2004, p.367)

Pearson (2000a, pp.81–2) discusses how the valuable resources government delivers could be used effectively if a partnership was established where both parties have equal status. These characteristics ensure the community is operating as a self-governing entity. He recommends the following factors be implemented to establish a partnership between government and the community in Cape York Peninsula and to move away from government service delivery, which he believes contributes to the passive welfare state in which people are currently trapped:

- It should be constitutional, in the sense that it is a formal legal structure, and not a mere policy.
- The parties to the partnership should be independent of each other. This means that the autonomy of the community side of the partnership must be recognised and respected – and their accountability downwards to their people and their place must be primary.
- There should be genuine and robust negotiation between the partners about the terms of the partnership, on an ongoing basis.
- The partnership agreement should explore the concept of the state locating key employees within the community sector and under the control and direction of the community. Mechanisms such as secondments and joint selection and control of employees should be explored. (2000, pp.81–2)

Public–private partnerships (PPPs) are another type of partnership that refer to collaboration between public entities and private companies to complete projects and/ or objectives. In these partnerships responsibilities and risks are optimally allocated among the partners. PPPs have been increasingly recognised as a viable option for achieving development objectives. The Overseas Development Institute (2003, p.1) identifies two positive aspects of these partnerships:

- PPPs are an instrument for generating private-sector creativity which may contribute to the cost coverage and thus fast implementation of various socially desirable projects.

- PPPs are a structure in which public and private entities cooperate, preferably in a separate legal entity, which can be applied in various sectors of the economy.

These kinds of partnerships are probably more common in aid work overseas rather than in Australia and often involve NGOs in the process. There are many NGOs in Australia but few are committed to capacity building processes here. Schwab and Sutherland (2002, p.14) suggest a range of reasons for this including:

- Their focus is on foreign aid
- They are not funded to work in Australia
- A shift in aid to home could be potentially embarrassing to government
- A perception that there is no need for 'development' work in Australia
- A fear of Indigenous politics
- Inexperience in dealing with the problems associated with recipients of the welfare state
- The diversity of Indigenous Australia
- The few models and precedents available to support them

Schwab and Sutherland (2002, p.14) believe there to be many benefits for developing partnerships between philanthropic foundations, NGOs and Indigenous organisations. One of the benefits of partnerships with NGOs that they highlight is that NGOs "exist to share and build capacity in 'developing' communities," where there are low levels of capacity.

Eade (1997, p.49) comments:

the real issue is that partnerships are positive aspects of successful programs if managed well from the outset. If the nature of the relationship between two 'partners' is fudged, then the basis for honest negotiation between them is compromised. Since a capacity-building approach is intended to enhance the quality of people's relationships within their societies, and beyond, NGOs can contribute positively only if their own relationships are based on mutual trust and two-way learning, not merely on a transfer of money.

Some of the advantages of partnerships with foundations and NGOs include their ability to provide long-term funding, their flexibility in promoting innovation and social change more readily than governments and corporations. The latter get caught up in three year political cycles, the unwieldy nature of their bureaucracies and accountability to shareholders. Foundations and NGOs can take more risks than government (Schwab and Sutherland 2002). The range of possible partnerships for Indigenous communities can be summarised in the following way:

- Private foundations – usually administered by trustees, who distribute grants based on donors’ priorities
- Community foundations – provide grants on projects from a particular geographic area
- Corporate foundations – legally separate entities that distribute a portion of the profit from their parent company. Often highlight areas they are specifically interested in supporting
- Government-initiated foundations – derive their income through levies, e.g. from taxes on gambling, alcohol sales and usually specify the areas they are willing to fund (Schwab and Sutherland 2002, p.3)

The ability of these foundations to form true partnerships with Indigenous organisations often depends on the way funding rounds are structured. Many find it easier to provide funding for specific projects that are successful in the submission process according to the criteria they have set, and provide guidelines for how the funding is to be spent and reporting mechanisms for the projects to be acquitted. In this instance the foundations behave the same way towards organisations as government bureaucracies. An example of corporate partnership – between a corporation and an Indigenous organisation in Australia – is Westpac and its partnership with the people from Cape York Peninsula.

Noel Pearson’s work on Cape York Peninsula has highlighted the possibilities for establishing sustained economic infrastructure in Indigenous community contexts through partnerships. As a result, a body – Indigenous Enterprise Partnerships – has been formed to assist Indigenous community leadership and peak bodies in Cape York to develop methods of engagement that support community aspirations:

What we do is very varied and it responds to Aboriginal requests for assistance... One of the things we found in our development was that it was critical for our partners to take a support role and not a leadership or ideas role. It seems so simple and obvious now, but it took a lot of work by the corporate and philanthropic sector to shift their mindset... What we really deliver is people. Through pro bono work, volunteers, secondments and fellowships we put several hundred people a year into Cape York and the Aboriginal organisations and also into mentor programs. They do a wide and varied range of things. (Pearson 2003, p.134)

Partnerships are considered to be an effective tool in positive capacity building for Indigenous communities if they are managed correctly from the outset and both parties agree to being equal partners operating as self-governing entities with clearly outlined responsibilities.

2.3.4 Sustainable homeland centres for kinship family groups as a way forward

The following section addresses the possibilities of capacity building models that focus on whole-family approaches and have long-term goals to rebuild some form of economic infrastructure in traditional country settings known as homelands.

2.3.4.1 Promotion of social capital

The process of building social capital for a group of people cooperating to achieve common outcomes is an important aspect of capacity building programs. Putnam (1995, p.66) defines social capital as “features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. The Overseas Development Institute (2003, p.1) states that:

The term ‘social capital’ captures the idea that social bonds and social norms are an important part of the basis for sustainable livelihoods. Indeed, social capital is now recognised as one of the five assets vital for sustaining people’s livelihoods (together with natural, human, physical and financial capital)... Other benefits generated through social capital may include enhanced spiritual well-being, a sense of identity and belonging, honour, social status and prestige. There are many competing views of social capital. Here, three core elements are distinguished:

- **relations of trust, reciprocity and exchanges** between individuals which facilitate co-operation;
- **common rules, norms and sanctions** mutually agreed or handed-down within societies;
- **connectedness, networks and groups**, including access to wider institutions.

A family kinship based approach to capacity building enables social capital to be nurtured and included as part of a capacity building process. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission’s *Bringing Them Home* report (HREOC 1997, p.34) reported that many Indigenous people and their families have been severely affected by the ‘gross violations of human rights’ and these effects continue today and impact on younger generations. The commission’s inquiry found that many Indigenous people require access to appropriate counselling services and mental health services to help deal with grief, loss and trauma that they, and their families, have experienced.

The ODI (2003, p.3) highlights a number of points it believes need consideration when implementing development interventions to build social capital that lend themselves towards kinship-based capacity building:

- Start small
- Use existing knowledge

- Do not predefine the unit of association (family, clan, village, hamlet etc.)
- Ensure participatory approaches are more than just passive or consultative
- Conduct stakeholder analyses to identify the interests, capacities and values of different groups
- Pay adequate attention to the political environment, including the impact of decentralisation

Building social capital is essential to heal the damage caused to individuals and families as a result of colonisation.

2.3.4.2 Intergenerational–whole-family approaches

A report by The National Board of Employment and Training into the needs of Aboriginal adults in the educational context (1995, p.48) states that “there is a direct correlation between poverty, health and education. The most obvious connections involve dietary and sleep patterns in homes with inadequate income and relatively high numbers of occupants”. The report further states that “in the process of maturing and ‘becoming somebody’, young adolescents look to significant others in their lives to provide support and assistance in developing their identity, self-esteem and opportunities to succeed”. These two points illustrate the importance of capacity building models being holistic and intergenerational.

Moreover, the intergenerational engagement of children and young adults in education, training, health and cultural programs ensures that the skills the community determine to be important are being effectively transferred (Altman 2003). Continuity and the associated transfer of knowledge are important because they indicate that the skills and the interest in applying them are culturally sustainable under contemporary circumstances. However, threats to cultural sustainability include poor recognition of the value of Indigenous knowledge and practice in the wider society, and little or no external support for exercising those skills in new and difficult contexts that generate public benefits. Status and esteem for skilled practitioners is thereby eroded within communities. This problem is exacerbated by policy decisions that directly or indirectly call into question the validity of customary practice, mostly on philosophical grounds rather than on evidence of its contributions to sustainable resource use (Altman and Whitehead 2003, p.9).

Coombs (1994, p.157) provides an interesting summary of the reasoning behind the importance of family groups establishing homeland centres by reflecting on the positive aspects of the early pastoralist relationship:

the pastoralists demands did not appear any longer to threaten Aboriginal survival, the maintenance of their cultural and religious heritage, or their capacity to raise their children to acquire and carry on that heritage; these were the non-negotiable components of the composition they sought. This idealized description of the pastoral scene illustrates what Aborigines sought and, I believe, seek in any composition with white society in addition to the right of survival; that is, to live in the fashion they prefer, with access to the land, its resources and its creatures, with the time and opportunity to care for the land, to practice their religious and cultural heritage, and to bring up their children to maintain and continue it.

The outstation movement as a whole provides a non-threatening opportunity for government to support small kinship-based communities to achieve autonomy and self-governance within a wider Australian system of governance that could support the process. It provides an opportunity for people to assert their personal and kinship group autonomy and to regain a sense of responsibility for family and cultural activities with direct access to traditional country.

Many Indigenous Australians who have been forcibly removed from country have a yearning to return to traditional country. Dodson (2003, p.3) summarises the meaning of country to Indigenous Australians in the following statement:

when we say country we might mean homeland, or tribal or clan area and in saying so we may mean something more than just a place somewhere on the map. We are not necessarily referring to place in a geographical sense. But we are talking about the whole of the landscape, not just the places on it. Country is a word for us that abbreviates all the values, places, resources, stories and cultural obligations associated with that area and its places. The entirety of our ancestral domains. All of it is important – we have no wilderness.

The outstation movement began more than 30 years ago and for many Indigenous people could be the best opportunity to achieve self-governance and self-determination. “Taylor (2003) shows that, according to the 2001 Census, 14,000 Indigenous people in the Northern Territory resided in 570 communities with populations of less than 200” (Altman 2003, p.6). This re-establishment of small kinship groups on traditional lands has happened in a number of ways, including gaining title to land through the land claim process, by land councils buying pastoral leases for incorporated organisations governed by the traditional owners, and through gaining title in the form of excisions of pastoral leases. On the whole, the issue of regaining title and access to country has provided the opportunity for people to:

- reassert Aboriginal ownership of the land and its resources by claiming it, gaining access to it, by using and occupying it wherever this has been physically possible;

- reassert their cultural heritage and their right to maintain, express and develop it;
- maintain, formalise and adapt their control of the education and socialisation of their children to the changes in lifestyle forced upon them;
- diversify their resources of income, real and financial, and to demand a share in the proceeds of exhaustible resources
- create Aboriginal-controlled institutions to provide their own services and to manage their domestic and political affairs. (Coombs 1994, p.160)

This has not been, and still is not, an easy thing for people to achieve. Some of the blockages that have prevented a sustainable living when returning to country include difficulties in accessing resources and funding for sustainability, difficulties with adjoining pastoralists, and resistance from some in not granting excisions. In some instances there has also been a negative influence from government and missions who have resisted the movement because they see it as a devolution of power and control. A lack of emphasis in recent years on community development processes at a grassroots level has also made the process difficult. One of the organisations that effectively facilitated workshops for small outstation groups in Alice Springs was the Central Land Council's Land Planning and Assessment Unit. It was primarily funded by the Indigenous Land Corporation (ILC) and was effective in facilitating strategic planning and utilising action-based methodologies with outstation communities and enterprises. However, lack of funding eventually saw this productive and successful process cease.

In particular, access to resources to sustain a lifestyle on these outstation communities has been limited. CDEP has been a good source of income but has had limiting parameters for small kinship groups. In Central Australia, CDEP positions and funds were distributed to three larger Indigenous incorporated bodies through ATSIC. These organisations were made up of a number of small kinship groups. Again a level of bureaucracy and political rivalry has often prevented the distribution of the limited resources to some groups. Altman and Taylor (1987) make a number of conclusions that are still relevant today in contributing to the effectiveness of this intergenerational outstation strategy for people, including:

- Political autonomy.
- The need to redefine employment to include an Aboriginal perspective.
- Appropriate training, including the need for programs that provide non-vocational skills.

- Government objectives to reduce dependency and increase incomes can be achieved at outstations through import substitution and export generation.
- A new program entitled ‘Guaranteed Minimum Income Outstations’, without income and work testing, is established so that income support can be provided to those who demonstrate a commitment to outstation living, in recognition of their employment in the informal sector.
- Greater flexibility in CDEP, particularly in the provision of additional capital (on costs) to groups without a variable subsistence economy.
- A capital fund to support subsistence activities.
- Increased access to technologies.

Altman and Whitehead (2003) put forward a number of arguments for Aboriginal people living on their country. These include being effective managers of natural resource management, whilst at the same time achieving health and economic benefits from a range of activities that fit with cultural activities and existing skills, and that can be flexible enough to meet people’s cultural demands. Some such activities could include: fire and weed control, feral animal and native plant harvesting, and production of resources for art and craft supply. Altman and Whitehead (2003) also suggest that, if sustainable, a lifestyle on outstations can have inherent socio-cultural benefits that promote positive spiritual and physical well-being.

When people are on country, they generate economic benefit for themselves by harvesting wildlife for consumption and engage with the market sector by using natural resources in commercial enterprise like arts and crafts production. We argue that there is a strong correlation between such activities and cost-effective natural resource management. Links between Landcare, wildlife use and biodiversity conservation need to be recognized, celebrated and supported. The removal of many barriers to enhanced and innovative Indigenous participation in such activities, and equitable public support through programs like Landcare, will facilitate sustainable economic development options that are compatible with Indigenous priorities, while ameliorating Indigenous disadvantage. (Altman and Whitehead 2003, p.3)

Altman and Whitehead (2003) note that the natural resource management process requires a commitment from participants and an intergenerational approach that recognises the importance of sustainability through customary activity. They conclude that it will be more possible on outstations and in homeland centres than on larger communities.

The Landcare emphasis on communities reflects recognition that community ownership of natural resource management issues is crucial... However, these demands also raise potential complications... A community-based approach can be impaired by 'free loaders'. That is, some may not invest in natural resource management, but still draw on the benefits. And inter-generational sustainability requires an approach that not only mixes Indigenous knowledge with western scientific knowledge, but selects best practice from both and equips practitioners to draw on both 'toolkits'. A major element of what we propose involves integration of biodiversity conservation with Indigenous customary and commercial harvesting practice, not just agriculture and pastoral production. The subsequent problem is that in the contemporary political economy of Australia, market and state (monetary) sectors are recognised, while customary activity is largely unrecognised and ignored, despite its potential private and public benefit. (2003, p.5)

There is a growing recognition that Indigenous community-based involvement in natural resource management and other enterprise development in arts and tourism can bring significant economic and socio-cultural benefits to kinship-based groups trying to return to country. The socio-cultural benefits and potential for self-governance to these family groups could be a definite way forward. Funding for long-term capacity building facilitation and enterprise development is needed for this to be effective. Altman and Whitehead (2003, p.8) suggest that:

the most difficult challenges faced by Indigenous land managers seeking assistance for 'enhancing the long-term productivity of natural resources' are widely shared restricted views of acceptable forms of rural enterprise, limited understanding of workable mechanisms for achieving social, commercial, and conservation goals, associated regulatory barriers, and difficulties of retaining benefits of successes in isolated communities

Alwyn McKenzie (2002) provides a successful example of this form of capacity building based on her family group creating a station enterprise with the assistance of the Indigenous Land Corporation. The ILC used funds to purchase a station and through this process the family group has developed a strategic plan, a property management plan and a CDEP program, and has successfully submitted to ATSIC (recently abolished) and used the ILC for funds to upgrade infrastructure on the station. They plan to run cattle and explore other tourist and cultural education opportunities. McKenzie (2002, p.69) explains that, despite difficulties, their long-term vision prevails:

We will continue to achieve our social mission. Our continued efforts to equip family members with sustainable incomes, skills and access to job opportunities will be our primary focus at Yappala over the next few years... I sometimes think that Viliwarinha may never be totally self sufficient, but there is the real opportunity for family groups such as mine to become less reliant on supplicant funding. For this to happen governments and philanthropic groups must start

respecting and adhering to the visions and plans of Aboriginal groups and individuals.

Ongoing support and the provision of infrastructure based on a self-governance agreement with homelands provides a real opportunity for people to re-establish their family units in a positive and productive intergenerational setting. Self-funded communities reduce the amount of government funding and infrastructure required for social services. The creation of economic infrastructure could provide benefits to the local and wider community in creating positive social improvements and long-term economic independence.

2.4 Summary of the literature – a theoretical position

Littlejohns and Thompson (2001) define capacity building as “the degree to which a community can develop, implement and sustain actions which allow it to exert greater control over its physical, social, economic and cultural environments”. The United Nations Development Program (1997) defines capacity building as “the process by which individuals, groups and organisations, institutions and societies increase their abilities to 1) perform core functions, solve problems, define and achieve objectives and 2) understand and deal with their development needs in a broad context and in a sustainable manner” (both quoted in Taylor 2003, p.5). These two definitions of capacity building are flexible enough to accommodate capacity building in its broadest sense and would be useful to those aspiring to self-governance. Capacity building is a process that can be useful on a number of levels, including: an individual level, a small group level or an organisational level. It encompasses a number of former community development approaches and is only really limited by definition.

The capacity building and community development models that are outlined in this paper provide a number of useful definitions and characteristics that can be seen in the Irrkerlantye capacity development model; however, there is not one model that reflects the holistic and intergenerational nature of the Irrkerlantye model. The participatory approach outlined by EDCPM (2004) is perhaps the closest model to the Irrkerlantye model in that it reflects the need to be holistic, people centred and participatory. It also focuses on action using local knowledge and expertise to build a model for each situation. This model is not prescriptive and is flexible enough to accommodate individual situations.

The Windjingare capacity building model (1999) is also very similar to the Irrkerlantye community development model in that it focuses on small family groups who are working towards long-term enterprise development and sustainable work activities.

The Oxfam models reflect the aid situations overseas, where aid organisations work in partnerships with the local community. This is perhaps something that the Irrkerlantye model could accommodate if it established partnerships with aid foundations or corporate organisations in the future. The partnership concept in capacity building is one that Pearson (2003) outlines as beneficial to the Cape York people. These models are yet to be widely adopted in Australia.

The community development approaches described in this paper outline grassroots processes in facilitating strategic action processes that take place in the community development key area of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model. They all have the aim of taking action to improve life circumstances but have slightly different processes. For example, the Hope and Timmel (1991) 'Training for Transformation' model, based on Freire's theory, uses education as a basis for encouraging people in oppressed situations to rise up and fight the oppressive governing structures.

All the models begin with an analysis of the current situation, gathering information, surveying people for issues, analysing the data and then developing a strategy based on a goal and action setting process. They culminate in an evaluation and further action planning. They all work from a bottom-up perspective, meaning that the process is driven by the people themselves not by any outside organisational input. The ATSIC model works at an organisational level, suggesting the need for separate operational and project plans.

The UNICEF 'SCALE' model stresses three essential principles of good community development practice, including a self-directed action research process, good working relationships and self-sustainability.

The other three models outline important steps in the research and action planning processes. Sound community development practice for Indigenous communities is based on these principles of practice. Together these definitions provide outlines of the necessary foundations and types of strategies that are needed to implement an effective community development planning processes.

Successful capacity building for the Eastern and Central Arrernte families of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community is dependent on a number of factors being implemented successfully. These include both internal and external factors. The most immediate is that the community is able to resource the centre at effective levels so that the capacity building model can be implemented fully and the organisation is able to implement the characteristics outlined in this paper deemed necessary for effective capacity building, community development and organisational harmony.

Internally effective capacity building in an organisation is largely dependent on the implementation of the organisation's vision and an effective leadership style. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe has a clearly documented vision statement and strategic and operational plan. Kleinfeld (1979) recognises that this is a good foundation for success, but reiterates the need for organisational stability and for the vision and values of the client group to be owned, advocated and articulated by all staff and leaders within the organisation. Pearson (2000a) and Dodson (2003) also advocate the need for leaders to promote the values of the community. Taylor (2003), Heifetz (1997), Schorr (1997), Harris (1977) and Pearson (2000a) stress the need for organisations to have effective leadership styles that encompass Indigenous traditional cultural values and traditional forms of governance. Taylor (2003) and Dodson (2003) state the need for a new leadership style in Indigenous capacity building contexts that motivates and achieves action and involves a shared responsibility and less dependence on individual leaders. Effective capacity building is also dependent on the capabilities of staff and their ability to be effective in the capacity building process. Staff need to show respect for, and sensitivity to cultural values and practices, and work in accordance with them (Harris 1977, Kleinfeld 1979, Schorr 1997). Staff need to be highly skilled, multi-skilled and be able to develop and maintain positive staff–client working relationships (Schorr 1997).

Establishing genuine and effective partnerships based on equality, mutual understandings and trust are important effective capacity building strategies for Indigenous communities (Eade 1997, Pearson 2000a, HRSCATSIA 2004). These partnerships were observed as being useful, and possibilities ranged between government, non-government, community, private and corporate organisations. Pearson (2004) outlined ways in which a corporate partnership in Cape York has benefited this community. Schwab and Sutherland (2002) identify the usefulness of philanthropic partnerships in that their focus and sole existence is to build capacity in developing communities.

Another important internal organisational characteristic in achieving effective capacity building is the ability of the model to facilitate and promote natural, social, human, physical and financial capital (Putnam 1995). Putnam (1995) defines the process of building social capital as being essential to achieving sustainable livelihoods. He concludes that building social capital is a process of establishing cooperation in a group based on trust and reciprocity, where people have common rules, norms, sanctions and a connectedness. In order to do this, groups that are able to relate, coexist and work towards common goals need to be identified. This was seen as the starting point to community development (ATSIC 1993, McArdle 1998). The acceptance and identification of the variations between groups forming community encompasses both internal and external factors. In many instances this is reliant on external players acknowledging varying definitions of community, particularly recognising the sovereignty of small kinship-based family groups (Rowse 1998). Coombs (1994) and Rowse (1998) provide evidence to support the importance of the small family unit being acknowledged as an economic or autonomous entity along with the inclusion of whole families in capacity building processes. Altman and Whitehead (2003) outline the importance of intergenerational activities in the transfer of knowledge in health, education and cultural programs.

The desire for many small kinship-based groups to achieve sustainable living and autonomy in the form of self-governance was identified as a right and the most important underlying factor for Indigenous people in successfully improving long-term social, health, employment and educational outcomes (Dodson 1994, Begay 1997, Mabo Jnr 2002, Cornell 2002a, 2002b, Curtis and Jorgensen 2002). Others outline possible regional and clan-based models that could be accommodated within the current model of Australian Federalism (Crough 2002, Crough 2001, HRSCATSIA 2004).

Building enterprises and sustainable activity in small kinship-based groups was also identified as long-term capacity building for Indigenous communities. Coombs (1994), Altman and Whitehead (2003) and McKenzie (2002) all produce evidence to suggest the value, importance and benefits of developing sustainable living and economic activity on traditional homelands and embracing alternative concepts of work, including the combination of traditional hunting and gathering activities and natural resource management. Altman and Whitehead (2003) also emphasise the socio-cultural, spiritual and physical well-being benefits for people in living in traditional country settings. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, following the passage of land rights and native title

legislation, the Indigenous-owned estate has expanded rapidly. In the Northern Territory, Aboriginal people now own 44 per cent of the terrestrial land mass, with up to 10 per cent to be added on completion of claims and related processes (Altman and Whitehead 2003, p.1) There must also be a commitment to decentralisation in the aftermath of decades of land alienation and colonial pressures to aggregate in larger settlements. Many groups have had their connections to country eroded by colonisation processes and the re-occupation of country. There needs to be supporting and coordinated capacity building attempts to assist those that are able to, and wish to, return to country (Altman and Whitehead 2003).

There are a number of other external factors creating blockages that need to be overcome through capacity building processes to enable Indigenous Australians to move forward. The reform of policy and bureaucratic processes to meet the needs of a range of Indigenous groups is a major blockage that needs to be overcome. Policy and practice that embraces innovation, is responsive, is creative and not predetermined by government needs to be implemented until such time as self-governance is achieved (Coombs 1994, Schwab and Sutherland 2002, McKenzie 2002, Folds 2001, Taylor-Ide and Taylor 1995). Effective capacity building needs interagency collaboration and effective holistic service provision (Schorr 1989, Schwab and Sutherland 2002). Issues resulting from short-term, complex funding cycles and welfare dependency are other factors that need to be overcome for Indigenous Australians to achieve improved economic outcomes (HRSCATSIA 2004, Eade 1997). There is a need to focus on building economic bases in communities to combat high rates of unemployment and the current lack of economic self-sufficiency (Pearson 2001, 2004, Schorr 1989, Cornell and Kalt 2004a). Cornell and Kalt (2004b) reiterate the need for any economic development to be embedded in a holistic model of capacity building. Pearson (2000a) comments that building economic success needs to take into account building self-sufficient economies, including the use of traditional subsistence and engagement with the real market economy and changing welfare systems to ensure reciprocity and responsibility.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research retrospectively documented the historical development of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model, the background of the families involved in the centre and the structure of the Irrkerlantye model. Finally, on reviewing the literature, the elements of the model were analysed in and their usefulness discussed in relation to implementing and facilitating capacity development processes for the families the model services.

3.2 The research methodology

3.2.1 Qualitative research

This study has adopted the following principles of qualitative inquiry: naturalistic and holistic perspectives, qualitative data, personal contact and insight, context sensitivity and empathetic neutrality (Patton 1990, pp.40–1). The study is of a naturalistic nature in that it is a documentation of the development of an everyday process in a real-world situation, i.e. the development of the centre as it unfolds naturally. It intends to be non-manipulative, unobtrusive, non-controlling and lacking predetermined constraints on outcomes (1990, p.40). It is holistic in nature, in that it recognises that the whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts. The centre and the issues that the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community face are complex. In undertaking research and documentation of its historical background, the study recognises the importance of understanding the social environment, the people and the political context within which the centre has developed in gaining an overall understanding of what has been observed (1990, p.49). In this way the study demonstrates a sensitivity to context, which Patton defines as placing “findings in a social, historical and temporal context” (1990, p.40).

As a researcher I have attempted to maintain empathetic neutrality, which Patton (1990, p.41) describes as the researcher’s passion for understanding – not advocating or advancing personal agendas, but understanding, including personal experiences and empathetic insights as part of the relevant data, while taking a neutral, non-judgemental stance towards the emerging content. The researcher’s commitment in this instance is to “understand the world as it is and be true to complexities and multiple perspectives as they emerge” (1990, p.55), whilst “being able to take and understand the stance, position, feelings, experiences and worldview of others” (1990, p.56). Empathy provides a basis for describing the perspectives of others, while neutrality enables the researcher’s

feelings, perceptions, experiences and insights to be legitimately reported as part of the data findings. Patton (1990, p.58), quoting Filstead, comments that the qualitative perspective:

in no way suggest(s) that the researcher lacks the ability to be scientific while collecting the data. On the contrary, it merely specifies that it is crucial for validity – and, consequently, for reliability – to try to picture the empirical world as it actually exists to those under investigation, rather than as the researcher imagines it to be. (Filstead 1970, p.4)

3.2.2. Research design

The qualitative research approaches used in this study included archival analysis of historical and contemporary documents and qualitative interview. Historical research is a “systemic process of describing, analysing and interpreting the past based on information from selected sources as they relate to the topic under study” (Wiersma 1995, p.231). This type of research uses both primary and secondary data, primary sources being an original or first hand account and secondary sources being at least one step removed from the event (1995, p.234). In this study, historical documents were used as evidence of actions and processes involved in the development of the centre, and, for the most part, primary sources were utilised. Qualitative interviews were conducted with participants, staff, family members and employees of supporting service agencies, providing data from a range of people who drove the development of the centre or who worked, studied or had an association with Irrkerlantye over the period spanning from 1996–2002. The interviews and archival document analysis supplemented one another.

3.2.2.1 Historical research

Historical research was used for two purposes in this study. Firstly, to investigate relevant reports, memoranda, news clippings and letters, to assist in establishing the context for the study (Dobbert 1982, p.180). Secondly, historical archival research was used to provide information about times, dates, and other details from reports, memoranda and letters. Diary notes, file notes and computer files were used to collect information. Interviews with key family members, staff members and other personnel were also used to gather the primary historical data material.

In the first stage of the process, the research problem was identified and a series of questions were formulated to direct the study. These questions are presented in Chapter 1.

The next step taken, identified by Wiersma (1995, p.235) as being central to historical research, was synthesis of information from source materials, where both external and

internal criticism were applied. This was done through drawing upon my personal experience and upon observation: external criticism was applied to establish the validity of the source, and internal criticism, to establish if the material is relevant to the study. Wiersma (1995, p.240) discusses the need to use both forms of criticism “for establishing the credibility and usefulness of the source. If the source is not authentic, it cannot be used. Even if it is authentic, if its content is not relevant to the research problem it would be useless.”

The next stage of the research involved sorting the information and determining the value of the various sources. In this process many inconsistencies were resolved. The final stage of the process involved the analysis, interpretation and formation of conclusions about the study. Historical research relies heavily on a logical analysis of the information contained in the documents. (1995, p.241)

3.2.2.2 Qualitative interview

Patton (1990, p.280) outlines two approaches to qualitative interviewing, and both were used in this study:

1. The informal conversation interview, which relies on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interaction. In this process a general outline of issues to be discussed with each participant is prepared before the interview and used as a general guideline during the interview. In this process the interview is very informal and has the advantage of being flexible in being able to pursue issues as they arise. The conversation interview offers maximum flexibility to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate.
2. The general interview guide approach which involves outlining a set of issues that are to be explored with each respondent before interviewing begins.

A combination of these qualitative interviewing techniques was used to interview a range of staff, students, family members, employees, former employees and others associated both formally and informally with the centre to collect information and reflections and clarify details in support of the information collected. Each interviewee was provided with an overview of the study and was freely able to express their knowledge and opinion, which was summarised and edited in conjunction with them. They had the opportunity to do this by answering informal questions as part of the discussion or by answering some of the prepared questions. Some interviews were a combination of both techniques. Patton (2002, p.348) discusses how the focus of qualitative interviewing is to allow the interviewee freedom of expression and states that:

qualitative approaches to interviewing share the commitment to ask genuinely open-ended questions that offer the persons being interviewed the opportunity to respond in their own words and to express their own personal perspectives.... The interviewer never supplies and predetermines the phrases or categories that must be used by respondents to express themselves as is the case in fixed-response questionnaires.

3.3 Selection of subjects

The interview list was chosen to represent a range of students, community members, staff and former staff members who participated at the centre at various times, to provide a range of insights into the program. These interviewees gave permission for their names to be included with their comments.

3.3.1 Rationale for the selection of interviewees

A list of 44 people was compiled. A range of family members representing each of the families involved at Irrkerlantye were chosen to be interviewed. Once this list was compiled, it was shown to two members of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Committee, who reviewed the list and suggested a few more people, whom I added to the list. Ten staff members that were working at Irrkerlantye up until the end of 2002 were interviewed, two of whom were also Arrernte family members. Five students were interviewed and eight family members from five different family groups were interviewed. Two secondary aged students who were involved in the program up until 2002 were also selected.

3.4 The interview questions

The research questions were provided to all those interviewed. People were asked to either answer a question or reflect on something upon which they could comment.

Interview questions:

- What has Ngkarte Mikwekenhe done for the community and education?
- Would you like to talk about the Detour project at Basso's Farm?
- What were some of the problems with Detour?
- What were some of the good things about Detour?
- What were the positives and negatives in the move to the Santa Teresa Town House?
- What are the good things about the centre?
- What are some of the things that need improving?
- Is the centre helpful to your family?

- How is it useful for Arrernte people?
- What would you like to see the centre doing in the future?
- What successes do you remember as being significant in the program or in any one particular year?
- What were the barriers and difficulties that blocked the development of the program overall or in any one particular year?
- Overall what comment would you make about the program?
- What do you see as the major setbacks of the program?
- What do you see as the major benefits of the program?

3.5 Data collection and analysis

The primary sources from which archival data were collected included reports, memoranda, news clippings, letters and file notes. These sources came from the files at Irrkerlantye and those relating to Irrkerlantye that were kept at Centralian College.

Other data were collected through informal interviews with staff and former staff, who recalled many of the details that had been lost or omitted from the written sources.

Data were collected through formal interviews with staff, students, family members, employees, former employees and others associated with the Centre to determine people's experiences and reflections in general about the program, the barriers to its success, its successes and its usefulness to the Arrernte families it serviced. Consent forms were signed by all those interviewed after reading the plain language statement.

A lot of data were collected from my personal recollections and papers, notes, minutes of meetings, case studies and computer files over the period I was employed at Irrkerlantye: 1997–2002.

3.5.1 Data analysis, interpretation and validation

A number of staff members, ex- members of staff and some community members reviewed my written data interpretations throughout the process, from the commencement of the study in 1999. In the final stages of the study, these same people as well as other different people reviewed the findings again more critically.

Some staff read through a draft of 'Chapter 5: Findings' and corrected inconsistencies or included omissions. This cross-checking of the consistency and accuracy of information derived from different sources at different times is a form of validation and legitimation

of the findings. It included comparing different viewpoints and perspectives of people and different data sources, triangulating the data, and the interpretation of the data (Patton 1990, p.467). The literature review was useful in informing my reflections on the Irrkerlantye model of capacity building and in providing foundations from which to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of this capacity building model. It applied external criticism to the model to add substance to its validity.

3.5.2 My role as researcher and my relationship to the informants

Validity in qualitative methods hinges to a great extent on the skill, competence and rigour of the person doing the fieldwork, and at times it can be seen to be too subjective; however, Guba and Lincoln (1981, p.113, quoted in Patton 1990, p.14) comment that this is balanced because:

The inquirer is himself the instrument, changes resulting from fatigue, shifts in knowledge, and cooptation, as well as variations resulting from differences in training, skill, and experience among different “instruments,” easily occur. But this loss in rigor is more than offset by the flexibility, insight, and ability to build on tacit knowledge that is the peculiar province of the human instrument.

The qualitative researcher makes first-hand observations of activities and interactions, sometimes engaging personally in those activities as a ‘participant observer’ (Patton 1990). As a researcher I have followed the principles of qualitative research that put value on personal insight and experience. It is described by Patton (1990) as an important element of the qualitative research process whereby the research has direct involvement with the study and the people of the study and where the researcher’s personal insights and experiences are crucial in understanding the phenomenon.

Seventeen years of professional and personal relationships with the NMC family members has enabled me to document many of the findings of this study. My involvement since the inception of the Irrkerlantye program in 1987 has enabled me to “understand the realities and minutiae of daily life” at the centre (Patton 1990, p.46) and document events from my personal experiences. My total immersion in the program and close relationships with Eastern Arrernte people provided me with valuable insights that gave direction to the program and to the development of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model as the program evolved. The advice and direction that Arrernte elders gave me, and their voiced or unvoiced expectations, often put me in a difficult and tenuous position with my government employer. As a result of my employer often being

driven by funding constraints or an economic rationalist approach, and differing perspectives we frequently disagreed.

I arrived in Alice Springs as a graduate teacher in 1987. I specifically came to take up a position at Santa Teresa School, 80 kilometres south-east of Alice Springs. I was always in awe of the generosity of spirit people bestowed upon me and the strong relationships I developed with Eastern Arrernte people, although we were from two vastly different cultural backgrounds. On both a personal and professional level, this relationship with Eastern Arrernte people has continued to play a major part in my work and my life over the 17 year period since I graduated from the Catholic University in Sydney in 1986.

My teaching degree has enabled me to work in a range of primary, secondary and VET contexts in and around Alice Springs and for short periods in Sydney. In 1996 I worked as a teacher support officer for remote teachers in Aboriginal schools for the Northern Territory Department of Education (NTDE). My role was to assist teachers to 'Implement the Common Curriculum in Aboriginal Schools' (ICCAS) materials.

These education positions included work in both government and non-government institutions, and in both mainstream and remote contexts. All of these positions involved working with Eastern and Central Arrernte people in some way in a range of educational contexts.

In 1996, while working as the teacher support officer in the NTDE regional office, I became involved in discussions with NTDE staff and with Tangentyere Council regarding the need for education programs for Arrernte youth who were not participating in any formal education. These discussions led to the establishment of the Detour program in 1997.

In that same year, I began teaching in the new Detour pilot program, which two years later became the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre. From 2000 to 2002, I assumed an educational leadership position in the program. Although I performed this role, the position was never formally acknowledged as a head teacher or principal position.

I have formed many close friendships with Eastern Arrernte people and families while living and working in Central Australia, and I continue to do so. Eastern Arrernte people have been very welcoming and trusting of me, and they have been very patient in teaching me, and accepting when I have not always 'got it right'.

3.5.3 Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations applied to this study complied with the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Guidelines for Ethical Research in Indigenous Studies. They are outlined below:

1. Consultation, negotiation and free and informed consent are the foundations for research with or about Indigenous peoples.

- A list was compiled of appropriate individuals who were to be consulted for this research project.
- A request was put to the NMC Committee for suggestions and approval as to who should be interviewed for this study.
- Appropriate community protocols were observed at all times, e.g. the use of Kwementyaye for names that are not to be spoken, sensitivity to individuals' environment and space.
- Face-to-face meetings took place with the NMC Committee and individuals participating.
- Introductions to participating individuals clearly identified the researcher, her Charles Darwin University affiliation, and the objectives of the study.
- Permission was obtained from the NMC Committee and participating individuals.

2. The responsibility for consultation and negotiation is ongoing.

- Regular meetings with the NMC Committee took place to discuss the proposed research and findings.
- Important individuals not present at meetings were informed of the findings of the research individually.
- Research methods and processes were explained to individuals.
- A final meeting was held to present the results of the research.
- Permission to visit the communities and individuals for interviewing processes was obtained on each occasion.

3. Consultation and negotiation should achieve mutual understanding about the proposed research.

- The purpose and nature of the study was clearly defined and explained using a prepared plain English statement.

- Methods of collecting information were explained clearly, including how and where the information was to be kept.
- A clear outline was provided about the kind of community and individual participation being sought.
- The potential benefits of the study to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community were discussed with the committee.
- The potential usefulness of the research to Indigenous people as a wider group was explained.

4. Indigenous knowledge systems and processes must be respected.

- Indigenous perspectives and contribution are essential in this study.
- Individuals were interviewed and their perspectives, knowledge, experiences and understandings were valued and documented as part of the research.
- Research methods will protect the privacy, integrity and well-being of participants.
- Indigenous peoples' right to maintain the secrecy of Indigenous knowledge and practices were respected.

5. There must be recognition of the diversity and uniqueness of peoples as well as of individuals.

- Findings from interviews were documented as specific to the community involved.
- It was not assumed that the view of one group represented the collective view of the community.
- Individual rights for participation in research and in the disposal of research material were respected.

6. The intellectual and cultural property rights of Indigenous peoples should be respected and preserved.

- Indigenous owners of knowledge were allowed to determine the intellectual property that contributed to the research.
- This study recognised that the knowledge and resources Indigenous people bring to the project remains their intellectual property.
- Ownership of the results of the project will be given to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community.
- Community participation will be acknowledged in any research publication.

- Permission to distribute any restricted material will be sought from those who provided it, or are responsible for it.

7. Indigenous researchers, individuals and communities should be involved in research as collaborators.

- Involvement of people with specialist knowledge took place.
- Community members were encouraged to be involved in the research and support to be involved was given.
- An interpreter was used on one occasion.

8. The use of, and access to, research results should be agreed.

- Agreement was sought from the outset about the ownership of research results, including institutional ownership of data, the individual rights of researchers and Indigenous participants, and the collective rights of Indigenous community groups.
- Agreement was sought on when and how results of the research will be fed back to, and discussed with, relevant individual community members and/or appropriate community organisations.
- Research results were reported to the community before publication and before discussion with the media.
- The research results were made available to the community in accessible formats.
- The storage of the results of the research, including primary data, were agreed upon.

9. A researched community should benefit from, and not be disadvantaged by, the research project.

- Potential benefits were discussed openly and negotiated with the community.
- Potential benefits, and possible risks or disadvantages, were presented to the NMC Committee.
- The community and individuals were made aware of the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

10. The negotiation of outcomes should include results specific to the needs of the researched community.

- The aim of this research was to provide an historical document to which the centre could refer. It helps in the marketing of the value of the centre and it provides a historical perspective from which future generations may benefit.

- It also provides a document to which new staff can refer in order to see the purpose of the place, its history and vision.
- It provides a supplementary induction document for all new staff members.
- All research reports and future publications resulting from this research will be made available to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community and to the individuals involved.
- The significance of the results were discussed with the NMC Committee and participants.
- Results will be made available to appropriate local, State or Territory, and national authorities if requested, with the NM Committee's permission,.

11. Negotiation should result in a formal agreement for the conduct of a research project, based on good faith and free and informed consent.

- All agreements were based on negotiations in good faith, and free and informed consent.
- Any agreements recognised that an individual or a community has the right to withdraw from the research project.

3.6 The limitations

This historical document is only a very brief recount of the development of the centre between 1997 and 2002. The complexity of the model and the incredible amount of activity that has taken place at the centre is beyond the scope of this study. Hundreds of people took part in activities and have worked at the centre over this period. Each of these people present individual visions, aspirations, values, approaches and personalities to programs and the daily life of the centre. It is very difficult to capture the complexity of the struggles, the opportunities, the support and value it has provided to families and individuals in this short recount of events. To try and provide some human dimension to the study, the reflections of students, staff and family members have been included in Chapter 5.4.

Perhaps the biggest limitation of this study is that the majority of material is written from my personal recollections and writings. My recollection of events and the reality at any given time will not necessarily be interpreted the same way by someone else. My personal opinion will no doubt come through. To try and avoid bias, as many written documents as possible were used and a number of people who were present over the time the study was undertaken were asked to review the findings. The document was amended as a result of their reviews.

So, while I have chosen a limited number of themes to be explored, key areas such as health, language and culture maintenance, education and training have not been included as the main focus, as it would not have been possible to explore all their dimensions adequately. The study has limited its focus to the broader aspects of capacity building, selecting particular issues that prevent Indigenous people from achieving successful capacity building and also exploring some elements of successful capacity building approaches.

Chapter 4: Historical background

4.1 After 1800

The removal or separation of Indigenous Australians from their traditional lands since white settlement has had the biggest impact on the original inhabitants of this country. Since white settlement, Indigenous people have at times voluntarily, but mostly under coercion, changed their living circumstances. Indigenous Australians are linked in every way to their traditional lands. Separating Indigenous Australians from traditional country has had a major impact on culture, lifestyles and subsequently well-being. Despite fierce resistance, especially in the first 50–70 years of white settlement, Indigenous Australians were unable to successfully resist the new invaders. Broome (1994, p.36) writes”

Unfortunately, the Aborigines were unable to change the course of European history as it crashed upon them. In 1822 the British government, 20,000 kilometres away, made a fatal decision. It dropped the duty on Australian wool to one-sixth the rate of that on German wool to encourage wool production in Australia, and to reduce imports from Germany. This led to a rapid expansion of flocks and the inflow of over 200,000 British immigrants to Australia between 1832 and 1850. The frontier of European settlement moved rapidly and inevitably across most of south-eastern and southern Australia. In a fantastic land grab which was never again to be equaled... The Aborigines were quickly outnumbered in their own land.

For the first 100–150 years of white occupation, some Indigenous Australians were able to remain on their traditional country and work for, and alongside, the new pastoral industry that quickly penetrated the country. This worked well for some, and many older Arrernte people have recounted to me that they were better off in those days, even though they were paid with rations. Others have recounted the benefits of being close to their traditional land and being able to practise ceremonial traditions readily. For many it provided a few years of buffer before a landslide of cultural breakdown, grief and despair that devastated families. These new working arrangements between Indigenous Australians and pastoralists were sometimes beneficial to both parties in light of the possible alternatives at the time. “These new pastoralists realised that they needed Aboriginal labour in the stock camps and that Aboriginal women were useful at the homesteads” (Davis & Prescott 1992, p. 91). There were a number of benefits for Aboriginal people, including a safe haven from being wrongly accused of cattle theft and possibly killed; receipt of newly attractive rations in return for work; and stability for families, who were able to stay together and continue to engage in traditional practices and look after country.

Broome (1994, p.129) describes the relationship between these two parties as one of attraction, repulsion and mutual dependence; however, it was one in which the Aborigines were largely the powerless partner.

During this era, traditional life as it was once known for all Indigenous groups began a rapid process of change. Many, forced to move off their homelands or enticed into relinquishing some part of their former traditional life as a result of the introduction of the pastoral industry, migrated to new regional centres to access resources. Davis and Prescott (1992, pp.91–2) explained:

this change was yet another powerful factor causing dislocation and severance of Aborigines from their traditional country... During the Lake Amadeus Land Claim (1987), Aranda people gave evidence of a general movement north due to pressure from the pastoral industry and associated mounted police activity.

Broome (1994) points out that European food and other commodity sources were seen as attractive and easier to attain than in a traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle. As a result many people flocked to stations or regional centres to attain these new commodities.

The lure of food was only outmatched by a desire for stimulants, namely tobacco, tea and sugar. Although it was thought that Aborigines so valued their land that they never permanently left it, there is evidence that at least some groups voluntarily travelled long distances from their country in search of tobacco. (1994, p.52)

Later, others who had enjoyed some benefit from working on stations were also forced to regional centres, as Cowlshaw (1988, p.78) points out:

Aborigines moved into the towns in the early part of the century as they continued to be forced off the land. Drought and depression as well as changing ownership and the processes of selection affected the Aborigines' stock camps on the properties, although some camps remained until 1913.

Legislative controls, including the establishment of communities by government, were factors that also assisted the disintegration of a way of life that had successfully kept a society intact for tens of thousands of years. As early as 1837, a protectionist policy was in place, with directives from the House of Commons. "The House of Commons select committee of 1837 attempted to define imperial responsibilities and framed policies which were implemented in Australia in the late 1830s and 1840s" Reynolds (1973, p.151). They recommended that "missionaries, protectors, reservations, schooling and special codes of law be established until Indigenous Australians were 'civilised'" (Cowlshaw 1988, p.75). From the mid-1800s to the early 1900s legislation was passed

in all States, that gave the States power to control the lives of Indigenous Australians. In 1910 Commonwealth legislation was passed that saw the establishment of the Aboriginal Protection Acts and Boards, which gave the States immense power over the removal and placement of Aboriginal people across the country. The Commonwealth Board had powers which were essentially aimed at the removal of children from families. The distribution of medicine, rations, blankets and European education masked this hidden ideology. Clark (1994, p.15) comments

The rules varied with the state and times, but for the most part, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were rounded up to live on missions; lacked the right of free movement and free speech; were not entitled to vote; and were, legally, under the control of government officials with a status similar to that of a ward of the state... Indigenous Australians were divided into 'fullbloods' and 'half-castes' and many of the latter were officially kidnapped from their families.

As a result of these catastrophic events, Aboriginal people have often found themselves living with groups other than those they would normally live alongside or closely associate. Family groups that moved and lived together in their traditional country settings were often split up. People from different language groups or family clans were forced to live together in often strained relationships. In some communities people worked out a way to live alongside each other but in many instances it has compounded the number of issues people had to solve. Prentis (1988, p.28) comments that "to make matters worse, the European invasion indirectly increased inter-tribal violence".

Clark (1994, p.17) discusses the political activism for self-determination and land rights that emerged during this period:

The policy of assimilation, which involved continuing controls on and the exclusion of Indigenous peoples, and the denial of their cultures and needs, was to remain government policy through the 1960s... With the advent of urban migration following the mechanisation of many farms, and the liberalisation of protectionist policies, an Indigenous political voice emerged, urging policy change. Policies of integration, cultural pluralism and then self-management were adopted increasingly by governments in the 1960s and 1970s, spurred in part by international decolonisation, domestic politics and the evolution of comparative and international human rights, and Indigenous people's rights, standards and laws.

In 1968, the federal government passed legislation that introduced equal wages for Indigenous Australians. Some would say that this was the most destructive legislation to affect Indigenous Australia as a whole. As a result of this, most pastoralists were no longer willing, or able to support the large numbers of Indigenous people they employed

using rations. Pearson (2000a, p.14) comments that the referendum gave people nominal citizenship: “We got the right to equal pay but on those terms we were no longer able to find employment.” Many more people then moved to larger regional areas or to communities. More people were forced to move away from their traditional country settings to begin a new life based on handouts from the government welfare system. The negative impact of these policies was the beginning of many social and systemic problems that have not been resolved to date. Pearson (1999, p.3) concludes that the removal of Aboriginal people from the pastoral industry was a monumental policy failure for three reasons:

- The cultural impact of removing Aboriginal families from their traditional lands is inestimable.
- People went from work to no work, with tragic results.
- Issues over the co-existence of native title on pastoral leases would have been prevented.

In 1976 the Fraser government passed legislation that established a process “for granting land rights...in the Northern Territory, and only to reserve or vacant crown lands to which traditional attachment could be proven” (Broome 1994, p.190). In 1994, as a result of the High Court Mabo decision, federal legislation was passed that gave better options than ever before for Indigenous Australians to claim title to their traditional lands.

One of the benefits of the land rights movement was that some Indigenous Australian were able to attain their traditional land and move back onto it. This move back to homelands has provided great promise for people to get out of the difficult social issues they face living in town or in larger community groups and for small family groups to be able to build a more positive way of life. However, progress has been less effective than it could have been, due to a lack of funding for infrastructure, enterprise development, ongoing community development strategic planning and mentoring support. Funding has often been made available for buildings, but little emphasis as been placed on what people will do for work or upon how they will solve some of the ongoing problems, such as transport to town for supplies, and funding for ongoing infrastructure maintenance. This has resulted in many outstations being set up with housing, solar power generation and basic infrastructure but with few people being able to establish living environments independent of welfare support. Some people have had greater success on pastoral leases, where there were existing infrastructure and an immediate economic benefit.

Displacement from their land has had monumental and dire consequences for the majority of Eastern and Central Arrernte people in Central Australia, and has left most with a third world quality of life. After so many years there have been few positive economic and social development outcomes that have contributed to an overall improved quality of life for Eastern and Central Arrernte people. Nor have any effective and ongoing long-term community development strategies been put in place for this group of people as a whole.

4.2 Movement of Eastern and Central Arrernte people after the 1920s

Many Eastern and Central Arrernte people had begun to gather around the Alice Springs Township in the early 1900s. Many were beginning to show poor signs of health. The Catholic Church sent a permanent parish priest, Father Long, to Alice Springs in 1929. By 1930, a small church was built in Hartley Street. The second parish priest, Father Paddy Maloney, began the 'Little Flower Mission' in the back yard of the presbytery in 1935.

The main reason the Aranda Aborigines were living on the edge of Alice Springs was because they had lost their land. It was not really that they preferred 'handouts', although no doubt the wonders of the white people, good and bad, attracted them. Before Father Maloney started the Mission at Charles Creek, the Aboriginals were getting rations supplied by the government – food, calico, blankets and essentials. This was all done through the police stations of the Northern Territory and in the case of the Eastern Arrernte people, around Alice Springs, at the Old Police Station at the Gap. So what attracted them to Father Maloney's mission? It would have been two things, the spiritual – all Aborigines, as those who know them well will testify, are very spiritual people, also they were finding friendship and acceptance from their pale-faced neighbours. (Donovan 1988, p.5)

Frank McGarry, a lay missionary from Manly NSW, joined Father Maloney in 1935 and they moved the mission to Charles Creek after threats from the local townsfolk, who were not happy about the number of Arrernte people gathering behind the presbytery.

Pastoral ministry with the Aboriginal people in and around Alice Springs began in 1936 when a mission was established by Fr. Maloney M.S.C. at Charles Creek. In 1938 the OLSH sisters arrived in Alice Springs. They went each day to teach at the Little Mission school, masses were held regularly and back at the Convent, children from outback cattle stations were accommodated. MSC and OLSH sisters continued to give the gospel message to Arrernte people here until 1942. (Reynolds 1989, p.1)

There were many discussions between the Church and government about the need to move the mission and Arltunga was chosen as an option. Frank McGarry had convinced

Vincent White, then the second in charge of the Native Affairs Department, to provide a government grant of 2000 pounds, and Bishop Gsell, despite opposition from pastoralists and squatters, successfully applied for a mission lease on this land, called Paddy's Plain. In 1942 some Arrernte people accompanied by Frank McGarry went out to Arltunga to commence well digging. While Frank and a few Arrernte men were still in the process of digging a well, and long before they had a chance to finish any infrastructure, the army forced the mission to move to Arltunga. Frank McGarry's letters recount the events:

In mid-September 1942 a convoy of military trucks arrived. These came without warning and brought Father Eather, two nuns, all the mission blacks, rations, clothing, beds, bags, dogs and cats – in fact everything from the Alice Springs mission. The official reason was that one of the children at the mission had contracted meningitis and everything had to be moved. Frank guessed the real reason. He knew the army authorities were opposed to the Mission being so close to their camps. They hadn't the patience to wait for the new set-up to be completed. (quoted in O'Grady 1977, p.78)

This move to Arltunga left 176 Arrernte people and Frank McGarry to create a new mission from scratch. There was no water or shelter and the people initially camped at the Crossroads Well. The old mission at Charles Creek was left deserted and six years of building infrastructure was left standing desolate and empty.

Arltunga was located 100 kilometres east of Alice Springs. Although the Church was offered other locations, including Ti-Tree, Arltunga was chosen because it was traditional country for some of the people the mission had attracted. Arltunga had previously been a mining site but was abandoned due to a lack of good water.

The poor health of Arrernte people at this time can be seen in the following statements from McGarry's letters which recounted that, 157 people were examined by a doctor, who found that "two definitely had tuberculosis and twenty-one were suspects. Practically every adult was suffering from trachoma and many from infected gums" (O'Grady 1977, p.83). Fourteen people had died on the mission in a short period of time – less than eight months. This was nearly 10 per cent of this small group. These were hard times for this group of people. They had to re-establish infrastructure and establish a way of living, and traditional customs were often challenged by a new religious code which took a strong hold on the way this community traditionally operated.

Water shortage remained an ongoing problem at Arltunga for the ten years people lived there. In looking for a solution to this water crisis, the Church was offered a parcel of

land 80 kilometres south-east of Alice Springs to set up a new mission. Again people were relocated.

In 1953 there was another move, this time to Santa Teresa where there was a plentiful underground water supply. Over the years a number of families have moved away from the mission and now live in Alice Springs. For some of these people, the Alice was their first home, for many this is the traditional country of their parents, and for all Arrernte people, Alice Springs is the tribal land of their ancestors. The sacred sites belong to the Yeperenye, the Caterpillar Dreaming. The move into Alice is probably constant, but very gradual and it must also be noted that 'town' families quite often move back to the Mission for varying lengths of time. (Reynolds 1989, p.1)

The community at Santa Teresa was also established in quite harsh circumstances. It was very dusty and had little vegetation. Over the years a small township of 500 people has been established and is now governed by a local community council. Most of the services established by the mission, including the hospital, shop, pool and school, have been handed over to the community to manage. Although the Church still has a major role in the school, it is not directly overseen by the mission. Many Eastern and Central Arrernte people have continued to live at Santa Teresa and some have moved back to Alice Springs. Some people live on town camp communities and others live in houses in town. A few have managed to relocate back to their traditional homelands after receiving excisions of the pastoral leases occupying their traditional country. Many more have dreams of returning to their traditional country and are working towards this goal as part of the community development process at Irrkerlantye. Most people have maintained a connection with the Catholic Church in some way and many continue to practice the Catholic faith.

4.3 History of Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated

The Catholic Arrernte community was inspired to meet regularly throughout 1986 to prepare for the imminent papal visit. This event provided a focus for, and drew a commitment from, a number of people, which lay the foundations for the beginning of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community.

The leaders in N.M. were the representatives from all the different family groups, who met together every Saturday night through 1986. This not only consolidated the group, but gave a new sense of solidarity, pride and identity. These people gave feedback to the others, hope for the future and encouragement for others' commitment. All families were represented over the year... women and men from every Town Camp and from Santa Teresa. (Reynolds 1989, pp.2–3)

This group of people decided to incorporate and became formerly known as Ngkarte Mikwekenhe “mother of God” community. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe was incorporated as a non-profit organisation in 1990. It is a body that is governed by a committee made up of eight members and an executive of four members from the local Eastern and Central Arrernte Catholic Community. It largely operates as an Aboriginal Catholic parish but is focused on community development activities for the group of people it services. After the papal visit people were inspired to continue with community development work. Margaret Kemarre Turner (2004), the President and founding member of NMC, recounts her memory of the beginnings of NMC:

Before the Papal visit a few of us started getting together and doing community and parish work. We used to visit people in hospital, the sick. Then we started talking to the Catholic people in the town camps – Hidden Valley and Charles Creek and we started getting prayer groups together. Then we started community development work. This community development work started from then. After we incorporated as a Catholic Community Development organisation we were able to access funding and run lots of different programs. In the beginning it was just alcohol awareness and community development training. Adults came together like Joe Cleary, Felicity Marie Ellis, Yvonne. Some of the grandmothers and mothers went to Nungalinya for training. We also went to Melbourne to look at a University. There were about twenty people involved and we worked out of Jemma House.

The constitution of NMC states the objectives of the association:

- a) To be a charitable body and provide charitable services to the Eastern and Central Arrernte Catholic Community living in and around Alice Springs, including the provision of housing and shelter to the homeless.
- b) To promote the welfare and development of the community by receiving and distributing for the purpose of these objects all Northern Territory, State or Federal Government or departmental loans or grants received for the purpose of community development and management.
- c) To promote the welfare and development of the community so that the community has a more meaningful role within the local Catholic Community. (NMC Constitution 1990)

Shortly after 1986, Ngkarte Mikwekenhe began its community work for the groups of families that made up the association. These programs and projects included:

- i) The Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (OLSH) and Catholic High School (CHS) Aboriginal units (caring for about 100 Aboriginal students)
- ii) The Catechetical program (education in faith for Arrernte people)
- iii) The praying community (daily camp masses where people came together each evening to pray)
- iv) The ACCESS course (Training for Employment – an adult educational course for 20 students)

- v) Ministry to the sick (hospital and camp visits)
- vi) Community development programs (including work with people in outlying stations and settlements)
- vii) Alcohol awareness programs (includes Top End courses at Daly River and Gordon Symons Centre)
- viii) Leadership training (including a Nungalinga College 4 week course) (Reynolds 1989, pp.8–9)

Most of the activities operated out of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Parish Centre, located in the building behind where the presbytery is today, and where the original mission began. Sr Robyn Reynolds worked out of the centre along with two parish workers. Another major function of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Parish Centre was its use as a drop-in centre. Sr Robyn Reynolds outlined this important function in her paper ‘Pwarretjeme’ (1989, p.9):

The main parish room, when it is not being occupied for particular meetings, is used as a kind of ‘drop-in centre’ where Aboriginal people feel at home in just sitting, sharing a cup of tea with one another, watching a video, etc Often people visit to discuss a problem, or to request help. Most who come share in some way in the activities going on; some people regularly help in general cleaning duties in the Centre, many assist – by attendance and participation – in one or other of the frequent meetings taking place, some help in support of Aboriginal language, music and art work being done by the Aboriginal parish workers.

The early works carried out by NMC members also revealed a great sense of ownership, with people actively trying to assist and support each other in attaining a better way of life and supporting those in the community who were facing hardship and misfortune. There was a great sense of activism and leadership in the parish community. Some of the day-to-day issues that people were working to solve included:

- Decisions about camp masses (the when, where and why)
- The appropriate action to ensure the community has the right people for the right job/course
- Meetings with the housing Commission to discuss special accommodation needs for certain groups or individuals from the community
- Talks (on occasion) with the Town Camp authorities to arrange for urgent action in improvement of living conditions
- Decisions about proper use of Aboriginal language, art and song
- Organisation of the use of the community’s bus
- Letters to various town authorities
- Meetings with particular families in offering advice and support
- Making decisions and arrangements about community enterprises
- Decisions about appropriate action in relation to the community’s response to public issues (Reynolds 1989, p.13)

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe resided in a number of locations until it moved to the old Santa Teresa Town House on South Terrace, where it is today. It co-located with a group of Vietnamese refugees, initially, and leased part of the premises from the Catholic Diocese of Darwin. The development of the model of community development now implemented by Ngkarte Mikwekenhe is the focus of the findings section of this study.

4.4 Eastern and Central Arrernte people and western education

The first western education in which this group of Eastern and Central Arrernte people were involved was provided by the Catholic Church. It began in 1938 at the back of the presbytery in Hartley Street and was relocated to the new Little Flower Mission established at Charles Creek soon after. A group of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart nuns arrived in 1938 and provided classes on a daily basis for students. When the mission moved to Arltunga, the nuns eventually relocated the school there.

In 1953 when the mission moved again to Santa Teresa, the nuns managed Santa Teresa School, which is now known as Ltyentye Apurte School. This school was managed by the OLSH nuns until 1988, when the Marist Brothers took over. Up until 1988 when the school became bilingual, the school program was predominantly an English language program with western knowledge being the focus for learning.

A mainstream secondary education program was not operating at Ltyentye Apurte School. Students who acquired good literacy skills and wanted to further their education at a mainstream level had to attend mainstream school interstate, in Darwin or in Alice Springs. A number of students from Santa Teresa were sent away to boarding schools interstate – to Redbend in Forbes, St Augustine's in Cairns, St Patrick's in Townsville – or to St John's in Darwin.

Some people attended school at OLSH in Bath Street, Alice Springs. Special units for Eastern and Central Arrernte students who were not at a mainstream level academically were established there in the 1970s. A few students accessed mainstream education but the majority of students attended the unit programs. These units provided supportive environments, including specialist English as a second language (ESL) programs and welfare support to those in need, that enabled students who were largely from Charles Creek, Whitegate and Hidden Valley to access education.

The Ntyarlke Unit at the Catholic High School was established in 1987 as a special secondary education unit for Eastern and Central Arrernte students. It was established at

the request of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community. Many of the Eastern and Central Arrernte teenagers were not attending education programs after primary school and parents' concern about this initiated the unit. This unit was coordinated by Michael Bowden, until 1993. It provided specialist ESL programs and supported students in mainstream educational programs. It was successful in retaining a large group of teenagers aged up to 18 years, for 2–5 years. Students who accessed this program had a range of literacy skills. In a thesis about Eastern Arrernte students connected with the Ntyarlke Unit, Bowden (1994, p.25) stated that six students were more than five years below their mainstream peers, and 13 students were more than four years behind in their spelling and reading ages. The majority of students left the program with a basic ability to read and write ranging from a Year 1 to a Year 6 level. Students who accessed this program were mostly from Hidden Valley, Charles Creek, Whitegate and Amoonguna. After 1993 changes in staff and policy at both OLSH and Catholic High School saw most of the Eastern and Central Arrernte youth gradually drop out of the program. These changes included a push to dissolve the unit support and mainstream all the students.

From 1993 until 1997 many of these young people did not access education at all. In fact, many children who were too young for the Detour program when it began did not access school until 2003, when Detour started taking primary school students.

Some students from the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe family groups accessed Yipirinya School for short bursts of time and a few students accessed mainstream primary schools but never remained consistently in programs for long periods of time.

Chapter 5: The capacity building model: development and operation

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief description of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model and its beginnings. The development of the model and programs at the centre are documented in yearly chronological order. This chapter then provides an overview of the model and describes the functions of the five key areas of the model. This is followed by a brief analysis of the model and then by comments and reflections from staff, participants and family members.

5.1.1 History – development of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre and model

The Irrkerlantye Learning Centre (as the centre became known in 1999) began as the Detour project in 1996. It was an initiative of Tangentyere Council, the resource agency for the 18 town camp communities around Alice Springs. The Detour project was initiated by the community development manager, Michael Bowden, who, along with many members of the Arrernte community, had concerns about the large numbers of Aboriginal youth in Alice Springs not attending school. In 1994 Tangentyere had identified approximately 50 secondary-aged students from town camps who were not attending school.

5.1.1.1 1996

Structure

As a result of Tangentyere's investigations, community concern and the problems youth were creating in the wider Alice Springs community, Tangentyere began its art-based program for Aboriginal youth from town camps in 1996. It was called 'Detour' because it was viewed as a program that would detour young people away from anti-social behaviours back into education at Detour, then on to other mainstream programs. The program was set up at Basso's Farm. Basso's was an area of a few acres on the northern end of town. It was part of the Mt Nancy Housing Association special purpose lease. This was one of the 18 town camp special purpose leases for which Tangentyere was the resource agency. Basso's had previously been used as a meeting place and accommodation place for town campers in Alice Springs. The Basso's Farm location had a large shed, an old stone farmhouse and a two-bedroom house on the northern end of the block. Staff were able to turn the original old stone building into two small classrooms with some office space. The venue was not enough to accommodate the 50

students, so the older, more academically orientated students relocated to the community facility at Hidden Valley for the first term, using the facilities at Centralian College as much as possible. The Hidden Valley facility was a reasonable-sized classroom with a small kitchen to the side.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 depict the structure of Detour and the model under which it operated in 1996.



Figure 5.1: Structure of Detour in 1996

Model

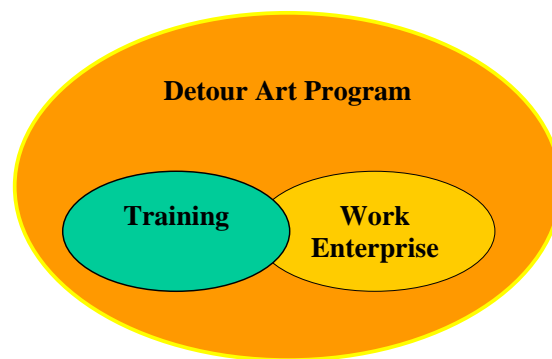


Figure 5.2: Model operating at Detour in 1996

Funding

Funding was provided by Tangentyere Council.

Staffing

Peter Lowson was employed as the coordinator and facilitator of the program. Peter had 15 years experience working at Tangentyere with various age groups, mostly on environmental/landcare programs, and was a professional musician. He had developed

strong relationships with people living in town camps, which was a crucial element in the success of the program.

Programs

The program was a combination of training and work/enterprise programs, the aim being to engage youth in stimulating activities to create products which could be sold for a small profit or which could be made for community-driven projects, interests or needs. The non-accredited training through which the program was delivered focused on developing skills and products in arts-related projects. These sessions were flexible and the students' interests drove many of the activities.

Some of the projects included making toys, traditional artworks and musical instruments. Many of the things made were sold, generating an extra income for students and to provide funding for extra materials for the project.

Outcomes

This program was successful in retaining 15–20 students for a year and had a core group made up mostly of young Arrernte men. Students often brought along family members of different ages, including children and partners, to participate in the program. Towards the end of the year, some of the women also began attending in the afternoons on a regular basis. Tangentyere operated a parallel program for young women and young girls (aged between 13 and 18 years) from town camps who were not attending school. The women's program was known as the Young Women's Dance Project and was facilitated by Rennae Shroder. These Indigenous youth from town camps who would otherwise not have been accessing education programs were provided with a positive option each day, in the form of a purposeful and engaging activity, by both these initiatives.

Issues

There were still many youth in the community who were school aged and not accessing education or training programs. During 1996, research conducted by the NT Department of Education (NTDE) identified the names of more than a hundred Arrernte teenagers in Alice Springs who were not attending school. The majority of these students lived in town camps and spoke English as a second language. There were many social issues emerging in the town camp communities and in the wider Alice Springs community as a result of these large numbers of youth not attending school. The programs initiated by Tangentyere in 1996 were not able to cater for the variety of ages and needs that this large group of youth presented.

5.1.1.2 1997

Structure

A series of discussions and negotiations during 1996 between the NT Department of Education and Tangentyere Council resulted in the formation of a partnership between Tangentyere and Centralian College to re-establish 'Detour' as a pilot program for alternative secondary education. For the project to begin that year the Department of Education required a list of names of 50 students who were to be enrolled in the program. This list was constructed in a number of ways. Two women from Tangentyere conducted some research around the town camps and took the names of youth who were interested in the program or whose parents nominated them for the program. The Youth Activities Services (YAS) program at Tangentyere, which was running after-school programs for youth, also provided a list of possible participants. It was initially agreed to trial the pilot for 12 months.

The program began as 'Detour' in Term 1 of the 1997 school year. After a few days' planning, during which time the building was turned into makeshift classrooms – resources were scarce but the doors were opened to students. Bus runs began and students came to the program to enrol. Peter Lowson was employed as a community arts facilitator and the toy and music instrument making program was partly integrated into the new program.

The original Detour program broadened into an alternative secondary education program for Aboriginal secondary aged students in Alice Springs who were considered to be 'at risk' and not attending school.

The program was jointly managed by the Director of Secondary at Centralian and the Community Development Manager at Tangentyere. The program was advised by an advisory committee that included these managers as well as the Manager, Student Services, NTDE Operations South and the Coordinator, Secondary Aged Indigenous Retention Programs Operations South. Staff would also sit in on these advisory meetings to discuss the progress of the program and solutions to difficult issues. The staffing lines of responsibility were messy initially. Centralian staff answered to the Director of Secondary at Centralian but were also coordinated on a daily basis by the Detour Coordinator.

An Aboriginal Student Support and Parental Awareness (ASSPA) committee met every two months to provide advice and support to staff and students in the program. However,

at first many who attended did not have direct links with the students in the program. Therefore, the majority of students were not represented adequately by their immediate family members. At the end of 1997, the head teacher and the teaching assistant made a concerted effort to invite the family members to a Christmas party organised and catered for by the students. This was the first time many of these family members had been to Basso's Farm. Up until this point they had little insight into what was really happening there. Teaching staff had little input into the ASSPA meetings, as the coordinator and liaison officers from Tangentyere chaired the meetings. Staff only attended if requested to give a report. The meetings were run as ASSPA meetings rather than advisory meetings.

Figure 5.3 depicts the structure of Detour in 1997.

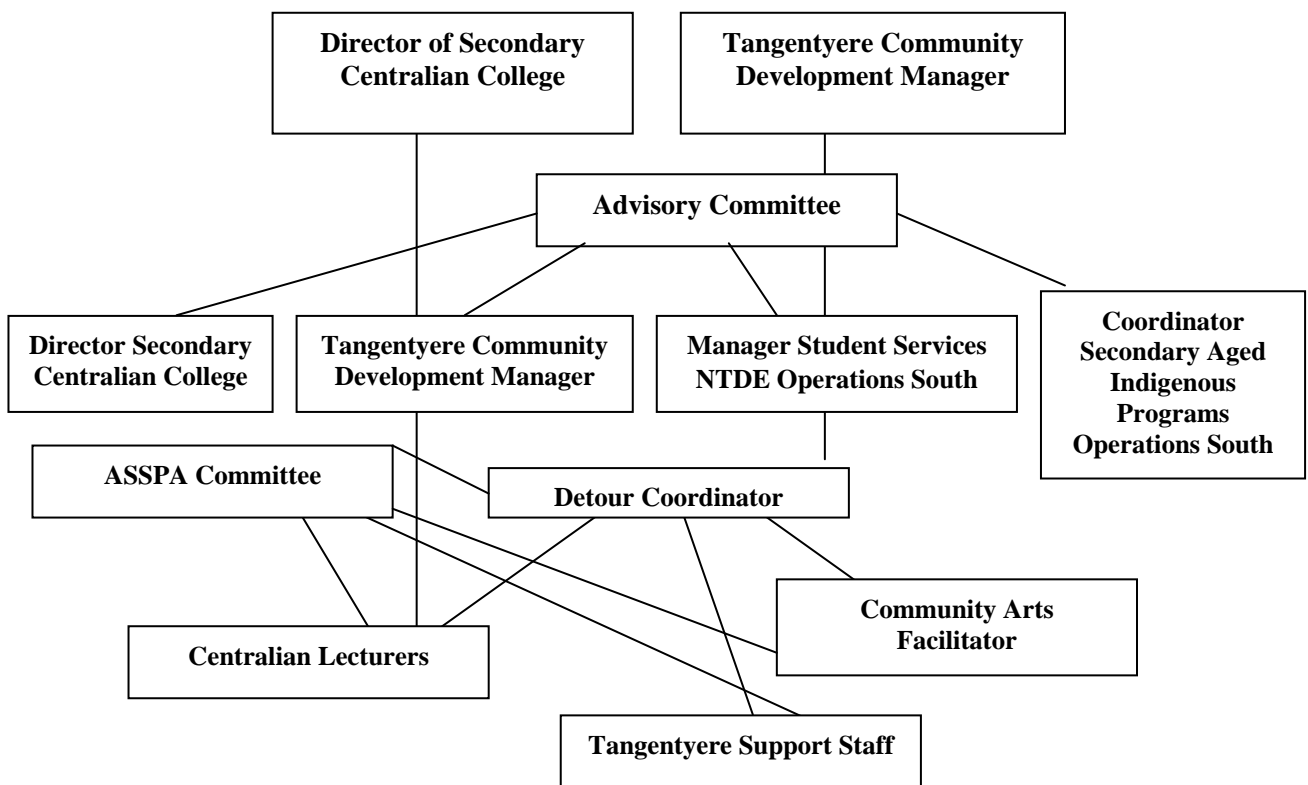


Figure 5.3: Structure of Detour in 1997

Background of students

Many of the students who attended the Detour program were often described as being 'at risk'. They were considered to be 'at risk' for a number of reasons, including a high level of substance abuse, a high level of involvement with the juvenile justice system and a high degree of anti-social behaviour. These students were from a variety of language

groups. Many were frequent substance abusers, sniffing paint in wine cask bladders on a regular basis, and some were consumers of marijuana and alcohol. Many were choosing to reside at places like Aranda House or the Alice Springs Youth Accommodation Support Service (ASYASS) rather than with family members. Most of these students were living autonomous lives and ranged in ages from 10 to 20. Some were parents and had young babies. These youth were not considered to be likely to complete an acceptable level of schooling. The majority of these young people had not engaged with the school system for many years. In the 1997 Detour evaluation, Boughton and Durnan (1997) described the group as:

‘Street wise’, and within their own peer group and local town camp youth culture, they are confident, have a strong sense of identity and highly developed survival skills. They are highly mobile, moving between family members at various locations and between town and bush on a regular basis. (1997, p.6)

Students were picked up each day from town camps and support agencies, where they resided. Staff spent a considerable amount of time looking for absent students who often resided in a number of locations over the period of a week. Students were given options at the end of the school day of participating in an after-school recreation program with the Tangentyere Youth Activities Staff (YAS) staff.

All staff spent many hours assisting students with their welfare support needs. They were assisted with clothing and accessing welfare payments, if needed, as well as being given assistance with income, food, clothing, accommodation and medical support. Both Congress (Central Australian Aboriginal Congress [CAAC] – an independent Aboriginal health provider) and Centralian College were unable to assist on-site with medical support and so staff would often have to take students to Congress or the hospital. Students were provided with breakfast, morning tea and lunch. This was estimated to cost \$1 per day per student. Enrolling students in Abstudy or on a Centrelink benefit for some form of income was perhaps the greatest need and it had to be overcome before students were able to successfully engage in academic programs. Figure 5.4 depicts the model operating at Detour in 1997.

Model

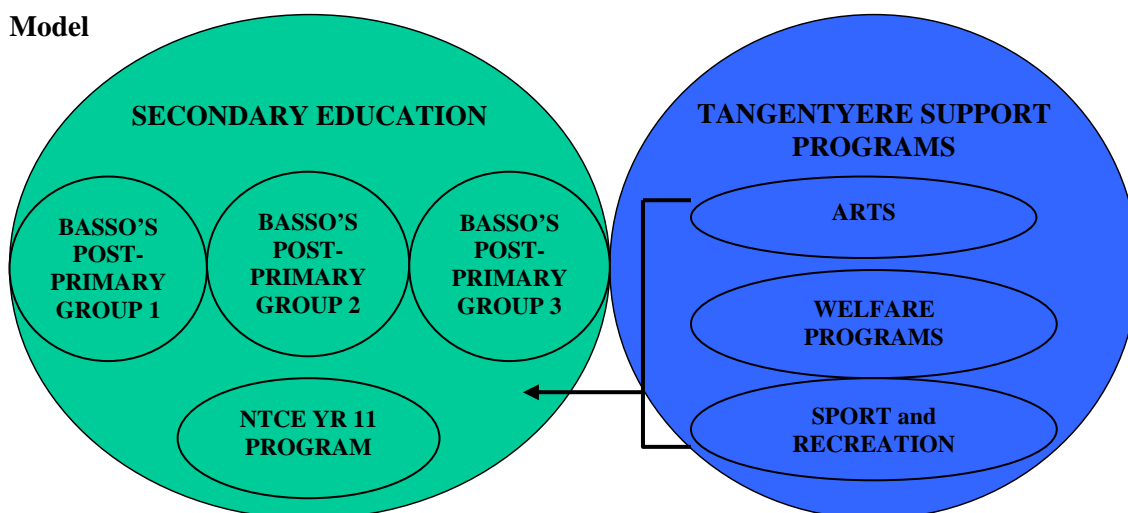


Figure 5.4: Model operating at Detour in 1997

The model initiated in 1997, as shown in figure 5.4, was a full-day secondary education program that attracted initially up to 50 Aboriginal youth from a variety of language groups, mostly from town camps. The core programs were secondary education programs with other programs including health, art and sport and recreation used to motivate, encourage and provide welfare support to students. Centralian College assumed responsibility for delivering education programs and, to enable students to attend the program, Tangentyere assumed responsibility for providing welfare support and the supplementary programs, including art, music, sport and recreation.

Funding

Tangentyere was successful in its application to the Youth Bureau, a section of DEETYA in Canberra, who provided funding for the program through the Homeless and At Risk Youth Action Plan (HARYAP). This was a one-off funding grant of \$155,915, which employed a coordinator, an Aboriginal education worker and a community arts facilitator for the 1997 program. Tangentyere was also successful in its application to Territory Health Services (THS) for \$49,000, which was used to employ a family liaison worker and fund a nutrition program. However, a more secure funding base for the program was needed if it was to be implemented in an ongoing way. It was decided that the project needed to have an education focus but not one that replicated the system that students were rejecting.

Mike Bowden had a number of meetings with the NTDE and the Southern Region Officer for Secondary Indigenous Retention Programs, Jill Totham, who had compiled a database of secondary aged students who were not attending school. Further discussions with the NTDE Student Services Coordinator, Geoff Sloan, resulted in a partnership

being formed between Tangentyere Council and the Department of Education. Centralian College agreed to be the provider. The NTDE, through Centralian College, contributed teaching staff costs and about \$4000 in consumable materials to the program, generated by an NTDE formula for the number of students attending.

Although Centralian College was not seen as the most appropriate school to attach the program to, it was chosen because of its flexibility. Although Tangentyere stated that it needed a teacher/student ratio of 1:10, one main advantage of Centralian being the provider was that the student/teacher ratio could be based on 1:17, which was the lowest ratio the department would agree to provide at that time. The NTDE seemed to have the problem of trying to fit the project into its mainstream structure with mainstream staffing formulas. In order to get the project started, the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education at the time said that he had given a guarantee to the Secretary that the project would not have any capital costs other than staffing.

Staffing

Centralian College provided three teachers. Tangentyere provided a coordinator, a part-time health/liaison person, a community arts facilitator, a teaching assistant and two venues for the program – Basso's Farm and the community facility at Hidden Valley. At the time Basso's Farm was also accommodating the Youth Activities Services (YAS) program at Tangentyere. YAS worked out of Basso's and sometimes used the facility as a venue for running programs for youth. Tangentyere also contributed other vital resources to the project, including food, CDEP workers and transport by using the YAS buses to transport the students in the morning, move the students around during the day and transport them home in the afternoons before the YAS after-school program began. This also provided an opportunity for students to attend the YAS after-school program on a daily basis.

Table 5.1: Staff in 1997

Centralian College Staff	Tangentyere Staff
Teachers: Zania Liddle Paul McLoughlin Nicole Traves AT: Felicity Hayes AIEW: Wendy O'Brien Tutors: Sue Houlton Cait Wait Peter Browne	Coordinator Sem 1: Jan Harris Coordinator Sem 2: Mardijah Simpson AO: Barbara Shaw Liaison Officers: Janice Palmer Marie Ryder Margie Hayes Hampton Bus driver: Garth Cook: Ituma Community arts coordinator: Peter Lowson

Programs

The programs delivered in 1997 included:

- 3 secondary education programs at Basso's Farm
- 1 secondary academic program based at Hidden Valley town camp
- Art/textiles programs
- Cultural programs
- Health programs
- Sport programs
- Welfare support

The students who attended the Basso's Farm campus were aged between 10 and 20 years. They had limited literacy skills and on the whole had experienced a very disruptive education to date. The plan was to provide lots of hands-on tasks and community-based projects through which student's literacy and numeracy skills could be developed. Students were organised into three groups according to their literacy ability and were rotated between programs, using the two teachers and the community arts coordinator as facilitators. Morning programs were focused on the subjects of maths, English and art. Programs in the afternoons were based on activities aimed at establishing art and technical studies projects that could relate to the concept of developing small enterprises.

The class of students at Hidden Valley completed Year 11 and 12 subjects and VET modules with some support from other Centralian staff. In the second half of the year this group moved to Centralian College and the teacher became a mentor to these students, who attended mainstream classes.

Successes

The project had more than 110 students enrol in and attend various programs at various stages of 1997. The program enabled these youth to engage in a program that was based around the completion of projects that were often driven by students' ideas and community needs. It gave many students a purpose for the day and some an opportunity to pursue a secondary education. Many students felt proud of their achievements, both in the academic and the creative areas. Many students completed units in the Foundation and General Studies courses and some students completed Year 11 subjects.

The program retained a core group of 20–25 students with ages ranging from 12–20 years of age. Older family members participated in the program from time to time.

Boughton and Durnan summarise the successes in the 1997 evaluation:

...there were many achievements, including a trip to Vanderlin Island, production of quality art, craft and woodwork items such as chairs, tuckerboxes, paintings, murals, bush cultural trips, sports, Arrernte language lessons, setting up a vegie patch and chook yard, building of a basketball court, cookery, some measurable improvement in some students' English literacy levels, the provision of breakfast and lunch daily, health education sessions and dancing classes. (1997, p.7)

The trip to Vanderlin Island in October was a great boost to the program. A group of 15 students, 2 teachers and 3 support people spent a week camping on the beach at the island. Initiated by Graham Ross and hosted by Steve Johnson, a traditional owner, they took students fishing and taught them about living off the land in a coastal setting.

Some students were involved in the making of a documentary film by Rebecca Cole.

Difficulties/issues

The split campus caused a number of problems. It was problematic in terms of transport and meal provision and the distance between Basso's, Hidden Valley, Centralian and Tangentyere, where much of the administration of the program took place.

There was a lot of debate among staff about the necessity to have a literacy-based program. In fact this debate was never really resolved but subsided as some staff gradually left the project. One Aboriginal male employee was negative about the young

boys and men being in any kind of education program and his discouragement caused a number of problems, including encouraging these youth to drop out of the program. Durnan and Boughton concluded in the evaluation that “a staff development program should be initiated with a focus on resolving the theoretical and practical tensions and differences between the different models being employed by the different staff, especially the differences between teaching models and community development / youth work models” (1997, p.12).

The curriculum for the students with limited literacy skills was also problematic on two counts.

1. The NTDE Board of Studies (NTBOS) had a requirement that the curriculum used in the program was to be the curriculum that had been developed for Aboriginal students across the Territory who had reached high school age but had minimal English reading and writing skills and limited numeracy skills. The teaching approach that was employed ended up being not that different to a mainstream school due to the lack of flexibility in the curriculum and the minimal resources. It was in contrast to what most of the teaching staff felt should happen. There was much debate amongst staff concerning what was a sufficient amount of teaching in the classroom necessary to show a marked improvement in literacy acquisition.
2. Access to Abstudy, though, for these secondary students was based on students enrolling in an accredited course. Halfway through 1997 Abstudy approval had still not been granted.

Despite much good will and effort, the program was poorly resourced. Capital input was almost non-existent and material resources were extremely limited. The buildings at Basso's Farm were far from ideal. They were unbearably hot in summer and freezing in winter.

The combination of all these difficulties, together with the difficult backgrounds of the students, made the teaching situation on the Basso's Farm campus very stressful and volatile. It was extremely difficult to engage students in learning. It was impossible to conduct learning in large groups, as many students commanded one-on-one attention in order to engage them in any effective learning.

There were a number of problems with the way the learning program was constructed at Basso's. The blocks of learning time for the art and practical activities were far too short to enable students to complete things. This meant that a lot of the activities had to be

carried over to the next day, which was not practical, as students did not consistently attend the program. The educational methodology that staff wanted to implement suggested that every lesson should be a self-contained package of learning so that spasmodic attendance from one day to the next did not stop a student from completing a task on the day they were present. Staff found this difficult to implement due to other pressures in the way the curriculum they were using was prescribed and moderated. Because of the high school subject areas the curriculum was based on, activities completed in the different groups were often undertaken in isolation, and often within foreign and irrelevant contexts for students, rather than a holistic project approach being adopted throughout. Staff would have preferred to implement a holistic educational process based on learning contexts that were driven by students' interests and needs. Another issue in the delivery that caused problems was the difficulties and lack of relationship development between teachers and students. As students were continually being shuttled between three people, relationships did not develop as significantly as they could have if the teacher had remained with the same group of students for most of the day.

Having students from a number of different language groups working together created a series of problems which were never solved. As a result fights took place on a regular basis despite the extensive efforts of staff. Students worked and learnt more effectively in small family groups. After the first semester students tended to vote with their feet. One language group would be dominant for a time and the others would not attend. If the attendance of the first group became erratic for some reason another language group would return and dominate. Another problem was that there was only one teaching assistant, an Arrernte woman who had little or no influence over students from other language groups. It was a very difficult position for her to undertake.

The lifestyles of students created an inconsistency in the program. Many of the students were out on the street late at night. Most students were living autonomously, not used to keeping routines or living in structured environments, and were often resistant to requests and instructions from teachers. It was difficult for teachers to tolerate the classroom behaviour of many students, which included outbursts and frequent swearing. Their behaviour made classroom learning difficult. Some students were cajoled to come some days, but much preferred to be 'cruising up town', as they would term it, and consequently moved in and out of the two activities. It was difficult for teachers to teach classes where the content from the previous day was a prerequisite for learning. Many

students came to the program for food and a place of refuge during the day. Very few students stated academic achievement as a priority in their lives at that time and yet, despite this, over the course of the year achieved positive and worthwhile outcomes.

On the whole, the program at Basso's was very difficult and stressful for teaching staff, who rarely had a break during the day, and who had to divide up extra duties between them. One of these duties was doing the morning bus run, which involved spending a considerable amount of time encouraging and cajoling students to attend the program. One of the teachers, who had had 17 years' experience in primary school classes, found the teaching to be one of the most difficult situations he had ever experienced. He put it on a par with climbing to base camp in the Himalayas.

The program at the Hidden Valley campus was quite different from that at Basso's. The students in this program had a considerable amount of secondary schooling. They generally had a higher level of literacy than the students at Basso's and had aspirations of completing subjects in senior secondary school. These students ranged in age between 15 and 20. For the first semester they completed a school-based curriculum developed by their teacher specifically to uplift their skills in certain areas. They worked as a group at Hidden Valley, attending only a few sessions at Centralian College. In the second semester students were enrolled in a series of NTCE stage 1 courses based on their interests and abilities. This required that they attend classes at Centralian. Their lecturer taught the Aboriginal Studies unit they were enrolled in. This method was minimally successful; however, she reported she was forever frustrated from having to chase students. The students were capable of completing the work but could not engage nor commit to the structured timetable of learning in the mainstream context. It would have been better for them to remain as one but it was impossible for one teacher to have the skills to teach such a variety of subjects at a Year 11 level. One of the major factors blocking students was that their lives did not fit a linear mainstream lock step system. (A lock step approach involves going from one step to the next.) Their difficult home situations prevented them from attending classes everyday and mainstream classes do not wait or provide individualised programs. Later in the year this class ceased to function as an academic class. Students became involved in a program with a lesser academic focus, based on practical projects that sometimes generated money.

A lack of parent involvement made things difficult and less effective. As the program was located mostly at Basso's Farm it meant parents usually had to be transported there

– they generally did not drop in of their own accord. It was difficult and time consuming involving parents, and without their involvement the program was not as effective.

Another issue was the lack of clear and established goals and guidelines across the program. Staff felt the program was pulled in a number of different directions to meet external requirements rather than being driven by student and community needs.

Summary – 1997

The Detour program in 1997 was a bit like being on a roller coaster ride. As the project was set up as a pilot for 12 months, it mostly developed on a trial and error basis. It was very vulnerable, as it had no secure ongoing funding, which meant that staff were continually writing submissions for funding and were anxious as to its future. There was also conflict between staff as a result of being employed through two different organisations with different award conditions. They had different expectations of work hours and they looked at the project from different perspectives. Some were not concerned about education and were negative about the efforts of teachers. On the other hand, teachers who had little release time often felt that support staff did not do enough to support them. It was a steep learning curve for all involved.

Despite all the problems it was a unique program that did well to survive the first 12 months considering the difficulties it had to endure. The program was largely successful in that it kept some young people off the street for periods of time during the day. Some students achieved academically, completing a number of modules in the Foundation Studies course. Other worthwhile projects were completed, including the making of tucker boxes, chairs, puzzles, paintings, murals, a chook yard, a basketball court, the roofing of the bough shed and construction and maintenance contracts in people's homes. A number of trips were planned and were able to engage students, including culture trips, the making of 20 bikes for the bike project, which involved a ride to Ross River, and a trip to Vanderlin Island.

By the end of 1997 three coordinators had resigned and an independent evaluation was tendered by Tangentyere Council towards the end of 1997. This was completed by Deborah Durnan and Bob Boughton (1997).

The strengths of the program were listed in the evaluation (1997, p.20) as:

- Detour Project maintained for 12 months – very innovative and pioneering
- Staff are highly experienced with diverse skills
- The majority of the staff working with the project are Aboriginal

- The staff have a high degree of perseverance and commitment
- Participation by 8 students in mainstream NTEC program
- Availability of Centralian resources, facilities and a range of subject choice
- Good student staff ratio
- Project is providing an Aboriginal space, where students feel comfortable
- The participation of a stable core group of Arrernte youth has been achieved
- There is good access to arts and recreational resources
- Nutritious meals have been provided
- There have been opportunities for a variety of physically engaging tasks and activities
- Mutual respect has developed between staff and students

The weaknesses of the program were listed in the evaluation (1997, p.21) as:

- Staff at risk of 'burn out'
- Excessive teaching loads (sometimes)
- There is not enough clarity and agreement among staff about project objectives
- There is confusion and disagreement about the different roles and responsibilities of different staff
- There is confusion about how the different aspects of Detour (social, cultural, educational, health and justice) are meant to fit together
- Staff are not properly orientated to the program when they join
- Inappropriate curricula are being used
- Students are not sufficiently motivated and ready to learn
- Irregular attendance by students
- The group is very diverse and has very different needs
- The work is highly stressful
- Project is limited to day time, but student needs are 24 hour
- There is no agreement on acceptable behaviour by staff and students, including language usage and respect

The summary of external threats reported in this evaluation (1997, p.22) included:

- Families are not involved enough in the project, including curriculum development
- Other community organisations are not involved enough or taking some responsibility for these young people
- Main organisations – Tangentyere and Centralian – giving insufficient leadership and coordination
- Need more community ownership and control of project
- Lack of positive role models for students
- Other secondary school programs do not recognise and support the role of Detour

- Tensions between needs and expectations of academic program and the other [program areas such as] health, recreation, personal and community development
- Participants and ‘target’ group – town camp young people – are extremely marginalised in mainstream Alice Springs society – not respected
- Need for literacy and numeracy remediation – very low English literacy and numeracy
- NT Board of Studies and other available curriculum is not appropriate
- Mainstream system timetables and teaching styles are too inflexible
- Communication with parents and community especially re ASSPA has not been effective
- Not enough support services available at Centralian Campus
- Culture clashes between students and mainstream
- No sub lease over Basso’s
- Lack of project resources
- Physical environment and conditions are not very good at Basso’s, e.g. airconditioning, fans, shade trees, office space

The recommendations of this evaluation included:

- The Detour coordinator should develop an action plan, translating each of the objectives agreed upon in the evaluation and planning workshop into achievable and measurable outcomes, with specific strategies.
- The objectives should be negotiated with parents [and] members of the town camp communities, and be endorsed by Tangentyere Executive.
- An ongoing monitoring and evaluation process should be established.
- A joint management agreement between Centralian College and Tangentyere should be established.
- A Detour staff development program should be established so that staff can resolve theoretical and practical tensions and differences between different models being employed by different staff.
- A school community council should be established. This should be an all-Aboriginal body.
- A student council should be established.
- A strategy should be developed to strengthen and extend the project’s networks of support with other organisations.
- A new coordinator should be appointed to oversee the non-formal aspects of the program and to work as a joint coordinator with the head teacher appointed by Centralian to lead their teaching team.
- Senior management at Tangentyere should make it a priority to secure ongoing triennial funding for the project, including full funding for all project positions.
- That the following structure be implemented

Figure 5.5 depicts the structure recommended by the Detour evaluation in 1997.

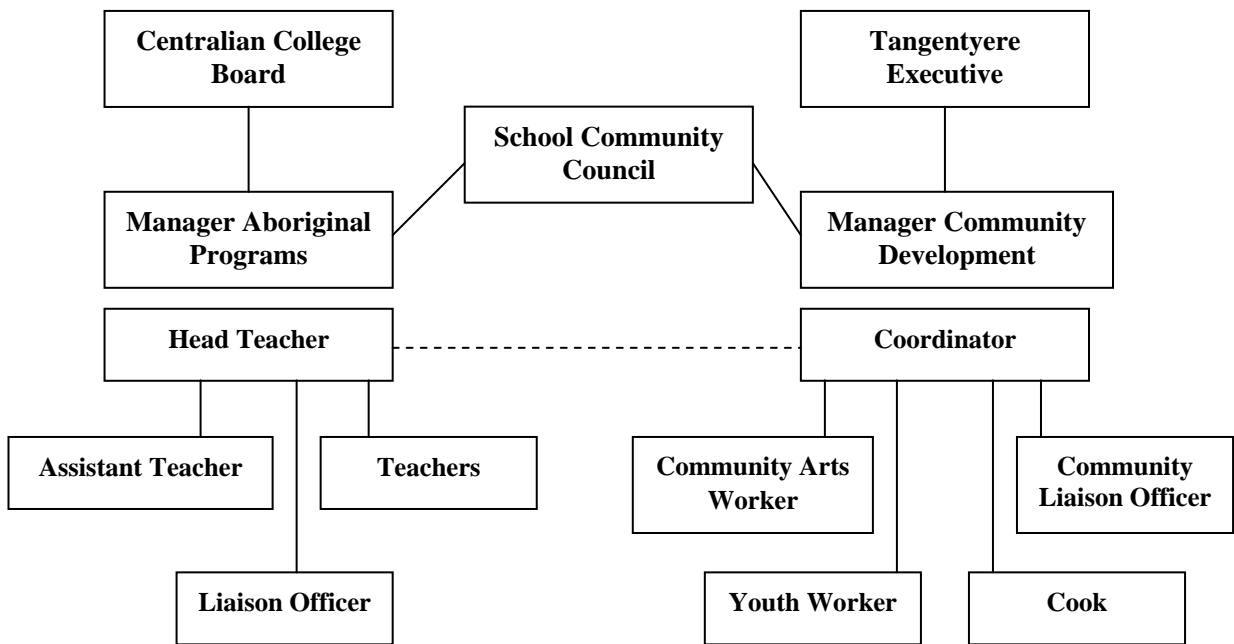


Figure 5.5: Structure recommended by Detour evaluation in 1997

5.1.1.3 1998

Structure

In early February 1998, Tangentyere Council and Centralian College signed an agreement redefining and outlining the responsibilities of each partner for the 1998 year. The management structure proposed in the evaluation was adopted, with a slight change to the Centralian structure whereby the Manager Aboriginal Programs reported directly to the Director of Secondary and Director of TAFE, rather than to the Board. The structure can be seen in Figure 5.6.

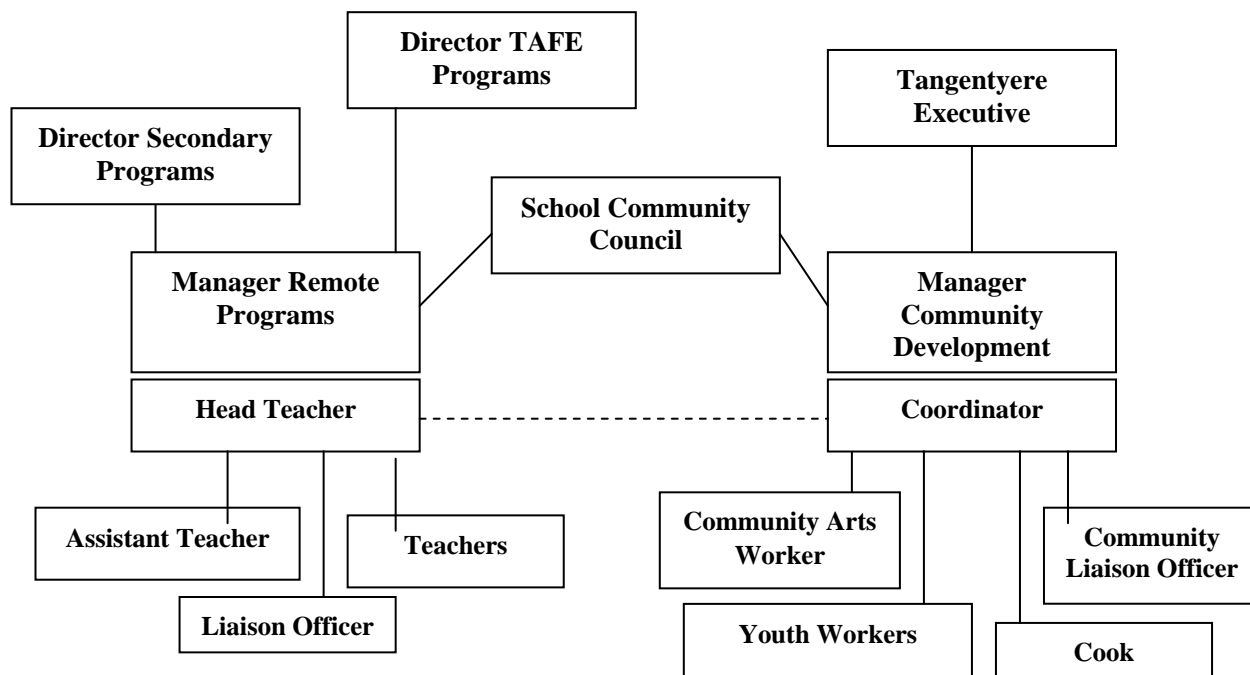


Figure 5.6: Structure of Detour in 1998

The roles and responsibilities determined by the two partners and outlined in the agreement included:

Centralian College Staff

Primary role is to provide a suitable education program between the hours of 9.00 a.m. and 3.00 p.m. each day.

Responsibilities included:

- Assessment and tracking of literacy and numeracy progress.
- Development and implementation of an effective teaching and learning program in line with the NTBOS requirements.
- Maintain accurate attendance and assessment records.
- Establish and support ASSPA.
- Liaise with DEETYA to acquire support for students.

Tangentyere Staff

Primary role is to work with students before the hours of 9.00 a.m. and after the hours of 3.00 p.m. each day to provide them with the necessary encouragement and support to attend the program. Between the hours of 9.00 a.m. and 3.00 p.m., to work with the community, other agencies and students not attending the program unless otherwise requested by Centralian staff.

Responsibilities included:

- Providing transport.
- Providing a meals program.
- Motivating and encouraging students to attend.
- Support to students to resolve health and social problems.
- Basic janitorial services.

The school/community council

The Aboriginal Student Support and Parental Awareness (ASSPA) committee became the school council and this committee completed ASSPA business as well as wider issues related to the program. A chairperson, treasurer and secretary were elected for the school council and ASSPA simultaneously. These meetings were mostly conducted in Arrernte and discussions often focused around what parents wanted the students to learn in the school. This group became very strong and was generally made up of 8–12 women. Occasionally some men would attend the meetings. Although this group had a lot of input into the program it did not have any real power in terms of decision making outside of the immediate school structure or day-to-day running of the program.

Model

Figure 5.7 depicts the model operating at Detour in 1998.

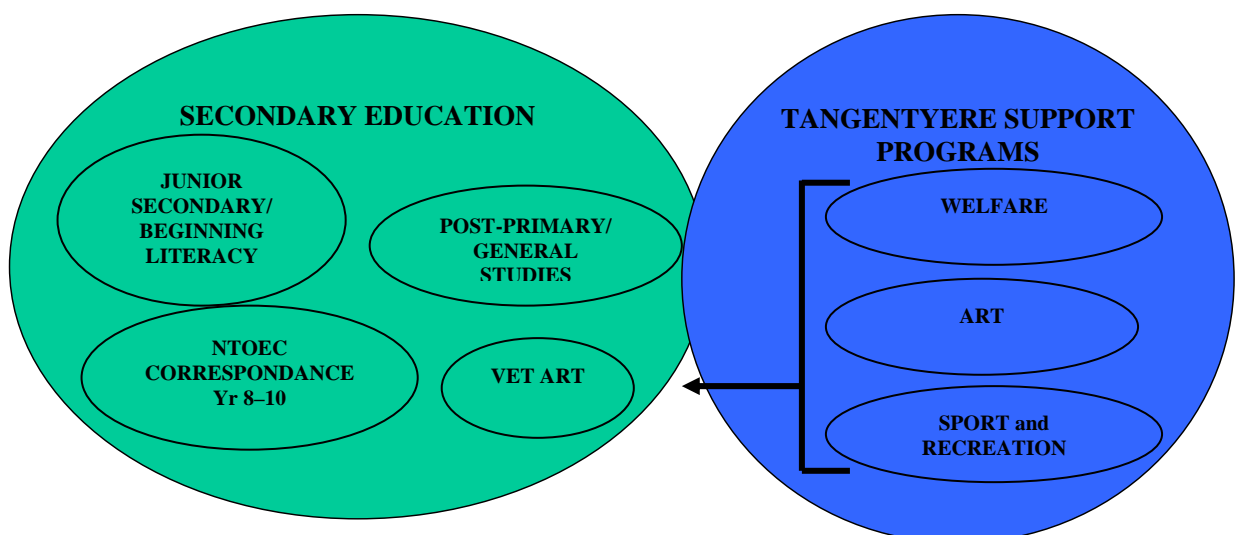


Figure 5.7: Model operating at Detour in 1998

Funding

DEETYA's Youth Bureau funding ceased at the end of 1997. In 1998 Tangentyere continued to receive funds from Territory Health Services to provide a family liaison / health support position, cook and nutrition program (\$49,040). It received funding from the Territory Health Services Wine Cask Levy (\$55,750) to employ a coordinator and to pay for other administration, vehicle and operating costs. They also received \$20,000 from the Aboriginal Development Unit to pay for a youth training worker.

Centralian received funds from NTDE for teachers based on a staff-and-teacher/student ratio of 1:17. A submission to Commonwealth Programs was successful and Detour received funds for a school community liaison person. These funds were used to employ Felicity Hayes as an assistant teacher. The department also allocated a .5 liaison person from their existing staff based in Regional Office. DEETYA provided assistance with tutors, who were funded through Aboriginal Tutorial Assistance Scheme (ATAS), and the Vocational Education Guidance Assistance Scheme (VEGAS) funded a vocation/education investigation trip to Darwin and Aboriginal communities.

Staffing

The program started 1998 with three teachers. By the end of Term 1 a teacher had left and was not replaced. ATAS tutors were used to facilitate the academic group. At the end of Term 2 another teacher left and was not replaced for the rest of the year. The teaching program survived on one teacher, a teaching assistant who assumed the responsibilities of a teacher, and ATAS tutors.

The Tangentyere staff also experienced high staff turnover. The community art facilitator was only funded for half a year. This person was then employed by Centralian as a VET lecturer in art. The Tangentyere coordinator position was not filled for the first three months of the year. The liaison position was filled by three different people throughout the year. The cook's position was filled twice.

In the full-time positions there was 100% staff turnover. In the part-time positions there was a 300% turnover.

Table 5.2: Staff in 1998

Centralian College Staff	Tangentyere Staff
Teachers: Zania Liddle (Sem 1) Nicole Traves Assistant Teacher: Felicity Hayes AIEW: Wendy O'Brien (.5)	Coordinator: Peter Brown, acting till May Art Facilitator: Peter Lowson Liaison Officers: Helen Kantawarra Robbie Thornton Youth Training Worker: Graham Ross (Sem 1) Health support: Marie Ryder, Margie Hampton (July–Dec) Cooks: James Carter Lisa Morrison

Programs

In an attempt to provide and achieve a better quality program and better outcomes, in 1998 the Detour project decided to concentrate on providing programs for an Arrernte target group. Experiences in 1997 showed that it was ineffective to work with and retain students from a variety of language groups. In 1998 a close working relationship with Yipirinya School was developed. Yipirinya picked up the other language groups that had primary school links there.

In 1998 the following educational programs were taught at Detour. Students were enrolled in the following NT Department of Education Board Approved Courses of Study:

- Intensive English
- Foundation Studies
- Years 8, 9 and 10, through NT Open Education Centre (NTOEC)
- Alateen, an alcohol and drug awareness program (Ngkarte Mikwekenhe)
- A sexual awareness program for young men and women, taught separately (Congress)
- VET art (Sem 2)

For those older students who rejected the above programs and were not considering returning to the classroom, Vocational Education and Training modules through an art course at Centralian College were offered in the last semester. This provided the students with useful hands-on skills that had a practical application in community life, mainly in developing skills that generated an income for them. This was the first step in having adults enrolled in formal courses. However, the adults and school students rarely mixed in 1998, as programs took place at different locations.

Students were grouped in three groups. At the beginning of the year each group had its own teacher, but during the year, the teacher who was taking the Years 8, 9 and 10 students left and was not replaced. The teacher was not replaced because student numbers had dropped off. This meant that one teacher had to teach two courses, as the gap between the first and second groups in terms of their literacy level and academic aspirations meant they could not be taught through one course. Employing a coordinator in Term 2, who was prepared to teach (although not qualified) as well as juggle and complete administration tasks, finally solved this problem. He and two tutors supervised the six students in the correspondence courses. This was quite a challenge for them but they successfully assisted two of the students to achieve a B and C grade in Year 10 maths.

The three groups operated effectively for a term until the middle of the year, when the teacher of the younger students in the third group moved to Darwin. Again the teacher was not replaced. The teaching assistant assumed the teaching responsibilities of the third group, with the assistance of the teacher remaining, taking responsibility for jointly administering and teaching this group with the coordinator. A considerable amount of time after school was spent mentoring the teaching assistant and in preparing lessons and planning sessions together. This on top of a full-time teaching load put unnecessary pressure on staff. It was also becoming increasingly evident that the coordinator was spending more time concentrating on community development issues and could not assume the educational administrative responsibilities, especially as she did not have an educational background.

Student attendance was very erratic in 1998 and the difficulties and pressures of the students' lifestyles often prevented them from attending school.

Outcomes

The program had more than 50 students enrol in 1998 and retained about 17 of these for more than three terms.

By the end of 1998 staff began to recognise that the activities that involved older people engaged students more effectively. The younger students wanted to be where the adults were. This was the beginning of consciously implementing the intergenerational approach to education. Staff attempted to set up a community arts centre so that family members could be involved more fully in the school program. but resources were too stretched to implement this effectively.

When the resources were available to involve older people in the program, it resulted in increased student interest, engagement, participation and regular attendance in the program. The students engagement in these projects was very high. These projects provided enjoyable and interesting contexts which students related to and achieved satisfying outcomes. Projects that involved parents and families based on the intergenerational model included:

- The caterpillar story / making musical instruments unit: In this unit an Arrernte grandfather of many of the students told a story, which the children transcribed and translated. This was turned into a short play. In small groups, students made large caterpillars as props, researching the characteristics and colours of the caterpillars. Students in small groups also made a range of musical instruments, including clap sticks, rain sticks, a thong-a-phone, drums and a large marimba. Together they created a percussion sequence and performed the play, accompanied by music and narration, to staff and family members.
- The bike project: This project centred on students reconstructing bikes from old bikes and bits and pieces that were collected from the community and then using them to ride to Ross River. Students spent weeks in preparation for the trip, building and learning how to maintain bikes, attaining a level of fitness and organising the logistics for the trip. Students built the bikes themselves and rode in teams to Ross River. Students also camped, cooked for themselves and worked together as a team to be self-sufficient for the two-day 80 kilometre ride.
- The grotto – a community project: After some discussion with their families, the students decided that they would like to build a grotto on their town camp, where their grandfather had recently passed away. This was quite a revelation to the

teacher, who had begun preparations for a vegetable garden, which she thought was their initial choice of project. Although the students had said this originally the community really wanted a grotto, so students designed the grotto and collected the materials. The grotto project then began at Whitegate, where they lived.

The grotto project was instrumental in the program taking a real community development approach. Within minutes of starting the project, five or six family members came to participate and offer advice and direction to the process. Over the next two days family members assisted with the project until it was completed, which included some weeding and landscaping of the area. Students and family members worked constructively and were proud of their achievements. This was a very successful project not only because it was initiated by three younger students but because it involved more than 15 family members, from small children, to grandparents and achieved an outcome that was meaningful and purposeful to the community.

- The Darwin trip (funded by DEETYA through VEGAS and ASSPA): In June that year, 15 students and five family members went on a trip to Darwin to explore Aboriginal options for employment and further study. This trip was particularly successful for a number of reasons. Parents assumed responsibility for students in small groups and positively interacted with each other in a functional and sober environment. Both parents and students explored options for enterprise development. Together they also saw and discussed the possibilities of Aboriginal employment in a range of careers not always visible in Alice Springs. They had an opportunity to talk with a variety of people and explore future vocational and educational options for themselves.
- The mural project: This project was another example of the beginnings of, and the success of, intergenerational involvement in projects. Younger students were mentored by older Arrernte artists and a non-Aboriginal artist, Cait Wait, to create a mural as part of a community youth initiative. This mural is now displayed permanently on a prominent wall of Malanka Lodge in Alice Springs. A fantastic end product was achieved, with much positive learning and interaction during the process. Students worked on the mural in small groups and pairs at different times over two weeks and practised skills and techniques including air-brushing, landscape painting and dot painting.
- Art and technical studies projects: Students were involved in a number of small group workshops to produce products that could be sold in the community to raise

money for the program. These hands-on projects particularly engaged students and family members together to produce the following products – tucker boxes, chairs with canvas painted backs, silk screened-shirts and bags, puzzles that were made and painted, reconditioned bicycles and jewellery making. These items were sold to the public and the centre held a stall at the Corkwood Festival that generated \$1500 in sales.

- Home economics: Students were involved in a number of home economics sessions over the year. These sessions involved cooking dishes from a range of recipes students chose. Students used these lessons to prepare lunches for themselves or to produce food for sale at fundraisers. They also completed a range of dishes for cooking in camp ovens so that they could apply these skills in their home environments. Students also prepared a number of dishes and invited families to a special lunch to sample them.
- Film making: Five students were involved in a two-week film-making course taught by David Vadiveloo, a man who had worked in Alice Springs as a native title lawyer, and had spent a lot of time with families in Alice Springs, developed long-term relationships with them, particularly with the Arrernte families involved in the program.

At the time, he was studying film making at the Victorian College of the Arts and was looking for a group of people who would make a documentary with him. Mrs Turner suggested he approach the Detour students. Students and teachers agreed to participate and a documentary film was made, with students assuming the roles of directing, acting, filming, and interviewing their own family members about their lives. This project was very successful on a number of levels. It created an awareness and interest in film making in a group of Arrernte people which has lasted to the present day and through which the community plans to develop an enterprise. It added another creative dimension to students' lives and the end product, a documentary film entitled 'Detour Mob', was an asset to the project, which was being threatened with eviction from Basso's Farm and was under constant uncertainty about funding. The film was also successful in winning a number of community film awards.

All of these projects provided contexts which stimulated and motivated students to engage in the learning process. Their success was due to the interesting contexts and the involvement of family members of all ages. The academic program for the less literate group was integrated, where possible, into these learning and project-focused contexts

and positive literacy and numeracy outcomes were achieved. A range of negotiated texts were written and published as big books and as A4 readers, from which intensive literacy activities were developed. This was the most effective and appropriate way to develop these particular students' skills in literacy and numeracy. The learning outcomes were of direct benefit to the community. Discussions arose about turning many of these small projects into enterprises or cottage industries that would provide immediate work and long-term options for the community to build upon. These learning projects formed the basis for the development of the concept of the intergenerational model of education and community development, which was implemented more fully at the beginning of 1999.

Difficulties/issues

Transport became a major issue in 1998, as the YAS program relocated to Tangentyere and it was difficult to share the buses. Tangentyere purchased an old bus for the program but it was very unreliable and some days school did not take place because the bus was unable to be started. It was not easy to drive, at times the brakes failed, and, because of broken seats, it was unable to seat more than 60% capacity. This made morning pick-ups a very long and tedious process. It was referred to as the old ice-cream bus and students were often reluctant to be seen riding in it.

The .5 liaison person who was provided by the Department of Education was very rarely available to assist Detour staff. She was located in Regional Office and blamed her lack of appearance at Detour, which averaged about half a day, on commitments with other schools and her inability to communicate with parents. Her primary role was to assist students with making application for Abstudy, which was a crucial element in retaining students in the program. After a term only three applications had been completed. This position was not directly answerable to the Head Teacher at Detour nor the Principal of Centralian and the lack of Abstudy completions had a negative effect on the program.

The depletion of teaching staff added more pressure to an already difficult and stressful situation. Teaching staff felt constantly under threat of losing their positions and felt responsible for a drop in student numbers. Teachers were reminded that numbers had to stay above 25 to retain the two remaining positions, which had already dropped from the original three the program started with. This had an effect on the morale of all participants in the program as a whole. There was never enough support staff to get the program happening effectively. The program would be inundated with students and then when numbers dropped off there seemed to be a surplus of staff, which needed justifying

all the time. Even though numbers had dropped, the abilities of the students were diverse, which meant retaining three distinct teaching groups. As mentioned previously, the ATAS tutors were used to maintain a group that was once taught by the third teacher.

Student numbers dropped dramatically in 1998. At one stage half of the students were under the required 15+ age group. Only half of the 30 enrolments at the end of Term2 were regular attenders.

The eviction from Basso's Farm was another issue that staff and parents had to deal with. The coordinator, Peter Browne, received a letter from the President and Vice President of the Mt Nancy Housing Association, Agnes Matthews and Valarie Burdett, on 21 September informing him of a decision made on 15 September 1998 that the Detour project needed to find an alternative location for the 1999 school year. With a severe lack of funding and resources, it was a real challenge to find a suitable location and move the program.

Summary – 1998

Although there were many positive outcomes of the program, the project really struggled for the first two years for a number of reasons, including:

- The difficult family situations the young people were coming from created a variety of social problems that made it almost impossible for youth to engage effectively in the educational process established.
- Attendance was very inconsistent, with the youth beginning to suggest the program needed to be where older family members were, especially to access the basic resources they needed to survive.
- The physical conditions were extremely poor and placed unnecessary stress on the program.
- Funding constraints and uncertainty put extra pressure on staff and the program. An example of this can be seen in the following scenario:

The one teaching assistant who has been with the program since 1997 had been employed each year from a different source of funds, and still had not been offered a secure position. She was first employed through the money from the DEETYA Youth Services grant through Tangentyere, and at the end of 1997 was told that there was not sufficient funding left to see her through the school holidays at Christmas. So she had to go onto the Community

Development Employment Program (CDEP) to support her six children over Christmas. She was then employed through Centralian College for 12 months on funding received through Commonwealth Programs for a liaison position. She was told on the last day of school that she might have a job in 1999 and in February 1999 was offered another 12-month contract with no guarantee beyond Christmas.

- The broad target group – encompassing different language groups.
- Lack of a clear vision for staff to work towards – too many people had their own idea of the shape, form and direction of the program and there was too much disagreement amongst staff.

The model of community development began evolving through discussions that grandparents, parents and staff had about the minimal impact the program was having on the lives and behaviours of youth accessing the program as a whole. Towards the end of the year there was a realisation that the projects that were most successful in 1998 were those that involved older family members working together with the young people. This was quite a contrast to teachers' experiences in non-Aboriginal contexts, where teenagers more often than not do not want to be associated with their parents at school. In contrast these Indigenous youth were wanting to be with their older family members. In its early stages the new approach proved more successful, with long-term benefits for families. In discussions with the managers at Tangentyere and Centralian College, it was decided to move to a model which assisted and worked with the whole family. Colin Hodges, the Director of Secondary Education at the time, put forward practical solutions by suggesting that adults and teenage youth (those not participating in the academic program) enrol in VET courses.

5.1.1.4 1999

Overview

In 1999 the program began at the Santa Teresa Town House, located about three kilometres south of the town centre on the Todd River. The location was suggested by the families as the best available option at the time. The offices for Ngkarte Mikwekenhe and a small church were already at this location. These Arrernte families had a long association with the Town House and felt a strong sense of belonging there. On two occasions, I witnessed two old men take their hats off at the gate and genuflect in front of the cross on the fence. Some of the older men had assisted in the initial construction

of the Town House, the original purpose of which was to house people from Santa Teresa when they came into town.

The Darwin Diocese of the Catholic Church owns the Santa Teresa Town House on behalf of the Santa Teresa Community and a lease was negotiated with them to use a number of small rooms, which were converted by staff for classrooms, kitchen and office space. Again this was done with small amounts of money from other program budgets.

The families chose a new name for the program and called it the Irrkerlantye Learning Centre. Irrkerlantye is the Arrernte word for the brown falcon and is also the Arrernte name of the traditional country of the Hayes family near ‘Whitegate’ Town Camp Community. This family was integral to the establishment of the program. This new location made a huge difference in terms of people accessing the program. Members of the Eastern and Central Arrernte community were able to access the facility independently and more easily and feel comfortable and at home there. It was quite a contrast to Basso’s Farm, where a bus service had to be provided to get people to and from the facility. Rarely did community members independently, come to the program at Basso’s Farm. The new facility lacked the buildings and space that Basso’s had, especially the large shed that was used for manual arts and art, but the atmosphere and community involvement at the new site was much more positive and effective. Figure 5.8 depicts the structure at Irrkerlantye in 1999.

Structure

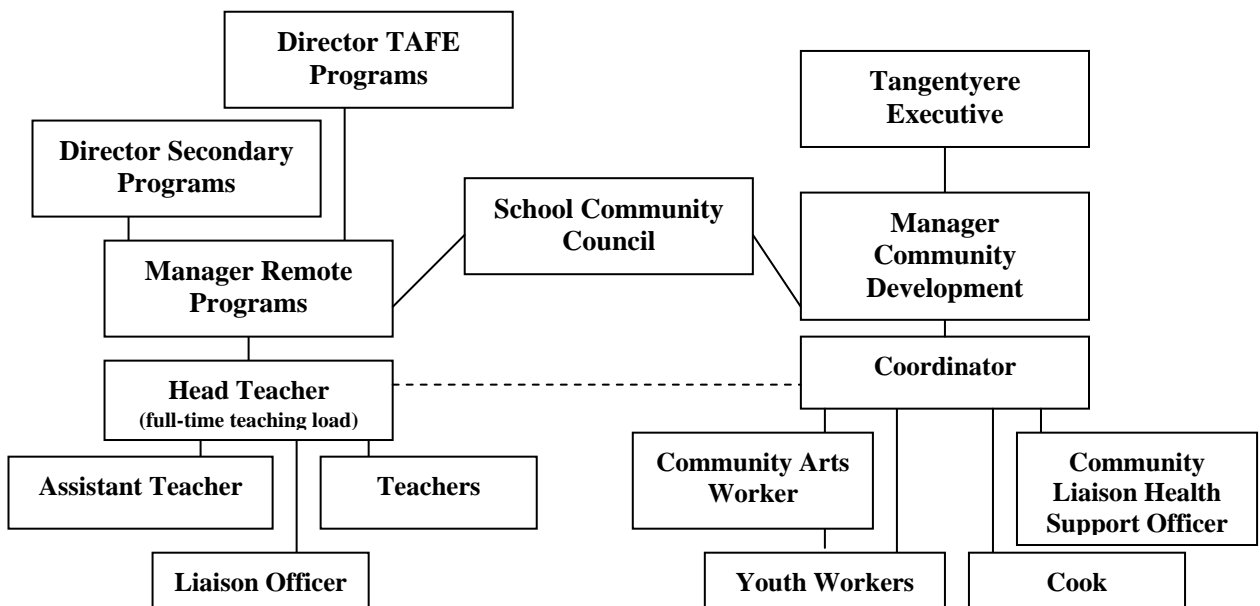


Figure 5.8: Structure of Irrkerlantye in 1999

The School Community Council

The transformation of the program to a learning centre impacted positively on the make-up of the school council meetings. As a result there was more equal attendance by male and female members of the community. The managers from Tangentyere and Centralian as well as the Superintendent from NTDE also attended these meetings in 1999. This group acted as an advisory group to the centre. Figure 5.9 depicts the model operating at Irrkerlantye in 1999.

Model

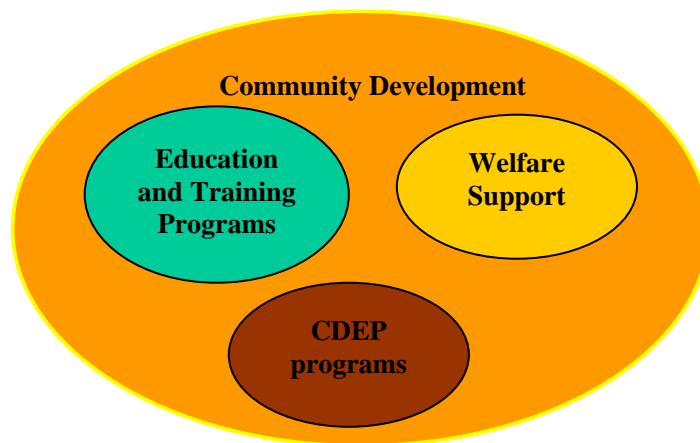


Figure 5.9: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 1999

In 1999 the program began as an intergenerational education and training model with aspirations to integrate projects and programs in a community development approach. The Irrkerlantye programs in 1999 targeted family groups and students from 11 to 50 years of age or more. The whole family was welcomed to the program rather than the focus being solely on youth, so that the education process had a deeper impact on improving the lives of all involved. As a result it attracted a lot more commitment from participants. There were as many adults as children turn up to enrol on day one. The program coordinator and teachers were not really prepared for this and the implications of having so many people with diverse aspirations and needs was daunting at first. With such limited resources it was a big challenge to design meaningful programs to meet people's needs. The only gap in the program that made it not totally intergenerational was the lack of provision for early childhood education.

Some family strategic planning meetings took place with the assistance of Central Land Council. Staff were trying to work out ways that programs and projects could be driven by community needs and have a long-term focus. The Central Land Council's Land

Planning and Assessment Unit assisted staff in facilitating strategic planning meetings for families. The methodology they used included:

- Holding the meeting in a traditional country setting.
- Brainstorming the family members wishing to be involved in the community development process, and brainstorming the short-term and long-term aspirations of the participants.
- Listing any blockages and issues needing to be overcome.
- Developing an action plan with responsibility for actions being determined by nominating family members.

Peter Browne moved away from assisting the secondary students in the classroom and began a coordination role with responsibility for conducting community development workshops and organising CDEP for participants. The centre was largely a learning centre at this stage with community development and CDEP work programs beginning to evolve. A very effective health and well-being coordinator set the parameters for the ways in which the health and well-being programs needed to support, and be a foundation for, all the other programs at the centre. She worked particularly well in counselling individuals and family groups. Having this health and well-being coordinator was a great support to staff who had previously spent so much time assisting people with welfare and pastoral care issues. This development of the health and well-being component of the model is discussed towards the end of this chapter.

Funding

In 1999 Tangentyere continued to receive funds from Territory Health Services (\$49,000) to provide a family liaison / health support position, cook and nutrition program. They also received further funding from the Territory Health Services Wine Cask Levy Funding to employ a coordinator, lease a vehicle and pay for other administration and operating costs (\$76,000).

Centralian College received funds from NTDE for two teachers based on a staff/teacher student ratio of 1:17. A joint submission with Yipirinya School to a funding source in NTDE called 'Full-service Schools' was successful. Full-service schools was "a term first used in Florida's landmark legislation. The creation of one-stop centres where the educational, physical, psychological, and social requirements of students and their families are addressed in a rational, holistic fashion." (Dryfoos, 1994, p.18). This funding provided money for a full-time secondary teacher, enabling Yipirinya to operate

a secondary program for the non-Arrernte students who were better suited to the language groups at that school than at Detour. This grant also paid for a half-time curriculum developer to develop a more appropriate curriculum for the secondary aged students. A submission to Commonwealth Programs for Aboriginal Languages in Schools was successful in obtaining \$17,000 in funds to employ a third teacher for the second half of the year. The NTDE continued to maintain an allocation of a .5 liaison person from their existing staff based in Regional Office. DEETYA provided assistance by funding tutors through ATAS and by providing VEGAS funding for a vocational trip to Darwin and Aboriginal communities.

Table 5.3: Staff and funding sources 1999

Centralian Staff	Tangentyere Staff
Sem 1 Teacher 1 (Post-primary programs): Nicole Traves (NTDE) Teacher 2 (VET men's program): Ray Cochrane (NTDE) Teaching Assistant: Felicity Hayes (NTDE) <u>VET Programs – Training</u> Teacher 2: Ray Cochrane (NTDE education formula) Art PTI: Karina Menkhorst (Centralian TAFE IESIP) Art PTI: Philomena Hali (Centralian TAFE IESIP) Art PTI: Henri Smith (Centralian Profile funding) Media PTI: David Vadeloo (Centralian Profile funding for 42 hours)	Coordinator, Community Development and CDEP Programs: Peter Browne (Wine Cask Levy) Cook: Lisa Morrison (THS) Family Well-being: Christine Palmer (THS)
Sem 2 <u>Education</u> Teacher 1: Nicole Traves (NTDE education formula) Teacher 2: Helen Parer (Commonwealth grant) Teacher 3: Graham Buckley (Term 4) (NTDE) Teaching Assistant 1: Felicity Hayes (NTDE) Teaching Assistant 2: Theresa Ryder (TAFE IESIP) Liaison AIEW: Wendy O'Brien (NTDE) ERT: Glenda Ward (4 hours per week) ATAS Tutor: Sue Hoult <u>VET Programs – Training</u> Teacher 2: Ray Cochrane (until end of Term 3) (NTDE)	

Art PTI: Karina Menkhorst (Centralian TAFE IESIP) Art PTI: Philomena Hali (Centralian TAFE IESIP) Art PTI: Henri Smith (Centralian Profile funding) Media PTI: David Vadivelloo (Centralian Profile funding for 42 hours)	
--	--

Programs – 1999

Education

The education programs in 1999 included:

Semester 1

- Literacy/numeracy class (11–14 year olds) – Nicole and Felicity
- Year 8–Year 12 class (13–24 year olds) – Peter and tutors

Semester 2

- A third teacher was employed part-time to relieve the coordinator from teaching duties.

The training section managed the following programs in 1999. These programs had between 10 and 15 students enrolled in each program, there being a minimum of 10 students required for a course to be viable.

Training – VET Programs

Semester 1

- Indigenous Art class (15+ years) – Karina Menkhorst, PTI (12 hours per week)
- Construction class (15+ years) – Ray Cochrane (20 hours per week)
- Media units (15+ years) – David Vadivelloo (total of 96 hours – a short course)

Semester 2

- Indigenous Art class (15+ years) – Karina Menkhorst, PTI (12 hours per week)
- Construction class (15+ years) – Ray Cochrane (20 hours per week; Term 3)

Successes/outcomes

These are the successes of the 1999 program as stated by people interviewed and as recorded in the Irrkerlantye documents and recalled by me:

- Increased community input and ownership of the program.
- The making of the Irrkerlantye sand sculpture for the learning centre sign.
- Establishment of a well-being program.

- The school council met monthly.
- Successful in Full-Service Schools funding.
- Successful in Wine Cask Levy funding.
- Bush toys.
- Rod Moss completed painting classes with the post-primary students.
- Natalie Clarke completed a native garden and water conservation unit.
- The art ladies went on a trip to Uluru.
- Hart's Range Culture Trip with Margaret Kemarre Turner.
- Post-primary students completed a series of cooking classes at Centralian.
- Post-primary students completed weekly lessons at the town library.
- Irrkerlantye Arts exhibition at Watch this Space in November attracted a large crowd to the opening night, when most of the paintings sold.

Issues/blockages

The following information was taken from an end-of-year evaluation and planning workshop. It is a summary of the issues that were affecting staff and participants at the centre at the end of 1999.

- Lack of operational funding and appropriate resources and equipment.
- Huge efforts in fundraising for small rewards.
- The amount of time spent on submission writing and reports and acquittals to several different agencies to source programs and resources.
- Too much time spent with visitors, meetings and networking for justification, support and funds.
- The amount of weekly maintenance required on the facility.
- The demands put on education department staff were often unrealistic and unsympathetic.
- Transport: - unreliable vehicles
- lack of vehicles.
- Lack of funds to employ drivers.
- Teaching staff required to spend too much time completing bus runs on top of a teaching schedule with few breaks in a week.

- Difficulty in getting the young people to be consistent due to the pressures on them from their difficult living circumstances.
- Pressure of dealing with difficult and demanding youth with little support.
- Lack of time available for staff to prepare teaching programs.
- The huge range of literacy levels that students presented with.
- Administration and management by three organisations at once makes life difficult.
- Lack of assistance with welfare support.

5.1.1.5 2000

Structure

The structure at Irrkerlantye in 2000 was similar to that in the previous year. It is illustrated here in Figure 5.10.

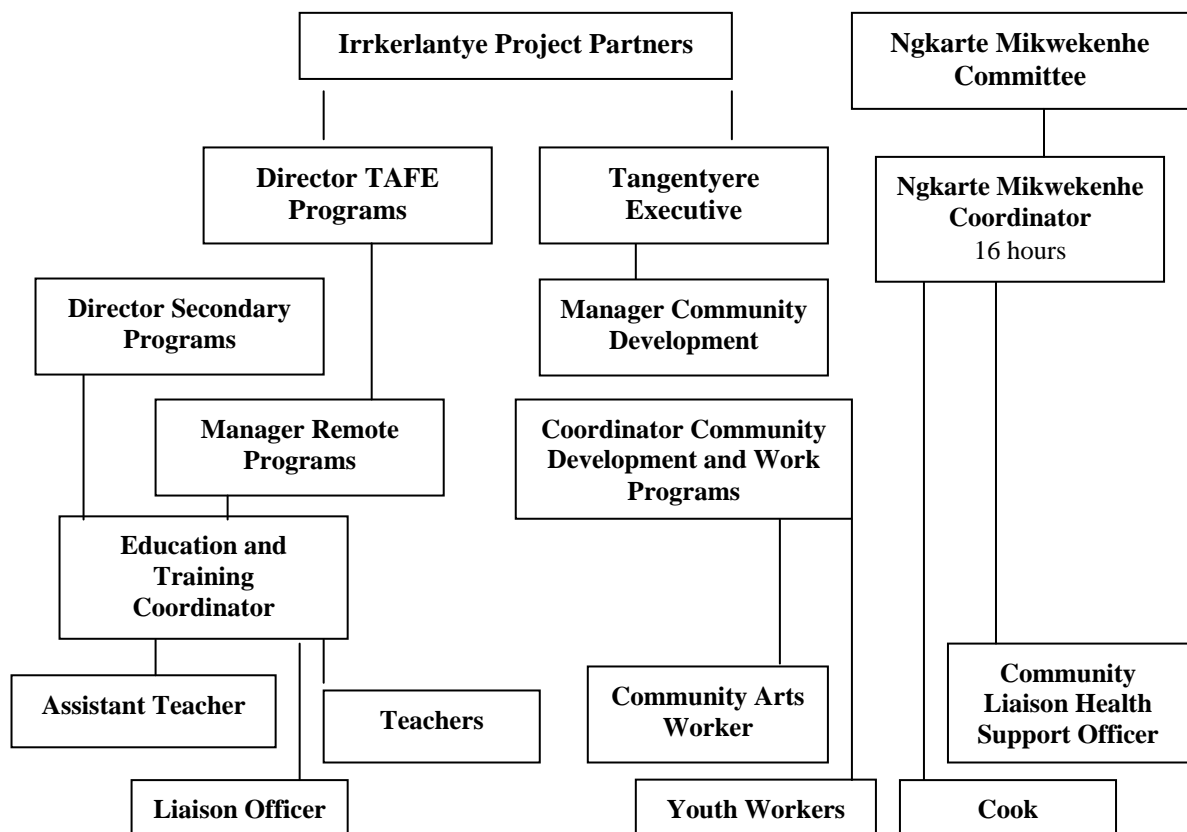


Figure 5.10: Structure of Irrkerlantye in 2000

Tangentyere and Centralian College remained the project partners in 2000. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe, although not a project partner, began to play a more active role in the centre's activities and decision-making processes. The coordinator of Ngkarte

Mikwekenhe was employed in April in a two-day a week position and assisted with church activities and well-being support. He was heavily involved in the organisation of a pilgrimage, which was a huge undertaking involving a couple of hundred Arrernte people and past and present associates who over the period of five days traced the footsteps of the Santa Teresa Mission from Charles Creek to Arltunga and back to Santa Teresa, where it remains today.

Model

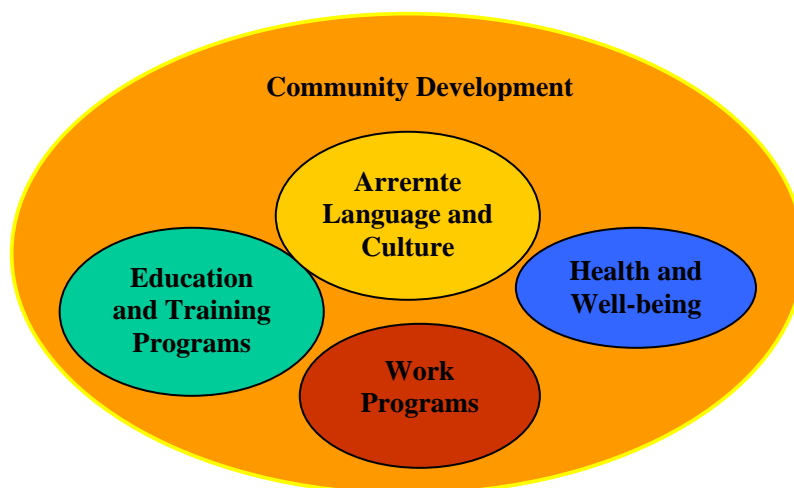


Figure 5.11: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 2000

The model operating in 2000, shown in Figure 5.11, had developed into a more holistic capacity building model in 2000 with the addition of language and culture programs. Family members were instrumental in ensuring that these were at the heart of the model and should be a foundation for all other programs. At this point the centre began calling itself a community development centre, as the programs were centred around a community development focus, with education and training slotting in as one of five important core programs. An outline of the model that the centre began implementing in 2000 is described below (Traves 2000, p.2–3):

Community Development

The Community Development Strategic Planning processes for small family groups continued to be implemented by Peter Browne through Tangentyere Council. Tangentyere did not source any funding for this position in 2000. However the Centre was able to use surplus funds to employ Peter for Semester 1 but had no funding to continue his position for Semester 2. Centralian College picked up Peter's position out of their VET IESIP bucket of funding. As part of Peter's role, he had to organise VET programs to justify the funding. Peter continued to organise family strategic planning meetings throughout 2000 and also supervised the workers on CDEP programs.

Arrernte language and culture

The Arrernte Language and Culture program was run using NTDE IESIP funding and CDEP. Veronica Turner coordinated Language and Culture programs in 2000. Some of these programs included Arrernte lessons in classrooms for school aged students, Arrernte lessons for non-language speakers, mostly non-Aboriginal staff, back to country visits for family groups and a series of Friday night bush trips for teenage youth.

Health and Family Well-being

Christine Palmer resigned from the position due to funding uncertainties and two other people held the position for short periods of time. An agreement was reached with Congress Social and Emotional Well-being unit that they would support the position by allocating someone to work almost full-time at Irrkerlantye. However, this did not eventuate into anything substantial.

Education and Training

There were two education programs happening in 2000. The coordinator's position was a teaching position and therefore organisation of training programs and submission writing usually happened after 3.00 p.m. The coordinator's position was paid as a teaching position, not as a position with higher duties – this was partially because of the Centralian Award, which did not pay coordinators of programs a higher salary but gave them more release time.

Education and training programs operated for students aged 12 years and over. There were a couple of students in their 60s. There were approximately equal numbers of adults and school-aged students.

The training programs were organised around projects that were set up to achieve community development aspirations or work and enterprise aspirations. Some of these projects included relocating sheds and setting up a water pipeline for a new homeland centre that was trying to get established, and the construction of a bough shelter that doubled as a church and meeting place. Training funding was often used to facilitate the community development work and to engage the CDEP participants in a program, as there was no funding for a CDEP supervisor. People were enrolled two days a week in a training program and two days a week in CDEP work completing projects.

CDEP Work Programs

A number of CDEP participants were engaged in activities at the centre, at their outstations or on the town camp communities where they were living. CDEP participants made up the bulk of this program. Apart from completing community-driven projects,

the emphasis was to engage people in meaningful, purposeful activity. In 2000 many older men engaged in these projects and as a result their drinking was substantially reduced.

Funding

Centralian provided funding through the following sources:

- NTDE
- DEETYA
- IESIP
- NTETA Flexible Response Funding

The amount Centralian College contributed to the program was about \$400,000, including money for:

- Staff
Centralian salaries – \$221,283 (3 teachers +1 teaching assistant):
Teacher 1 – \$50,693
Teacher 2 – \$49,763
Teacher 3 – \$53,910
Assistant Teacher – \$31,586
- Consumables – \$6000
- Rent \$10,800
- Power \$2800
- Cleaning \$3000
- Furniture \$4500
- Art consumables \$3600
- Maintenance \$5000

Tangentyere contributed approximately \$90,000. It used surplus monies to carry the coordinator's position for the first semester and continued to receive money from Territory Health Services to operate the health and well-being programs and provide vehicle and materials support. CDEP funds were also used to provide base level wages for some workers.

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe contributed money from JET FACS for the crèche. The school also received a donation of \$2550.

Staffing

An overview of staffing in 2000 can be seen in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Staff in 2000

Centralian College Staff	Tangentyere Staff
<p>Sem 1</p> <p>Teachers:</p> <p>Coordinator/teacher: Nicole Traves</p> <p>Literacy/numeracy class: Helen Parer</p> <p>Teaching Assistant 1: Felicity Hayes (NTDE)</p> <p>Language and Culture: Veronica Turner (IESIP schools funding)</p> <p>Liaison/AIEW: Wendy O'Brien (NTDE)</p> <p>ERT: Glenda Ward (4 hours per week)</p> <p>ATAS Tutors:</p> <p>Sue Hout</p> <p>Natalie Clark</p>	<p><u>Community Development</u></p> <p>Community Development Coordinator: Peter Browne (Centralian TAFE IESIP)</p> <p><u>Health and Well-being</u></p> <p>Health and Well-being support</p> <p>Cook: Lisa Morrison (THS) (CDEP + grant top-up)</p>
<p>Sem 2</p> <p>Education</p>	<p>NMC Staff</p>
<p>Teacher 1: Nicole Traves (NTDE)</p> <p>Teacher 2: Helen Parer (NTDE)</p> <p>Teacher 3: Graham Buckley (Term 4) (NTDE)</p> <p>Teaching Assistant 1: Felicity Hayes (NTDE)</p> <p>Liaison/AIEW: Wendy O'Brien (NTDE)</p> <p>ERT: Glenda Ward (4 hours per week)</p> <p>ATAS Tutor: Sue Hout</p> <p><u>Training</u></p> <p>Teacher 3: Ray Cochrane (Terms 1–3) (NTDE education formula)</p> <p>Art PTI: Karina Menkhorst (12 hours per week) (Centralian TAFE IESIP)</p> <p>Media PTI: David Vadiveloo (Batchelor College NTETA FRF funding)</p> <p>Certificate 1 in Construction: Peter Flynn</p>	<p>Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Coordinator (OATSIH funding for 16 hours per week)</p>

Programs – 2000

The following programs operated in 2000.

Semester 1

Education

- Literacy/numeracy class (11–14 year olds)
- Year 8–Year 12 class (13–24 year olds) (some mothers)
- Crèche group (0–4 years)

Training

- Indigenous Art class (14+ years)
- Certificates 1 and 2 in General Construction (14+ years) – NTDE Teacher
- Certificate 2 in BRACS Broadcasting Operations
- Certificate 1 and 2 in Horticulture
- Driver Education programs

Semester 2

Education

- Literacy/numeracy girls class (11–14 year olds)
- Literacy/numeracy boys class (11–14 year olds)
- Year 8–Year 12 class (13–24 year olds) (some mothers)
- Crèche group (0–4 years)

Training

- Indigenous Art class (14+ years)
- Construction class (14+ years) (NTETA FRF)
- Film making/Media – short course (NTETA FRF)
- Driver Education programs

Successes

- The rapport Sister Helen Parer developed with the post-primary students and the community was a real boost to the program. Sister Helen's class had an average of 28 students, with up to 15 regular attenders. Quite a few students had 100% attendance some terms. This meant the teaching resources had to be redirected to cater for the large numbers in the group. It was decided to split the class into a girls and 'young' group in Term 4.

- The Irrkerlantye Falcons Band: This band formed and performed at a number of functions. The Falcons were led by the Hayes boys, whose fathers and uncles had assisted them to learn music. Peter Browne tutored them and together they practised a few times each week. Peter assisted them to get equipment and a band room at the centre where they could practice.
- Two film nights were held at the centre in 2000. Each night attracted a large crowd of more than 100 people, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, from all walks of life in the community. Students showed the films they had made on a big screen outside. The films were a great source of entertainment and were held in high regard. The nights were real family affairs, with the band playing first and a barbecue and drink stall providing food and raising funds for the centre.
- There were two major art exhibitions of Irrkerlantye Arts work.
June 2000 – ‘Visions’ Exhibition – Irrkerlantye Arts
September 2000 – inclusion in ‘Desert Mob Exhibition’ at the Araluen Centre
Students from the art course went on a trip to Uluru, and ‘Walkatjarra’, at Uluru, began selling and distributing Irrkerlantye Arts work.
- A group of 15 students went on a successful trip to Canberra. This trip was funded by VEGAS and ASSPA. The aim was for students to investigate vocational and educational options and to learn about the Australian system of government and the Australian legal system. The group had a meeting with the Prime Minister and the Indigenous Affairs Minister and met members of parliament from the three main parties, including Senator Aden Ridgeway and Warren Snowdon. Students took part in a mock sitting of parliament.
- The post-primary girls had a successful trip to Adelaide during which they participated in the ‘Kid’s Congress’ at Adelaide University for a week. This trip enabled students to develop their confidence by presenting their project on water usage to a group of people. They also attended classes at Loreto College, a mainstream school, in order to investigate educational options.
- Students completed a range of modules in the Certificate 1 in Construction. Through these modules students attained skills which enabled them to complete projects on their outstations and town camps. The Doolans constructed a number of buildings and a water tank on their homeland at Urewenhe. This also involved moving sheds and toilet facilities from Sandy Bore; these were donated to them by the Turner

family. This was an initial step towards establishing their homeland centre as a place to which they can retreat for holiday breaks.

- Thirty family members including school students went on the education and work study tour to Darwin and outlying areas. The aim of the trip was to investigate education, training, work and enterprise options. Family members ranging from 12 to 67 years lived together in family groups in self-contained accommodation.. Participants interviewed people and listened to a number of people speak about their roles as Indigenous workers and leaders, or about being in an Indigenous workplace, reflecting on the positive and negative aspects of the work. Avenues of funding, training and day-to-day operations were also discussed. Participants took part in tours and presentations about training and education options at a variety of educational institutions. Students often questioned the presenters and gathered information through pamphlets and handouts. Participants completed work booklets, which were a valuable tool in preparing students for a visit, prompting them to ask questions and find out information. They also assisted participants to reflect on visits and deepen their thoughts and observations through recording them in a diary each day. In particular, they were able to reflect on what they had seen and how it was applicable to their families' long-term aspirations and family strategic plans
- Some of the places students visited included:
 - Northern Territory University
 - National Parks and Wildlife
 - Nungalinga College
 - Tiwi Tours – Bathurst Island
 - Bathurst Island and Daly River Work Programs
 - Bima Wear and Tiwi Designs art enterprises (Bathurst Island) and Merrepen Arts (Daly River), Katherine Rural College
 - St John's College
 - Australian Defence Forces
 - Murrapatyanu School (Bathurst Island), Xavier College (Bathurst Island) and St Frances Xavier School (Daly River)
 - Bathurst Island and Daly River alcohol centres
 - Darwin, Nguiu and Daly River museums

The Darwin trip was highly regarded by participants, who were provided with many valuable insights and experiences, which they commented would assist them in their pursuit of future education, training and work options.

Issues

The use of the third teacher to teach the VET Construction class became an issue in the middle of the year because it meant that there was not a teacher to teach the growing post-primary class. Ray Cochrane resigned in Term 3 and a new teacher, Graham Buckley (who was teaching at Ukaka and who had developed friendships with the Hayes family at Whitegate through the Ukaka families), transferred to Irrkerlantye to teach the post-primary boys group. The post-primary boys group was made up of a strong group of 12 regular attenders and at times the group increased to approximately 17 students.

Teachers became very stressed with all the extracurricular duties they had to perform, including the bus runs and breakfasts. They found it difficult in terms of having preparation time for class. Teaching staff also found the inadequate resources, such as the outdated photocopier, put extra pressure on them.

5.1.1.6 2001

Structure

The structure at the centre in 2001 can be seen in Figure 5.12.

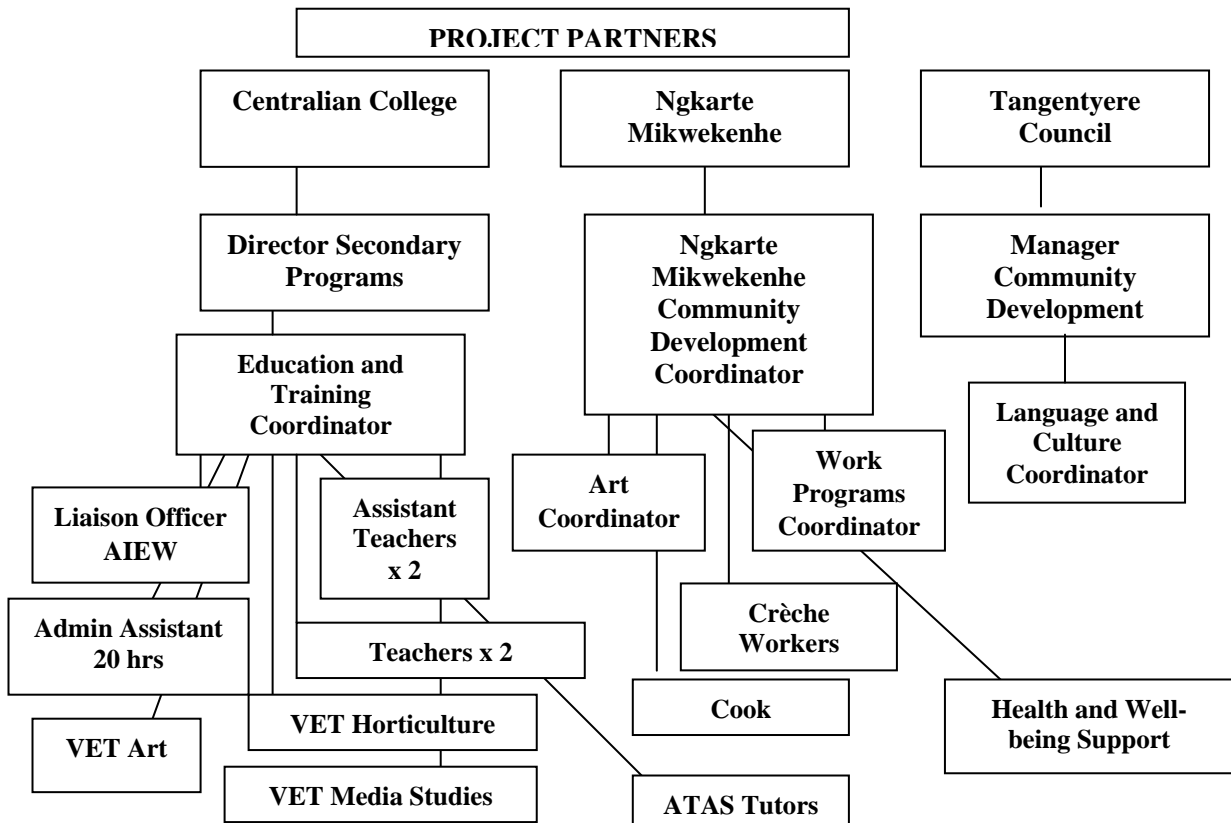


Figure 5.12: Structure of Irrkerlantye in 2001

Model

The model operating at the centre in 2001 can be seen in Figure 5.13.

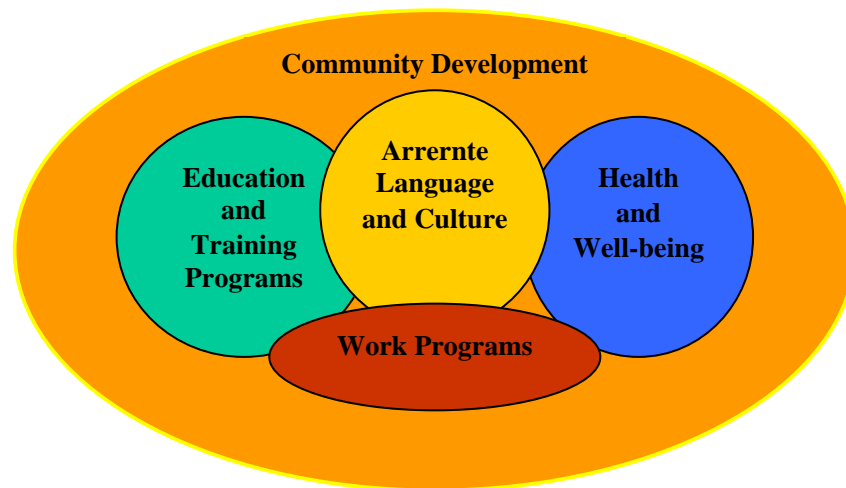


Figure 5.13: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 2001

Funding

The centre accessed the following funding and funding sources in 2001.

Centralian College

- 3 teachers – \$134,000
- IESIP – Languages in Schools – \$15000
- Principal Directed Pilots – \$1500
- Rent – \$5400
- Power – \$1400

Tangentyere

- THS – \$49,000

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe

- FACS JET
- NTSAFE

Staffing

An overview of staffing for 2001 can be seen in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Staff in 2001

Centralian	Tangentyere Council
Coordinator Education and Training/Part-time Teacher (Secondary students Years 8–11): Nicole Traves Teacher 1 (Post-primary girls): Nadine Williams Teacher 2 (Post-primary young males): Graham Buckley Teaching Assistant 1: Felicity Hayes Teaching Assistant 2: Theresa Ryder Liaison/AIEW: Wendy O’Brien (NTDE) ATAS Tutor: Sue Hoult	<u>Health and Well-being</u> Health and Well-being support Cooks: Lisa Morrison (THS) (CDEP + grant top-up) Dee Teran
	NMC
<u>Training</u> Certificate 1 and 2 in Aboriginal Art and Cultural Practices (15 years +): Karina Menkhorst Certificate 1 and 2 in Horticulture – town-based group (15 years +): Damien Johnson, Wayne Tregaer	Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Coordinator/ Community Development Coordinator: David Woods (FACS + OATSIH funding) Work Programs Coordinator (FACS funding) Language and Culture Coordinator: Veronica Turner

Programs

Education

- Crèche 0–5 years
- Post-primary boys (11 years +) (class of 18 students)
- Post-primary girls (11 years +) (class of 23 students)
- Year 8–Year 12 class (11 years +) (class of 13 students)

Training

2 days course work/2.5 days CDEP Work Programs:

- Certificate 1 and 2 in Aboriginal Art and Cultural Practices (15 years +)
- Certificate 1 and 2 in Horticulture – town-based group (15 years +)
- Media and music studies (15 years +)

Short courses for mixed groups:

- Driver Education programs
- Alcohol Awareness programs – Heart Talk
- Alukura – women’s health
- First Aid

Community Development Program

Twelve families nominated to participate in the community development strategic planning process, designed specifically to set goals and create strategic family plans.

These families included:

Doolans	Conways
Hayes	Tuckers
Turners	Ellises
Neals	Loos
Burdetts/Olivers	Abbotts/Youngs/Andersons
Ryders	Webbs

Strategic planning meetings were held with many of these families.

Work Programs

John Isgar was employed to coordinate the CDEP Work Programs. CDEP participants were registered with three organisations: Tangentyere, Ingkerreke and Arrernte Council. Each of these organisations had different parameters to work within. To be eligible for Tangentyere CDEP, participants had to be residing on or closely linked with residents of town camps. Tangentyere expected its participants to work on town camps, Ingkerreke expected its participants to live and work on their outstations and Arrernte Council provided CDEP for participants who resided in town. Irrkerlantye had negotiated a number of positions from each of these organisations but had difficulties in that Irrkerlantye projects were often on outstations or around Irrkerlantye itself and they did

not specifically meet the guidelines of the service organisations. It was also difficult to extract resources from them.

Health and Well-being

A number of physical health programs were initiated in 2001, including visits by the health workers at Congress. One of the teaching assistants arranged this. The emotional and social well-being unit at Congress also supported the program and visited Irrkerlantye to assist when requested, usually for counselling sessions for students. Alukura also provided classes to discuss young women's health issues.

Arrernte Language and Culture

The Arrernte Language and Culture programs included:

- Arrernte literacy in the classrooms to the post-primary, secondary and crèche students.
- Culture trips to traditional country settings for individual families in and outside of the school program.
- Friday night camp-out trips for teenagers and grandparents.

Successes

Education and Training

- Irrkerlantye had more than 50 students enrol in secondary programs in this year and 60 students in Vocational Education and Training courses.

Post-primary/secondary – academic outcomes

- Average attendance over the year increased by 9%.
- Students averaged an improvement of 1.25 years in their reading ages.
- Spelling proficiency increased by 38%.
- 91% of students improved by one or more year levels in numeracy.
- One student completed NTCE Certificate Stage 1.

Post-primary/Secondary – achievements general

- Five Year 10 and 11 students participated in a cultural exchange in Sydney funded by the students from Our Lady of Mercy College, Parramatta. Students facilitated cultural workshops for 450 students over 2 days.
- Four nominations were accepted for Peoplescape, as part of the National Federation Celebrations and four life-sized paintings of grandmothers from the Arrernte

community were presented by Irrkerlantye students and displayed in front of Parliament House in Canberra.

- Students and family members from Irrkerlantye participated in the traditional dancing for the Yipirinya Festival.
- Petria Conway, a Year 11 student, completed a very successful work experience program at K-Mart.
- The post-primary classes completed a bike ride to Ross River, having had to build their own bikes and be self-sufficient for 3 days, camping along the way.
- Zac Coonan completed Year 11.
- The school developed stronger connections with Larapinta school and Alice Outcomes, with the aim of giving these three alternative programs more strength to lobby for funds.
- At the Centralian Awards night the Minister for Education made a glowing speech about Irrkerlantye and the model it had developed.

Vocational Education and Training

Art

- The art group increased its profile in the general community.
- Students and staff made goods and sold them at the Corkwood Festival.
- Students completed numerous modules in Certificates 1 and 2 in Arts and Cultural Practices. Thirty modules were completed in these certificate courses. Twelve students studied Certificate 1 and four students studied Certificate 2.
- The artists became a member of the Desart group. This enabled them to get IT support, particularly to establish a process for certificates of authenticity and they built a website.
- Artists were able to sell paintings on line through their website.
- The Irrkerlantye Artists held four successful exhibitions:
 - ‘Embodying Spirit’ at Watch this Space in March 2001
 - ‘Bush Women Bush Food’ at Desart gallery in June 2001
 - Participated in ‘The Desert Mob’ in September 2001 at the Araluen Centre
 - ‘Our Country Our Place’ in November 2001 at the Araluen Centre
- Artists produced works for the Peoplescape exhibition in Canberra, held outside Parliament House, October 2001.

- Students painted a large canvas which was the main back drop at the Yeperenye Festival, held as part of the centenary of federation festivities.
- Students in the art course/enterprise began to earn a substantial supplementary income. Students sold \$40,000 worth of art, which was a real indication that the art enterprise would be a feasible aspiration. The students continued to work together three days a week when the course was not running.

Media

- Students completed modules in film making through Certificates 3 and 4 and the Diploma of Arts (Creative and Applied) and from the BRACS certificate at Batchelor College.
- The Irrkerlantye media students won 3rd prize at the 3rd Annual Remote Area Film Festival at Umuwa.
- Students established an agreement with Imparja to buy footage the students produced.
- Steve Hodder, a media student, was profiled on SBS Noise Festival and the ABC Arts Show.
- Students were able to apply the skills used in their course work by getting some part-time work with Achilles Heels Films.

Horticulture

Students studied a range of modules in Certificates 1 and 2 in Horticulture. This course provided learning that enhanced the CDEP work goals. The skills attained through the horticulture certificates enabled the participants to complete a range of projects, including the establishment of a vegetable garden, weed control, landscaping of the Irrkerlantye crèche and revegetation on town camps and outstations.

In 2001, five students attained Certificate 1 in Horticulture. One student went on to obtain a three day a week part-time position with the town council working on a weed control project.

Language and Culture

- Irrkerlantye involvement in Yeperenye Festival.
- Family trips back to country.
- Trip to Our Lady of Mercy College, Parramatta.

Community Development

- A submission to Family and Community Services was successful and funding was granted to Ngkarte Mikwekenhe for 18 months for a community development coordinator and a work programs coordinator. David Woods and John Isgar were employed in these positions.
- Many students and family members participated in programs for Term 1.
- A submission to the Quakers was successful for up to \$30,000 to purchase a new bus.
- Kings Canyon trip.
- Doolans' trip back to country.
- Organisation of Power Point presentation to the Education Minister by community members.

Work Programs

- The Whitegate crew completed a range of projects, including a children's playground and the erection of a number of sheds and slabs
- The women from Hidden Valley, mostly from the Drover and Turner families, used training hours to assist them to establish a recycling enterprise. They were successful in this enterprise, making a range of products which sold at the Corkwood Festival, including painted jigsaw puzzles, canvas bush chairs and coffee tables. They recycled a range of furniture items, which they purchased or had donated to them by the tip shop, St Vincent de Paul and the Salvation Army, fixing them up before on-selling them to family members.
- The Horticulture team completed a range of projects around Irrkerlantye.
- Veronica Turner made a successful presentation at the Tidy Town Forum
- The band held a successful band night at Brown Street

Issues

- Staff put a lot of effort into lobbying outside agencies and receiving visitors in the hope that people would respond to Irrkerlantye's plea for funds.
- Teaching staff spent up to 10 hours a week driving buses. This made it difficult to have any effective planning and mentoring time with Aboriginal staff.
- The Coordinator of Education and Training returned to the classroom full-time, which meant coordination was not as effective as it had been. She was now running

the school from the classroom and being interrupted constantly. She was also coordinating the men's group and the CDEP staff, because when Peter Browne left, he was not replaced for the first 10 weeks. There was a big need for a principal without teaching duties to coordinate Education and Training.

- There were many staff on the staffing sheet but many of them needed daily supervision, mentoring and guidance. Many of them had to be picked up and dropped off for work.
- The facility was in need of an upgrade.
- The Language and Culture program struggled with a lack of funding, hindering its ability to employ Veronica Turner in the same capacity as she was employed the previous year.
- A lack of administrative staff meant that the phone was forever ringing and communication in and outside Irrkerlantye became difficult.
- The Irrkerlantye Media Unit operated without funding and through the goodwill of David Vadiveloo and Steve Hodder, which meant that it did not attract many students or workers and there was a lack of coordination and product produced.
- There were difficulties with the organisations that provided CDEP participant funding.
- There was a lack of an appropriate level of funding for materials, equipment and future positions in the Work Programs section
- There was a lack of funding and processes for training and mentoring CDEP supervisors in the different work programs
- The supervision of Correctional Services Community Service orders without extra resources was demanding on the program.

Structure

The structure at the centre in 2002 can be seen in Figure 5.14.

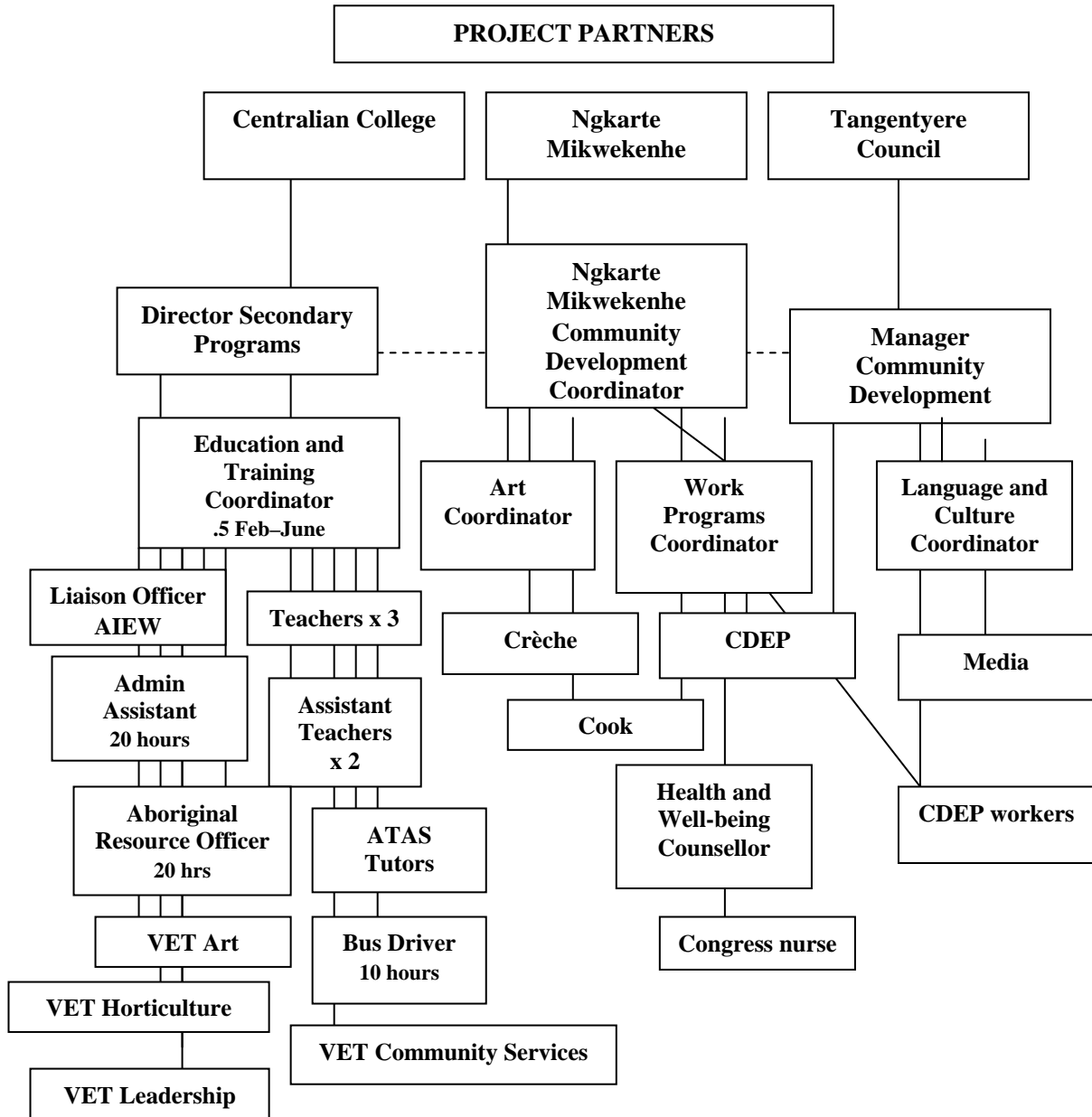


Figure 5.14: Structure of Irrkerlantye at the beginning of 2002

The structure illustrated in Figure 5.14 continued through most of 2002. During this time a number of processes assisted the NMC Committee to undertake a new role whereby they were the managing body which brokered services from other agencies, including Centralian College and Tangentyere. These included the leadership course, which facilitated a number of discussions about the structure of the organisation and the roles

of the managing partners. This process was further facilitated by the input of an Arrernte researcher from the Cooperative Research Centre evaluation. Another factor that contributed to change was Centralian College's announcement that it would withdraw its support for the program in 2003. Centralian staff reasoned at a 2003 staff meeting that the school student client group were too young for Centralian. Half way through 2003 the Department of Employment, Education and Training became the service provider for education. Centralian College continued to provide VET programs. These factors contributed towards a change in structure, which was implemented late in 2002 and early 2003 where NMC assumed full control of the program. This structure can be seen below.

Structure – end of 2002

The structure at the centre at the end of 2002 can be seen in Figure 5.15.

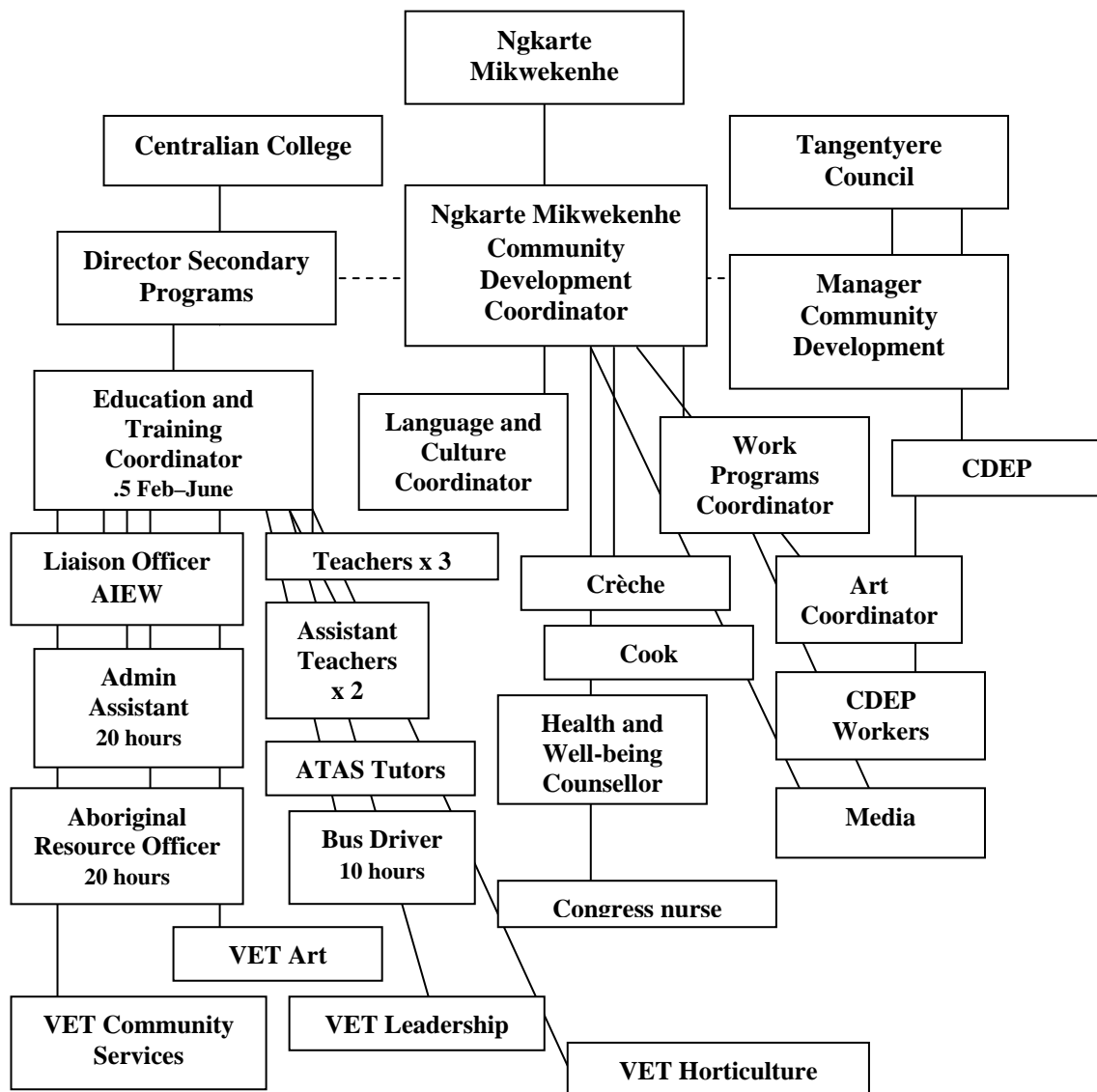


Figure 5.15: Structure of Irrkerlantye at the end of 2002

The students in the leadership course spent a considerable amount of time researching and discussing possible structures for education and training. After a number of meetings and discussions a new structure was drafted for the Education and Training section. This can be seen in Figure 5.16 below.

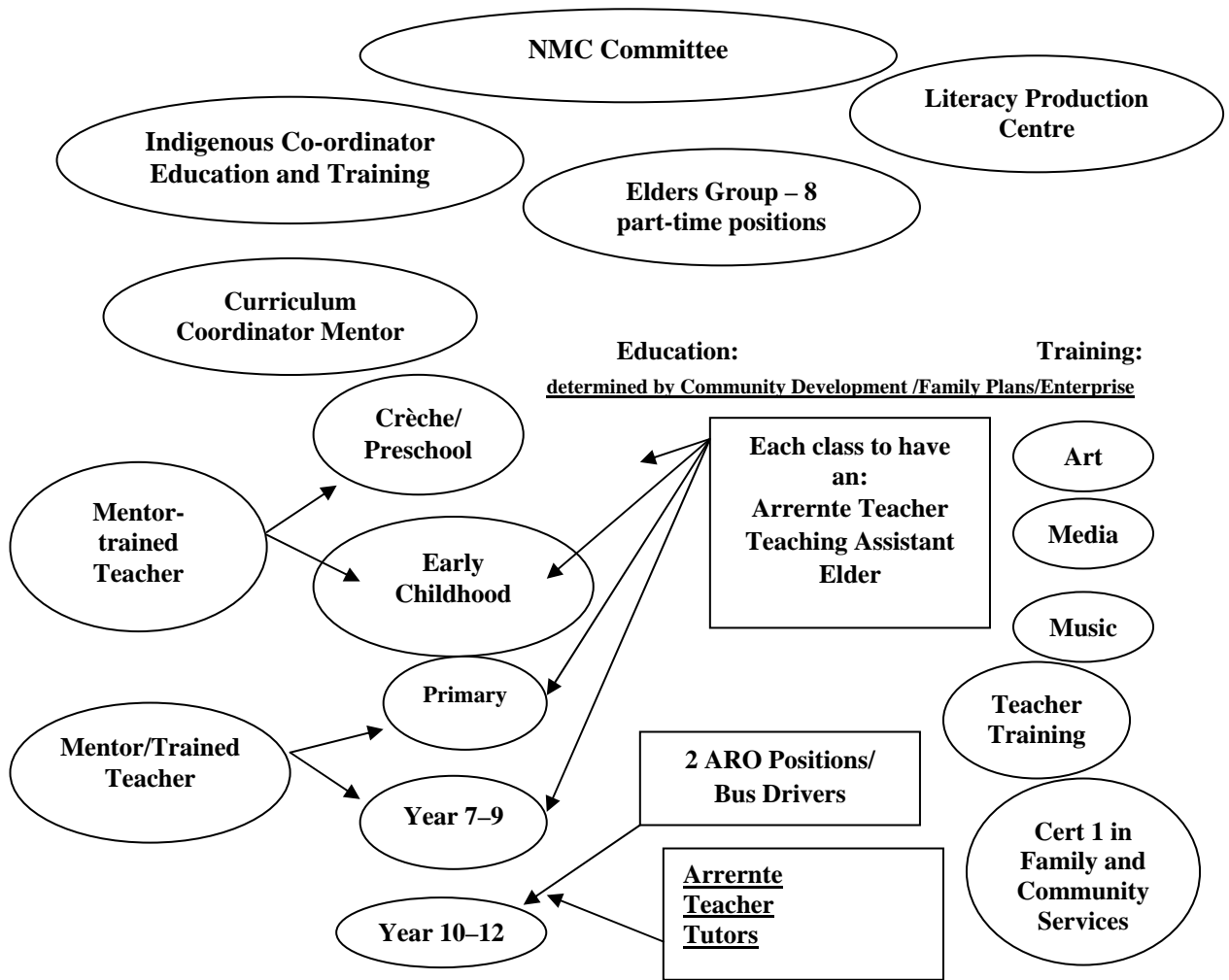


Figure 5.16: Irrkerlantye Learning Centre – revised school structure, 25/9/02

Model

The model in operation at the centre at the end of 2002 can be seen in Figure 5.17.

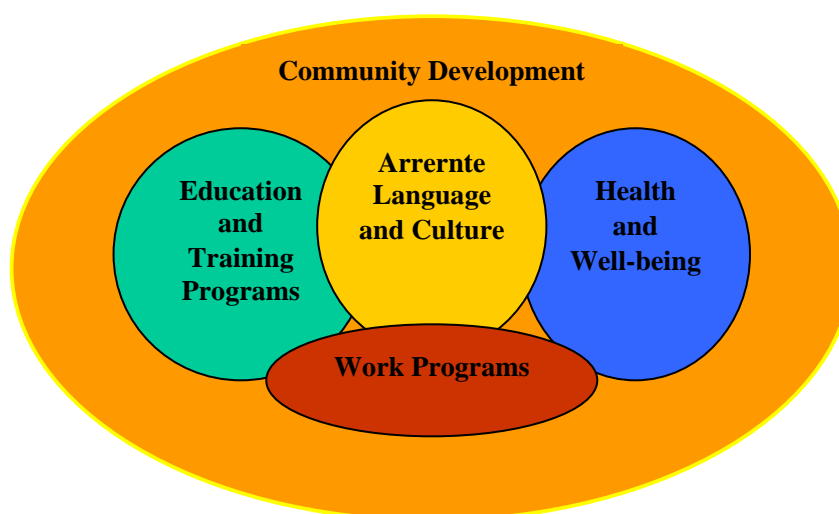


Figure 5.17: Model operating at Irrkerlantye in 2002

Programs

Centralian College

Semester 1

Education

- Crèche 0–5 years
- Literacy/numeracy – girls and boys (11 years +) (class of 18 students)
- Post-primary young males (14 years +) (class of 15 students)
- Year 8–Year 12 class (14 years +) (class of 24 students)

Training

2 days course work/ 2.5 days CDEP Work Programs:

- Certificate 1 and 2 in Aboriginal Art and Cultural Practices (15 years +)
- Certificate 1 and 2 in Horticulture – Sandy Bore (15 years +)
- Certificate 1 in Applied Design and Technology – 2 groups: William Well and Whitegate
- Leadership Course
 - Certificate 3 in Front Line Management
 - Certificate 1 in Access to Employment and Further Study
- Welding (CAT)
 - O,H&S
 - Workplace Communications
 - Introduction to ARC Welding

Semester 2

Education

- Crèche 0–5 years
- Literacy/numeracy – girls and boys (11 years +) (class of 18 students)
- Year 8–Year 12 class (14 years +) (class of 24 students)

Training

2 days course work/ 2.5 days CDEP Work Programs:

- Certificate 1 and 2 in Aboriginal Art and Cultural Practices (15 years +)
- Certificate 1 in Family and Community Services (15 years +)
- Certificate 1 and 2 in Horticulture – Sandy Bore (15 years +)
- Certificate 1 in Applied Design and Technology – 2 groups: William Well and Whitegate
- Leadership Course
 - Certificate 3 in Front Line Management
 - Certificate 1 in Access to Employment and Further Study

Tangentyere

Health and Well-being support

Cooks:

Lisa Morrison (THS) (CDEP + grant top-up)

Dee Teran

NMC

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Coordinator/ Community Development coordinator: David Woods
(FACS + OATSI H funding)

Work Programs Coordinator (FACS funding)

Staffing

The following staff were employed at the centre in 2002, as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Staff in 2002

Centralian College	Tangentyere Council
Full-time Coordinator: Nicole Traves (Terms 3 and 4)	Youth Counsellor / Language and Culture Coordinator – Veronica Turner
Teacher 1: Jo Dutton	
Teacher 2: Nadine Williams	
Teacher 3: Ronnie Rienhart (Terms 1 and 2)	
Teacher 3: Jenny Buckley (Terms 3 and 4 – 3 days per week)	Ngkarte Mikwekenhe
David Burfield (Terms 3 and 4 – 2 days per week)	Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Coordinator
Assistant Teacher 1: Sylvia Neal (CDEP + NTDE)	Work programs coordinator (FACS funding)
Assistant Teacher 2: Theresa Ryder (CDEP + NTDE)	Cook: Layton
AO: Annette Doolan (20 hours per week) (CDEP)	
AIEW: Wendy O'Brien (10 hours per week)	
ARO: Cait Wait	
Tutors:	
Natalie Clark	
Graham Buckley	
Annie Corey	
Sue Hault	
0.5 Coordinator Education and Training: Sue Hault (Terms 1 and 2)	
PTIs Art:	
Karina Menkhorst	
Natalie Clarke	
Alan Moon	

Funding

Funding for the centre in 2002 came from the following sources.

Centralian College

Coordinator (5 months) – \$18,201

Coordinator (7 months + mat leave) – \$57,376

Teacher 1 – \$53,952

Teacher 2 – \$57,376

Teacher 3 – \$50,587
AT1 @ 65% – \$19,959
AT2 @ 75% – \$25,717
Bus – \$6000
Rent – \$10,800 per semester
Power – \$2800
Materials – \$6000
ARO (IESIP) – \$15,000
IESIP – \$1323

Tangentyere

THS funding for a youth counsellor.

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Coordinator/ Community Development coordinator: David Woods
(FACS + OATSIH funding)

Work Programs Coordinator (FACS funding)

Successes

- Two successful film nights were held at the centre. These attracted more than 200 people to each night.

Education

- Our Lady of Mercy College students from Parramatta in NSW came to Central Australia and Irrkerlantye hosted a very successful cross-cultural exchange for these students including a bush trip that involved 3 days camping and traditional hunting and dancing.
- Use of CDEP funding as base line funding for the AT's enabled the Education and Training Coordinator to be an administrator with a 4 hour a week teaching load.
- Night school operated two evenings a week and was well attended.

Training

- Students completed modules in Certificates 1 and 2 in Arts and Cultural Practices.
- A Leadership Course was facilitated with Workplace English Language and Literacy funding. Students completed a range of modules in Certificate 3 in Frontline Management and Certificate 1 in Access to Employment and Further Study.
- A recycling course/enterprise began. Many products were produced that were sold directly back to the Eastern and Central Arrernte community. Students made salable crafts and held a stall at the Corkwood Festival.

Art

- April 2002 – Alice Springs Indigenous Employment Strategy purchased two canvases by Faye Oliver and Gloria Doolan – with limited reproduction rights.
- May 2002 – Centrelink purchased two canvases by Faye Oliver and Roseanne Ellis – with limited reproduction rights.
- The Australian Outback gallery in Darling Harbour began selling Irrkerlantye Art works.

Issues

- The major issue in 2002 was that Centralian College announced that it was withdrawing support for the Education program in 2003.
- The Ngkarte Mikwekenhe family members advocated the need for more positions for Arrernte people to work at ILC.
- The Language and Culture area needed to expand to allow for more Arrernte teachers.
- Staff and family members wanted more elders working at the centre.
- Attendance at education programs was poor.
- Educational reading and writing assessments were low.
- NMC discussed the possibility of restructuring and having people from every family involved in the centre's activities.

5.1.2 The development of the health model

Health and well-being was the original area in which Ngkarte Mikwekenhe began its work, in the late 1980s. In 1999 this key area began to evolve, attesting to the enormity, urgency and complexity of the situations that people were coming from. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe also began the process of researching and documenting the programs it could operate in order to facilitate pathways for people to work through the issues that were crippling them. An overview of these developments is detailed here in this study to provide further context and background of the families of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community.

5.1.2.1 Introduction

A number of family liaison workers, funded by Territory Health Services, had been employed in the program since 1997. The people carrying out this role attempted to assist individuals to deal with personal issues and problems that arose and were

responsible for the implementation of health programs. In 1999 this position was filled by a trained well-being facilitator, whereas the people employed in this position in the past were not always trained and therefore really only provided band-aid support to students with problems. Many became overwhelmed by the enormity of the job and it became too difficult for them to manage effectively. It was a draining and frustrating position, with a high staff turnover.

In 1999, as part of the development of the health programs and after consultation with Irrkerlantye staff and family members, the education coordinator and health and well-being coordinator embarked on an action research study through which a modified design of a model of operation for the health programs at Irrkerlantye was put in place. Staff and family members quickly realised that people and family groups as a whole needed major support in the areas of emotional, spiritual and physical well-being in order to overcome many of the issues that were making it difficult for them to access programs and achieve their long-term aspirations.

People are often very much overcome by problems in their lives that need attending to before it is possible to engage in work or study. Margaret Kemarre Turner (OA), as a grandmother and founding member of Ngkarte Mikwekenhe, reiterated the need for this support on a number of occasions. In one meeting she said, “People are cut up inside. There are cuts all over them inside, small cuts and deep cuts. They need to be healed.”

NMC members – largely the grandmothers – proposed that the health position needed to be more substantial, holistic and effective in reaching whole families to deal with some issues. They believed the position needed to be able to provide support to individuals and families as needs arose and assist with individual and family development plans to help people and families identify their problems and work through issues so that meaningful programs (health and education) could be implemented. This position was termed a family well-being counsellor.

After finding a suitable person for this position, the problem for the learning centre was then two-fold: how the person in this position could operate effectively with such an enormous task, and, secondly, which programs could be implemented to assist people to achieve the goals identified in their development plans.

The action research study gathered and documented information from a number of case studies, where interviews with participants were used to develop participant profiles.

The goals and objectives of the action research were to:

- Create a picture to illustrate the health needs of individuals and families associated with the centre.
- Research and document health programs that may be of use to the centre.
- Create a model of operation for the family well-being counsellor to implement.

A number of family meetings, which focused on identifying health problems, took place after church on Sundays. This information was presented to a family meeting and was used to identify programs that could be utilised to develop individual and family well-being programs to address the pressing needs of students, thus empowering them as people and learners.

5.1.2.2 Method

- Individuals were interviewed and, with permission, these interviews were used as a basis from which to draw out the elements of support needed and provided on a daily basis.
- Family meetings were held to look at the issues and difficulties people face in attending courses and in working consistently and the meetings were documented.
- Relevant health programs that were offered in Alice Springs at the time were identified and investigated for their appropriateness.
- The information collected above was mapped against the health courses researched.

Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with four students to ascertain information about the living environment of the individual, the make-up of the family he/she belongs to, the individual's aspirations and goals generally, including aspirations for work, short-term and long-term goals, community-based projects and future study that he/she would like to be involved in.

Some students were followed up in more detail as time permitted to look at their issues, problems and possible courses of action in greater depth. The four students described in this study were a purposeful sample who were given significant assistance by the family well-being counsellor. Their profiles have been documented in detail for the purposes of this research. They were all approached for permission to do so. This provided a pilot group for the study that was representative of the client group at Irrkerlantye. Comments and information have also been added by other staff members who have had

conversations and have made observations throughout the study. This enables a more holistic profile of families and individuals to be established.

Preliminary discussions were conducted with the students before the interviews to explain the purpose of the interview, how it could help the participant and the learning centre, what would happen with the data and how confidentiality would be maintained.

These interviews took place over an hour period and were conducted at the centre.

The topics for the interview included:

- Who lives with you?
- Description of the living environment.
- The difficulties or problems faced in living in this environment.
- What sort of work or activity have you been involved in, in the past?
- What skills do you have that you would like to build on?
- What are the good things, the strengths of your family?
- What are some short-term goals you would like to achieve for yourself?
- What are some short-term goals you would like to achieve for family?
- How do you think you can do this?
- What sorts of things would you like to do in the future?
- If you would like to work, what sort of work would you like to do?
- What are some long-term goals you would like to achieve for yourself?
- What are some long-term goals you would like to achieve for your family?

Individual students were interviewed by the family well-being counsellor or other staff as part of ongoing counselling. Discussions and reflections on incidents relating to family well-being were also documented. Information from these documents was used to build up the individual and family profiles.

Family and individual development plans were then developed, to be used as working documents by the students and the centre. These were fluid documents for individuals and families to reflect on and use for planning purposes. They were also available for the health staff to use as tools in analysing the essential elements that should be incorporated in our family well-being program model.

5.1.2.3 Statement of the data/student profiles

Four student profiles are illustrated here as typical examples outlining the issues that emerged from the study. During the interviews, notes were taken. These data were then analysed and mapped against the researched programs to show how they could be used to assist the students to work through their problems and develop personal and family action plans. The following profiles are a compilation of more than one person in order to preserve confidentiality.

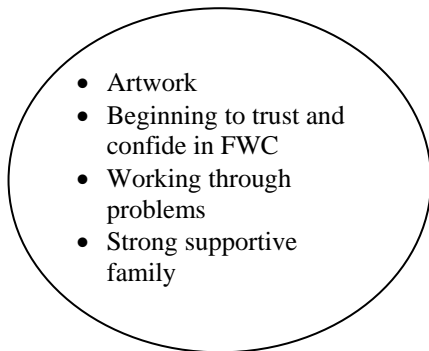
Student 1

Problems/issues:

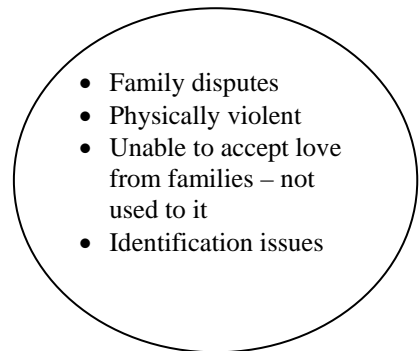
1. Disruptive behaviour, physical violence in the grandmother's household, creating a range of family problems and issues.
2. Issue of being in an art course and not yet ready to engage in creating and painting traditional art forms.
3. Correctional services/parole officer – on parole, which involved regular meetings with correctional services.
4. A need to have own place to live.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN – STUDENT 1

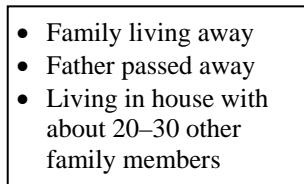
STRENGTHS



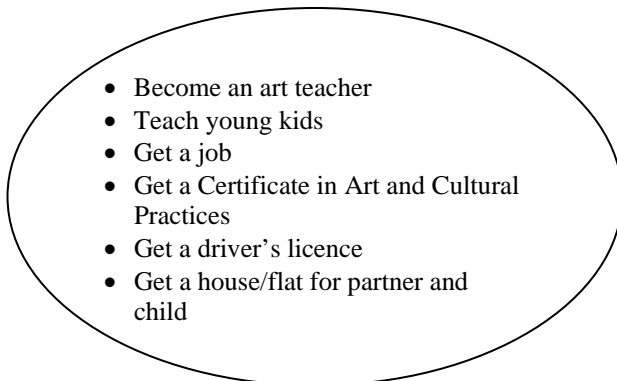
PROBLEMS/ISSUES



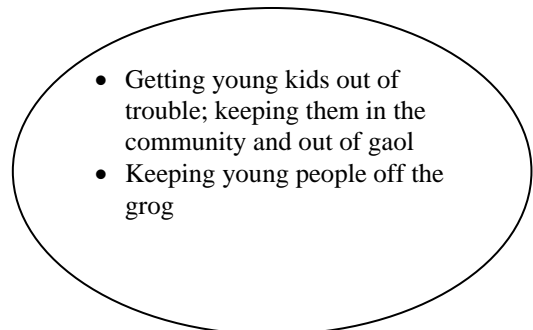
FAMILY SITUATION



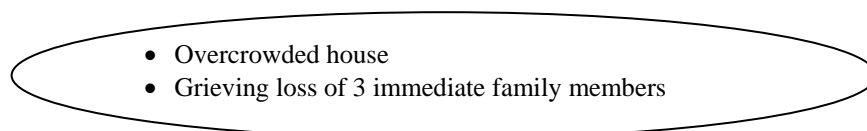
ASPIRATIONS/INTERESTS



COMMUNITY/PROJECTS/WORK



EXTENDED FAMILY PROBLEMS

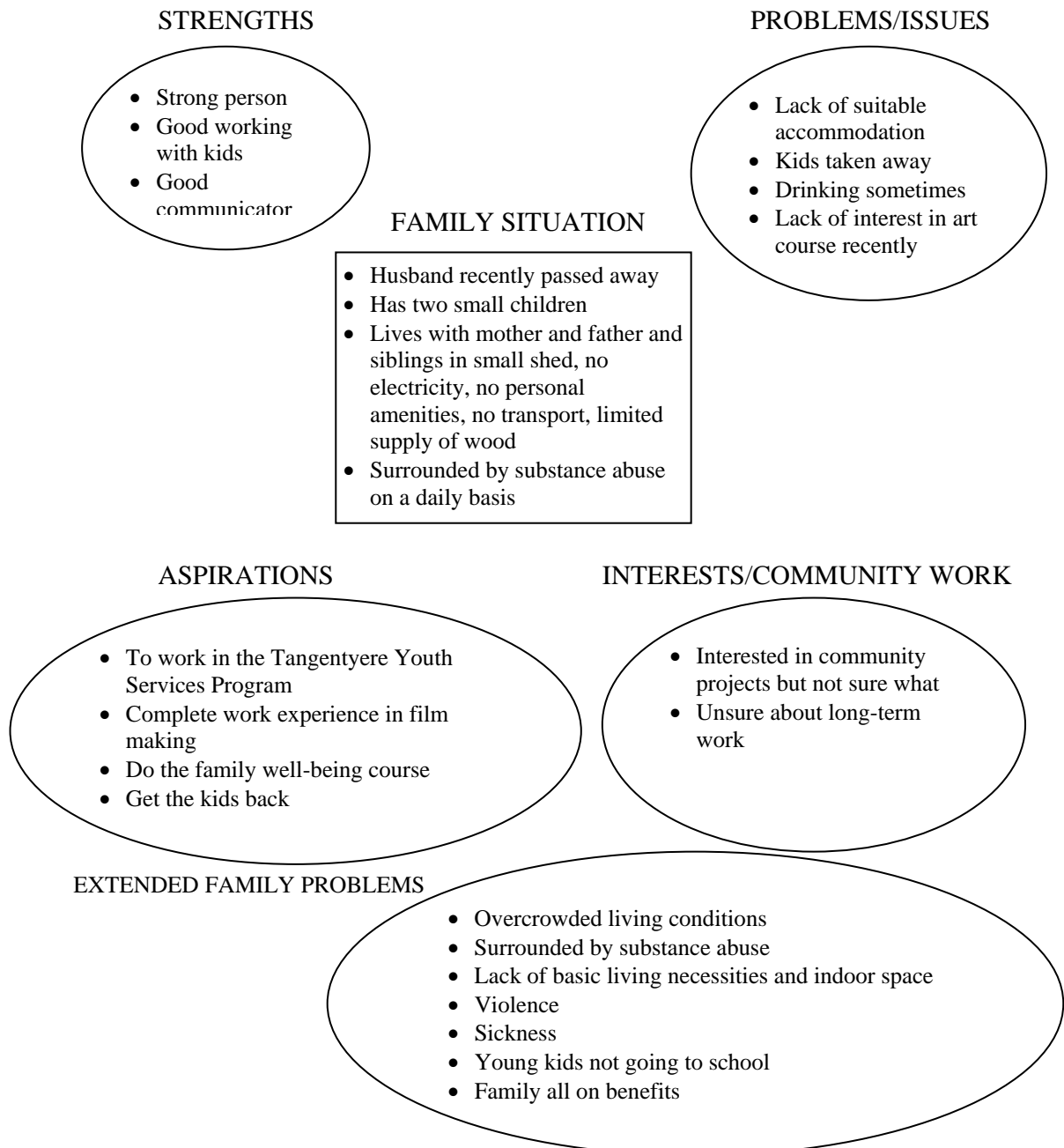


Student 2

Problems/issues

1. Course not meeting needs/poor attendance.
2. Excessive drinking.
3. Children taken off her.
4. Accommodation problem / living conditions extremely poor.
5. Husband committed suicide.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN – STUDENT 2

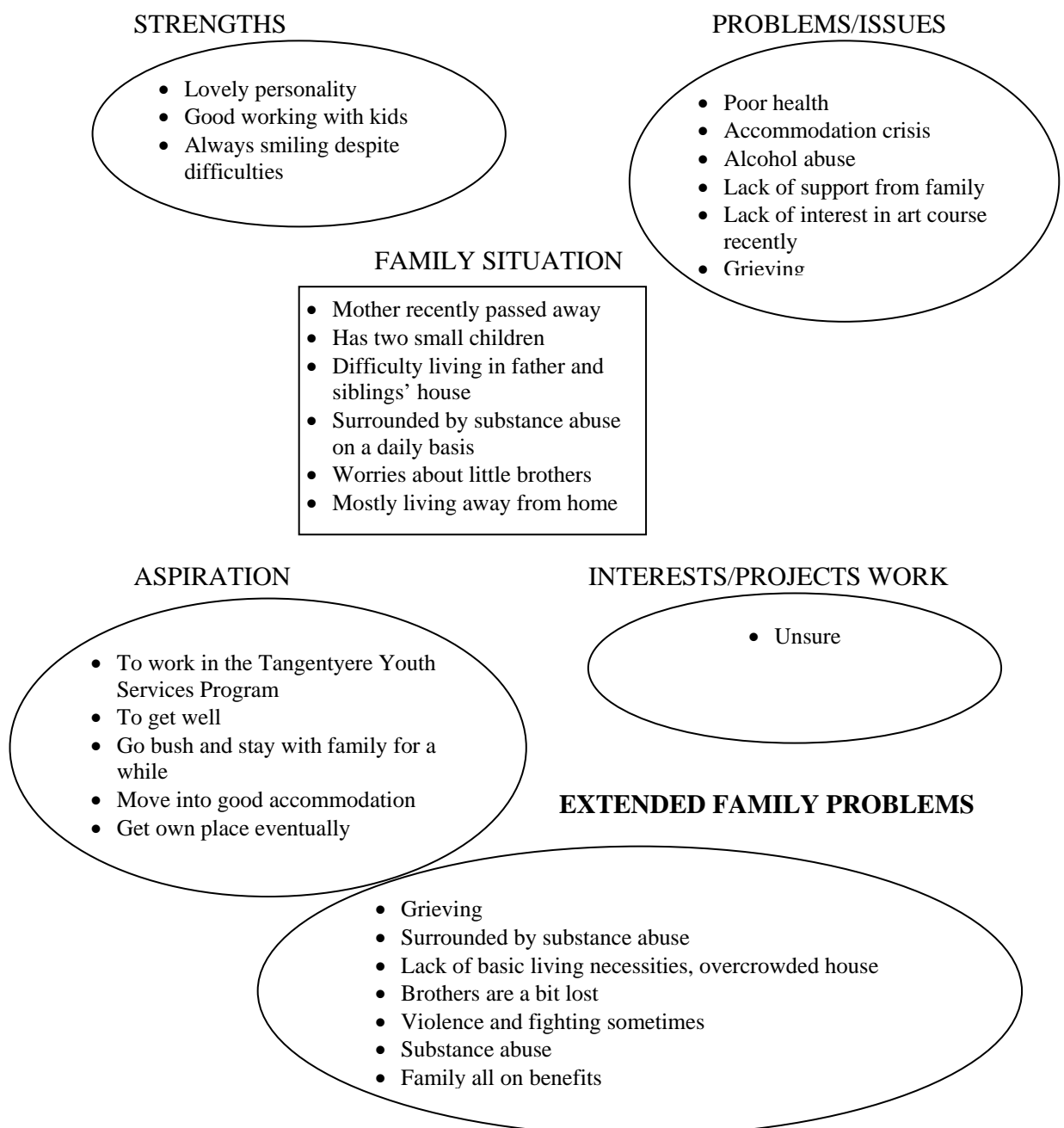


Student 3

Problems/issues

1. Accommodation.
2. Self-mutilation/grieving loss of mother.
3. Not attending course or work.
4. Drinking problem.
5. Serious illness – nearly died.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN – STUDENT 3



Student 4

Problems/issues

1. Accommodation – extremely poor living conditions.
2. Lack of resources for family.
3. Children’s education.
4. Difficulty in attending employment and education programs.
5. Surrounded by substance abuse.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN – STUDENT 4

STRENGTHS

- Strong person
- Good working skills
- Strong about voicing opinions and visions
- Good musician

PROBLEMS/ISSUES

- Children sitting down
- Accommodation problems
- Alcohol abuse
- Lack of support from family
- Lack of interest in art course
- Grieving – lots of family passing away recently

FAMILY SITUATION

- Large family – 6 children
- Live in small tin shed, no electricity
- Minimal resources
- Surrounded by substance abuse on a daily basis
- Eldest daughter married and often living away from home

ASPIRATIONS

- Work at Irrkerlantye or Yipirinya
- Set up enterprises for family members to work in
- Move to outstation
- Get a bigger living space with solar power and amenities

INTERESTS/COMMUNITY WORK

- Interested in community projects – not sure what

EXTENDED FAMILY PROBLEMS

- Grieving
- Surrounded by substance abuse
- Lack of basic living resources, overcrowded house
- Communication problems
- Lack of security for possessions
- No telephone – often emergencies
- Family all on benefits
- Does not feel in control of decision-making processes

From these case studies the following issues emerged as blockages that prevented students from effectively engaging in work or study on a regular basis.

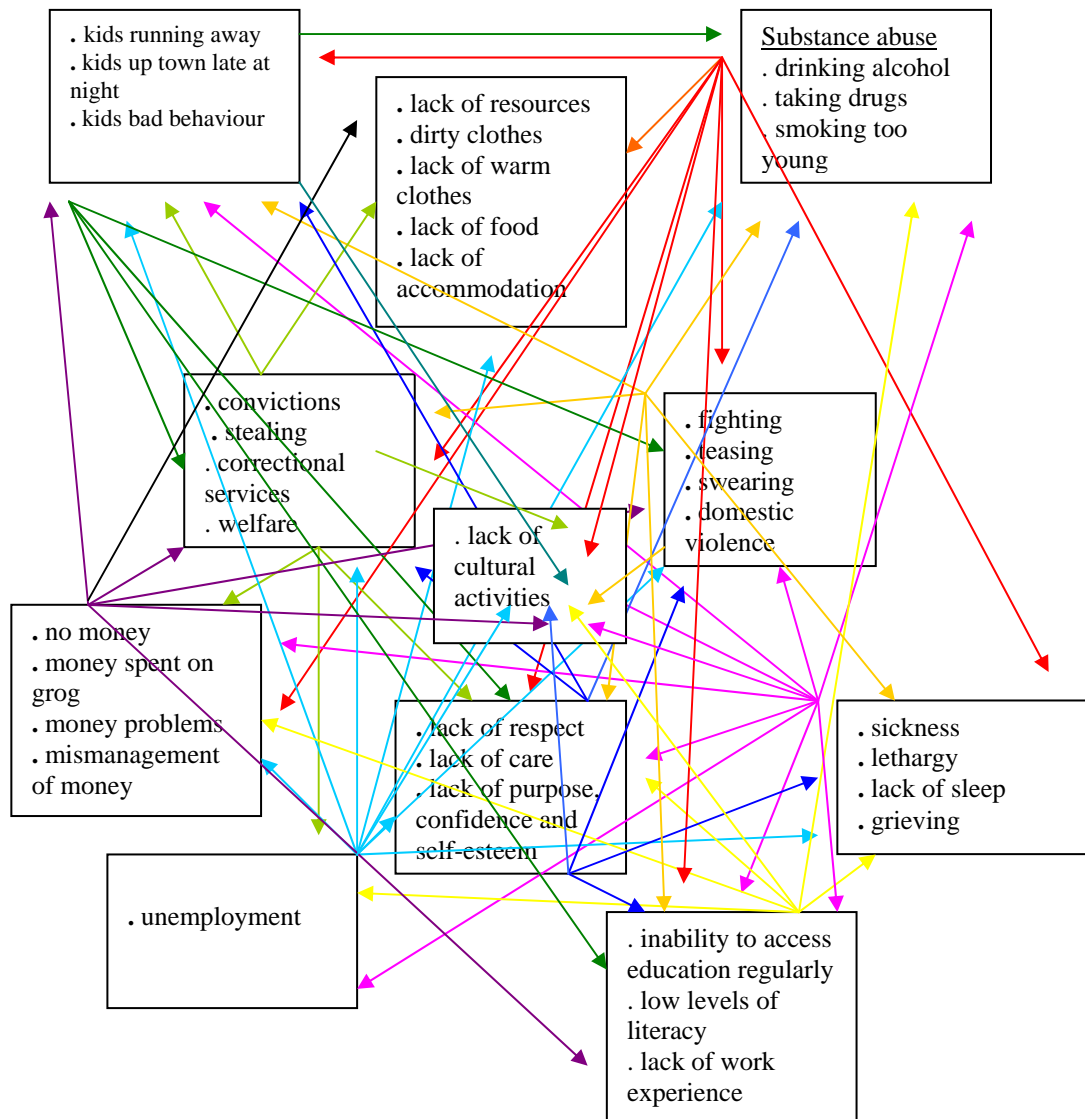
1. **Accommodation:** All of these students had difficulties with accommodation. They were all living in either overcrowded situations or sub-standard housing conditions. All expressed a desire to improve their current housing situations.
2. **Substance abuse:** Two of the students had stated problems with substance abuse and observations from staff suggested that at least one and maybe both of the others had similar problems, either themselves or were living with people that are substance abusers. Only one was living in a drink-free environment, and that was only for part of the time.
3. **Grief:** Three out of the four individuals were grieving a close family member, either a husband, father or mother. The fourth student had also recently lost a number of close family members.
4. **Sickness:** One student was suffering a severe illness.
5. **Correctional services/welfare:** Two of the students were currently part of the justice system, one on parole and the other with a warrant. One student was affected by the welfare system, which removed her children from her.
6. **Education:** All four were having difficulty in attending courses and finding appropriate courses they could engage in that met their needs and were flexible enough to cater for their difficult life situation. One student had difficulty in accessing education for her son.
7. **Physical violence:** One student was noted as being physically violent. All three of the other students had been victims of physical violence in recent times.
8. **Resources:** Although only one student expressed the need for more resources, all four students have few personal possessions and are always in need of basic necessities of life. They are all often seen wearing the same clothes day after day.

Other health and well-being issues that family members identified in the group meetings included:

- Kids running away from home
- Dirty clothes – lack of washing facilities, no warm clothes
- Young people arriving back home late from walking around town and being at the games shop
- Kids' disrespectful behaviour
- Drinking
- Fighting, kids fighting with parents, teasing, swearing
- Drugs
- Sleeping all day
- Starting to smoke when young
- No food
- Money problems, spending money on grog
- Lack of sleep because of noise
- Lack of care
- People staying home from work and school on days when people receive money
- Family problems
- Stealing
- Not enough culture trips

A flow chart (Figure 5.18) was developed to illustrate how these issues impacted on each other. This diagram was developed with Irrkerlantye staff who have spent many hours involved with students and assisting students with their problems. Their personal observations and my own have enabled us to illustrate how these problems affect other problems. The diagram depicts chaos at a first glance. It illustrates the relationship between problems and how these issues have an effect on each other. Hence a compound messy web that traps people in a cycle of difficulty can quickly become a rapid downward spiral that is difficult for people to break out of. Students profiled in the case study had five or more of these problems at any one time.

Figure 5.18: Flow chart of issues



Substance abuse was evident as having an impact on every one of the other problem areas. Violence, unemployment, sickness/grieving were other areas that had a huge impact on, and exacerbated, the other problems and issues. All these problem areas impacted on the issue of maintenance of culture, which was raised as an issue at the family meetings.

What was really evident from this study was that the smorgasbord of issues and problems that people face impacted heavily on well-being. They needed to be addressed to unleash the blockages preventing people from living meaningful and purposeful lives and engaging in education and employment.

5.1.2.4 Mapping of programs against problems/issues

After presenting this information to a family meeting, five programs were articulated as possible avenues for addressing the issues that came out of the study: the Family Well-being program, Holyoake, Heart Talk, the Congress health programs, and the Certificate 1 in Family and Community Services from Nungalinya College. These programs, and the issues and problems that each of them can help address, are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Health programs and health areas

Youth		Adults		
Heart Talk (a substance abuse awareness program for youth – developed by Holyoake)	Congress Health Programs	Holyoake CAAAPU Daly River Alcohol Program	Family Well-being and Counselling at Irrkerlantye	Certificate 1 in Family and Community Services (accredited course)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substance abuse • Self-esteem • Respect • Confidence • Behaviour, feelings • Coping strategies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Causes of sickness • Domestic violence • Appropriate behaviour • Coping with feelings, grief, etc. • Hygiene • Planning for a future • Money issues • Relationship issues • Problem solving • Legal issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substance abuse • Relationships • Violence • Coping strategies • Respect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human needs and sicknesses • Family violence • Conflict resolution • Understanding and coping with emotions • Substance abuse/addictions, effects and coping strategies • Family violence • Self worth, caring • Self-esteem, confidence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and self-determination • Resources • Employment • Accommodation • Money • Maintenance of culture • Accommodation

The Heart Talk, Holyoake, CAAAPU (Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Programs Unit) and Daly River alcohol programs are aimed at those who are affected by substance abuse and who need assistance. The Heart Talk and Holyoake programs were developed in Perth for substance abuser and their family members affected by substance abuse. Many Ngkarte Mikwekenhe family members have been trained in facilitating programs and many have attended programs at Santa Teresa, Daly River and in Alice Springs. CAAAPU operates residential programs for men who are trying to live without alcohol. This facility is located just out of Alice Springs. The Daly River alcohol program is a residential program for the whole family including the substance abuser and is located in on the outskirts of the Daly River community.

The Family Well-being and Counselling program is aimed at responding to needs and issues in difficult situations, how people react when their needs are not met, strategies to cope, and ways to change and have a positive future. It provides counselling skills, skills for self-help and skills in conflict resolution. It provides support to families or individuals. It is based on a well-being counsellors program run by Tangentyere Council.

The Congress educational health programs are aimed at focusing on aspects of physical health. They can operate in block form or on a weekly basis. They are best facilitated as single-sex groups and in groups of similar ages. Congress is the Aboriginal controlled clinic in Central Australia.

As a result of this action research, these programs were implemented in a variety of ways for different people and the different circumstances they face, and the health model continued to develop, with clear evidence of why it was needed. The key factor, however, was having an effective health and well-being counsellor. This has been the downfall of this section of the Irrkerlantye model to date. The model documented in the 2004 strategic plan (NMC 2004, 2.6) outlines the following programs that have been articulated to be useful and necessary in facilitating a process for people who face numerous health and well-being issues.

Health and Well-Being programs

Community service and parish work program

Heart Talk programs

Alcohol programs

Counselling services and links

Health programs and services links

Liturgical programs

Theological programs

Religious education programs

5.1.3 Summary

The development of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model has been a gradual process, and has taken more than 20 years to get to the point it has. It has involved many partnerships with government and non-government organisations. These findings show some of the large number of people involved and some of the outcomes and struggles that occurred over seven years of its development between 1996 and 2002. These findings further illustrate the difficult contexts within which people are living. The

model is still developing, but has come a long way in being able to articulate and offer the complexity of programs it encompasses. It is a holistic and intergenerational model that provides a unique opportunity for the families committed to Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community to improve their lives.

5.2 An overview of the capacity building model at Irrkerlantye

The vision statement of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre is to “encourage and promote the aspirations of the Eastern and Central Arrernte families committed to the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community” (NMC 2004, 3.1). The capacity building model is based on facilitating a process for families to take action and improve their current situations. Margaret Kemarre Turner reflected that the “community development work started over twenty years ago”. Her summary of Ngkarte Mikwekenhe and the Irrkerlantye model includes:

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community is focused to help Arrernte people get things going for themselves. It is an ideal place for people to get together and become strong. Our capacity building model focuses on language and culture, education, training, building enterprises and well-being. (Turner 2004)

The Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Strategic Plan 2004–2008 (NMC 2004, 3.3) outlines and describes the Irrkerlantye capacity building model in the following way:

The Centre’s Capacity Building Model has five key areas which work in together. [The model presented in Figure 5.19 illustrates this.] These areas include: Community Development, Arrernte Language and Culture, Health and Well Being, Education and Training and Work and Enterprise Development.

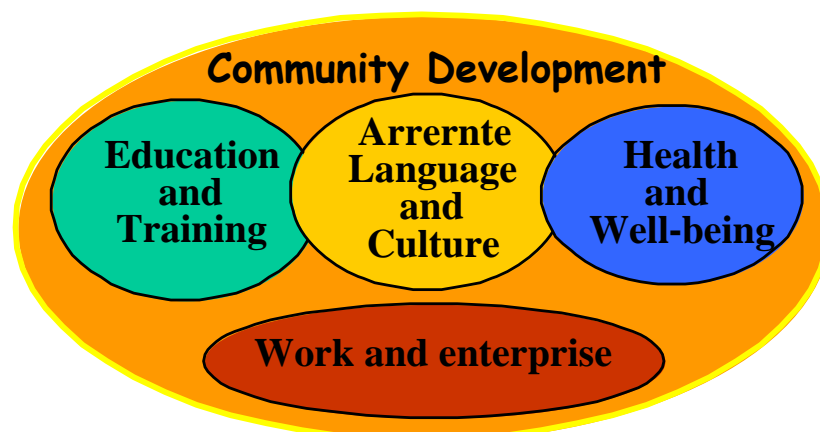


Figure 5.19: Irrkerlantye capacity building model

The Capacity Building model is aimed at families taking responsibility for a process that is about defining goals and using action plans to overcome issues and

achieve stated outcomes. The model is holistic in that its programs target a broad range of aspects of people's lives.

The community development key area is focused on strategic planning for individuals and family groups but also runs programs in sport and recreation, coordinates community events and field trips, transport, community liaison and communications. Arrernte Language and Culture runs programs in Arrernte Language and Culture maintenance throughout the centre. Education and Training programs include education programs from Crèche to Year 12 and Vocational Education and Training programs in areas determined by the priorities determined through the community development process. Health and Well-being programs include programs that support issues in peoples physical, emotional and spiritual health . Work programs and enterprise programs include programs in three main areas: CDEP work programs to implement the goals of family community plans, support programs to move into the workforce and the development of enterprise programs.

The Irrkerlantye community development model outlines a process whereby Eastern and Central Arrernte people can achieve tangible outcomes in relation to the hopes and aspirations they have for their families. The Irrkerlantye capacity building model focuses programs and related activities around positive and sustainable community development outcomes. As part of its intergenerational approach the centre operates programs that cater for family members of all ages, from babies to the elderly.

The community development process centres around families participating in, and facilitating, a strategic planning process for themselves, including goal setting, action planning and regular review. These strategic plans determine the programs that operate in key areas and the program links that are established with other service agencies. Through this process, the community development coordinator and community development workers organise and engage individual families in regular strategic planning meetings. These meetings are often located in traditional country settings. Strategic planning meetings provide opportunities for families to review, identify and document the following:

- family members participating in the process,
- long and short term goals,
- blockages and issues
- solutions to problems
- action plans
- all of which determine programs and processes to be implemented in key areas. (Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Strategic Plan 2004)

The Irrkerlantye capacity building model encompasses all programs under a community development umbrella. By doing this it enables programs to be focused on the long-term aspirations of the families involved in the strategic planning process. The aspirations and goals of individual families vary with each family; however, the underlying thread in all of the strategic plans is for each to achieve some form of self-sustaining livelihood for their individual group. All the families are at different stages in terms of achieving their goals. These goals range from re-establishing family groups back on their traditional homeland to developing self-sustaining enterprises in areas like tourism, agriculture, and language and culture.

This capacity building model is holistic in that it recognises of the need for multi-disciplinary programs to be intersecting and supporting each other. For instance, a family who is part of Irrkerlantye may have a strategic plan that has an aspiration to move back to their outstation and establish some form of sustainable lifestyle, including establishing an enterprise. In achieving this, mothers, aunties, uncles, grandparents, nieces and nephews may be participating in training and work programs based on CDEP, sometimes with top-up incomes from the enterprises. The CDEP work is usually based around establishing infrastructure on the outstation or in an enterprise. At the same time children may be participating in the school program. The language and culture key area delivers Arrernte language and literacy classes in education and provides opportunities for the family to facilitate culture programs and back-to-country trips. As well as this, health and well-being programs provide counselling support to individuals or family groups who are in need of assistance; alcohol awareness and physical health programs operate for school aged students and training programs operate for people over 15 years of age.

One example of a strategic plan, is the Hayes family's strategic plan initiated in a family meeting held on their father and grandfather's traditional country – Mt Undoolya – in 1999. It stated that the family's goals were to establish infrastructure so that sustainable living could happen at Mt Undoolya. More specifically, their goals were to build a vegetable garden and poultry yard, plant fruit and shade trees, make fences and roads, set up enterprises in arts and craft, leatherwork and a youth camp, get a satellite dish to connect telephones and television, develop a school, create jobs for people, and get better training for jobs. A suitable training program was established using Flexible Response Funding, with training in Certificate 1 in Construction provided by Centralian College. This training course, combined with the participants' 16 hours a week CDEP

work, enabled the older and younger men to put up some basic infrastructure on their outstation for the youth camp. The children have been participating in school programs, and the adults, in art, horticulture, construction and teacher training. The programs are continually developed and are operated until the outcome has been achieved.

The objectives of each of the key areas in the Irrkerlantye model are outlined in table 5.8 (NMC 2004, 3.6)

Table 5.8: Objectives – key areas

Management	Community Development	Language and Culture	Education and Training	Health and Well-being	Work programs and Enterprise Development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and maintain an effective community development centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate and manage a strategic planning process for nominated family groups or individuals • Coordinate and implement a sport and recreation program • Coordinate a community service program • Coordinate community events and field trips throughout the year • Coordinate and manage transport and vehicles • Coordinate community liaison and communications 	<p>SERVICE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a range of Arrernte programs and services that promote and maintain Arrernte language and culture within the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community • Establish and maintain an Arrernte literacy production centre <p>ENTERPRISE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a range of Arrernte programs and services that are fee-for-service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and implement a range of quality education programs from early childhood to Year 12 (including crèche) that maximise student learning outcomes • Implement a range of accredited Vocation, Education and Training programs and short courses • Promote the Education and Training area and network with other education and service organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide access to a range of healing programs and services that facilitate processes for families and individuals to address their physical, emotional and spiritual health issues • Maintain a spiritual program that reflects the ethos of the Arrernte Catholic community 	<p>WORK PROGRAMS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and maintain CDEP and enterprise-based work programs to implement the goals of family community plans • To assist family members to move into careers and work opportunities that they aspire to <p>ENTERPRISE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop enterprises to create employment and income

The Strategic Plan outlines the programs that the centre is aiming to operate in five the key areas. These are illustrated in table 5.9 (2004, 2.6).

Table 5.9 Key areas.

EDUCATION and TRAINING	LANGUAGE and CULTURE	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	HEALTH and WELL-BEING	WORK and ENTERPRISE
Creche	SERVICE	Family strategic development planning	Community services and parish work program	CDEP/WORK
Early childhood	Back to country and Arrernte cultural maintenance programs	Sport and recreation	Heart Talk programs	CDEP – Hayes
Upper primary	Literacy programs – Arrernte first language speakers	Community service	Alcohol programs	CDEP – Doolans
Lower primary	Arrernte history	Community events and field trips	Counselling services and links	CDEP – Turners
Post-primary young women and young males	ENTERPRISE	Transport services	Health programs and service links	CDEP – Ryders/ Olivers
Secondary	Arrernte protocols	Community liaison and communications	Liturgical programs	ENTERPRISE
Art and Craft	Arrernte literacy programs for non-Arrernte speakers		Theological programs	Repairs and renovations
Construction	Interpreting and translating		Religious education programs	Work experience
Horticulture	Cross-cultural awareness			Art and Craft
Family and Community Services	Arrernte history			Akerte Arenye (Arrernte language enterprise)
Leadership	Arrernte advisory service			Media / music
Media and music				Recycling
Short courses				Catering

The Strategic Plan outlines the programs that the centre is aiming to operate in each of the key areas. These are illustrated in the following table (2004, 2.6). Table 5.9 Key areas. The programs that Irrkerlantye has designed to meet the goals of family groups are very diverse and require funding across a range of sectors, including health, education and family and community services. As the findings illustrate, it has not been possible for Irrkerlantye to source the total amount of funding required to implement a full range of programs. Therefore, some programs, such as media, may only operate a few times a year. However, this overview of programs provides a big picture of what would be implemented if funding could be adequately sourced.

5.3 Analysis of the Irrkerlantye model

Successful education and training outcomes are important elements of successful capacity building models. Attainment of literacy and numeracy competence are essential skills in order to be able to successfully negotiate in today's society, and some would argue that computer literacy is becoming equally as important. There have been many studies and papers written about the ineffectiveness of education and training programs for Indigenous Australians and this paper does not replicate these studies. The focus of this investigation has been to document the development of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model. The study has also focused on exploring the reasons why Indigenous Australians are suffering the effects of poverty and marginalisation from their traditional lifestyles and from mainstream Australia today. This study also provides a discussion of the need for small self-determined groups of Indigenous Australians to access a positive pathway to positive sustainable livelihoods, through the use of a holistic capacity building model.

Through the exploration of a number of capacity building and community development theories and models, this paper highlights characteristics of good capacity building models and suggests that without effective capacity building the educational, health and social outcomes for groups of Indigenous Australians will not improve.

The Irrkerlantye model deals with many aspects pertinent to other Indigenous situations and has characteristics contained in other capacity building models. However, the uniqueness of the Irrkerlantye model, which is perhaps its biggest strength, is the way in which this group of people, and the people who have supported them, have developed a resource centre that is intergenerational in its approach and is holistic in its focus. The holistic nature of the model, wherein all of its key areas focus on developing similar long-term outcomes, is something many other communities and service programs have

failed to deliver to Indigenous Australians. This failure, Dodson (1994) concludes, is the result of a bureaucratic shroud that, coupled with the resistance of government to address self-governance, has resulted in an unregulated and unaccountable Aboriginal industry (Yu 1994) and a series of uncoordinated government departments (Pearson 1999), yielding little result (Altman and Hunter 2003). For the Irrkerlantye model to be successful, the above issues need to be overcome, and the centre needs to be resourced fully (Schorr 1989, Schwab and Sutherland 2002).

The holistic nature of the model means that the desired community development outcomes identified in individual families' strategic plans drives the programs in other key areas, providing them with a focus and a purpose, particularly in the areas of education and work. Taylor-Ide Taylor (1995) and Hope and Timmel (1996) outline characteristics of two community development models that are very similar to those of the Irrkerlantye community development model. The long-term successes and outcomes of programs depend on the key areas working together to meet specified strategic planning outcomes.

Another important characteristic of the Irrkerlantye model that makes it unique from other models is the fact that it works with small family kinship groups. The model enables each family group to have a specialised program and determine their own pathways. Nugget Coombs (1994, p.27) also reiterated the importance of this:

one of the most important aspects of the decentralisation movement is the rehabilitation of Aboriginal traditional authority and decision-making structures. With this is coming a political component in Aboriginal plans; namely, the desire to resume control of those aspects of their affairs where European dominance has most severely weakened the Aboriginality of their lives.

This approach only strengthens the ability of this capacity building model to facilitate processes for the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community in relation to self-governance and economic self-sufficiency. A major factor in achieving improved social, educational and health outcomes for Indigenous people, particularly in the US and Canada, has been through economic sustainability, which has been most effective where self-governance has been achieved (Crough 1997, Cornell and Kalt 2004a, Lemont 2004, Curtis and Jorgensen 2002). In terms of autonomy, self-governance and treaty, the Australian system of governance has not welcomed any proposals from Indigenous Australia with open arms. Coombs (1994, p.31) suggests "in the areas of Australia where Aboriginal land claims could prove substantial and where the Aboriginal population is large enough

to present a threat to white supremacy, a clear backlash is apparent". The Irrkerlantye model has great potential to provide a positive way forward for the Arrernte people associated with it, and other positives for the wider community in achieving outcomes that place less demand on the wider society and an opportunity to lessen the economic burden.

The focus of the model in the area of economic development, and in developing work activities and self-generating enterprises that are flexible enough to accommodate social difficulties and cultural priorities, would be a major step forward for these families. Engaging people in meaningful and purposeful activity that can accommodate the realities of their lifestyle is the challenge, as Folds (2001) points out.

Many of these families wish to return to homelands and outstations to which they have received title and aim to establish small enterprises and self-sufficient lifestyles. Many want to return to these homelands so that their children and grandchildren are not subject to the multitude of problems they currently experience living in Alice Springs. Their aim is to create an economic base that, in the long term, will provide them with an independent income and the freedom and flexibility to determine a way of life for themselves. This is perhaps one of the few opportunities people have to regain some autonomy. It is possible to foresee each of these small groups making agreements with government in relation to services and income provided in return for self-managed outputs (Crough 1994). Coombs (1994, p.26) summarises how these small communities might successfully operate as an autonomous, self-sufficient and economic unit:

Production including hunting and gathering will be directed to home consumption and the reduction of dependence on imported stores. Exports, except where the community concerned is linked with an Aboriginal-owned cattle property, will generally be confined to arts and crafts and occasional surpluses. Imports will be diverse and include white-style food and clothing, fuel, tools and building materials. They will be financed by sales of artefacts and art, by the earnings of those employed by providing government sponsored services, in education, health and town management and so on, by government grants for capital projects and by receipt of social security payments...any reduction in the quantity, variety and cost of these imports seems likely to come mainly from new and improved technology in subsistence production: from the introduction of gardening, domestic poultry and livestock production; from the introduction of exotic species, and irrigation and other techniques from overseas; and from improvement by breeding and the selection of yield of native flora and fauna... It is also possible to conceive a chain of such parks and sanctuaries in regions of scenic and cultural significance, from which Aborigines could derive not merely opportunities for employment and contract work related to the parks, but income in the nature of rent and royalties for access to them.

In the area of work, there has been an overriding assumption in the wider Australian community about Aborigines and work. It is not uncommon to hear this attitude inherent in statements like Aboriginal people do not want to work or there are plenty of jobs for them, especially in a town like Alice Springs, where work is plentiful. One of the major factors that has an impact on Indigenous Australians accessing mainstream work is the relationship between employer and employee. This is often goes unexplored. Success largely depends on the sensitivity and understanding of cultural issues and the perspective people look at things from. Coombs (1994, p.76) suggests that “Aborigines often make substantial sacrifices to avoid accepting these relationships and their implications... Aborigines, like other people, want to be purposefully occupied...they seek and welcome contexts and opportunities which enable them to demonstrate their energy, skills and judgement, and thereby to acquire status among their peers.” The key to income generation lies in the recognition that family and cultural obligations for Indigenous people often come before work commitments and the need for a larger income than a welfare payment offers. The Irrkerlantye model offers an opportunity for people to engage in work through the development of small enterprises, which is a positive step for the following reasons:

- It allows people to have autonomy and independence in their work.
- It allows traditional relationships and responsibilities to be an integral part of daily life.
- It allows for flexible work patterns to maintain cultural responsibilities.
- It is flexible, enabling activities to be built around people’s aspirations to return to homelands.
- Activities are determined by the family kinship group and are therefore in tune with cultural identity and responsibilities to culture and land.
- It allows for people to establish these enterprises using the existing welfare support benefits, including CDEP, and gradually build up the income of business so that people can build self-sustaining enterprise in a way that is non-threatening and non-imposing in an already existing economy.

In relation to the evolution of autonomous economic and social institutions, Coombs (1994, p.65) comments that “these institutions will not be easy for Aborigines to design; their roots must be in Aboriginal society, but they must function also in the mainstream society itself”.

There is no other more urgent need that the Irrkerlantye capacity building model encompasses, than the area of health and well-being. Indigenous health improvement has been minimal over the last 10 years. The mortality rate of Indigenous Australians is three times that of the total population. Indigenous life expectancy is 20 years less than for non-Indigenous Australians (Ring and Brown 2002). The disadvantage Indigenous people experience in all areas of life, as indicated in the Dusseldorp Skills Forum [DSF] Report (2003), is between two and three times greater than for non-Indigenous people in Australia.

The Irrkerlantye model enables these crucial health and well-being issues to be addressed by running health programs in conjunction or alongside other program areas. Just as important as health and well-being programs are the Arrernte language and culture programs, which ultimately deliver important health outcomes in areas of emotional stability, confidence and positive self-esteem through reinforcing cultural foundations. The Irrkerlantye model has the language and culture key area at the centre of the model, placing great emphasis on the individual, building confidence and strength through reinforcing a clear foundation in their heritage and cultural traditions. There is wisdom in this as it places emphasis on building inner strength so that people have a good foundation for dealing with other aspects of life.

The Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community is only beginning to focus on the central issues of self-governance identified in this paper in order to improve outcomes for Indigenous people (Cornell 2001, Cornell and Kalt 2004b, Hounslow 2002). The model is certainly capable of facilitating a process to address major issues such as self-governance (Crough 1994) but the community development key area would have to place greater emphasis on facilitating this process (Taylor 2003 and Kleinfeld 1979) and raising the critical awareness and levels of consciousness of individuals and families as proposed by Freire (1990). While the Irrkerlantye model is not without problems, including a lack of stable funding, staffing issues and difficulties with uncoordinated delivery of services by government departments, it has a number of important characteristics central to a good capacity building model. These include being holistic, intergenerational and multi-dimensional in facilitating change within different contexts, focusing on maintaining cultural identity, focusing on the small family kinship group as community, flexibility and perseverance (Schorr 1997, Kleinfeld 1979, Taylor 2003, Altman and Whitehead 2003, Eade 1997, HRSCATSIA 2004, Coombs 1994).

5.4 Reflections and comments from Arrernte family members, participants, staff and staff of related service organisations involved at Irrkerlantye from 1999 to 2002

The following reflections from students, family members and staff that were present during 1997–2002 have been included in this study to provide a personal perspective to the development of the centre and the model.

The interviews occurred throughout 2004. Some people were interviewed individually and others in pairs and in groups situations. Each person asked for their name to be included alongside what they had written. Some people provided an overall comment about the centre, others added small stories describing successes and difficulties they remember as being significant throughout these years, and others highlighted what they saw as important underlying factors affecting the Irrkerlantye programs. Some people provided an oral recount or reflection and some people provided a written recount.

5.4.1 Students' and family members' reflections and comments

5.4.1.1 The history

Margaret Kemarre Turner (OA)

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe started this community development work about 20 years ago. We started our community development work doing parish work and adult education.

Ngkarte Mikwekenhe is focused to help Arrernte people get things going for themselves. It is an ideal place for people to get together and become strong. The Irrkerlantye artists [for instance] have developed a real style over the years, which they did not have before. Individuals have really developed their skills here.

My long-term aim is to develop and run my own language and culture business that will employ my children, grandchildren and other family members and friends.

The centre has been a great help to my family – we all come and work together – kids go to school – we do art. It's a big place for discussion to act on real issues. This place really tries to assist people to make their dreams happen – for example, helping people stay on their homelands by helping them with transport and having meetings to make plans about the future like education and enterprise.

Felicity Hayes

The Detour project started in 1996. I first worked with Nicole Traves, Paul McLoughlin and Peter Lawson and Mike Bowden. It all started as a place for young Indigenous kids doing hands-on things such as making useful things like tucker boxes, cupboards, wooden toys and rocking horses. I was home looking after my children, who were small

at the time. When Mike and Nicole approached me and said they wanted me to start a school for young people who were walking the streets, I said, “Yes, we should start a school for young kids who are just wandering around and getting into trouble with the police and stealing, sniffing and drinking.” I was very concerned about my children dropping out of school. The school started with children from different language groups. It was hard to work with children who could not speak the same language as me. I worked at Basso’s because I wanted to get my children back to school. I was worried they were going to miss out on their education.

Then there came a time when we all decided it was too much for us to cater for all language groups because of conflict amongst the language groups. We decided to work with our own group, the Eastern and Central Arrernte kids. At Basso’s the kids were learning to read and write and count. They also learned to build tables, tucker boxes, small coffee tables and to make musical instruments such as drums. They learned other life skills as well. We stayed at Basso’s for three years. Then we moved to the Santa Teresa Town House in 1999, where we are situated now. Now we have children from Hidden Valley, Amoonguna and town. We have parents and grandparents now working at Irrkerlantye. It is a place where people can come and get things done.

5.4.1.2 Irrkerlantye benefits

Veronica Doolan

It benefits all age groups and families who come to the centre. It gives families opportunities for themselves and their children to improve themselves.

The centre has been great for my family, because most of us are involved in the centre in various different things. My mum, aunty, sisters, nieces are in the art program. My brothers are doing work programs through CDEP at the centre. And my smaller nieces and nephews are in school, which is on site.

The centre has been a major benefit to my family, with each of us improving our skills and our lifestyles. Arrernte people see the centre as a place where they can get help or information and meet with families.

5.4.1.3 Work and enterprise development

Amanda Turner

The best thing for us is that we are able to come here every day as a family. We go to work while the kids go to school. At the moment I work in the art enterprise and Henry works on the William Well CDEP crew.

One of the best things I did here was work in the recycling enterprise with my mum and my sisters. We still have the cupboard at home that we bought from the 'dump shop' and fixed up and painted. We made coffee tables, Christmas cards, stools and fixed up old furniture. We sold them and made extra money for ourselves. The program stopped because there was no more money. My mum and sisters used to come every day when we had that program running – now they just sit at home hoping it might start again one day. We wrote a biography about ourselves and we also learned about budgeting and costing. This was good because we were learning to run our own business.

Cathy Turner

I first came here to work in the media unit. This training course gave me an opportunity to go to Perth and work for Achilles Heel Films, making films and running training for other Aboriginal youth. I was able to take my baby Edmund with me, which was a big thing for me. Being able to bring my children has been a big advantage for us – otherwise we probably would not be able to work. The media unit stopped because of no funding, so I joined the art centre. This has provided me with a way of earning extra money. The exhibitions have also made me feel proud when I see the big crowds come to see my work.

It's a great place because all the family can come here. My husband works on the CDEP crew and our four sons come here too. The kids come to school here, otherwise many of them would be roaming the streets. They struggle at other schools because there is no family there.

Gloria Doolan

I see the biggest benefit of this place is that whole families come here. Older people go to work or training and can keep an eye on their kids and guide them while they are in school. A major highlight of the art program is the exhibitions – without them people would be painting at home by themselves and selling their own work. These exhibitions make people feel proud and have some artists well known in this town. The art centre helps many people get extra money for bills, clothing and food to support our kids. It's a

place where families can support each other. A difficulty in the community at home is getting people to meet – they are more worried about themselves and what people think. Here people can get on with each other and talk more freely.

5.4.1.4 Student views

Christine Doolan

I have been coming to Irrkerlantye for years. I was 12 when I first came here for school. The best part for me is the CDEP job I now have in the crèche and the art centre. I am the art coordinator's assistant. My first job is to help out in the crèche if they are short – otherwise I work in the art centre. After I have done my CDEP hours doing stock takes, stock filling, preparing canvases, frames and boards for the artists, I am able to do my own painting. I have been able to work on CDEP and earn extra money. It is good to be able to sit here with my family, my aunties, cousins, grandmothers and friends.

Shanta Turner

I have been going to Irrkerlantye for six years. I spent five years here as a post-primary student. I love coming to Irrkerlantye because there are lots of things to do. Now that I am a young mother, my son Lazarus is able to go to the crèche with his brothers while I paint in the art room. I can earn extra money by painting and selling my artwork. If Irrkerlantye was not here I would go to the drop-in centre at ASYASS (Alice Springs Youth Accommodation Support Service) but there is nothing to do there. My best memory is the walk we did to Simpson's Gap on the Larapinta Trail. We camped overnight. It was a challenge.

5.4.2 Staff reflections

Karina Menkhorst – Tutor and Art Coordinator 1998 – ongoing

The Irrkerlantye art centre

My name is Karina Menkhorst. I have worked at Irrkerlantye since 1998. The big success in the early days of the art program was our exhibition at Watch this Space in November 1999. The art group had only been running since May that year and this was our first exhibition. Works included canvases, prints, sculpture and giftware. We developed the exhibition as part of the Indigenous Art and Cultural Practices Certificates 1 and 2, which we were using to fund the program. It was such a success. After operating in pretty poor conditions – very cramped, no space, no equipment, kids and babies crawling over everything, it was amazing to set up in a proper gallery with white walls and present everything to the public with such flair. And the public responded

enthusiastically. The media all ran stories about the exhibition, local paper, radio and TV, and around 200 or more people attended opening night. It was the biggest crowd we have ever had and it was a great mix of Aboriginal family/community and the broader Alice Springs public. This is still what people comment about when they come to our exhibitions – now a twice yearly event at least – that there is nowhere else in Alice Springs where black and white come together in such a positive atmosphere. This exhibition was the start of a great tradition that has evolved into an annual Alice Springs Festival exhibition each year at Irrkerlantye. This year, 2004, it involved the whole centre, from pre-school to grandmothers in the art room, working on the theme Arrernte Station Histories – performance; exhibition; prints; sculpture; paintings; historical photos and oral histories; audio visual; music.

Blockages

The difficulty for the art group was the first three years the program was run as a training program. Wages for the coordinator came from employing the coordinator as an art lecturer running a VET program 10 hours a week through Centralian College. It was well paid per hour, so I worked 20–30 hours per week, setting up the enterprise side of things, because for the artists there was no point in just producing works and learning new skills if they could not sell their art. We had no equipment on site except tables and chairs. So to work through the modules we had to access the art facilities at Centralian College. This always led to a drop in numbers attending. Hardly anyone liked or felt comfortable with going to the college. I was always torn between college demanding people work through modules and complete them and the artists wanting to work with the same medium to generate sales. The course was unwieldy and some ‘compulsory’ modules were totally inappropriate for a white lecturer to be teaching. In August 2004 we finally received funding from DCITA (formerly ATSIC) for an art centre coordinator – at last the funding reflects the reality of the job description and the full-time nature of the coordinator’s position.

Overall the art program has been incredibly successful. It is the only adult program that has run continuously since its inception in May 1999. It has provided financial rewards to the artists, who struggle constantly to have enough money for basic daily needs. In the 2003/2004 financial year we sold over \$50,000 worth of art – 70% of this was distributed to the artists; 30% of the money was used to buy materials. The art room is considered to be a ‘comfortable’, ‘safe’ place where artists can meet with family and people. ‘It gives me something to do – its boring at home,’ is a constant refrain.

Young women not engaging in school anymore (especially young mothers) can come to Irrkerlantye Art Centre and work in the art room. There's now a crèche for the babies. This is a big thing for the young mothers as it's not easy becoming a mum at fourteen. The crèche gives young mums a break for an hour or two. The art room is not comfortable and it is hard to believe the artists refer to it as this, when the chairs are all broken, dirt and rain come through the roof [and] it's boiling in summer and freezing in winter. Their reference is not so much to the physical environment but the social [one]. It not only provides a safe place but also a work option for people. For some who may have alcohol addiction, it means they are not drinking first thing in the morning. For others it means work that is self-driven and can cater for their family commitments. Pride has been a major factor in the program's success. It has really given the artists a great sense of worth to see their work hanging in galleries, to see the public come in their hundreds to our exhibitions, to develop the confidence to sell works directly from a market stall and handle the money. Even making opening speeches in front of hundreds of people and talking to the media have seen the art program provide such strong leadership outcomes. These are the major benefits of the art program for people, except the really big one, and that is: if the mothers and fathers get on the bus to come to Irrkerlantye, the kids get on too. This is the big benefit of the intergenerational model, which really works. Having an intergenerational approach has improved the behaviour and attendance of the kids.

Major setbacks

The infrastructure is very poor, no space, bad equipment, lack of respect for facilities and staff – I'm glad I'm not teaching kids in the classrooms, I do not know how the teachers cope. So many different buckets of money to keep track of, different short-term grants, it's hard to keep communication happening across the whole centre and it has been very difficult to get budget information. Vehicles are a big nightmare – people are always wanting to borrow them and they sometimes come back damaged.

In the wider community the school is seen as some sort of joke... The other day someone said to me, "So and so is going to Irrkerlantye now, it's such a shame, she is a bright kid" – a total misperception of what goes on at Irrkerlantye, and if they say this to your face, what are they saying behind your back?

Tania Beattie – 2002 WELL lecturer

I joined Irrkerlantye in 2002. I was employed as the Workplace Language and Literacy (WELL) coordinator and was responsible for the development and delivery of an adult

leadership program with a number of identified family members. The aim of the program was to work with the 'development model' that already existed for capacity building and to progress it further by building up the skills, namely in leadership, managing, planning, problem solving, etc. With this framework, a curriculum evolved that combined outcomes in Frontline Management modules and General Education modules that importantly linked into family plans and strategic directions for the centre and families. Importantly, too, literacy, numeracy and other skills of the WELL program were developed and reported on every three, six and 12 months to fulfil funding requirements.

It was a fairly daunting task to both comprehend and take on. I had not worked with Indigenous Australians before. Such a big picture upon a wall of barriers and dependency, heartbreak and historical factors affecting these Eastern Arrernte families. While I do not wish to go step by step through all the problems, the successes I remember most are, firstly, the ongoing motivation that most of the group had towards the learning process. As an educator, I could perceive the nature of the education the participants had experienced and the subsequent barriers, yet they were still mostly enthusiastic about the whole process.

One thing I observed and which I feel was the most successful part of the whole centre was their sense of ownership and the feeling that Irrkerlantye and NMC was their place. A place where they could go every day, be accepted and be believed in. Yet this never seemed to be observed by outside parties or accepted as even a minor outcome of the centre. I'm sure this could have been measured.

The leadership group was involved in ongoing planning and problem solving with their families as part of the day-to-day education, health and work programs, as well as assisting with other things. There was always so much going on every day and so many people involved to keep the centre's goals happening. Over the year this sometimes seemed like a rollercoaster ride, with all its ups and downs, including the screaming! Staff still managed to keep programs going, even when it was difficult.

During 2002, discussions and arguments about funding and the future directions of the community really reached a zenith and I think the lack of security, lack of resources generally and in fact always fighting for everything was a major setback of the program. It made it hard to plan and work towards more self-determination among the families and to achieve outcomes...and the struggle continues really.

I think one of the things I take with me still is the group feeling of working at Irrkerlantye. I feel this when I see staff and family members around the town. Also the Irrkerlantye film and exhibition nights clearly demonstrate the commitment to the centre that families and staff have. Despite the struggle for funding and resources, how members of the wider community attend the open nights and the centre and mix with Indigenous people in a positive way does not happen anywhere much in Alice Springs!!

Susan Hoult – 1987–2002 Tutor and Coordinator

I worked at Irrkerlantye as a tutor from 1987 to 2001. On many occasions I was facilitator and teacher for the secondary students, as there was often not the funding to have a full-time teacher for them. In 2002, I replaced Nicole while she was on maternity leave, as the coordinator.

Major setbacks

Working with Centralian College was a constant battle. For example, their criteria for judging educational success was completely inappropriate for kids coming from such backgrounds. The focus from them was always on numbers and completion of necessary modules to pass certificates and subjects. Often the English literacy and numeracy levels are not high enough for Arrernte students to cope in mainstream classrooms – they need one-on-one tutoring. Working closely with these families, it was clear that they benefited hugely from just attending Irrkerlantye, doing something constructive with family members around. And they were learning, but not always at a mainstream pace. Some of them were so far behind when they got there. The Director of Secondary Education would turn up unannounced sometimes and walk around looking in the classrooms, obviously doing a head count. Certainly, there was not an atmosphere of trust between the funding body and us! There was always the feeling that funding was insecure.

Successes

For students like Zac, Purina and Meyer, tackling subjects at Year 11 and 12 level, Irrkerlantye was the only educational option available for them in Alice Springs. To expect young people like this to attend and operate with confidence in mainstream institutions is simply not a reality. Yes, they have the intelligence for the study but socially they find it too intimidating to attend mainstream classes. Their difficult home lives also make it impossible to attend every day and mainstream does not wait for you. We enrolled Zac in several subjects over the years, but basically he felt like a fish out of water and stopped attending these classes pretty quickly. One of the great achievements

was Meyer attending work experience at K-mart. She was so proud of herself. The development of Zac's artwork was another great achievement.

It is obvious that Irrkerlantye belongs to these families, in a real sense. It is their place and the potential for capacity building is definitely there. Yes there were enormous obstacles to growth at an individual and community level. As a holistic model, I believe Irrkerlantye is a ray of light and there aren't too many of these around. Over the five years I worked at Irrkerlantye, I developed strong relationships with certain students and felt that the families came to trust me. This took time.

Peter Lowson – 1996–1999 Art Coordinator

Reflections

My name is Peter Lowson. In 1996 I was working for Tangentyere Council and, along with Mike Bowden, who was manager of Community Services, we began the process to start the Detour project. This was aimed at young men who were not accessing education or that had dropped out. This was a very exciting project to start and much vision was put into it. My job was to recruit young people from the town camps and put together a program that was interesting, educational and, hopefully, that created pathways. The program was very successful in engaging many young people and presenting them with a variety of activities, from basic competency skills, introduction to music and making musical instruments.

When the Detour school was formed, it was very difficult at first because there was always a mix of language groups. They were mainly Western Arrernte, Eastern Arrernte and Warlpiri. Although sometimes there were family connections between the three groups, it did not work very well at all. People felt no real ownership of the program. The model that it has become has taken a long road and why it is working is because of the ownership of the family groups involved. The way forward for this program is that it has to be recognised fully by the government, both State and Commonwealth, and be provided with long-term and appropriate funding. People have an attitude that people will be all right in broken-down, inadequate-sized buildings, with broken-down buses and limited resources. This puts amazing amounts of pressure on the students, the families and the staff. This often results in high turnover of staff.

An example of this is an incident that happened in our rundown bus. The bus was full of students on the way home. A fight broke out between a Warlpiri boy and an Eastern Arrernte boy. I was telling them to settle down. We were just coming through the main

traffic lights. I was about to pull over and deal with this, because the two bodies were hanging out the windows. When I tried to apply the brakes, my foot went straight to the floor. I yelled out, 'Watch out there's no brakes,' and the kids just laughed, thinking I was joking. I managed to slow the bus with gears and the hand brake. Then I went to the back of the bus to deal with the ongoing fight. The Arrernte kids were yelling at the Warlpiri kids in Arrernte and the Warlpiri kids were yelling at the Arrernte kids in Warlpiri. The program did not work with the mix of the two language groups.

In conclusion I'm still involved as a youth coordinator and have been drawn back to Irrkerlantye. I have seen enormous and positive changes and am encouraged every day by the new generation, who have shown commitment to this very powerful model.

Sister Helen – 2000–2001 Literacy and Numeracy Teacher

Reflections

A nine year old, too young at the time to be allowed to attend classes, as the program was set up only for secondary students, sat outside the classroom every day. Family tried, I tried, Nicole tried to get her to go to another school, but she would not move. After a number of weeks, eventually we decided to let her in. She stood up and came into the classroom – took her place there as if she'd always been there and applied herself with older students. Within a week we had another youngster arrive who would not go to any other school. Our dilemma began. Do we let them come? Do we send them home knowing they were not going to school? We tried to get them to go to Yipirinya, but they would not go. They felt safe with their family. They wanted to be with their family. As we were a secondary school that was funded only to run secondary and adult programs, how could we convince funding bodies that these students needed to be at Irrkerlantye? Dilemma!

Successes

Landcare project

The students completed a land care project which they presented at a Water Wise Forum in Adelaide. With Natalie they planted, nurtured, wrote up the project and prepared a poster using English and Arrernte. They travelled by bus to Adelaide. The young girl that we let into the classroom that was too young was the star. She spoke to a big group of students about the project and really enjoyed talking with other participants at the conference.

The band

The boys formed a band called the Irrkerlantye Falcons. They would come to school every day so that they could play music with Peter Browne in the afternoons. When this established itself for some time, then other young men came along to school.

Bikes

We went to the dump and collected old bike parts. Students made their own bikes or repaired ones they had at home. The trip was great, and I remember the joy when Harry wrote his first story about the trip. During the process, Harry took out the tube and was stuffing it with grass so that he could ride over the prickles! Lots of initiative, independence and confidence was built through these projects, as well as lots of literacy and numeracy outcomes.

Barriers/difficulties

- The 'age' for admission to the program.
- Lack of recognition by Centralian of ESL outcomes in English using primary school and ESL measures.
- Cultural ignorance.
- Preconceived ideas about how to teach from Centralian College, who were more concerned about imparting knowledge rather than building on knowledge and catering for individual needs. Each student had an individual need and these needs needed to be acknowledged and met – it was almost impossible to do this with the time and pressure constraints.
- Language barriers and staff ignorance of Arrernte.
- Health issues kids faced and the exposure to traumatic experiences and poor self-images.
- Lack of in-servicing for staff and no staffroom for debriefing.
- Resources inadequate.
- Lack of space.

Cait Wait – 1998–2002, for periods of 3–6 months at a time – tutor and special project facilitator

Reflections

My connection/relationship with Eastern Arrernte people began in 1987 at Keringke Arts, at Santa Teresa. I first met Nicole there as a teacher 17 years ago. My personal

history in the intervening years has involved a lot of travel and comings and goings from Alice Springs, but each time I have returned to Alice Springs I have been able to work with Arrernte people and renew old friendships and develop new ones with the next generations. For example, Aggie Abbott was a founding member of Keringke Arts, and in 1988, her granddaughter was about three years old. We used to go on bush trips with the family, rediscovering country and stories. In 1998, when I returned, Purina was a 14 year old student at Basso's and we had an instant rapport. I was her tutor in art and English subjects. She was working by correspondence. When I returned to Irrkerlantye in 2001, Purina was still studying and I was able to support her and connect with her family again.

My point is that the relationship between the students and staff were all dependent on a history of involvement – the staff were not necessarily appointed for their qualifications but more because of their connections with Arrernte people and their ability to relate to them. We had extremely poor working conditions and facilities, but that was not the important thing. We tried to work in a flexible, changing, unpredictable environment which often mirrored the comings and goings of the students and families. There was recognition that relationships were the most important quality, as they are, for Aboriginal people – I always felt involved and accepted, no matter [in] what capacity I worked there.

Graham Buckley

Successes

The creation of the crèche was a quantum step forward in giving true meaning to the term 'community development'. After starting modestly in a single room, the establishment of its own portable unit in 2001 provided for greater emphasis to that aspect of the learning centre. Better resourcing and increased confidence by family members leaving children there was clearly evident.

Barriers and difficulties

Because Centralian College was the parent of Irrkerlantye, thereby strongly overseeing the funding of it, I always felt that the hassles it created fostered a sense of feeling of negativity in wanting to develop programs/projects.

Reflection

I see the concept of Irrkerlantye as a truly worthwhile educational model. Any initiative in education that has as its goal fostering of ‘whole family’ participation each day must have something going for it.

Major setbacks

The highly inappropriate site of the centre. Apart from being poorly resourced, both educationally and physically (eg: lack of good outdoor playing areas), the simple fact is it was never a school site. Constantly making do with such unsuitable conditions breeds too much unwanted stress.

Major benefits

Obviously, on the school side, it is providing a learning environment for Indigenous students who, overwhelmingly in the main, would not cope with mainstream schooling. There is more than one compelling reason for that statement, but a telling one would be that English is not a first language for them. The sense of ‘family’ in Aboriginal culture certainly cannot be underestimated when commenting on a program such as Irrkerlantye is involved in. Each day you are there, it comes through strongly in different ways. One defining moment for me was when a young mother, no older than 16, was doing her work in the classroom and a crèche worker brought the girl’s baby into the room so that it could be breast fed. The girl blithely put the baby on the breast and continued on with her school work.

David Burfield-North – 2000–2002 Tutor, Bus driver, Language and Culture support person

Between 1999 and 2002, Irrkerlantye employed me as a bus driver, tutor and lecturer. This also involved numerous bush trips to Arltunga, Little Well, Ross River and Adelaide. At the time I was married into the Turner/Neale family (Eastern Arrernte), whose family members of five generations still make up a significant portion of Irrkerlantye’s daily staff and participants.

I still regularly drop in to Irrkerlantye and spend time chatting with family and friends. This is because, after 14 years in Alice Springs, having worked for six different organisations and sundry short-term projects, no other organisation can offer the following:

- A great Arrernte family atmosphere with something for all age groups.
- Strong social bonds between staff and students of all ages.

- A highly productive arts and crafts workshop of growing international reputation.
- A lovely location, plenty of shady trees, very relaxing.
- On-site church (affiliated with Santa Teresa Catholic Mission), which means Irrkerlantye is recognised as blessed Holy Ground by Eastern and Central Arrernte families.

Whenever I visit Irrkerlantye, it gives me a sense of returning home. There is always something new and innovative happening there. This is rare in a town where established organisations tend to stagnate and lose their sense of purpose.

I sincerely yearn to see Irrkerlantye continue to grow and prosper, for it offers Arrernte families a unique place, like no other.

Chapter 6: Summary and conclusions

This paper has documented the evolution of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model, which began during 1986 when a group of Eastern and Central Arrernte people came together to prepare for the papal visit. This group became incorporated as Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community and in the period 1996–2002 underwent significant change as it became the controlling body for the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre. This study researched historical data and capacity building and community development literature that provided background and context to analyse the philosophy and methodology of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model.

6.1 The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre model

This model has a structure aimed at facilitating a process that enables the kinship-based family groups that are committed to Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated to strengthen their families and achieve their long-term goals. Taylor (2003, p.12) concludes that “stable, capable Indigenous institutions of governance, reflective of, and accountable to, their community’s needs and values, will form the crucial foundations for any and all regional, community and family socio-economic capacity building and associated development”. The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre is an example of an institution that is governed by representatives of each of the kinship/family groups engaged in the process and is driven by the aspirations of these kinship groups.

This model began as a secondary education alternative, controlled by a government education provider and a regional non-Aboriginal service organisation. Gradually the Eastern and Central Arrernte families belonging to Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community have taken control of Irrkerlantye. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated is now the governing body, and brokers the services from other organisations to operate many of its programs, including the Northern Territory Department of Employment Education and Training to manage education programs; the Centre for Appropriate Technology and Charles Darwin University for Vocational Education and Training Programs; Central Australian Aboriginal Congress for physical and emotional well-being programs; Alukura for women’s health programs; Tangentyere, Arrernte Council and Ingkerreke Councils for CDEP participant funding; and Batchelor College for teacher education programs. The model at Irrkerlantye does not attempt to duplicate existing service provision but, rather, facilitate a process for family members to access

the already existing services strategically and develop service provision where there are gaps.

The NMC model investigated in this study has the potential to facilitate an effective process of capacity building for the families committed to and controlling NMC by implementing a holistic and intergenerational approach that integrates education, health, work and enterprise development and enhances social capital through the community development and language and culture programs. It emphasises the need to offer and provide a holistic series of programs, so that participants have the opportunity to undertake these programs to improve issues and achieve outcomes in various aspects of life. It is a complex and comprehensive model. The model offers strategies to assist health and social problems by implementing programs in health and well-being that cater for physical, emotional and spiritual needs. It recognises that health and social problems need to be dealt with so that participants can effectively engage in education, training and work programs.

The centre operates as an intergenerational program whereby families come as whole units to the centre each day. Grandmothers, fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, cousins all come and participate in a range of education, training, health, community development and work programs. This context enables family values and cultural governance to continue as a natural part of life. It enables kinship responsibilities and relationship interactions to support and provide a solid foundation for programs and to happen as a natural course of the day. It also enables family issues to be dealt with in a neutral environment for many family members, as formal and informal family meetings play a large part in the weekly life at the centre. A range of support mechanisms for families and individuals in crisis are provided in the daily life and activity at the centre. It provides respite for young mothers and enables young families to be engaged in purposeful activity while not ignoring the responsibilities of rearing young children. Some programs also lend themselves to intergenerational interaction, which enables cultural teaching and learning practices to be implemented more readily. This occurs in education and training programs, in health programs, in family strategic planning meetings, and in language and cultural maintenance activities.

In the broader national perspective, Irrkerlantye is not an entity based on the recognition of sovereignty with solid governance agreements in place with other governments. However, it is an entity incorporated under the corporations act, whose membership

consists of a number of family members, who could possibly address the issue of sovereignty in their own family groups. Irrkerlantye is a centre that can facilitate a capacity building process for each of these groups in their attempt to be more self-determining. Each of these families has individual connections to tradition and country and although they inter-relate, they have individual aspirations and visions for each of their families, who operate as quite separate groups. Self-governance is an area that needs to be explored by each of the individual family groups if they intend to become self-sustaining entities and it is possibly a process that the centre could facilitate. As discussed in this paper, recognition of sovereignty has been researched as a key factor in economic and social enhancement of Indigenous nations that have been ravaged by the effects of invasion and domination by another culture. The families that make up the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community have yet to benefit from a treaty or agreement with government that determines their rights and responsibilities as an Indigenous nation. However, these families still aspire to be self-determining and self-sustainable in a variety of ways. This resource centre aims to facilitate positive change for the families that commit to the process by accessing new and existing resources.

Irrkerlantye channels all funding through the governing corporation, Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community Incorporated. Some of the services provided at Irrkerlantye are paid for directly by the organisations that deliver them. These include education, which comes via DEET, Vocational Education and Training programs which are funded through Charles Darwin University, formerly Centralian College, and the Centre for Appropriate Technology and some health programs through Congress and Alukura. The funding for administration, the crèche, community development, work programs and some health programs comes from a series of short-term submissions and grant arrangements through Family and Community Services, Department of Health and Community Services and the Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health (OATSIH). CDEP participant funding is accessed through the three Aboriginal service providers: Tangentyere, Arrernte and Ingkerreke Councils. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe also receives a number of other small grants from time to time by submitting applications to philanthropic organisations. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe receives no baseline operational funding. It has a lease arrangement with the Catholic Diocese of Darwin to lease the facilities it is presently occupying. Submitting and acquitting funding agreements and updating Memorandums of Understanding and monitoring agreements with so many

service organisations is extremely time consuming for a manager when the centre does not have direct funding.

The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre has developed a positive capacity building model that suits the families of the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community it services. It has a system of governance that enables traditional cultural practices to occur and it works with small family groups who are planning strategically to achieve long-term goals. It is holistic, it is intergenerational and it is focused on developing long-term, self-sustaining economic infrastructure.

6.2 Summary of this thesis

This thesis has documented the development of the capacity building model known as the Irrkerlantye capacity building model, governed by the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community.

In Chapter 1, the purpose of the study was introduced. It described the context in which Indigenous Australians are living, provided a brief description of the disadvantage and marginalisation that Indigenous Australians are entrapped in and an overview of their lack of success in achieving mainstream outcomes. This chapter concludes with an overview of the remainder of the thesis.

In Chapter 2 some of the academic literature was reviewed to establish a theoretical context for this study. It researched the contribution that academic literature has to make to the theme of capacity building and explored the complex range of issues affecting Indigenous people internationally and here in Australia. The main areas included:

- An overview of the history and the context in which Indigenous people are living, including Indigenous Australians at present.
- Sovereignty and self-government and links to economic development and improved outcomes for Indigenous people in the US, Canada and New Zealand.
- Definitions and constructions of community.
- Barriers that have impeded progress for Indigenous people including: ineffective policy, bureaucratic blockages, a lack of holistic and coordinated services delivery, short-term funding cycles, the effects of unemployment and lack of sustainable economies, problems associated with the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) program and the welfare state people are living in.
- Capacity building and community development – definitions and models.

- Characteristics of good capacity building and community development models, including effective leadership, strategic planning and sharing a common vision, effective staff and partnerships, sustainable homeland centres, kinship family groups as a way forward, and the importance of building social capital and intergenerational–whole-family approaches.

Chapter 3 described and justified the use of the qualitative and historical archival research methodology used to conduct the study. It described the philosophy that determined the parameters of the inquiry and outlined the components of the research process. The chapter described the data collection process and the process of data analysis and interpretation. This chapter provided a review of ethical concerns in collecting data and concluded with an outline of possible limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 overviewed a history of Indigenous Australia, particularly the period after 1800, and focusing on Eastern and Central Arrernte families that make up the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community. This chapter concluded by documenting the effects white occupation has had on Indigenous people.

Chapter 5 documented the findings of the study, focusing on the development of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre and capacity building model that evolved during the period 1996–2002. This chapter outlines the structure and function of the key areas of the capacity building model and provided an analysis of the model in light of the literature. Chapter 5 also documented reflections and comments from a range of students, staff and family members about the centre.

Chapter 6 summarised the research findings and concluded the study by emphasising the successes and limitations of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model.

6.3 Conclusions

The success of the Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre capacity building model in building the capacities of the families committed to the process is largely dependent on the wider policy implications at a federal government level being overcome. Improved economic, social and educational outcomes is foremost a political problem, at the heart of which lies the issue of sovereignty and agreements with governing institutions through which sovereignty can be effectively exercised. Firstly, at a federal level and, secondly, at a State level, sovereignty needs to be recognised and then policy established to determine agreements between sovereign groups and other governing entities as to the rights, responsibilities and powers and relationships of these governing entities. Crough (1997) has clearly pointed out that within the Australian

governing system it is possible to have numerous forms of governance. The research is clear in emphasising that the best way for Indigenous groups to break the poverty cycle and the effects of poverty and oppression is for Indigenous people to attain recognition of their sovereignty. Through self-government other Indigenous groups have built strong governing institutions capable of the effective exercise of sovereignty and strong economies at a local level that have shown a flow-on effect in improving education, health and social outcomes. It is time for Indigenous Australians to be in control of their lives and determine their own futures, instead of them being shaped by others. As the Prime Minister of Canada said in relation to Indigenous Canadians, “We’ve made enough mistakes for them. It’s time for them to make their own mistakes.” (Canadian Prime Minister Chretien, *Globe and Mail*, 22 November 1996, quoted in Crough 1997, p.1). Indigenous Australians have the right to such an opportunity.

The Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre has developed a model of capacity building specifically for the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community families wanting to engage in a process to improve their lives. Whatever their individual aspirations, these families have established an organisation, a model and a process that they have control over and through which they can achieve positive capacity building. Although the model and organisational structure has been articulated, NMC has been unable to resource the programs adequately to date. NMC needs to secure long-term avenues of funding for the model to be implemented fully. With adequate funding and resourcing, NMC will be able to implement programs in each section of the model so that it can work towards achieving the outcomes, and the long-term aspirations, identified in family strategic plans.

The processes that take places in the community development key area family strategic planning provide a central focus and a solid research base that informs all other program areas for are very similar to those outlined in the Hope and Timmel model (1991). An area that is not thoroughly explored in the model at Irrkerlantye but has been highlighted in the leadership programs as part of community development is the need for investment in building social capital. Through leadership development there needs to be exploration of the major issues that are affecting all kinship groups and the underlying causes that have to be addressed. This would enable a more proactive approach with government agencies and allow more informed decision making in strategic planning sessions. Community development and education will play a major role in this. Education needs to be extended to include adults – at present VET programs provide limited opportunity for

people to extend their knowledge base and articulate their opinions about major issues that are affecting them. For the model to achieve its full potential in facilitating a process to raise people's consciousness of the current situation, the possibility of change and to enable them to feel confident and empowered to take the initiatives necessary to change their situation is a major task for the manager and community development coordinator. The development of the model was largely due to a number of committed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal staff of the original partner organisations, and the willingness of the management of the partner organisations to let go of the program and support Ngkarte Mikwekenhe in assuming overall control.

For the capacity building process to be effective for each of the family groups at Irrkerlantye, the broader issues of governance, autonomy, policy and agreements in service delivery need to be addressed. If this does not occur, then the government services and their bureaucratic processes will continue to be ineffective and achieve little change in Indigenous Australians' quality of life.

Although this model has achieved a lot to the present time, for it to be fully operational a number of things need to occur:

- The centre needs to be resourced effectively and funded with recurrent funding. Long-term funding needs to be secured, based on agreements of reciprocity, so that the model can be implemented fully and there is some consistency in the capacity building process. At present some programs are implemented in a very inconsistent way because the major components of funding are based on successful application to short-term grants.
- Successful partnerships are essential to the program's success. Partnership agreements where both groups have equal standing need to be established to resource the program effectively. At the end of 2002 two partnerships agreements were tentatively in place: with Tangentyere Council, Ingkerreke Council and Arrernte Council (non-government service organisations) for the provision of CDEP places, and with the Northern Territory Department of Education. However, these agreements were not substantial in meeting the needs of each of the program areas they funded. Other funding arrangements were based on the organisation complying with the arrangements detailed in a funding grant rather than a true partnership agreement. More partnerships need to be established acknowledging each of the partner's responsibilities and securing long-term funding arrangements.

- Within the community development strategic planning process, there needs to be a greater emphasis on leadership development and building academic capital so that the family members facilitating change are aware of all the factors and current policies and opportunities that may affect them.

Should the above issues be resolved, Irrkerlantye would have a better chance of implementing its capacity building model more effectively. In the meantime the model proposed by NMC can facilitate a capacity building process on a number of levels:

1. Firstly, by controlling and setting the parameters for what will be taught and facilitated in education and training programs, to ensure people are well educated and enlightened to the possibilities and aware of the deeper issues blocking them and of the processes other Indigenous people have taken to forge a way ahead to be critically conscious of the current state of affairs and to ‘mobilise’ to make change.
2. Secondly, by facilitating processes for people to revisit and reaffirm their cultural identity and, by providing programs to facilitate and encourage healing processes so people become strong and overcome the oppression that presses hard on their daily existence. The result being that they are revitalised spiritually, emotionally and physically.
3. Thirdly, by providing people with work and a self-generating economic base so that they can operate independently and effectively and regain meaning and purpose in their lives and a sense of pride and satisfaction in achievement.
4. Fourthly, by providing a safe meeting place for families to talk, encourage and support each other in a model that fully supports intergenerational interaction and enables a stronger chance of effective capacity building.

The development of the Irrkerlantye capacity building model has happened over a 20 year period that has seen many battles fought at a bureaucratic level. It has developed into a capacity building model for a specific group of families who identify as the Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community. It is a unique model in that it brings together family members from a range of geographical locations each day and facilitates a range of programs for them in an intergenerational family-driven context. A key feature of the Irrkerlantye model was the development this intergenerational program which recognised that having activities that involved older people in the same location as young people, engaged students more effectively. It also enabled the adults to have daily input into their children’s education and lives in a positive way.

This model aims to overcome many of the systemic barriers that families face in relation to their history of dispossession and relocation and the bureaucratic inadequacies they face from the agencies which service them. The model aims to facilitate a process for families to establish positive pathways forward to an improved lifestyle. It is a unique model in that it combines elements of the successful capacity building programs reflected in the literature reviewed: that is, being intergenerational and holistic in its service delivery, Aboriginal controlled and multi-agency funded. The extent to which the model will facilitate a positive future for these families is dependent on the capacity building process being effective at a number of levels – a national level, a regional level, an organisational level and at the family kinship group level.

References

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). 1993. *Community Based Planning: Principles and Practices*. ATSIC, Canberra.
- Aboriginal Education at Catholic High School, Alice Springs. 1987. Unpublished paper.
- Ah Kit, J. 2002. Ministerial statement. Minister assisting the Chief Minister on Indigenous Affairs. Northern Territory Parliament, Darwin
- Altman, J.C. 1989. *Aborigines Tourism and Development: the NT experience*. NARU Publications, ANU.
- Altman, J.C. and Hunter, B.A. 2003. *Monitoring Practical Reconciliation: evidence from the reconciliation decade 1991–2001*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra
<http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/Publications/DP/2003_DP254.pdf>
- Altman, J.C. and Sanders, W. 1991. *From Exclusion to Dependence: Aborigines and the welfare state in Australia*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.
- Altman, J.C. and Smith, D.E. 1993. *Compensating Indigenous Australian Losers: a community-oriented approach from the Aboriginal social policy arena*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.
- Altman, J.C. and Taylor, L. 1987. *The Economic Viability of Aboriginal Outstations and Homelands*. Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Australian Government Publishing, Canberra.
- Altman, J.C. and Whitehead, P.J. 2003. *Caring for Country and Sustainable Indigenous Development: opportunities, constraints and innovation*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Canberra.
- Anderson, A. 2002. Paper presented to the Indigenous Governance Conference, Canberra.
- Begay, M., Cornell, S., and Kalt, J. 1997. *Making Research Count in Indian Country: the Harvard Project on American Indian economic development*. Malcolm Weiner Centre for Social Policy, Cambridge.

- Biddle, W.W. and Biddle, L.J. 1965. *The Community Development Process: the rediscovery of local initiative*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. New York.
- Boughton, B. and Durnan, D. 1997. Detour evaluation. Unpublished paper.
- Bowden, M. 1994. Will they be Aboriginals as we are today? A case study of the education of Arrernte youth in Alice Springs. Unpublished thesis for the Degree of Master of Education, NTU.
- Brady, Maggie 1992, 'Statements of autonomy'. Chapter 5 in *Heavy Metal: the social meaning of petrol sniffing in Australia*, pp.69–98. AIATSIS, Canberra.
- Broome, R. 1994. *Aboriginal Australians: black responses to white dominance, 1788–1994*. Allen and Unwin, St Leonards.
- Byrnes, J. 1988. *Enterprises in Aboriginal Australia: fifty case studies: A report of interviews conducted across Australia, particularly Central and Western Australia during 1988*. Rural Development Centre, UNE, Armidale.
- Christenson, J.A. 1989. Major themes in community development. In J. A. Christenson & J.W. Robinson Jr. (eds) *Community Development in Perspective*. Iowa State University Press, Iowa.
- CIDA. 1996. *Capacity Development: the Concept and its Implementation in the CIDA Context*. Hull: Policy Branch, CIDA.
- Clark, I. 1994. *Sharing History: a sense for all Australians of a shared ownership of their history*. Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- Coombs, H.C. 1994, *Aboriginal Autonomy: issues and strategies*. Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Cornell, S. 2002a. Governance and economic development. Harvard Project on American Indian economic development. Paper presented at the Indigenous Governance Conference, Canberra.
- Cornell, S. 2002b. The importance of power of Indigenous self-governance: evidence from the United States. Paper presented at the Indigenous Governance Conference, Canberra.

Cornell, S. and Kalt, P. 2004a. *Reloading the Dice: improving the chances of economic development on American Indian Reservations*. Available at <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/hpaied/pubs/pub_120.htm>

Cornell, S. and Kalt, P. 2004b. *Sovereignty and Nation-Building: the development challenge in Indian country today*. Available at <<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/hpaied/docs/CornellKalt%20Sov-NB.pdf>>

Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. 2000. *Reconciliation – Australia's Challenge: final report of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation to the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Parliament*. Canberra. Viewed 15.2.2003. <www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/IndigLRes/car/2000/16/>

Cowlishaw, G. 1988. *Black, White or Brindle: race in rural Australia*. Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Crough, G. 1994. Aboriginal Sovereignty and Self-government. *Social Alternatives*, April 1994, Volume.13. Issue 1.

Crough, G. 1997. *Indigenous Organisations, Funding and Accountability: comparative reforms in Canada and Australia*. Northern Australian Research Unit, Darwin.

Crough, G. 2001. Speaking notes for the Faculty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Governance Workshop. Northern Australian Research Unit, Darwin.

Curtis, C. and Jorgensen, M. 2002. *American Indian Tribes' Financial Accountability to the United States Government: context, procedures and implications*. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, Cambridge.

Daly, A.E. 1993. *Self-employment amongst Aboriginal People*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.

Davis, S. and Prescott, J. 1992. *Aboriginal Frontiers and Boundaries in Australia*. Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Detour 1997. Rolls and administration files. Alice Springs.

Detour 1998. Rolls and administration files. Alice Springs.

Detour 1999. Rolls and administration files. Alice Springs.

Detour 2000. Rolls and administration files. Alice Springs.

- Detour 2001. Rolls and administration files. Alice Springs.
- Detour 2002. Rolls and administration files. Alice Springs.
- Devitt, J., Hall, G. and Tsey, K. 2001. *An Introduction to the Social Determinants of Health in Relation to the Northern Territory Indigenous Population*. Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal and Tropical Health, Darwin.
- Dobbert, M. 1982. *Ethnographic Research: theory and applications for modern schools and societies*. Praeger, New York.
- Dodson, M. 1994. Towards the exercise of Indigenous rights: policy, power and self-determination. *Race and Class*. Volume 35.
- Dodson, M. 2003. My people and place: why does place matter? Keynote address. Peoples, Place and Partnerships Conference, Sydney, 28–29 April 2003.
- Donovan, P. 1988. *Alice Springs, Its History and the People Who Made It*. Ferguson. Pty. Ltd.
- Dryfoos, J. 1994. *Full-Service Schools: a revolution in health and social services for children, youth and families*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.
- Dusseldorp Skills Forum (DSF). 2003. *How Young People Are Faring: key indicators 2003*. DSF, Glebe. <www.dsf.org.au/papers/108/How_Young_Faring_Aug2003_0.pdf>
- Eade, D. 1997. What is capacity-building? In *Capacity-Building: an approach to people-centred development*, pp.23–49. Oxfam, Oxford.
- Eade, D. and Williams, S. 1995, *The Oxfam Handbook of Development and Relief*, Vol. 1. Oxfam, Oxford.
- East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project. 1985. An Aboriginal economic base: strategies for remote communities. Extracts from the report of the Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs. East Kimberly Impact Assessment Project, Canberra.
- European Centre for Development Policy Management. 2003. *What is Capacity Development?* European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM), Maastricht. Viewed 18 July 2004.
<www.capacity.org/web_capacity/web/UK_content/navigation.nsf/index2?Readform>

- Family Well-being Course. 1997. Family Well-being Course handout.
- Flynn, M. 2000. Irrkerlantye Learning Centre. Consultation for the CRCATH. Unpublished report.
- Folds, R. 2001. *Crossed Purposes: the Pintupi and Australia's Indigenous policy*. University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Freire, P. 1972. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Sheed and Ward, London.
- Graham, B., Harris, S., Rhatigan, P., Cap. B. A review of the Ntyarlke Unit at Catholic High School, Alice Springs. 1989. Unpublished paper.
- Harris, S. 1977. Milingimbi learning contexts. Unpublished thesis, University of New Mexico.
- Heifetz, R. A. 1997. *Leadership Without Easy Answers*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Holyoake, Heart Talk handout.
- Hope, A. and Timmel, S. 1991. *Training for Transformation: a handbook for community workers*. Mambo Press, Gweru.
- Hounslow, B. 2002. Community capacity building explained. Stronger Families Learning Exchange. Australian Institute of Family Studies. *Bulletin* No. 1 (Autumn): 20–2.
- House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (HRSCATSIA). 2004. *Many Ways Forward: report of the inquiry into capacity building and service delivery in Indigenous communities*. Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- Howe, B. and Cleary, R. 1977. *Community Building: policy issues and strategies for the Victorian Government*. Report commissioned by the Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet, Melbourne.
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HEROC). 1997. *Bringing Them Home: a guide to the findings and recommendations of the National Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*. AIATSIS, Canberra.

Hunter, B.H. 1999. *Three Nations, Not One: Indigenous and other Australian poverty*. CAEPR Working Paper No. 1. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra. Viewed 5 March 2004. <<http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/>>

The Inland Review 2(5) 1967. E.J. McAlister and Co. Pty Ltd, Adelaide, SA.

Irrkerlantye Community Development Centre. Strategic Plan 2004–2008.

Johnston, E. 1991. *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody*. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Jonas, W. (Social Justice Commissioner). 2001. *Social Justice Report*. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney.

Jonas, W. (Social Justice Commissioner). 2002. *Social Justice Report*. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney.

Jonas, W. (Social Justice Commissioner). 2003. *Social Justice Report*. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney.

Jull, P. (et al). 1994. *Surviving Columbus, Indigenous Peoples, Political Reform and Environmental Management in North Australia*. Australian National University, Canberra.

Kenny, S. 1999. *Developing Communities for the Future: community development in Australia*. Nelson, South Melbourne.

Kickett, D., McCauley, D. and Stringer, E. 1987. *Community Development Processes: an introductory handbook*. Curtin University Centre for Aboriginal Studies, Perth.

Kinfu, Y. and Taylor, J. 2003. *The Future of Indigenous Work: forecasts of labour force status to 2011*. CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 251. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.

Kleinfeld, J. 1979. *Eskimo School on the Andreafsky*. Praeger, New York.

Lemont, E. 2004. *Developing Effective Processes of American Indian Constitutional and Governmental Reform: lessons from the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Hualapai Nation, Navajo Nation and Northern Cheyenne Tribe*. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. Cambridge.

Littlejohns, L.B. and Thompson, D. 2001. Cobwebs: insight into community capacity building and its relation to health outcomes. *Community Development Journal* 36 (1) (January): 30–41.

McArdle, J. 1998. *Resource Manual for Facilitators in Community Development*. Vista Publications, Victoria.

McKenzie, A. 2002. Long term approach to capacity building and employment. *Journal of Indigenous Policy* Issue 2: 67–70.

McRae, D., Ainsworth, G., Cumming, J., Hughes, P., Mackay, T., Price, K., Rowland, M., Warhurst, J., Woods, D. and V. Zbar. 2000. *What Works, Explorations in Improving Outcomes for Indigenous Students*. Canberra: Australian Curriculum Studies Association.

Mabo, E. Jnr. 2002. A treaty for whom? Paper presented to the Treaty – Advancing Reconciliation Conference, 26–28 June 2002, Murdoch University, Perth, pp.1–8.

Malin, M. and Maidment, D. 2005. Evaluation of Irrkerlantye Learning Centre. Unpublished final report. Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal Health, Darwin.

Mansell, M. 2002. ‘A Treaty as a Final Settlement?’ Paper presented to the Treaty – Advancing Reconciliation Conference, 26–28 June 2002, Murdoch University, Perth, pp.1–4.

MCEETYA. 2000. A Model of More Culturally Inclusive and Educationally Effective Schools, http://www.mceetya.edu.au/verve/_resources/model_file.pdf.

MCEETYA. 2001. Exploring Multiple Pathways For Indigenous Students Discussion Paper, MCEETYA Taskforce On Indigenous Education June 2001, <http://www.mceetya.edu.au/verve/resources/exploringmultiplepathwaysfile.pdf>.

Morgan, P. 1998. Capacity and capacity development: some strategies. Notes prepared for the Political and Social Policies Division. Canadian International Development Agency Policy Branch, Quebec.

National Board of Employment and Training. 1995. *Report into the Needs of Aboriginal Adults in the Educational Context*. National Board of Employment and Training, South Australia.

- Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community (NMC). 2004. Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Strategic Plan 2004–2008. Unpublished document.
- Nungalinya College. 1997. Certificate 1 in Family and Community Services. Course Curriculum. Darwin.
- O’Grady, F. 1977. *Francis of Central Australia*. Wentworth Press, Surry Hills.
- Overseas Development Institute (ODI). 2003. Keysheets for Sustainable Livelihoods. ODI, London. Viewed 2 September 2004. <www.odi.org.uk/>
- Patton, M.Q. 1990. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Second edition. Sage Publications, London.
- Patton, M.Q. 2002. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Third edition. Sage publications, London.
- Pearson, N. 1999. *From Campbelltown to Cape York – Re-building Community*. <http://www.brisinst.org.au/papers/noel_pearson_rebuilding/print-index.html>
- Pearson, N. 2000a. *Our Right to Take Responsibility*. Noel Pearson and Associates Pty Ltd. Cairns.
- Pearson, N. 2000b. *The Light on the Hill*. Ben Chifley Memorial Lecture. Bathurst.
- Pearson, N. 2001. *On the Human Right to Misery: mass incarceration and early death*. Dr Charles Perkins Memorial Oration, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Pearson, N. 2003. *Major Changes to ATSIC Are Not the Answer*. <<http://www.capeyorkpartnerships.com/noelpearson/np-atsic-changes-28-4-03.doc>>
- Prentis, M. 1988. *A Study in Black and White: the Aborigines in Australian history*. Social Science Press, Wentworth Falls.
- Putnam, R. 1995. Bowling alone: America’s declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy* 6: 65–78.
- Pye, J. *Santa Teresa and Eastern Aranda History*. National Library, Darwin.
- Reynolds, H. 1973. *Aborigines and Settlers: the Australian experience 1788–1939*. Cassell Australia, Stanmore.

- Reynolds, R. 1989. 'Pwarretjeme' (An Inner Light Growing) – Reflections on the pastoral ministry with Aboriginal people in Alice Springs. Unpublished paper. Alice Springs.
- Ring, I. and Brown, N. 2002. Indigenous health: chronically inadequate responses to damning statistics. *Medical Journal of Australia* 177 (2/16): 629–31.
- Saggers, S. and Gray, D. 1996. The health of Aboriginal Australians.
- Rowse, T. 1998. *White Flour, White Power: from rations to citizenship in Central Australia*. Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Sanders, W. 1993. *The rise and rise of the CDEP scheme: an Aboriginal 'workfare' program in times of persistent unemployment*. Discussion Paper. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.
- Schorr, L.B. 1989. *Within Our Reach: breaking the cycle of disadvantage, strengthening families and neighborhoods to rebuild America*. Doubleday, New York.
- Schorr, L.B. 1997. *Common Purpose: strengthening families and neighborhoods to rebuild America*. Doubleday, New York.
- Schwab, R. and Sutherland, D. 2002. *Philanthropy, Non-government Organisations and Indigenous Development*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.
- Shaw, K. and Dann, J. 1999. *Work is Sacred: the journey out of welfare*. Curtin Centre for Indigenous Research, Perth, WA.
- Tangentyere Council. 1996. Media release.
- Taylor, R. 2003. Indigenous community capacity building and the relationship to sound governance and leadership. AILC. National NT Conference.
- Taylor-Ide, D. and Taylor, C.E. 1995. *Community Based Sustainable Human Development*. Touch Communications, New York.
- Traves, N. 2000. Irrkerlantye – Background paper. Unpublished paper. Alice Springs.
- Tsey, K and Every, A. 1999. *Family Well-Being Personal Development and Counselling Course: final report*. Tangentyere Council, Alice Springs.
- Turner, M.K. 2004. Oral Recount of Ngkarte Mikwekenhe Community to Nicole Traves.

Twelvetrees, A. 1991. *Community Work*. MacMillan Press, London.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 1997. *Capacity Development*. Technical Advisory Paper 2. Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Policy Development, United Nations Development Programme, New York.

Some reflections made with Margaret Heffernan: history (1986–1989), Santa Teresa. 1991. Unpublished paper.

Simpson, Mardijah. 1997. The Detour Project: a new learning place for Aboriginal youth. Unpublished paper.

Westbury, N. and Sanders, W. 2001. *Governance and Service Delivery for Remote Aboriginal Communities in the Northern Territory: challenges and opportunities*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU, Canberra.

Wiersma, W 1995. *Research Methods in Education*. Allyn and Bacon, Sydney.

World Bank. 1997. *Partnership for Capacity Development in Africa: a progress report*. World Bank

Yu, P. 1994. The Kimberley: from welfare colonialism to self-determination. *Race and Class* 35(4), 1994