

East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project

GUIDELINES FOR RESEARCH INTO SOCIAL IMPACTS
DERIVING FROM NON-ABORIGINAL DEVELOPMENTS
ON ABORIGINAL LAND

Sue Kesteven*

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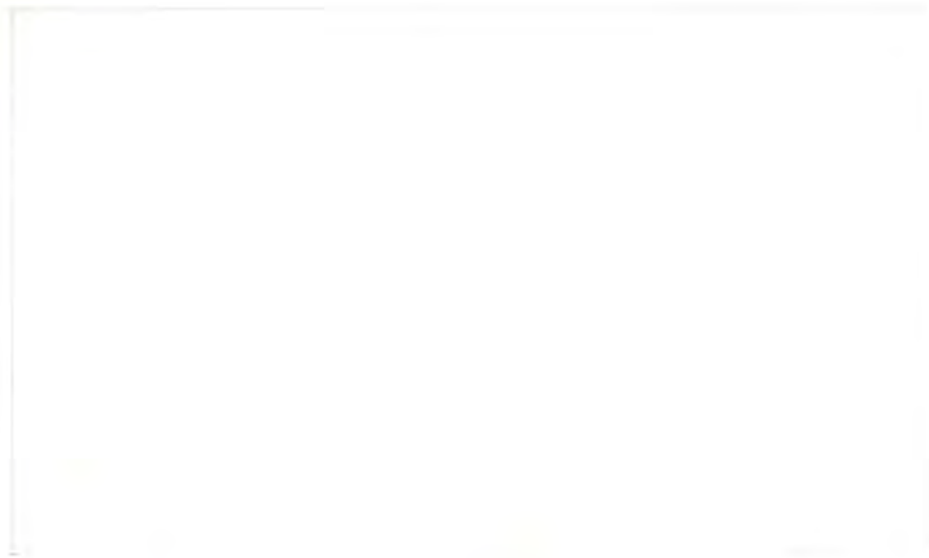
A Joint Project Of The:

Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies
Australian National University

Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

Anthropology Department
University of Western Australia

Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia



The aims of the project are as follows:

1. To compile a comprehensive profile of the contemporary social environment of the East Kimberley region utilising both existing information sources and limited fieldwork.
2. Develop and utilise appropriate methodological approaches to social impact assessment within a multi-disciplinary framework.
3. Assess the social impact of major public and private developments of the East Kimberley region's resources (physical, mineral and environmental) on resident Aboriginal communities. Attempt to identify problems/issues which, while possibly dormant at present, are likely to have implications that will affect communities at some stage in the future.
4. Establish a framework to allow the dissemination of research results to Aboriginal communities so as to enable them to develop their own strategies for dealing with social impact issues.
5. To identify in consultation with Governments and regional interests issues and problems which may be susceptible to further research.

Views expressed in the Project's publications are the views of the authors, and are not necessarily shared by the sponsoring organisations.

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents guidelines for social impact assessments involving Aboriginal communities in Australia. It is based on the author's experience in SIA and particularly her work with the 'Project to Monitor the Social Impact of Uranium Mining on Aboriginal Communities of the Northern Territory'. As SIA is a new field of research there is no methodology which is applicable in all situations. The paper attempts to provide general procedures and comments which are relevant to studies of developments on Aboriginal land. Specific areas covered include assessing the situation before development commences, during the negotiation stage and assessing the impacts deriving from the development, eg in the areas of health, education, flow of monies and employment. A summary of tasks to be undertaken is included. The appendices give guidelines for collecting specific material, eg census and demographic data, and schedules of questions to reveal Aboriginal attitudes.

NOTES

This is a generalised and expanded version of a paper originally prepared for the Central Land Council in November 1984.

Some of the appendices in the original version were pertinent to studies being undertaken by the Central Land Council. These have been omitted.

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Abbreviation used:

SIU Social Impact of Uranium Mining Project, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

The term 'community' is used loosely in this paper; it refers to a group of Aborigines living together, whether outback settlement, outstation, or town camp.

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GUIDELINES FOR SOCIAL IMPACT STUDIES OF DEVELOPMENTS ON ABORIGINAL LAND

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 Social impact studies are extremely complicated. There are many facets to human life that are liable to change and each human being is a part of many networks. In studying a collection of people then, there will be many networks, inclusive of feedback loops, that one must be aware of. In addition, the potential number of impact factors is great, and how they affect people will correspondingly be manifold. The effect of an impact on one person may affect another who was not subjected to the original impact.

One impact can not only cause a further impact factor, but can interact with other impacts, and this can occur infinitely. Thus examining social impact is like trying to untangle a tightly woven ball of spaghetti, teasing out the individual strings but at the same time trying to describe each string's entanglement with other strings.

- 1.2 Many social impact studies, although they purport to be helpful in general cases, in actual fact are fairly specific. No universal methodology has as yet been thought out for social impact assessment. Any 'conceptual framework' derived often has features which are not the most relevant to social impact studies of developments on Aboriginal land, and omits relevant ones. For example, a 'conceptual framework' for social impact studies by Flynn *et al.* relies on labour and tax impact, of minor interest in Aboriginal studies; a paper on social indicators by Carley leans heavily towards public library, fire and police services, public transport; and a chapter on historical aids by Motz includes devices such as telephone directories and business credit ratings.
- 1.3 Not only may features relevant to Aboriginal people be ignored, the designers of the methodologies employed in social assessment often beg the question of what matters are worthy of study, especially in trying to determine *who* is to make implicit value judgements. This latter problem is the source of the difficulty mentioned in the previous paragraph. That is, people are often so set within their own life-styles, cultures, modes of thinking and perceptions that they cannot see that these affect the conceptual frameworks they devise. The question then becomes a metaphysical one of whether there is any possibility of a value-free perception of the universe, and whether there is any possibility of devising a universally valid method of assessing social impact. The best that one can do is to recognise and accept that there are value judgements implicit in any social impact study, and to try to allow for this. To correct culture-bound value judgements as much as possible, one should allow for the incorporation of the views.
- 1.4 Social impact assessment is anticipatory in nature. Essentially, there are assumptions that there *will* be (an) impact(s) as a result of a development. Why are the results of a development called 'an impact'? What of the results of activities that take place without the development? Why are these activities not

'impacts', but considered somehow to be natural devolution? Is it because any new factor in a human environment destabilizes it? But can *all* be said to do so? Is it then that social impact assessment is undertaken when people believe *a priori* that there will be serious effects on a community as a result of a new industry? Then why not of a new government policy?

- 1.5 One must arrive at definitions of 'impact' and 'development'. Not only does this clarify what one is studying, but it also helps to remove biases in the research. For example, what biases are there in considering what is a likely impact, or in the choice of a topic of research?

One must specify exactly in what sense one is using the word *impact*. One view of 'impact assessment' is of a process of describing an impacting agent which is an active force, operating upon objects, which are passively recipient in nature. But is this so? Are there really two such discrete entities? And with impact occurring only one way? Surely systems also can be impacted upon? But further, how do the impact recipients see themselves? Do they really see themselves as totally passive, or do they believe that within limits they may have an active influence on outcomes? An impacting agent may indeed modify its actions and activities because of the reactions of residents of the area in which it has influence, and because of pressures exerted by them. [see von Sturmer pp 6-7]

- 1.6 It might be thought that the predictive powers of social impact assessment could be tested by applying current methods to past cases (in as much as information and data are available for these cases). This is a *validity* test for methodology¹. However, social impact assessment is unlikely to be proved to be accurate to any substantial degree. Much social impact assessment literature concerning specific cases presents results, not methods employed. In part this is probably because researchers do not know what to look for until after they start. This is because there are far too many unforeseen idiosyncratic factors that have to be taken into account *as the study progresses*.

Nevertheless, as social impact assessment predictions become more accurate, there is a further problem. And that is, if predictions are made about outcomes, then action can be taken *to prevent those outcomes*, and thus the prediction fails to be fulfilled. If these feedback loops are not included in the study, then while one is increasing the accuracy of assessments, one is, ironically, simultaneously decreasing the perceived accuracy.

- 1.7 Because social impact assessment is seen as derivative of environmental impact studies in general, it is thought that the method of studying the physical environment is appropriate to studying the social environment. However, the human environment has aspects that the physical environment does not have. There is more to the human environment than a listing of occurrences or statistics. There are very complex feedback loops. And the subjects of study may be, or may want to be, the researchers.

- 1.8 While non-human objects may not volunteer information (that is, vocalise it), human beings may. This may be seen as an advantage, but it is also a disadvantage because there are possibilities of deceptions, mind changes, development of ideas, resentment of the work ... This is even presuming that there can be a meaningful inter-cultural exchange with full comprehension of each side for the other.
- 1.9 Social impact assessment in Aboriginal Australia is particularly difficult, because the assessment is an amalgam of two or more cultures: the predominant Euro-Australian one, and one or more Aboriginal cultures.
- 1.10 There are as yet few Aboriginal people trained in social impact assessment. This means that the principal social impact researchers are dependant upon knowledge and world views of another culture. This in turn means that there have to be adequate linguists, anthropologists and ethnographers, and long-term residents conversant with the personalities and politics of the community to interpret the baseline for the social impact assessors in cases where they cannot do it themselves. Some communities are fortunate: there are such individuals who have had long contact with the community about to be impacted upon and who are available for the study. But generally this is not the case. This means that a very great deal of complex baseline material has to be assembled at once, without benefit of interpretation: not only the physical facts of the community and environment, but also information about the people who live in the community, their connections with one another, the politics of the community, and the world view of the individuals who make up the community. It should be borne in mind that the 'community' is made up of individuals, who need not be homogeneous in life styles, attitudes, perceptions, expectations, and so on. One therefore has to know the people who make up the community, and cannot rely on a 'leader', as so many people do, to obtain 'community' information.
- 1.11 Social impact studies require looking at a great variety of fields; thus they are multidisciplinary enterprises. They are multidisciplinary both in terms of the fields of study that have to be covered, and also in the range of methodologies that different disciplines have devised. However, there are very few good generalists around. The tendency is for prestige to be accorded to specialists. Generalists are required, nevertheless, because broad overviews of an area of study are required in social impact assessment. Each area of study must be appropriately weighed - specialists tend to make their area of study the major focus, and append other areas of study (and other methods of study) to their area of specialisation.
- 1.12 Because of the multidisciplinary aspect of social impact assessment, it is unlikely that one person will be able to examine all facets of an impact study. Therefore, it is likely that there will be a number of researchers involved in the study. Thus there must be an overall plan and a manager or overseer of the project.

- 1.13 At the outset the 'area of study' must be determined; this is in terms of both the fields that it is intended be studied, and also the geographical or on-the-ground area. There will no doubt be ripple effects from a development; one has to determine the cut-off points (even temporarily for the study can perhaps be enlarged at a later time).

Check what other work has been done for the area of the project, both in terms of geographical area and in terms of academic disciplines.

- 1.14 Determine the cost of the study. A budget may have been predetermined, in which case one should see whether it accommodates the planned study. If it has not been predetermined, the scope of the study will indicate what costs there will be.

The cost to the taxpayer or to the funding body is not the only consideration: one should also determine costs to the people who are subjects of the study (in employment forgone, or in other pursus forgone).

- 1.15 Researchers should periodically review problems being encountered (for example, suspicion among certain sections of the community) and alter methods or presentation of results accordingly.

Researchers should also periodically review the study so that they do not lose grip of the information they have gathered. They should consolidate results and data collected at regular intervals.

- 1.16 What follows is an account of how social impact studies in Aboriginal Australia might be carried out.

The guidelines are general, and directed at both the employing (or directing) agency, and at the impact researchers.

The summary and appendices comprise abbreviated, step-by-step procedures for impact assessment. The main text fleshes out these procedures.

2. GENERAL PROCEDURES:

- 2.1 As first steps, the monitoring body has to answer three questions concerning social impact studies:

- (i) Who are the clients of the study?
- (ii) What are the aims of the study?
- (iii) What people constitute the audience for the results of such a study?

Until the answers to these questions are determined there can be no shape to the study, and no strategy for carrying it out.

- 2.2.1 Possible aims of an impact study are: to understand the situation of the Aborigines concerned in order to prevent undesirable outcomes; to provide Aborigines or Aboriginal organizations with strategies to deal with developments on Aboriginal land; to learn from past mistakes; to present an interesting case history for scholarship; to help in the formulation of government policy.

Understanding the situation better might also place the Aborigines or Aboriginal organizations concerned in a better negotiating position, not only because negotiations can be carried out with fewer problems arising, but one can also be more authoritative in the requests or demands one might make of the developer, or of governments.

- 2.2.2 One must determine who the ultimate decision-makers are in the fields one is working in: is it the Federal government or a state government? which department(s)? is it a mining company? a land council? other Aboriginal organizations? or particular individuals?

- 2.2.3 One must be especially aware of the role and involvement of the monitoring agency. One of the impacts of a development can be the presence and actions of researchers and government employees who come into the area to monitor the impact of the development.

If one is actively involved in directing change, one is determining the course of impact - and one has to be all the more aware of this factor in the development, and provide for this eventuality in one's study.

- 2.3.1 The answer to the third question determines the presentation of results, and, to some extent, the carrying out of the study.

- 2.3.2 If the audience is a land council, for example, then the method of compiling information and reports is different to that required when presenting a report to an external, publicly scrutinised agency.

In the case of a study for a limited audience, a series of files could be organized, with summary reports referring, where necessary, to back-up material in the files.

With an internal study it is also possible to be extremely frank, and names of protagonists can be included.

- 2.3.3 If the audience is wider, then problems arise. A certain anonymity must be accorded to the people being written about (in general, as a matter of courtesy, and in particular to avoid libel suits). A further problem arising is that of proof. An external agency may be less inclined to believe a conclusion if supporting evidence is lacking. One must be able to devise a way to back up one's results without necessarily including sensitive material.

- 2.3.4 Reports for a wide audience must also be written in such a way that an insider's view is not necessary for comprehension of the processes taking place.

- 2.3.5 If the study is not to be an external one, but the agency carrying out negotiations and consultations is also the agency responsible for monitoring, one must make provisions to be self-critical and self-monitoring. Otherwise the accuracy of the study and its stated aims can be thwarted.
- 2.3.6 Most importantly, a social impact study must have the willing cooperation of the Aboriginal people concerned. If this is not forthcoming, the study cannot be undertaken.
- 2.3.7 If a long-term study is not possible, or funds do not permit a detailed study, it is important to establish the priority of tasks to be accomplished. These may vary from development to development, even between developments within the same industry.

Firstly, determine what time is available, or what deadlines there are to be met.

Secondly, determine what information or data are already available, both for this geographical area, and for a similar project.

Thirdly, determine what expertise is available.

One cannot determine what is feasible until one has determined the answers to these questions.

Give reasons for the selection of research areas that one has made.

It is better to be thorough and consistent in one or limited fields, than to be scattered over several. If there are gaps in the data, or if comparisons between sets of data are not possible because of different criteria or priorities used in collecting them, then only anecdotal results are possible.

Be aware of complications to the study, but do not over-complicate the research work by

2.4 Several warnings:

- 2.4.1 When one is in the process of establishing preliminaries, it is important to examine value judgments. These are often embedded in the negotiations phase of a development. In provisions for employment for Aborigines in the industry that is to be created - is there a predominantly Protestant work ethic at large? In provisions for money disbursements - who determines what is 'good' use of money? Who is to judge the 'genuineness of cultural or community goals', or such things as the desirability of the establishment of outstations?

One must also ask oneself such questions as: are there in fact such entities as (Aboriginal) 'communities'? Or is what appears to the uninformed eye to be a community really a collection of discrete entities, each clustered around its own set of facilities?

- 2.4.2 If one is to establish the needs and priorities of Aboriginal people arising from the impact of the development, how is this process to be carried out? Are there 'objective' criteria, or are criteria to be determined by the Aborigines concerned? A decision either way creates problems. The problems are outlined on p 76 of the SIU's Consolidated Report: Aborigines and Uranium:

What is not clear ... was whether Aboriginal 'needs' were to be assessed on objective external criteria, or on the basis of what people themselves had to say. If the former, it ignored the question of who would establish the criteria, and on what basis. In short, what vision of the Aboriginal future would inform them? One couched in quasi-universalist European terms or in Aboriginal terms, somehow abstracted from observed reality and projected into the future? On the other hand, if the basis was to be the views articulated by Aborigines, and the approach to be followed a sort of 'democratic welfarism', it would encounter a whole range of difficulties. How does one overcome the problems Aboriginal people have in articulating any future for themselves when they do not know, and have little power over, the terms and conditions under which it can be constructed? How does one deal with the problem of matching ideals with reality? And how does one cope with the problems of disillusionment when raised expectations cannot be satisfied?

- 2.4.3 Are stated aspirations really aspirations of Aboriginal people, or do they exist only in the minds of non-Aborigines? For example, it might be suggested that an enterprise on Aboriginal land could lead to an increase in prestige of traditional owners resulting from their greater degree of independence from Government support programmes. This raises several obvious questions:

- (i) Prestige vis-a-vis whom?
- (ii) Do they want to be independent?
- (iii) Do they have such a concept as 'independence' or 'prestige', and if so, what are its defining characteristics?

It also ignores the proposition that the traditional owners will become locked into another foreign-dominated situation, and will become development-dependent.

- 2.4.4 And lastly, one must resist the temptation to view all aspects of all developments on Aboriginal land as resulting in 'breakdown'. New factors coming from within the Aboriginal domain (for example, the introduction of unfamiliar ceremonies) are not thought of as 'breakdown', although there can be drastic re-alignments as a consequence of these new factors. Why do most non-Aboriginal people think that they can perceive a difference between the introduction of elements from the Aboriginal domain and elements from the non-Aboriginal domain?

3. GENERAL INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS ON SOCIAL IMPACT STUDIES OF DEVELOPMENTS ON ABORIGINAL LAND

- 3.1 No development on Aboriginal land takes place in isolation. That is, a project undertaken on Aboriginal land is not a bounded entity. External factors will always bear on it. For example, factors which have to be considered are the political climate in which the development takes place, the legal structure surrounding the status of Aboriginal land, world prices for ores being mined, the value of the Australian dollar. If such factors are not taken into consideration, the character and likely directions of the development will not be fully understood.
- 3.2 As a convenient, though partly artificial division, one can divide impact studies into the following phases:
- (a) The situation that existed before there was knowledge of the development, and before negotiations began.
 - (b) The negotiations phase (pre-development).
 - (c) The development phase, which itself may have several stages (for example: construction of infrastructure, extraction, processing, rehabilitation).
 - (d) Post-development.
- 3.2.1 Note that in any one area there may be more than one development taking place at a time, and so different stages can co-occur in one area, and interact.
- 3.2.2 Note also that particular impacts or indications of change can appear at more than one stage, though in different terms. For example, anxiety can be apparent at any stage, though the object of the anxiety may change and lack of adequate information flow may be a problem at all stages, though the impact of a poor information flow may vary through the stages.

4. STUDY OF THE SITUATION BEFORE DEVELOPMENT STARTS

- 4.1.1 A purported study of change is actually not that. What it is, is a study in comparisons: two or more points of an ever-changing context are picked and differences between them are noted.
- 4.1.2 Besides this, an assumption generally made is that Aboriginal society was static and it was the introduction of non-Aboriginal activities, enterprises and beliefs that changed, irretrievably, that static society. In fact, there is likely to have been continual change and adaptation to new factors. What may have changed is the rate of introduction of new factors and a concomitant increase in complexity of networks - personal, administrative and so on.
- 4.2 Nevertheless, it is necessary to attempt to describe a situation before a development takes place. In order to be able to determine whether a particular occurrence is a consequence of a

mining development, (rather than the consequence, for example, of mission administration), one must know about both the mining development and the impacts of the mission on the people of the area. Just because a situation arises as a mining development takes place need not imply that it is a consequence of mining. It could have been a consequence of events which took place prior to mining. Most likely, however, it is a consequence of the interaction of factors: for example, mission activities may have predetermined the composition of a community council, and then a mining company may interact in various way with that council, resulting in certain people having information which other people do not.

- 4.3.1 Thus the immediate task in any social impact study is to examine the situation prior to the development, and to establish baseline data.
- 4.3.2 Baseline data are of both quantifiable and non-quantifiable types. Emphasis is usually placed on the former, because it is easiest to collect and analyse, and is considered to be most 'objective'. The latter type is often ignored, or attempts are made to reduce this category to quantifiable form. (But why is it that novels tell us more than tables of statistics?)
- 4.3.3 Baseline data should ideally have been collected before the start of the development; it very rarely is, however. By the time a social impact study has started, the negotiations phase of a development, if not development itself, usually taking place. This means that the researcher is attempting to discover baseline data while such entities are undergoing change, and is simultaneously expected to record and describe the changes.
- 4.4 Baseline data must be drawn from a variety of fields.
 - 4.4.1 Firstly there is the physical environment in which the development is taking place. This not only includes the natural environment, but also the human environment. A description of the natural environment is usually to be found in the environmental impact study of the developer. (What the developer may not realise, however, is the way in which Aborigines perceive the environment. What may be a pristine wilderness to non-Aborigines is usually a social landscape for Aborigines.) A study of the communities being impacted upon must be carried out as soon as possible. This study should take the form of a community profile.
 - 4.4.2 A census must be carried out [see Appendices 1 & 2]. This is not merely a matter of counting men, women and children. One must produce a list of all people living in a particular community, together with demographic characteristics. One must not restrict demographic characteristics to age, sex and so on, but must also include categories that have relevance in the Aboriginal domain: affiliation to country, for example. Such categories will vary from area to area, so help should be sought from a person familiar with the social organization of the area. Sometimes demographic information is most easily collected while the census is being undertaken, sometimes it is easier to collect it later through other sources, for example hospital records. In theory the

immutable categories can be collected at any time, but one should not make presumptions about what is an immutable category (land affiliation, for example, can change, in spite of a stated ethos).

- 4.4.3 If a first census is conducted after the start of a development or after Aboriginal people are aware that a development will take place, it is often useful to ask for individuals previous places of residence (and note that different time spans are often useful to know; for example, place of residence one month previously, one year previously, five years previously, and so on).
- 4.4.4 Later censuses will reveal the extent of movements into or away from a community, and also within a community. Residence patterns often reveal power structures; for example, possible impacts of money, or, more precisely, power that derives from the control of money, are often reflected in changes of residence patterns.
- 4.4.5 Also to be collected are details of the facilities of the community; that is, availability of water and electricity, household goods, entertainment activities, and so on. Since many people believe that social impact can be studied in terms of material goods and non-Aboriginal services provided, quality-of-life arguments must take into account factors such as shelter, availability of food, education and health facilities and levels of personal income. The simplest way to collect this information is during a census. This collocates people and facilities, and makes them time-specific. Facilities should be listed by dwelling and by community and also by network: for example, outstations may have a base from which they are serviced.
- 4.4.6 A dwelling should be identified uniquely (by reference number and date). One can list the residents and facilities of that structure. Personal possessions such as cars and cassette players can be collected at the same time, as well as individuals' employment and income. Analyses can be made later of dependency rates and income by household.
- 4.4.7 The facilities of a community are more than an aggregate of the facilities at each dwelling of that community. One must list roads, education and health facilities, the scope of a store, if any, communication facilities, airstrip, source and quality of water, economic opportunities present. A pro forma must be devised, not only to facilitate the collection of information, but also to ensure comparability of data collected.
- 4.4.8 Taking a census is tiring work. It requires thoroughness and patience, and, preferably, someone who knows the community. This is because a person who is familiar with the community can carry out the census more quickly than someone who is not familiar with it. This eliminates the possibility of counting people twice, or omitting them completely, as a consequence of movements within and without the community over even a short space of time. Such a person can also inquire into the whereabouts of people not mentioned, but who usually reside there. [Note: women are usually better informants than men - they list exhaustively, whereas men are inclined to leave out young children and other people they deem unimportant. The researcher should be sure to ask about

visitors also, as they are often left out, though their motives for visiting may reflect power plays in the community].

- 4.4.9 The collection of demographic data, genealogies and censuses are often intertwined; knowledge in one area helps out in another. However, one must then sort the information gathered: if one collects genealogical information during a census, for convenience reasons, one should then 'store' the genealogical information in its own place, and not as a part of the census information.
- 4.4.10 In conducting questionnaires, remember that you will probably learn more about how Aborigines answer questions than about what they know of the topic under discussion. Note that it is less embarrassing to Aborigines to profess ignorance than to make a 'mistake' - thus 'don't know' can be a frequent answer. Also note that a method of testing suspicions is to posit to someone 'in the know' an alternative, and to ask if the alternative is true. Often the reply confirms the questioner's original information or suspicion.
- 4.4.11 Sometimes it is difficult to administer a questionnaire to one person alone. A spouse or other members of the family may wish to attend, and may answer questions. These answers may be in the place of those of the person one is ostensibly interviewing, or may be in addition to that person's responses.
- 4.4.12 Cost-of-living figures should be kept [see Appendix 3]. Relevant Aboriginal purchases should be listed, not city 'bundles of goods'.
- 4.4.13 School enrolment and school attendance figures should also be obtained. What education programmes does the education department provide? Is there an adult educator, for example? Is there an educative programme to inform people of that wider world in which they are becoming involved and on which they have become dependent; of legal, administrative, political and economic factors now relevant to their lifestyles? If there is, how successful is it?
- 4.4.14 A health profile of the community should also be undertaken.
- 4.4.15 [More details on possible pro formas are included in the appendices.]
- 4.5.1 To understand the impact of a development on a community one must also have an understanding of the social organization of the Aboriginal people concerned, and a picture of land tenure for the region. Also to be understood are the movements of Aboriginal people in the area and the relations between Aborigines and non-Aborigines to date: has there been withdrawal, or a happy association, or a mutually exploitative one? All these factors are important in establishing other factors such as host/guest relationships between Aborigines; the privileges which attach to the former; the pressures on the latter (to earn their right of residence, for example); and affiliations to sites - whether sacred, economic or 'affective'.

- 4.5.2 Aboriginal land use must also be understood (for example, culling practices, fire regime), for the rights and duties it entails.
- 4.5.3 As important, but more difficult to collect, are the political strategies that operate in the community.

Such a description must start with an historical description of the settlement, how it came to be formed, church affiliations, employment opportunities and networks established with other settlements. It is important to understand the adaptations that Aborigines chose to make with respect to external forces. One must also understand the power affiliations available and which Aborigines availed themselves of the opportunities presented. A prime case of power affiliation is aligning oneself with the church, or becoming a member of the local council (and sometimes these are one and the same thing).

- 4.5.4 It is also important to establish how a community is run. Is it run by a council, and if so, how is the composition of the council determined? Is the community in fact run by others than the Council members - for example, by the town clerk, or the community adviser?
- 4.5.5 How is the community represented vis-a-vis external agencies?
- 4.5.6 Where does the community obtain funds from, and in what amounts? What obligations does the source of funds place on the community?
- 4.5.7 Most importantly of all, what information channels are there? The researcher should include channels such as radio and telephone for the people who control access to these control access to information and information is a form of currency. One should also describe the availability of such media as newspapers and television, because these help to show people how they are located in the wider world. Word of mouth channels must also be understood and described, because this allows one to understand community politicking - and one must understand this politicking thoroughly if one is to understand impact on Aboriginal domains.
- 4.5.8 It is important to study the politics of a community because development necessarily introduces new elements, especially in the realm of money. New, and often substantial power is seen to lie in the new royalty associations.
- 4.6.1 This matter of politics and power affiliations links in with the next point. As part of the background, one must understand the Aboriginal world view. It makes no sense to evaluate changing circumstances as 'better' or 'worse' without taking into account the opinion of those being impacted upon. It is important to know whether new experiences are thought of as exciting, whether they cause apprehension, or whether they are philosophically 'bad' because the ideal (whether achieved or not) is of a never-changing universe.
- 4.6.2 One has to establish Aboriginal attitudes not only in general, but also in respect to a particular project. What attitudes, anxious or optimistic, are there and how do these change over time? A

certain amount of this can be established by participant observation, but another method is by undertaking interviews with an (unstructured) questionnaire. Direct questioning is rarely effective. Indirect questioning is more profitable; one tends to get more information if the questions are part of a conversation, and less of an interview. But the context and manner will depend upon the familiarity of the researcher with the people concerned. The researcher should also be aware of his or her prejudices and make allowances for them in the method of making statements or asking questions during the interviews - in other words, he or she should not lead. Even bearing this in mind, it is difficult to carry out questionnaires 'scientifically' or systematically. Often one cannot even run a trial, because by undertaking one, one's corpus has been exhausted!

- 4.6.3 One often finds that there is a gap between what people say and what they do. For example, people may stress the importance of saving money, and yet be spendthrifts. What does this discrepancy indicate? There are several possibilities: that they say what they believe the listener wants to hear; that at present circumstances prevent their doing what they really want; that they have changed their minds. These possibilities must be examined, and that is why observation of actions is as important as taking notes of what is said.
- 4.7.1 Nevertheless, this task of describing the politics and power plays in a community is extremely difficult. It requires a person who is familiar with the community, is astute and discreet, and is not seen as being affiliated with one of the local power entities (that is, with the mission, or with the council chairman...).
- 4.7.2 In this context it is also important to remember that 'Aboriginal people' is not a homogeneous category. Not only must one remember that lifestyle, social organization and beliefs vary from location to location, but that there will be individual differences according to age, sex and personality, with different personal aims and ideas of contentment.
- 4.8 Lastly, one must prepare for what is to come. Although this is not part of the actual collection of baseline data, views on likely developments will influence the types of observation undertaken and the types of data collected. Not only must one be prepared to observe a range of responses, but one must also be prepared for null results.
- 4.9 Thus to establish baseline data one must collect facts and statistics, descriptive and attitudinal material. The last two should not be discounted either because they are more difficult to collect than statistics, nor because they are difficult, if not impossible, to quantify.
- 4.10 One must also establish contact, and preferably good relations, with other agencies which routinely collect items of information that are relevant to the study [see Section 9.5].

5. IMMEDIATE PRE-DEVELOPMENT STAGE

5.1.1 A description of the proposed enterprise is required. A technical description is necessary if environmental monitoring is included as part of the impact study, but other aspects of the enterprise may have relevance in social monitoring. These are to do with the infrastructure that develops around the project [this is expanded in the section on development] and attitudes of the company towards such matters as the establishment of Aboriginal (fringe) camps, or the intentions of the company and its sub-contractors towards educating their employees about Aboriginal societies and cultures.

5.1.2 It is particularly important to establish the amounts of money that will flow from the project, and the number of people the development will require as employees. One cannot determine details of questions of income, or of potential employment available to Aborigines, until such numbers are known. Nor will it be possible to tell if the 'dominant public' remains Aboriginal, or becomes non-Aboriginal.

It is also important to know the life of the proposed development: a time-scale for the study of impact can then be planned.

5.1.3 The nature of the environment being impacted upon must also be understood for social impact studies, because of possible effects such as: increases in the levels of dust and noise, or of vehicle numbers, depletion of hunting grounds (with consequences for diet, amongst other things), or the formation of new geographical features such as lakes.

6. THE NEGOTIATION STAGE

6.1 An examination of this phase is crucial, because often what comes after is predetermined by this stage. This is not only in terms of repercussions that flow from events that occur, but also in terms of expectations that arise, both optimistic and anxious.

6.1.1 It is at this stage that the conflict between an active negotiating role and a monitoring role become apparent. [see Section 2.3.5.]

The provisions determined by the negotiating team are often determined in limbo, because there are no informed Aboriginal people with the necessary legal or technical understanding at their disposal. But it is precisely the decisions made by the advisers that determine how the agreement is carried out, ie, the financial clauses and the distributions of monies, and the eventual shape of the enterprise (for example, the siting of hotels or tailing ponds).

6.1.2 It is at this stage that Aborigines are informed of all the consequences of assenting to the development including health hazards. It is extremely hard, in the absence of any prior experience of such an enterprise, to describe changes. It is even more difficult to describe the consequences of choices that

Aboriginal people make. They may make their choices on the basis of restricted knowledge, or on the basis of factors sometimes not understood by non-Aborigines. It is extremely difficult for staff of a land council to fulfill section 48(1)(a) of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976. Can it ever be said with confidence that Aboriginal people concerned really understand what is to happen? And yet, if Aborigines have not participated in a full sense at the negotiations stage and established the conditions under which development is to take place, then the choices they make are not really choices, but responses to conditions set by others.

- 6.1.3 It is at these early stages that anxieties and aspirations will become apparent and it is vital to document these as they will help to give a measure of non-quantifiable indicators of social impact. One should also note such things as: who was present at what meetings, and what discussions took place? Who were determined to be traditional owners of the project area, and by what procedures? What other Aboriginal people were deemed to have an interest in the land concerned, and for what reasons? What manoeuvring and politicking took place within the Aboriginal domain as a result of these meetings? What bad feelings were created?
- 6.1.4 If there are other developments in the area, or in places elsewhere of which people are aware, then knowledge of these developments may influence the negotiations phase of the new development. For example, if Aborigines are aware that there has been quarrelling with respect to the division of royalty monies in a recently made agreement, they may make concerted efforts to avoid this in the new development; or people who feel they were 'cheated' in the earlier agreement may attempt to take the lion's share in the new one.
- 6.1.5 Any bad feelings established at this point (for example, in talking for country one has no right to talk for) will carry through to later stages, and will compound the difficulties (for example, through to the distribution of monies).

7. DEVELOPMENT

- 7.1 There are a number of impacts deriving from the actual carrying out of the development, some primary, some secondary, some derivative of these, and some which are derivative of a combination of other effects. I list broadly a number of effects, in vague temporal order. Some will require a more detailed analysis, which I will go into below:

physical effects of the project itself and the infrastructure to support it;
 influx of non-Aborigines, or of non-local Aborigines, into the area;
 flow of monies;
 employment and entrepreneurial opportunities;
 increase in Aboriginal spending power;
 formation of new associations and power structures;

infrastructure built to accommodate influx of workers;
 development of administrative and legislative structures and
 increase in government department activities in the area;
 modified Aboriginal perceptions of land;
 effects of what Aborigines choose to spend money on, including
 alcohol.

7.2 Physical Effects

- 7.2.1 These can include hazards to health (from, for example, dust or radon gas) or to safety (accidents).
- 7.2.2 Physical effects such as disturbances to sites, impediments to the free movements of Aboriginal people, alienation of the landscape, all of which may result in mental distress.

7.3 Money

- 7.3.1 Without a doubt, an immense change in the financial status of individuals is the biggest immediate impact of any development on Aboriginal land. The consequences of a substantial money flow are both material and non-material. Documentation of material changes is easier than documentation of non-material changes.
- 7.3.2 In examining material changes, one must know what choices Aboriginal people have made, and in what order they have made choices (for example, cars ahead of washing machines), but also what is the range of possible choices? The restrictions on choice can be many:
- (i) the unavailability of certain goods and services;
 - (ii) inappropriate nature of some goods and services;
 - (iii) ignorance of the availability of certain choices (for example, investment services).
- 7.3.3 This last point means that Aboriginal perceptions of money and how they use it (perhaps, for example, as a good in itself instead of as a value transfer mechanism) should be established as a matter of priority. A schedule of questions is useful here [see Appendix 4].
- 7.3.4 Lists of beneficiaries of the financial clauses of an agreement must be obtained. It should also be established how much money flows to each beneficiary. [This is skeletal information - as will be seen, there are a number of complicating factors].
- 7.3.5 Non-material changes with an increase in the amounts of available spending money can be of several types. Firstly, money quickly becomes a major preoccupation of everybody in the community. This has several consequences. The most obvious impact is the appearance of bad feelings and grudges. This is immediately linked with local politicking, which is in turn linked to access to money and who controls its distribution. Who effectively makes

distribution decisions, actual distributions (not only the signatories on the cheques, but who gives out the cheques), and controls information concerning distributions?

- 7.3.6 At this stage accurate description becomes important: one must document opinions expressed and actions taken. One should also remember that the failure of an individual to express an opinion need not indicate contentment with a state of affairs. It can indicate an unwillingness to get involved, or a wait-and-see attitude.

What mechanisms are available for grievances to be heard and amendments made to the distribution of money?

- 7.3.7 The social impact study should describe royalty (and other monies) association membership and structure and the divisions of money. [A question of ethics applies here: if the impact study is for outside consumption, then it may be considered an infringement of personal liberties to reveal the amounts of money individuals received.] Not only are the structures to be examined, but who constitutes, for example, the executive of an association, and who has access to which powerful individuals. In this context, for example, people who live in settlements and who can telephone association accountants in a town have a more privileged position than people on outstations who do not have recourse to this facility. Similarly, people with skills in English and an understanding of non-Aboriginal concepts have advantages over those who do not.

- 7.3.8 The study of power plays is a very complex one and requires a person well-informed, discreet and sensitive to carry it out. It is also necessary to be aware that the researcher may be seen as a source of information and therefore power, and so may be recruited into the structure of power plays.

- 7.3.9 One other non-material consequence of increased money flow is the time required for people to attend meetings to decide on distribution of monies, to rectify problems, to make sure others aren't claiming too big a share for themselves, or making false claims to entitlement. This obviously requires them to spend less time on other, perhaps preferred, activities. What pressures are put on 'leaders' to attend such meetings? How do they cope with such pressures (by drinking, going bush...)?

Not only may meetings take up time, but they may displace other activities in importance (and therefore the amount of time devoted to them may be a measure of their importance). There is evidence from the Alligator Rivers Region that royalty association meetings are the new 'business' (not least because money can buy ritual power to a certain extent through the funding of ceremonies).

- 7.3.10 It is in fact important to examine what non-material goods and services Aborigines choose to buy. Aborigines may choose to spend money on travel or they may choose to recruit social credit by spreading money around. It is very important to examine what

alliances are formed, both at a personal level and at the level of the formation of associations - and in particular what moves are made to break away from the associations already formed.

- 7.3.11 It is also important to examine the consequences of what people choose to buy. If they buy video cassette recorders, what implications are there for entertainment in the community? Are community film viewings dropped to the detriment of those not able to afford video cassette players? Is there a predominance of non-Aboriginal culture as an entertainment medium?
- 7.3.12 It is also necessary to examine the interactions of the goods and services bought. For example, if money is spent on vehicles and on alcohol, a likely outcome is that there is an increase in the number of motor accidents. If it is mostly men of a certain age group who are killed in these accidents, then it is necessary to look at the impact of those deaths, not only in demographic terms, but also in social terms: the sons of these men may be placed in an uncomfortable position, in that the knowledge that would have been passed onto them as a matter of course will not be, and the young men involved will have to acquire that knowledge by alliances formed elsewhere.
- 7.3.13 Furthermore one must look at what could be said to be the entrenchment of factors that arise from the development. Firstly there will be the raising of expectations, leading to a dependency on income, and therefore a restricted set of choice of lifestyle choices. Secondly, there is also likely to be a growing gap between the haves and have-nots. This has consequences not only for the region where the development is taking place, but has consequences for all Aboriginal people. Are welfare programmes tailored for the haves or the have-nots?

Apart from material differences and differences in powerfulness (the exact nature of which has to be examined - does it entail being able to recruit others readily to help in enterprises initiated by oneself?) the division between haves and have-nots can be reflected in such factors as crime rates: those with access to money may be up on charges of driving while drunk, driving while unlicensed, while those without access to money may be up on charges of break-enter-and-steal. Or those without might tend to appear more frequently on charges involving violence. One should also keep an eye on marriage arrangements: are there shifts so that monied people are making alliances with monied people? What efforts are made to forge marriage alliances with monied people?

Do residence patterns change as wealthy people acquire dependent kin? Do costs go up as wealth comes into a community, thereby worsening the position of the 'have-nots'?

- 7.3.14 On the more positive side, one should note whether a re-emergence of strengthening of Aboriginal culture becomes apparent where ceremonies can be funded from royalties.
- 7.3.15 One should also be able to determine from a study of a community's sources of income whether there is a relinquishment on the part of

government departments of their responsibilities to ensure that Aborigines have an adequate lifestyle. Because a community receives mining income, is it expected to foot the bill for a doctor or for a school teacher from this source of revenue? Do outstations now get their major support from royalty associations?

What ideology of development do government departments hold?

7.3.16 Also one should examine how far Aborigines have control over the money associations. Are they able to effectively vet and control their employees? Do their accountants take advantage of them? In the absence of knowledge of accounting procedures, Aborigines probably have very little effective control over their employees. Do they have to rely on blind trust? If so, is it a prerequisite for Aborigines to become non-Aborigines in outlook if they are to fully understand and control money which comes to them?

7.3.17 One should also inform other agencies of results in order to facilitate an ameliorative role for the agencies. For example, if it appears that fewer quarrels result when money is spread evenly in large amounts to a wide group of people, or when services (such as bores) are provided instead of money, then these conclusions should be made available immediately to those who have a role in reducing tensions in the community.

7.4 The Influx of Non-locals

7.4.1 Non-locals can be non-Aboriginal people, or non-local Aborigines.

7.4.2 It must be established:

- (i) what numbers they constitute;
- (ii) where they come from;
- (iii) their knowledge of local and non-local Aborigines;
- (iv) do numbers of outsiders have consequences for the 'dominant public'?
- (v) where do permanently employed outsiders go for recreation?
- (vi) is there a resultant alienation of the land as far as locals are concerned?

7.5 The infrastructure built to accommodate the influx of non-locals.

7.5.1 Any townships or construction camps that are built to accommodate outsiders must first be described in physical terms. This includes houses and/or visitor accommodation such as hotels, shops, schools, medical facilities, sealed roads and traffic numbers, communication systems including mail, radio, television, telephone, newsagency.

7.5.2 One also needs to know whether the town is built on Aboriginal land and what controls Aboriginal people exercise over the town,

both in terms of access (for themselves and for outsiders) and in terms of their aspirations. What input have Aborigines had in the planning and development of the town?

- 7.5.3 What laws apply to the town site?
- 7.5.4 What is the access to the town (all-weather road, fly in/fly out only...)?
- 7.5.5 What authority does the development agency have to control access to, and residence in, the town? Is it restricted to employees only? If so, do Aborigines disapprove?
- 7.5.6 What results does the establishment of an infrastructure for the town have for Aboriginal people? Does it cause:
- (i) jealousy and demands for better facilities for themselves?
 - (ii) expectations to rise generally?
 - (iii) values in change?
 - (iv) possible health hazards (for example, from junk food)?
- 7.5.7 Do Aboriginal people move in to take advantage of opportunities (see below on fringe camps)? And if so, what implications are there for the host/guest ratio? And what particular facilities are sought (education, beer....)?
- 7.5.8 Is there improved communication between Aboriginal people because of the increased availability of phones, roads, charter flights etc? Does this in turn lead to more ceremonial activity/larger attendance at funerals?

7.6 Establishment of fringe camps

Aboriginal camps close to structures established for non-Aboriginal enterprises are an almost inevitable consequence of developments on Aboriginal land. Whether the camps are thought of as 'fringe camps' or as 'outstations' is irrelevant. The reason for their establishment is to benefit from the new goods and services Aborigines see as emanating from the development and to benefit from the power that accrues from controlling access to those goods and services.

- 7.6.1 The reasons for the movement of Aboriginal people to reside close to a non-Aboriginal enterprise must be established. [Equally important is to establish the company's (and the government's) attitude towards the fringe campers. In the case of tourism, Aboriginal fringe dwellers are usually thought of as being unsightly (though Aborigines are welcome as active demonstrators of Aboriginal arts and crafts, hunting techniques, corroborees and so on). Mining companies may be more tolerant, because they want to keep sweet with 'the traditional owners', though the mining company may be ignorant of the true relationships between the fringe campers and relations to land.

- 7.6.2 It is important to establish who the fringe campers are. Do they constitute the actual traditional owners of the site, or do they constitute people who have little opportunity to exercise power elsewhere and have come to an arrangement with the traditional owners with respect to rights of residence? Has there been a split in the family primarily concerned with the site with respect to arguments about the desirability of the development? Some members may have chosen to remain aloof, or to maintain their current power alliances in the settlement they reside in, others may have chosen to align themselves with a new source of goods, such as a mining company. What support does this latter group in fact have besides company largesse? What motives do other Aboriginal people have in 'working for them'?
- 7.6.3 What demands are put on a town by fringe campers? And how far does the controlling company acquiesce? The demands could be for physical amenities (such as food and drink, cigarettes, petrol) or for entertainment (such as pool tables, films, swimming pool). Jealousy could easily result when it is thought that non-Aborigines attract these goods seemingly (and in reality) very readily, goods which are denied Aboriginal communities.
- 7.6.4 There may also be other cultural misunderstandings between company and fringe dwellers, especially with respect to employment. The company may base its philosophy on non-Aboriginal notions of productive output, the wage reward for labour and return for capital investments, whereas Aborigines may emphasize the establishment of a power base, which may include access to facilities such as vehicles or telephones.
- 7.7 Employment and employment opportunities**
- 7.7.1 Employment is often cited as being one of the major benefits accruing to Aborigines as a consequence of developments on their land. But Aborigines do not necessarily view employment in the same way as non-Aboriginal Australians. They may view employment more for the power brokerage the position affords, or the material benefits (such as availability of a motor vehicle), than for the wages that derive from a job.
- 7.7.2 Nevertheless, 'employment' is a category often found in agreements with Aboriginal groups. Thus it is necessary to examine various aspects of employment with respect to a development, including:
- (i) the success, or lack of success, in employing Aborigines;
 - (ii) the success, or lack of success, of training programmes;
 - (iii) the success, or lack of success, of contracting services.
- 7.7.3 One also has to provide background: what employment opportunities have there been previously in the community? Were these opportunities popular or unpopular and for what reasons?

- 7.7.4 At whose behest are training programmes implemented? What standards of education are required, either for training or for direct employment? What previous education has been available to job aspirants?
- 7.7.5 What is the company's attitude to flexible working hours? To job-sharing? Are award conditions appropriate to Aboriginal needs?
- 7.7.6 Are women discriminated against in employment programmes?
- 7.7.7 Do Aborigines engage in entrepreneurial activities such as supplying meat to a canteen? Do they enter into leasing arrangements?
- 7.7.8 Most important of all, what is the employment ratio of the traditional owners of the country (hosts) to other Aborigines (guests)?
- 7.8 Development of legislation and administrative structures to deal with matters raised above, and increase in government departments' activities in the area**
- 7.8.1 An inevitable consequence of any development on Aboriginal land is the participation of various agencies, government and otherwise, in monitoring and participatory roles of various types (for example, in employment and training schemes, in monitoring use and possible contamination of water supplies).
- 7.8.2 Where are these agencies based? If outside the community, how often do officers visit? How informed are they? What community residents do they depend on for information? Is there any community-based organisation that co-ordinates the activities of outsiders? Is there a discrepancy between stated control and actual control? Are there problems with multiplicity of organisations? Are there split responsibilities, with concomitant possibilities of overlapping functions on the one hand, or gaps not filled by any agency, since each expects the other to fill them?
- 7.8.3 Do these agencies require frequent meetings, especially with community councils, thereby requiring certain people to spend much of their time in discussions with outsiders?
- 7.8.4 Do the personnel of outside agencies have language skills? Do they use interpreters? Are audio-visual aids used for providing information?
- 7.8.5 What concessions are made by outside agency personnel to assigned sex roles? (see Section 7.12.4)
- 7.8.6 As well as an increasing complexity of bureaucratic structures, there can be an actual shift in the administrative centre for the area. Whereas it might have once been in an Aboriginal community, it may now be located in the town which grows up with a mine. This has implications for the scope of local council controls and jurisdictions. This shift may also re-direct Aboriginal activities and incorporate them into the non-Aboriginal domain.

- 7.8.7 And lastly, one should not underestimate the tiresomeness of bureaucratic complexity for Aborigines, nor how it makes them dependent on non-Aborigines in an attempt to thwart this tiresomeness.
- 7.8.8 Are liaison officers appointed to facilitate interactions between Aborigines and outside agencies? If so, are they Aboriginal or not? If not, what experience have they had with Aboriginal people? If Aboriginal, what connections do they have with the area? What status have they? Are people who fill these positions effective, and if so, why?
- 7.8.9 What roles do agency personnel assume, and what roles are expected of them by Aborigines? What expectations are raised? What disappointments result? Since Aborigines tend to operate on a personal level and not have an 'organisational viewpoint', the expectations they hold of an agency derive from their experiences with agency personnel. Another viewpoint of Aborigines concerning these agencies is their basic similarity (they are all non-Aboriginal entities), which results in a simplification and non-realization of the articulations which are occurring in the non-Aboriginal domain. This ignorance often leaves Aborigines less able to take advantage of inter-departmental interactions and to turn them to their own benefit.
- 7.8.10 Is there continuity of company or departmental staff? This is an important consideration, since Aborigines put a stress on personal relations and expect such relations to endure. It is annoying to have to build up relationships time and time again and ultimately Aborigines may give up completely.
- 7.8.11 Do Aborigines deal with powerful people within the structure of the company, or do they have to deal with minions? Aborigines quickly become conscious of dealing with a non-decision-maker, or a non-deliverer, and may attempt to by-pass this person. They often state they do not want to deal with 'rubbish people', that is, people worthless in terms of the power structure.
- 7.8.12 In Aboriginal settlements, non-Aborigines generally work in the service of Aborigines; non-Aborigines who work for a development on Aboriginal land do not work in the service of Aborigines. Yet Aborigines may consider that they should do so. Does this lead to resentment and/or altered perceptions?
- 7.8.13 Those non-locals who establish personal relations with Aborigines and conscientiously carry out their duties come to be depended on to an extraordinary degree. A common consequence of this is employee 'burn out' - they are overworked by Aborigines and non-Aborigines alike, are often exploited, and given little recognition or recompense (likely candidates are nursing sisters). The impacts of a development on these types of people should not be forgotten, nor should the consequences for the community of higher turn-over of valued personnel.
- 7.8.14 Is there such a demand for Aboriginal people to assume appointments as 'spokespeople' and 'leaders' for their communities

that talent is siphoned off from the community and put to work in bureaucratic channels? As a result of linguistic and other skills, do young men replace others in positions of power within the community administration? Is this replacement also a result of a lack of linguistic and anthropological knowledge among non-Aborigines in the community?

- 7.8.15 The impact of the social monitors themselves should not be forgotten. Their effects can be several. For example, they may increase the numbers of non-locals in the area (with consequences outlined above). They may intrude into the daily lives of people in their search for baseline data, and be extremely ill-mannered in the type of information they are seeking. They may ask for meetings to be held, thereby creating a demand for time (as outlined in section 7.8.3). And lastly, and most seriously, they may create a 'freezing of the truth'. If the written word is given more value than the spoken word, then information gathered from individuals which is reduced to writing may be ascribed greater reality than that which is passed by word of mouth. Re-creation of history from written records may then not conform with Aboriginal world views; indeed, it may make the reinterpretation of history impossible. Who is to have control over the information which has been recorded must also be considered. Do young, literate people come to have information which their elders may have denied them?

7.9 Alienation of the land and/or altered perceptions

- 7.9.1 Have restrictions been placed on the movements of Aboriginal people? If so, have they resulted from:
- (i) access being denied for safety reasons (eg., to an actual mine site because of radiation hazards etc.)?
 - (ii) game being scared away from the area because of noise, or excessive presence of humans, making hunting no longer possible?
 - (iii) essentials being appropriated for other purposes (such as water being used for non-human requirements)?
 - (iv) Aborigines feeling uncomfortable, for reasons such as being stared at by tourists, having their photos taken, finding too many strangers in a locality or using a road?
 - (v) some sites having been appropriated as tourist attractions?
- 7.9.2 It is also possible for Aborigines to alter their perceptions of particular tracts of land. For example, what might have been a minor site becomes important because it is the site of a mine and a source of money for the traditional owners and therefore a source of power. Changes in the reference to country by site name can reflect changes in the relative importance of a site (such as when a minor site close by a mine gives its name to the mine and then, by extension, to the country surrounding the mine).

7.10 Alcohol

- 7.10.1 In the context of an impact study, Aboriginal use of alcohol is a topic of concern, especially with growing affluence. The concern is often strongly expressed by Aborigines themselves. When assessing the impact of a development, the following aspect should not be ignored: is it entirely external pressure that leads Aborigines to drink or are there also pressures from the Aboriginal lifestyle? In this connection, why is there a tendency for more men to drink than women? Are there more pressures on men? More controls on women?
- 7.10.2 Why does hypocrisy manifest itself so strongly in the matter of alcohol consumption? Why do people complain about the behaviour of drunks and then get drunk themselves and behave in the ways they have criticized? Why do people eschew responsibility for actions committed while drunk?
- 7.10.3 The costs of consumption of alcohol should be examined. Drinking in itself is expensive and deflects money from the household budget, but it is expensive in other ways also. For example, it can be expensive in terms of the time it takes to scrounge money. It may also be costly because of effects on health. Accidents can be costly, as well as the antisocial acts carried out while person is drunk - such as smashing car windows or house louvres.
- 7.10.4 But drinking can also be socially expensive. For example, if people spend most of their time drunk, they will have less time to devote to cultural activities. Self-images can deteriorate. Relations between men and women, or between drinkers and non-drinkers, can become tense.
- 7.10.5 If possible it should be established which people drink, what their drinking patterns are, and how much money they spend on alcohol.
- 7.10.6 Accident statistics should also be kept, and whether alcohol was a factor in them or not. Court appearances should be examined to see what crimes have alcohol as a factor (both in terms of, for example, stealing beer, or in terms of the offence taking place because the perpetrator was drunk at the time).
- 7.10.7 And lastly, attitudes of different sectors with regard to alcohol should be established. Are ideas of drink derived from previous mission contact, or do factors from the Aboriginal domain emerge?

7.11 Petrol Sniffing

- 7.11.1 If petrol sniffing occurs in a community, this should also be studied. Petrol sniffing may result in similar anti-social behaviour to that associated with alcohol consumption, particularly in relation to such matters as breaking and entering and petty theft.

There are serious side effects to petrol sniffing in regard to health.

What people are involved in petrol sniffing? Is it only males, or do females indulge also? If the former, why? Is it only young people? What families are concerned with petrol sniffers? Do they have access to money/decision-making/etc? What is the community reaction to petrol sniffing?

- 7.11.2 There is a need to examine the pattern of petrol sniffing and alcohol consumption. Does one precede the other? What are the social and economic factors common to both?

7.12 Gambling

How does increasing affluence in a community affect gambling practices? For results to be known, the pattern of gambling before the advent of money must be known. Do people with money gamble? Is gambling an effective community redistribution of money mechanism? Or do people with money choose to keep their money, the chance of making more not being relevant?

7.13 Diet

- 7.13.1 Much prominence is usually given to Aboriginal diet in impact studies. This is often a result of an inability of outsiders to appreciate other aspects of the 'Aboriginal way of life' - hunting techniques are a visible and understandable aspect of Aboriginal culture. Accordingly, a method of measuring 'traditionality' is thought to be that of measuring dependence on bush foods. This attitude must be considered when planning a social impact study, even if it is to demolish the relevancy of changes of diet in a particular case. There may have been much earlier changes in diet with the incursions of non-Aborigines (for example, buffalo meat was consumed in great quantities by Aborigines who worked with buffalo shooters in the Alligator Rivers region. The tenderest part of the buffalo was the tongue, and this is still a favourite part of the animal today).
- 7.13.2 Developments on Aboriginal land may increase the range of foodstuffs available. But do Aborigines avail themselves of these new foods? Do they avail themselves of them to extremes, coming to depend, for example, on a staple diet of junk food?
- 7.13.3 In particular one must ask what proportions of a person's diet is constituted by alcohol and what changes there might be in this proportion as, for example, disposable income increases.

7.14 Women and children

- 7.14.1 The impact of a development on women and children may differ from that on men (but see the warning note that follows). Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that women are an ancillary part of the study of impact, subsidiary to men.

For example, it should not be the case that the effects of money studied are principally applied to men. What women and children desire or spend their money on should be as much a part of the principal study as what men spend their money on.

- 7.14.2 But certain impacts will affect women and children more than men and it should not be forgotten that this may be the case. The matter that comes up most often in social impact studies is the exploitation of Aboriginal women by non-Aboriginal men. The nature of the exploitation must be studied - whose value judgements are being applied? It may be the case that Aboriginal men are participating in the exploitation, seeking goods from non-Aborigines in return for the use of their women. Or women may use whatever means available to them to procure goods otherwise denied them. One cannot automatically assume that such activities are 'bad'.

Do men frequent 'Adult Shops' and 'Escort Services' in turn, especially the latter, as disposable income increases? Do they buy video cassette players and blue movies? Do they form alliances with non-Aboriginal women? What do these activities imply in their relations with Aboriginal women?

- 7.14.3 Are women discriminated against in employment opportunities? If it is said that a company cannot employ Aboriginal women beside Aboriginal men because 'of the promise system' (or some other excuse) what is the reaction if it is suggested that only women be employed?

- 7.14.4 Aboriginal society differentiates between the roles and appropriate behaviour expected of men and those expected of women. Because of this dichotomy, it is generally assumed that to obtain 'the Aboriginal women's point of view', it is sufficient to send a female researcher into the field.

This attitude implies that a particular society obtains its character from the world and activities of men (of a certain age group). Women are somehow separate, and an adjunct to the 'society'. This attitude also ignores the activities of age groups other than that of decision-making men.

Further, it is meaningless to talk about 'women' without a reference point. In order to understand the differences between the activities and beliefs of men and the activities and world view of women, one must study both. If we study both, a category 'people' will emerge, with differences for sex, age, experience and so on.

- 7.14.5 In addition, to study 'women' suggests that women are homogenous. Age differences have already been mentioned. Pubescent girls are very different to young mothers with their first child; these are different to middle-aged mothers, and so on. In addition, women differ from one another in experiences, in personality, in aspiration, in intelligence...

Any female researcher will be limited in the type of person she interacts with as far as close experiences are concerned. Pubescent girls are unlikely to welcome an older person in their giggling, scatological and saucy talk. In addition, the researcher will be attracted to certain personalities: it is not always the case that a woman fieldworker will have a mental disposition equivalent to that of an Aboriginal woman. Firstly, people who have had a university education are taught to be inquiring, to use imagination, to have analytical abilities, to take initiatives, and to be tolerant of ambiguity. They have to be confident of their abilities, in their ability to express themselves, of their ability to impart to others their knowledge. They may become bored if their work is repetitive or lacks challenge. These skills may not be those an Aboriginal woman acquires; they may not be part of her mental baggage; they may be considered unfeminine qualities. Non-Aboriginal men and women share characteristics that are different from Aboriginal ones, such as not indulging children, the use of money and cheque accounts. It is not surprising, therefore, if Aboriginal women consider non-Aboriginal women to be more similar to non-Aboriginal men than they are to Aboriginal women, culture taking precedence over gender. In fact, non-Aboriginal women may be more similar to Aboriginal men than to Aboriginal women in behaviour: by wearing trousers, by driving vehicles, by 'having permission' to drink alcohol, by having access to bureaucratic channels...

- 7.14.6 On the other hand, women are in a better position than men to cover a wider range of people. They have access to Aboriginal women, an area which a man often finds impossible to cover except in a superficial sense, or in a limited sense, for example, having access to older women only. He certainly would be treated with suspicion if he consorted with adolescent girls. Because a female researcher has access to women, she also has access to children. In addition, a female researcher does have access to Aboriginal men - certainly far more than non-Aboriginal men have access to Aboriginal women. She is also viewed as less of an authority figure and is hence less threatening than non-Aboriginal men. For this reason Aboriginal men may be more relaxed in her company than with her male colleague. For these reasons a female researcher straddles more domains and hence has a fuller picture of Aboriginal daily life.

8. POST-DEVELOPMENT STAGE

- 8.1 It is difficult to predict what the post-development stage of a development will be, especially since most developments have lives of a decade at least, and there will be many effects of the project on Aboriginal communities during this time.
- 8.2 One should pay particular attention, however, to the aspect of irreversibility. That is, have Aboriginal people's expectations and aspirations reached the point when they are enmeshed in the necessity to allow developments on their land in order to continue to obtain the goods and services they require?

- 8.3 What have been the long-term dislocations caused by the development, environmentally and socially, and have the effects been beneficial in the long run, or detrimental?
- 8.4 What lessons have been learned from the social impact study of the development. What advice is there to offer to Aboriginal clients in dealing with developers, or to others working on social impact studies, and to developers themselves?

9. GENERAL POINTS ON SOCIAL IMPACT RESEARCH

- 9.1 Continuity of researchers. For local politics to be well-understood a researcher must have had contact with a community for a substantial period of time. If it is not possible to fulfill this condition, then a case history must be well-written, and added to, to keep it up-to-date. Because as more knowledge becomes available, it becomes harder for a newcomer to pick up the threads in a reasonably short space of time.
- 9.2 Be sure to keep records up-to-date, and carry out analyses as time progresses. Do not leave analyses until the last possible moment.
- 9.3 People monitoring studies and carrying out research must be given adequate time to write up field material and carry out analyses.
- 9.4 At times it will not be possible to act in any ameliorative fashion, but the best that can be done is to describe the situation, because of such factors as unforeseen and poorly understood circumstances or the inevitability of what is occurring in spite of attempts to correct the matter, or because it would be seen as paternalistic to intervene. Often amelioration is not possible until a case has been experienced, giving one guidelines. And even with experience it should be remembered that factors will vary from case to case, for such entities as the nature of the project being studied, or the nature of Aboriginal people involved. [But see warning in sections under 2.4.]
- 9.5 Throughout the impact study, tensions will arise between the social impact monitor and other monitoring agencies involved in the area. This tensions can arise through desires to monopolize information on the one hand, and a desire to acquire it on the other. It can also arise because an agency is afraid that it is being assessed as incompetent or lacking in expertise, or is carrying out its function inappropriately.
- 9.6 Null results must not be forgotten. It is often easier to state null results when a change was expected (for example, it would be unusual if sales of artefacts did not increase with increased numbers of tourists). However, less expected null results can emerge (for example, no change in diet with the advent of a mine).

10. SUMMARY OF TASKS TO BE UNDERTAKEN

These step-by-step instructions have been distilled from the previous sections. They are to be read in conjunction with those

sections for full understanding. Numbers in brackets indicate the relevant section(s) in the preceding text.

- 10.1 Decide on the area of the study -
 - (i) by disciplines;
 - (ii) by geographical area. (1.11-1.13)
- 10.2 Decide on the aims of the project and the audience for the results of the study. (2.1.1 - 2.4.4)
- 10.3 Determine whether the monitoring body can maintain its independence, or whether there might be conflicts of interest. (2.2.3, 2.4.1 - 2.4.4)
- 10.4 Obtain the agreement and confidence of the Aboriginal people who are to be the subjects of the study. If not forthcoming, do not proceed. (2.3.6)
- 10.5 Appoint a co-ordinator/overseer for the project. (1.12)
- 10.6 Decide the areas of study and researchers to study these areas. (1.11, 2.37)
- 10.7 Obtain the co-operation of other agencies involved in the area; even if information they hold is not required, they should be informed of the study as a matter of courtesy. (4.10, 9.5)
- 10.8 Check what other work has been done for the area of the project, both in terms of geographical area and in terms of academic discipline. Read all relevant literature. (1.13)
- 10.9 Prepare pro formas for demographic data, census, cost-of-living, bearing in mind point (8) above to ensure comparability of results. (4.4.2-4.4.7, 4.4.9, 4.4.10)
- 10.10 Prepare schedules of questions regarding attitudes to the nature of the development proposed, use and understanding of money, information flow. (4.6.2, 4.6.3)
- 10.11 Describe briefly the general background to developments on Aboriginal land and the general economic context. (3.1)
- 10.12 Describe the Aboriginal social organization and land tenure pattern for the area. (4.2, 4.5.1-4.5.2)
- 10.13 Describe the Aboriginal history for the area, movements which have occurred, land usage. (4.5.2, 4.5.3)

- 10.14 Describe non-Aboriginal incursions, developments, administration to date, and the Aboriginal response to these.
(3.1)
- 10.15 Describe Aboriginal world views, values etc.
(4.6.1 - 4.7.2)
- 10.16 Examine the value judgments implicit in the study.
(2.4.1 - 2.4.4)
- 10.17 Describe the running of the community and local politics
(4.5.3 - 4.5.8)
- 10.18 Note the complications of one factor overlapping with another, or with factors that appear through several stages of the development.
(3.2.2)
- 10.19 Describe the development which is to take place, in terms of the following:
- (i) a physical description (impact on the environment);
 - (ii) economic factors (input, expected output, partnerships...);
 - (iii) the duration of the project;
 - (iv) the numbers of workers at different stages;
 - (v) attitudes of the developer to Aborigines in general, to employment of Aborigines, to fringe camps.
(5.1.1 - 5.1.3, 7.6.1, 7.6.4)
- 10.20 Determine pre-development anxieties and aspirations.
(6.1.1 - 6.1.4)
- 10.21 Determine use and perceptions of money.
(7.3.2, 7.3.3, & schedule of Questions)
- 10.22 Examine power networks.
(4.5.3 - 4.5.8)
- 10.23 As development progresses, pinpoint the likely impacts:
- primary,
 - secondary,
 - derivative, and
 - interacting.
- 10.24 Major focuses will depend upon the nature of the development (whether mining, tourist, buffalo-culling,...) Likely major impacts include:
- . money (7.3.1 - 7.3.17);
 - . alcohol (7.10.1 - 7.10.7);

- . influx of non-locals and the infrastructure built to serve it (7.4.1, 7.4.2, 7.5.1 - 7.5.8);
- . fringe camps (7.6.1 - 7.6.4);
- . increase in bureaucratic procedures (7.8.1 - 7.8.14).

'Employment' is often cited as a benefit to Aboriginal communities, and should be examined (7.7.1 - 7.7.8). Altered perceptions of land are another aspect to examine (7.9.1, 7.9.2).

- 10.25 Do not forget to take account of all sectors of a community; men, women; young, old; the outspoken, the retiring ...
- 10.26 The following should be undertaken at regular intervals (commencing before development takes place):
- (i) a census of people and facilities in a community (see Appendices 1 & 2);
 - (ii) cost-of-living surveys (see Appendix 3);
 - (iii) an examination of attitudes concerning the development (see Appendices 4-6, 8).
- 10.27 Be sure to allow for seasonal factors (whether environmental or economic or social) when deciding at what times a census is carried out.
- 10.28 List all people who attend meetings, what occurred at the meeting, what decisions were made. (7.8.3).
- 10.29 As development progresses, monitor:
- (i) the formation of new associations, and their memberships
 - (ii) the involvement of outside agencies
 - (iii) changes in attitudes
 - (iv) changes in lifestyle, including changes in health, in marriage patterns, in crime rates...
 - (v) impacts of money, and factors derivative of money.
- 10.30 Keep records of incidents involving alcohol, of traffic accidents (including age and sex of driver, age and sex of people killed, whether alcohol was a factor in the accident), of any interracial unpleasantness.
- 10.31 Take account of sections 9.1 - 9.6 in the Guidelines
- 10.32. The emphasis of the study at the post-development stage depends upon what has gone before, but check for irreversible aspects of the developments, such as wealth differentials.

- 10.33 Depending on the aims of the study, make recommendations to clients on ways to ameliorate difficulties which they might be experiencing as a result of developments and/or make recommendations on ways in which developments may be used to the advantage of clients (for example, by participating in business enterprises).

APPENDICES 1 - 9

These are to be read in conjunction with the Guidelines text for full understanding. They summarise some tasks, provide more detail for others, and suggest lines of questioning for interviews.

Note that there are two components to data management: the first is the collection of the data, the second is the manipulation of that data. Here I deal chiefly with the former.

Appendix 1: Collecting Demographic Data

Appendix 2: Collecting a Census

Appendix 3: Obtaining Cost-of-living Figures

Appendix 4: Suggested schedule of questions to determine use and perceptions of money

Appendix 5: Suggestions for a schedule of questions to determine information flow.

Appendix 6: Suggestions for a schedule of questions to determine views on mining.

Appendix 7: Impact Studies on tourism

Appendix 8: Sample questions to reveal Aborigines' attitudes towards tourism.

Appendix 9: Suggestions for a schedule of questions to determine tourists' view of Aborigines.

APPENDIX 1

COLLECTING DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

1. Items collected under this category are in the main *not time specific*, in the sense that they will not vary from one period to another. They include such categories as name(s) (though note that the use of names can change with the death of namesakes), sex, date and place of birth, date and place of death, place of burial, language affiliation, country, and other categories relevant in terms of Aboriginal social organization, such as subsection. These latter categories will vary from one part of the continent to another. Education and employment history can also be listed by individual.
2. Rather than list mother, father, spouse(s), siblings and offspring for each individual, it is more efficient to list these relationships *only once*, since this strategy removes the necessity to up-date information in several places at once - if up-dating is not uniform, inconsistencies will arise.
3. One method is to keep genealogy sheets, with each sheet numbered. Then, for each individual, the sheet(s) he or she appears on can be listed with personal data.
4. Another strategy, useful when computer assistance is available, is to have a separate 'marriage file'. If each individual has been assigned a unique identifying number (for confidentiality or other reasons), each union can be indicated by the personal number of the woman, followed by a hyphen, followed by the personal number of the man. Thus each marriage is uniquely identified by the personal numbers of the two parties to it. If a person has married more than once, his or her personal number appears in several marriage numbers.
5. Under each marriage can be listed the identifying numbers of the offspring of that union (if any). Thus a person can be found either as a child of a union, or as a member of a union. Full siblings are indicated by having the same marriage number as their parents; half siblings have half the marriage number in common. By this method it is possible to trace upwards and downwards, as well as across to spouses' families.
6. Sources for personal data are many: they include old mission records, hospital records, the Register of Wards, information collected for land claims, Aboriginal Population Records, previous anthropological research. It is sometimes convenient to collect some personal data while collecting a census: for example, rough estimates of year of birth, subsection, language, ...
7. Note that in preparing genealogies there will be arbitrary cut-off points, since links will be found extending outwards to other communities ad infinitum.
8. It is often useful to collect the biographies of prominent individuals.

9. Membership lists should also be kept of community councils, and of royalty or other financial associations; note should also be made of community representatives on land councils and other Aboriginal organizations.

APPENDIX 2

COLLECTING A CENSUS

1. Obtain a map of the community, or draw one up. On this map can be located all dwellings, other structures, toilets, taps, roads etc.
2. If a person unfamiliar with the community is collecting the census, someone known to the community, and who in turn knows the community, should assist. This is not only so that questions appear less intrusive (because they are being asked by an outsider), but the person familiar with the community can indicate if people have been left out, and can inquire as to their whereabouts.
3. Note that women tend to be better informants than men; the latter often leave out people they deem unimportant, and sometimes have trouble remembering all their offspring.
4. Aim to collect a census as quickly as possible; this is because movements within and without a community entail that some individuals will be picked up more than once, and others left off completely.
5. Be aware that certain categories of people will be hard to pick up. (For example, young boys, and sometimes girls, have a tendency to change abode frequently, and so are often left off lists of residents for a particular dwelling.)
6. Check a census as soon as possible after completion. This means that one has the chance to correct any of the anomalies mentioned in the points directly above.
7. Be sure to allow for seasonal factors (whether environmental, social, economic) when deciding at what time a census is to be carried out.
8. List BY DWELLING and BY DATE:
 - 8.1 A code number for the dwelling (then located on the map)
 - 8.2 The dwelling type (house, shed, wiltja etc, and if a house or shed, the number of rooms.
 - 8.3 Note any particular purpose the dwelling serves - for example, women's camp, community shelter.
 - 8.4 Note the facilities available: water (if none, nearest source); hot water; power (if none, nearest source); sanitation (if none, nearest); lights; fridge; other odd storage space; washing machine; shower.
 - 8.5 Check whether each facility is WORKING or BROKEN
9. If there are only communal water sources or communal toilets, it should be possible from the data to calculate how many people use a particular tap or toilet.

10. For each dwelling list people present. Do not forget to inquire after visitors (they are often omitted) and record where they have come from.
11. For each person list:
 - current employment
 - all sources of income
 - personal possessions (car, cassette player, ...)
 - number of dogs owned.
12. At a later point, from the genealogies, personal data and the census, one can obtain such information as fertility/mortality rates, earner/supporter ratio per household, population in terms of age and sex, majority language affiliation of the community, and so on.
13. At the first census, record for each person:
 - length of time at the present location
 - previous place of residence
 - reason for the move.
14. At later censuses, the answers to the first two questions for the majority of people may be deduced from the previous census.

It is useful to have the previous census with one, when collecting further ones. This allows one to make comparisons with the information gathered previously.
15. Take photographs of dwellings and facilities.
16. List community facilities - store, clinic, swimming pool etc, and include communication facilities.
17. Do not forget to up-date community facilities at each census - for example, the introduction of TV, a new workshop and so on.
18. After each census, with help from the genealogies (or even by collecting genealogies), prepare household composition diagrams, and include intervening links (that is, relatives not present, or deceased). [See example on next page.]

For example:

- = female, male present
- = female, male deceased
- = female, male absent

Dwelling B12, 19 August 1980:

19. Obtain reasons where possible for absence of immediate family (for example: in hospital at Alice Springs, at Yirara, in business camp, ...)
20. These charts help in describing possible compositions of households in the community. For example, one can see what proportion of households include relations which are not in the husband-wife-child(ren) complex. These 'other relationships' can be refined to include the number of households that have parents-in-law residing there (to be refined further as: wife's parents, wife's mother, wife's father, husband's parents, husband's mother, husband's father), how many households include adult brothers, adult sisters, or adult brothers and sisters, and so on.

APPENDIX 3

OBTAINING COST OF LIVING FIGURES:

1. Decide on the frequency of collecting figures, bearing in mind such factors as seasonal fluctuations for the availability of certain foodstuffs.
2. Do not forget to state the name of the store, or the date the figures were collected.
3. Remember to specify weight or quantity for each item. In cases where this is not possible - for example, as with a mattress - attempt a description of the item.
4. Have discussions with the store manager in order to discover what items are frequently bought by Aboriginal people - this means that the cost-of-living figures have relevance to Aboriginal buying patterns.
 - 5.1 Include FOOD items; flour, tea, sugar, meat, ...
 - 5.2 Include CLOTHING: T-shirts, trousers, skirts, dresses, ...
 - 5.3 Include PETROL and DIESEL, per litre and per drum.
 - 5.4 Include CAMP UTENSILS such as billycans, cups, ...
 - 5.5 Include SLEEPING ITEMS such as blankets, sheets, mosquito nets, ...
 - 5.6 Include HUNTING IMPLEMENTS such as bullets, crowbars, ...
6. Include any other items relevant to a particular community; these might include the air fare to the nearest town, or the price of alcoholic beverages at the frequented liquor outlets.
7. Specify if certain items are not available when the data are collected.
8. At the same time as a community's cost-of-living is assessed, a price check should be carried out in two or more stores in Alice Springs/Darwin/nearest town, for comparison purposes.
9. [See sample pro forma on next page.]

Cost-of-living

Community:

Date:

Store:

Food: - kg flour
 - kg sugar
 - gr tea
 - kg meat
 ...
 ...

Clothing:

- T-shirts
 - trousers
 ...
 ...

Camp utensils:

X-size billycan:

cup:

...
 ...

blanket (specify quality and/or size):

sheet:

...

packet of X no. of bullets:

Petrol per litre:

per drum:

Diesel per litre:

per drum:

Can of beer at X:

Comments:

APPENDIX 4

Suggested schedule of questions to determine use and perception of money.

A. General

1. What is money for?
2. Where does it come from?
3. What do people get money for?
4. What is a good way to spend money?
5. What is a bad way to spend money?
6. What is a safe way to keep money?
7. When is
 - a. pension day
 - b. family allowance (child endowment) day
 - c. pay day for Council
 - d. pay day for school
 - e. pay day for [other local enterprise]?
8. What is an old age pension for?
9. What is the unemployment benefit for?
10. What is a widow's pension for?
11. Why doesn't a widower get a pension?
12. What is the job of the bank?
13.
 - a. what interest payment do you get at the bank?
 - b. what is an interest payment?
14. Where does the [local council] get its money from?
15. Where do mining companies get their money from?
16. Where does the government get its money from?
17.
 - a. where is a good place to shop in Darwin/Alice Springs/...?
 - b. is it cheaper than [local community]?
 - c. (if YES) why is it cheaper?
18. How much does petrol cost at [local community]?
20. If you could buy a turtle/kangaroo/...[specify in local language] at the shop, how much do you think that it would cost?
21. If you need money, what relations do you ask?
22. What relations can you give money to?
23. What do you think money should be spent on in the community?

B. Personal Income (excluding mining revenue)

24. Do you get money from working?
 - if yes, a. where are you working?
 - b. how much are you paid?
25. Do you get a pension?
 - if yes, a. what sort of pension?
 - b. how much do you get?
26. Do you get family allowance (child endowment)?
 - if yes, how much you get?
27. Do you get money from making bark paintings/baskets/[other artifacts]?
 - if yes, a. are you paid enough for your work?
 - b. how much do(es) needles/glue/[other raw materials] cost?
28. What do you spend money on?

29. What would you like to save money for?
30. How much does [local council] take out of pay packets for rents and services?

C. [If there is a local drinking club]

31. Do you go to the Club?
 - if yes, a. how much money do you take with you?
 - b. who do you buy drinks for?
 - c. who buys you drinks?
32. Does your husband/wife go to the Club?
 - if yes, how much money does he/she take?

D. Mining Revenues

33. What Association handles money from [specify mine]?
34. Do you think that the mining agreements are fair about money?
35. Do you get any money from mining agreements?
 - if yes, which one?
36. Do any members of your family get any money from mining agreements?
 - if yes, which one?

If YES to Q. 39:

37. How much have you got so far?
38. Do you think this has been enough?
39. How much will you receive next year?
40. How much will you have after 5 years?
41. What have you done with the money that you have got?
 - Have you spent any money on:
 - a. vehicles
 - b. food
 - c. petrol
 - d. fixing cars
 - e. clothes
 - f. drink
 - g. things for the house
 - h. giving it to other people
 - i. ceremonies (if yes, food, cloth, tobacco)?
42. What are you going to spend the next lot of money on?

E. After court, for those who have been given fines:

43. Who will pay your fine?

After fine has been paid:

44. Who paid your fine?

APPENDIX 5

Suggestions for schedules of questions to determine information flow:

1. The schedule of questions could be administered both to Aborigines and to non-Aborigines in a community, to determine overlap/cross-cultural knowledge; therefore include questions of the Aboriginal domain as well.
2. Work out sectors you wish to determine knowledge of.
Possibilities:
 - 2.1 Political structures available:
 - Who is [Aboriginal organization] representative for this area?
 - Who is [Territory Assembly/State House] member for this area?
 - Who is the Federal member?
 - Who is the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs?
 - Who is the Chairman of the (Northern/Central) Land Council?
 - Who is the Manager/Director of the Land Council?
 - 2.2 Location in the wider world:
 - Who is President of the USA?
 - Who is Prime Minister of Australia? (or: Who is Bob Hawke?)
 - Where are the Falkland Islands?
 - 2.3 Local knowledge:
 - Who is traditional owner for X?
 - Who is the: Community Adviser
 - shop keeper
 - Council Chairman
 - ...?
 - Who is Liaison Officer for (mining company)?
 - What are shop hours?
 - What is the Aboriginal language for X place?
 - 2.4 Purpose of agencies:
 - What is the job of: a missionary
 - the town clerk
 - [local healer]
 - What is the job of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs/Land Council/etc?
 - What do mining companies come here for? [See separate schedule of questions in Appendix 6]

APPENDIX 6

Suggestions with respect to a schedule of questions to determine views on mining:

1. Determine knowledge of mining activities
 - (i) in general
 - (ii) with relevance to a particular project.
2. Determine anxieties with respect to mining activities.
3. Determine aspirations with respect to mining activities.

Possible questions for 1(i) might be:

- Where do mining companies get money from?
- Why do mining companies drill holes?

Possible questions for 1(ii) might be:

- What is gas/uranium/etc used for?
- Where does the ore go to?
- How do they make (finished product) from (raw substance)?
- How long will the mine be here?

2 and 3 are often different sides of the same coin.

Possible questions are:

- Are mining companies good?
- Why/why not?
- What can stop mining companies? (This question also helps with 1(i))
- When the mining is finished, what will be left behind?
- What effect will mining have on the land? (This question also helps with 1(ii))
- Are there any side effects which might have lasting impact on the land or on people?
- How do Aborigines benefit from mining?
- Should Aborigines stop mining?

APPENDIX 7

IMPACT STUDIES ON TOURISM

Preliminary comments:

Tourist developments must be set in a wider context of development. This wider context includes government policies with respect to Aborigines, such as, for example, strategies to make Aborigines economically independent. In areas where natural resources are few, natural beauty is seen as a resource to be exploited. That is not to say, however, that tourism and mining are mutually exclusive; often mining enterprises and tourism go hand-in-hand, each seeing benefits from the developments to the other - principally economic. For example, airstrips and roads can service both industries. Sometimes tourism develops from a mining enterprise: not only is the mine thought to add interest to the natural environment (vide tours of the Ranger site), but it often has already created the necessary infrastructure such as reticulated water, sealed roads and so on. Nevertheless, there are a number of differences between tourism and mining:

- there are no royalty arrangements with tourism, as there are with mining, so it is less satisfying financially to Aboriginal people. There may, however, be leasing arrangements in the case of tourism.
- although there may be irreversible effects from mining, most mines have a definite life span. Tourism, however, is a permanent industry (although it is liable to fluctuate with economic conditions) and is irreversible by nature.
- Aborigines are an item of curiosity to tourists, and the tourist industry in certain areas focuses on Aborigines as a selling point - though, ironically, Aborigines are also seen as a negative factor, as nuisances who create unsightly clutter.
- with mining it is easier for Aborigines to remain the dominant public. If the work force for a mine is small, and contained (and has provisions such as fly-in/fly-out), Aborigines may be almost oblivious to the non-Aborigines located in their midst.
- the effects of tourism are more diffuse, in part because of the nature of the tourist industry, but also because there are more derivative industries and 'ripple effects'.
- there may be more job opportunities for Aboriginal women in the tourist industry than in the mining industry.

Impacts of tourism on Aborigines have two main thrusts:

- (i) directly by tourists, and the infrastructure that tourists use and their proximity to Aboriginal communities

- (ii) through the Aboriginal network - the spread of monies, and so on.

As with mining, employment in the tourist industry is posited as a plus for Aborigines. But once again, one has to examine Aboriginal attitudes to employment to see whether there is any more reason (or any less) to work in the tourist industry than in some other enterprise.

Aborigines are unlikely to enter service industries such as hotel catering, or to be waiters: - since Aborigines stress personal relations (see sections 7.7.1 - 7.7.8, 7.8.8 - 7.8.10 of the Guidelines), they are unlikely to take a job where interaction is impersonal, yet highly responsive, being at the beck and call of the tourist. (See also on Aboriginal attitudes to tourists, below). Not only that, but the tourist industry requires skills such as fluency in English, understanding of the tourist's culture, and servicing the psychological needs of the tourist. Aborigines are unlikely to have these skills.

The most that Aborigines can do in the tourist industry is to cash in on their Aboriginality, to be tourist sights.

This, however, is not likely to be a congenial occupation. This is for several reasons.

First, let us examine possible Aboriginal views on tourists. Tourists' activities and purposes may not be understood by Aborigines. A schedule of questions may be useful in determining how Aborigines perceive tourists and their activities, and is appended. When these questions were asked in Kakadu, there emerged two categories of 'outsiders' - the 'tourist', and the 'visitor' - the latter were regarded as having a legitimate purpose in being in Kakadu, either because they were visiting kin, or because they acted responsibly towards the land. 'Tourists' on the other hand, were seen as being people with no ties to Kakadu, and few notions of responsibility. Interestingly, Aborigines who went to places such as Sydney generally did not see themselves as tourists, because either they went with a purpose, such as attending a meeting or an art exhibition, or because they would only go in the company of someone who would accept social responsibility for them.

If Aborigines at, for example, Uluru, were to understand the environments that tourists came from, they might be more sympathetic towards them. As it is, they may not realise that many people have worked and saved for a considerable period in order to be able to travel at leisure. The predominant view that Aborigines have of tourists is of people who are pleasure-oriented, who are apparently unemployed, but who are nevertheless, and above all, consumers. That is, they do no apparent work, show little responsibility, and yet have resources to enjoy themselves and spend at will. (A Kunwinjku man, observing tourists at the East Alligator Crossing, asked: "Who pays tourists?") They may believe that tourists follow this lifestyle all year round. Not only may this lead to unwarranted aspirations in the home community, if the nature of a "holiday" is not understood, but the cost of living may rise because of the spending capacity of the tourist.

Does tourism make Aborigines aware of other societies and other ways of life? This depends upon opportunities to talk at length with outsiders, but also depends upon world views and values, such as curiosity. In the absence of curiosity, little voluntary contact is likely to take place. Another possibility is a surfeit of tourists - and if previous encounters have had little redeeming value, Aborigine may eschew meetings with tourists.

As it is, tourists spend little time at places they holiday. This is especially true of Ayers Rock. This means that tourists have little time to learn appropriate behaviour patterns from personal observations, and must be told by the tour operator, or by other tourists (eg, "Don't walk down the Todd River bed at night"). Because of a lack of appreciation by most tour operators - and therefore most of the community - of Aboriginal culture, visitors are unlikely to behave appropriately in the presence of Aborigines, especially when there is a dominant non-Aboriginal ethos prevailing in all other contexts in which the tourist in Australia operates.

A tourist's motives in undertaking a holiday include relaxation, taking a break from the usual (work) routine, and receiving interesting (new) experiences. This means that the average tourist does not want to confront unpleasant situations, nor feel insecure or unwelcome. Thus the tourist wants to experience the new from a base of familiarity, by visiting countries in which they feel safe, or in which the behavioural difference is minimal, or else they form "tourist enclaves". Thus, while Aborigines are objects of curiosity for tourists, they are also a potential threat. They deal with this dilemma by the use of intermediaries.

Tourists treat answers to questions as authoritative. They are often given erroneous information. The words of the tour operator about "old men witchdoctors" are believed, or they accept the view that the matter of the title to Ayers Rock is "a con", since "Aborigines never lived there". There appears to be little or no training for these cultural mediators: Aborigines seem to come off worst being seen as objects of curiosity whose values are to be laughed at, especially in the matter of sites.

Where do tourists come in contact with Aborigines? Do they merely observe them, or do they converse? How much inter-tourist dissemination of information (or mis-information) on Aborigines occurs? Appended are possible questions to ask of tourists to ascertain their views on Aborigines and how they came to hold these views.

Even in successful interfaces, such as the marketing of Aboriginal arts and crafts, if the marketing is to be done efficiently, with quality control and proper distribution procedures, then the cost to the artists and craftsmen concerned is that of salaries and perks for middlemen (usually with middle class standards).

As it is, there appears to be considerable pressure on Aboriginal people to allow tourism, which exploits their culture and pre-empts use of their land, for the benefit largely of the tour operators (predominantly non-Aboriginal) and the Northern Territory Government (predominantly non-Aboriginal).

Other questions to be addressed in the study of the social impact of tourism:

1. Does an Aboriginal view of a 'tourist' entail that such people are beyond the social pale? Do Aborigines have a category 'visitor' for outsiders who are within the pale? What differences are there in the treatment of the two categories (for example, will Aborigines offer hospitality to 'visitors' but not to 'tourists')?
2. Tourists are 'fair game' and therefore often exploited or overcharged. How does this attitude start and does it affect the home community? Are Aborigines affected by it? Does this mean they expect immediate monetary return from tourists? What does this imply for their social view of tourists?
3. Is there an importation of cultural items from other groups to fulfil tourist expectations (for example boomerangs - a non-indigenous article - in Kakadu)? Or to fill gaps for activities no longer performed (for example corroborees in Kakadu)? Does new art arise to provide variety for tourists? Is artifact production stimulated by tourism? Is quality affected?
4. Is shoddy work a manifestation of hostility to tourists or is it a reflection of (1) above? What other overt and covert manifestations of hostility towards tourists are there (do people shout abuse in their language at tourists)?
5. Tourism promotes the growth of 'cultural mediators'; what training do they receive? Are they really mediators, or do they become brokers?
6. What is the impact of tourism on traditional food and medicine sources, and on the scope of ceremonial life? Are some locations 'de-consecrated', temporarily or otherwise, because of tourists' presence (by, for example, removing ceremonial objects, or bone)?

APPENDIX 8

Sample questions on tourism to reveal Aboriginal attitudes towards it:

1. Are Aboriginal people from (Darwin, Alice Springs,...) who come to (Uluru, Kakadu ...) tourists?
2. Why/why not?
3. Are Aboriginal people from (Areyonga, Denpelli ...) who come to (Uluru, Kakadu ...) tourists?
4. Why/why not?
5. If you go to (Alice Springs, Darwin ...) are you a tourist?
6. Why/why not?
7. If you go to Sydney are you a tourist?
8. Why/why not?
9. Is a person who comes here to study soil/wallabies/insects/etc a tourist?
10. Why/why not?
11. Are Central/Northern Land Council people tourists?
12. Why/why not?
13. Are people who work at (Yulara, Jabiru ...) tourists?
14. Why/why not?
15. Why do tourists come here?
16. What do tourists do?
(If the answer is in terms of activities such as taking photographs, rock climbing etc and not in terms of behavioural traits such as staring at Aborigines, then -)
17. How do tourists behave towards Aboriginal people?
18. What happens when you meet tourists?
19. Do you like meeting tourists?
20. What do tourists think of Aboriginal people?
21. Is it a good idea to have tourists visiting (Uluru, Katatjuta, Ubirr, ...)?
22. Why/why not?
23. What should tourists do when they visit these places?
24. Are there places that tourists should not be allowed to visit in the Park?
25. (If yes -) What are they and why not?
26. What if they visit these places with Aboriginal people?
27. (If OK -) Why is it OK?
28. How many people will be coming to visit (Uluru, ...) (this week/year)?
29. Why do tourists buy (specify type of artifact)?
30. Would it be a good idea to have (inma, purlapa, corroboree) for tourists?
31. Why/why not?
32. Should Aborigines stop tourists?

APPENDIX 9

Suggestions for schedules of questions to determine tourists' views of Aborigines:

1. Age
sex
and nationality of tourist (if Australian, state of residence/origin).
2. Where in Australia have you travelled?
3. Purpose of visit (if visiting friends/family, does he she reflect host's views on Aborigines?)
4. Did you buy any Aboriginal artifacts?
5. What did you buy?
6. Why did you buy this/these?
7. Did you meet any Aborigines?
8. Where?
9. What did you talk to them about?
10. Where did you get most of your information on Aborigines from?
 - friends/family
 - coach driver
 - Tourist Board
 - other tourists
 - literature
 - personal observation
 - other (specify).

Questions should also be asked to evaluate value judgements tourists make about Aborigines.

A similar type of questionnaire should be administered to non-Aboriginal people who work at tourist enterprises, such as Uluru or Yulara. In addition, they should be asked their reasons for working there, how long they expect to be there, and what recreational activities they pursue.

From the answers one should deduce whether the tourist industry is providing jobs for Territorians, or whether the majority of the workforce comes from interstate.

From their desire for recreational activities, it should be apparent whether they add to the 'tourist track', or whether they put pressure on other areas in the vicinity.

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ATTACHMENT 1
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