

East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project

THE EFFECT OF PUBLIC SECTOR ACTIVITY
ON ABORIGINES IN THE EAST KIMBERLEY

PART I
PUBLIC SECTOR AGENCIES IN THE EAST KIMBERLEY
Audrey Bolger*

East Kimberley Working Paper No.20
ISBN 0 86740 308 X
ISSN 0816-6323

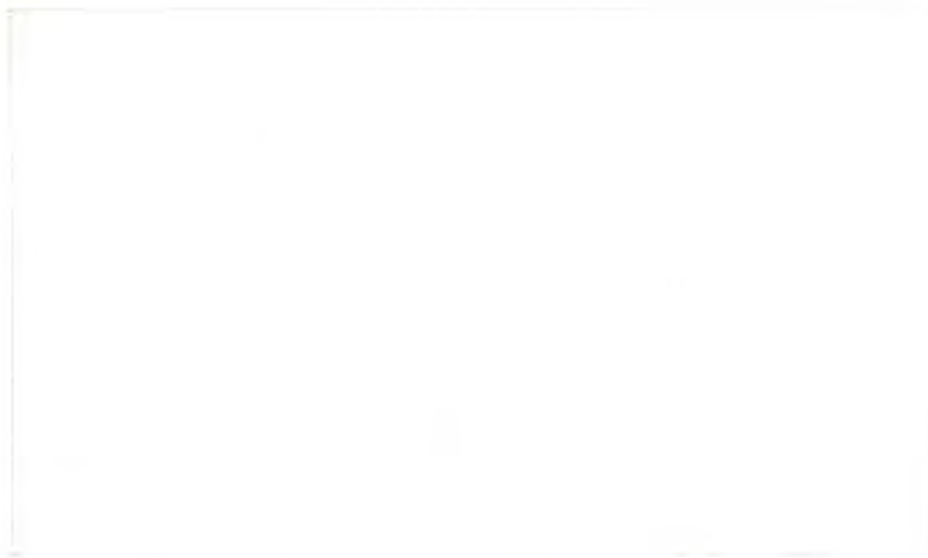
A Joint Project Of The:

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.

Address correspondence to:

The Executive Officer
East Kimberley Project
CRES, ANU
GPO Box 4
Canberra City, ACT 2601

THE EFFECT OF PUBLIC SECTOR ACTIVITY
ON ABORIGINES IN THE EAST KIMBERLEY

PART I
PUBLIC SECTOR AGENCIES IN THE EAST KIMBERLEY
Audrey Bolger*

East Kimberley Working Paper No.20
ISBN 0 86740 308 X
ISSN 0816-6323

* Department of Social Work, University of Western Australia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page No.
ABSTRACT	ii
ABBREVIATIONS	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENTS	3
Department of Aboriginal Affairs	3
National Structure and Role	3
North-Eastern Area Office	5
Funding	6
Aboriginal Development Commission	8
National Structure and Role	8
Kununurra Area Office	9
Department of Employment and Industrial Relations	11
Commonwealth Department of Education	13
Department of Social Security	15
WESTERN AUSTRALIAN STATE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS	16
Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority	16
Department for Community Services	17
Health Department of Western Australia	19
Homeswest	21
Education Department of Western Australia	22
Technical and Further Education	24
Water Authority of Western Australia/State Energy Commission	25
Argyle Social Impact Group	26
Other Agencies	28
NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS	28
Religious Organisations	28
Aboriginal Organisations	30
Aboriginal Legal Service	30
East Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service	31
Kimberley Land Council	32
Aboriginal Resource Agencies	33
CONCLUSION	34
BIBLIOGRAPHY	37

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role and impact of public sector activity on Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley. It reviews the work of Commonwealth and State Government agencies, and non-government organisations which deliver services to Aborigines such as churches and Aboriginal organisations.

Part I presents an overview of public sector activity in the region. Part II, which is being published as a separate working paper, presents detailed case studies of public sector activity in six Aboriginal communities - two large isolated communities, two outstations, and two town communities.

The data collected covered:

1. the purposes for which funding is provided and its effects;
2. the services provided by each organisation;
3. the extent to which Aboriginal people are involved in public sector activities affecting them, and the scope for alternative and improved approaches;
4. the existence and effectiveness of community development projects and the role of direct funding in community development.

The paper concludes that no government agencies are undertaking community development in East Kimberley communities: that is, no one is taking an overall view of the development of any community.

While agencies may cooperate to some extent, for the most part they work independently and consult with Aboriginal communities on this basis. For effective community development to take place there needs to be a coordinated approach by all agencies, both government and non-government. Social disintegration is increasing in Aboriginal communities in the region, and a major contributing factor is present public sector activity and funding methods.

Bolger suggests that it will be necessary for agencies to rethink their strategies to enable communities to develop in a positive and holistic way.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Aboriginal Advisory Council
AACC	Aboriginal Affairs Coordinating Committee
AAPA	(WA) Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority
ADC	Aboriginal Development Commission
ADM	Argyle Diamond Mines
AEC	Aboriginal Enterprise Company
AEDP	Aboriginal Employment Development Policy
AETB	Aboriginal Employment and Training Branch
AFO	Aboriginal Field Officer
AHB	Aboriginal Housing Board
AHW	Aboriginal Health Worker
AIM	Australian Inland Mission (Uniting Church)
ALFC	Aboriginal Land Fund Commission
ALO	Aboriginal Liaison Officer
ALS	Aboriginal Legal Service
ALT	Aboriginal Lands Trust
ADG	Assembly of God
ARA	Aboriginal Resource Assistants
ARDS	Australian Resource and Development Service (Uniting Church)
ASIG	Argyle Social Impact Group
ATA	Aboriginal Teacher Aides
CA	Community Adviser
CALM	(WA Department of) Conservation and Land Management
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
CEC	Catholic Education Commission
CEEDS	Community Employment and Enterprise Development Scheme
(C)CEP	(Commonwealth) Community Employment Program
CES	Commonwealth Employment Service
CHP	Community Homemaker Programme
CM&S	Community Management and Services
ComEd	(Commonwealth Department of) Education
DAA	(Commonwealth) Department of Aboriginal Affairs
DCS	(WA) Department of Community Services
DCW	(WA) Department of Community Welfare (now DCS)
DEIR	(Commonwealth) Department of Employment and Industrial Relations
DNW	(WA) Department of Native Welfare (now DCS)
DO	District Officers
DOHC	(Commonwealth) Department of Housing and Construction
DSS	(Commonwealth) Department of Social Security
EEA	Enterprise Employment Assistance
EKAMS	East Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service
GIA	Grants-in-Aid
GN	Good Neighbour
KAMSC	Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service Council
KLC	Kimberley Land Council
NEAACC	North-East Area Aboriginal Consultative Committee
NESA	National Employment Strategy for Aboriginals
PO	Project Officer
RAHLO	Regional Aboriginal Health Liaison Officer
RFDS	Royal Flying Doctor Service
SEC	(WA) State Energy Commission
SHC	(WA) State Housing Commission (now Homeswest)
SVO	Senior Vocational Officer
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TAP	Training for Aboriginals

INTRODUCTION

In the mid 1960s Charles Rowley, writing about the situation of Aborigines in North Australia, called the area 'colonial Australia' arguing that social relationships between the indigenous people and the white settler population were still similar to those pertaining in a colonial society (Rowley, 1970b: 1). By this time most Australian Aborigines had been granted full citizenship rights, although in Western Australia it was not until 1971 that the final restrictions on the supply and consumption of alcohol were lifted in the Eastern Goldfields and the Kimberleys and the *Aboriginal (Citizenship Rights) Act* became redundant and was repealed (Long, 1979: 362). But despite the repeal of restrictive legislation, Rowley noted that Aborigines in the north were still dependent for their very existence on the inadequate resources provided by pastoral stations, missions and government. This was because, in keeping with their colonised status, they were allowed no share in the wealth of the area, notwithstanding the fact that in many parts of the north, Aborigines constituted a majority of the population. Rowley (1970a: 397) questioned what concessions would be made for them in the future in the way of shares in the new wealth of the region, both in terms of access to employment and shares in enterprises, which would enable them to attain the independent status supposedly conferred with citizenship.

Many changes have taken place in the sphere of Aboriginal affairs in North Australia in the 20 years since Rowley was writing. Pastoral stations are now required to pay award wages to all workers. This has in fact resulted in fewer people being employed on pastoral stations though on the positive side some Aboriginal groups now have leases of pastoral stations themselves (see Young, forthcoming). Also, alternative job opportunities have opened up for at least some of those displaced from pastoral employment. Mission lands have been returned to other Aboriginal groups and missionaries who remain in the area no longer direct the lives of the people concerned. In the Northern Territory, land rights legislation (1976) has resulted in many Aboriginal groups gaining control over sufficiently large tracts of land to give them some measure of economic independence.

However, in the East Kimberley, Aborigines have made fewer gains than in the Northern Territory. Indeed, it is possible to say that the colonial situation has persisted, in that the area has continued to be developed with the interests of the settler population in mind while Aboriginal interests have been consistently ignored. The Ord River Irrigation Project which involved the flooding of large tracts of land in the early 1970s, resulted in the displacement of many Aborigines from their traditional country but has brought virtually nothing in return for them. Similarly, the Argyle Diamond Mine, apart from leading to the destruction of Aboriginal sites in the immediate vicinity of the mine, has also resulted in the displacement of Aboriginal people from camping sites on the fringes of Kununurra in order to make way for housing for white mine employees. Again, Aborigines in the area have had little return for this disruption to their lives in terms of sharing in either the employment or the enterprise. Aborigines in the East Kimberleys may have thrown off the colonial yoke of dependence on pastoralists and missionaries, but most are still totally dependent on funding, services and resources provided by the government for their survival.

There have also been immense changes both in government policies and their administration in recent years. Whereas a few years ago the sole contact with government for Aborigines in the East Kimberley was with the Western Australian Department of Native Welfare, today a variety of funds, services and material resources are supplied - both directly, through a number of Commonwealth and State government agencies, and indirectly, through non-government agencies such as church and Aboriginal organisations.

The 1967 referendum resulted in the transfer of primary responsibility for Aborigines from the States to the Commonwealth, but it was not until 1973 with the passing of the *Aboriginal Affairs (Arrangements with the States) Act* that the administrative machinery was set up for this to take place. Since then the major source of funding for Aboriginal programs has been through the Aboriginal Affairs portfolio. In 1985/6 expenditure through this portfolio was \$295.086m which was split between the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (\$177.904m), Aboriginal Hostels Ltd. (\$17.2m), Aboriginal Development Commission (74.1m), the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (\$3.5m) and administration of the *Northern Territory Land Rights Act* (\$22.382m). In addition a further \$212.466m was expended on programs specifically for Aborigines through other Commonwealth departments such as Community Services, Employment and Industrial Relations, Education and Youth Affairs, and Housing and Construction. Aborigines also receive funding and services through the normal activities of other Commonwealth departments and agencies such as Social Security and Telecom.

Although Commonwealth Departments administer some programs specifically for Aboriginal people, it is the State governments which are primarily responsible for the administration of services and resources. Funding for these programs comes partly from State sources but financial assistance is also provided through the normal Commonwealth/State funding arrangements in the form of 'general purpose' grants for purposes such as housing, education, health and welfare programs to which all Australians have access. Under these arrangements States receive special weighting for particular handicaps such as having a small population in a large land area, or the existence of a greater than normal proportion of disadvantaged people, such as Aborigines, in the population. However, the Commonwealth also provides funding to State Departments for programs specifically for Aboriginal people in the form of State Grants which come primarily from the Aboriginal Affairs portfolio.

Finally, some money from the Aboriginal Affairs portfolio is allocated to non-government organisations providing programs for Aborigines, for example, the Catholic Education Commission, the Aboriginal Legal Service.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the whole area of funding and administration of programs for Aborigines is now immensely complex. Aborigines such as those in the East Kimberley, who are dependent on this funding, are required to deal with a bureaucratic maze, involving both Commonwealth and State government agencies and non-government agencies. Many of these agencies have offices in the East Kimberley. Some, such as the Aboriginal Development Commission and the Aboriginal Legal Service, deal exclusively with Aboriginal people. Others, such as the WA Education and Health Departments, deal with the total population. Of those Commonwealth and State departments which provide programs for Aboriginal people, many have specific policies, and sections which deal exclusively

with these programs. This is more common in Commonwealth than in State departments but even where there are no explicit policies most departments operating in areas such as the East Kimberley, where a majority of their clientele are Aboriginal, have had to acknowledge this by providing special services and employing staff, both white and Aboriginal, to work with Aboriginal people.

The reason for the reluctance of government departments to formulate specific policies for Aborigines is mainly historical. As far as the Commonwealth is concerned the taking of responsibility for Aboriginal affairs led to the development of specific policies, not only within the Aboriginal portfolio, but also in other departments in areas which were pinpointed as targets for Aboriginal advancement, such as health, housing, education and employment.

In Western Australia the situation was different. Before the setting up of DAA in 1973, Western Australia had adopted a general policy aimed at bringing Aborigines into the mainstream of government agency activities. It was with this in mind that the Department of Native Welfare was disbanded in 1972 and reformed as a general Department for Community Welfare. The idea was that Aboriginal people in Western Australia would take advantage of mainstream services in such areas as education, welfare and housing, and would not be stigmatised by the provision of special programs. Since that time the provision of Commonwealth tied grants and the obvious need of Aboriginal people for positive discrimination in many areas has led to some State departments either formulating policies specifically for Aborigines or at least providing special services. As far as Aboriginal people are concerned the main result has probably been the increase in complexity both of the programs provided and the number of agencies with which they have to deal.

In the following sections the policies and activities of the government and non-government agencies concerned with Aboriginal programs in the East Kimberley are outlined. In the main only those with offices in the East Kimberley are dealt with, and only those with a considerable amount of involvement in Aboriginal communities are described in detail. Partly this is because the research program did not allow for detailed examination of the policies and activities of all agencies. But also the involvement of some agencies in the East Kimberley with Aboriginal communities is limited, and neither the agencies nor the Aborigines with whom they occasionally deal have much on which to comment.

COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENTS

Department of Aboriginal Affairs

National Structure and Role

DAA was set up in 1972 as a result of the upgrading of the Office of Aboriginal Affairs which had been created after the 1967 Referendum. Regional Offices were later opened in the States after the passing of the *Aboriginal Affairs (Arrangements with the States) Act 1973*. At the present time there are Regional Offices in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Darwin and Alice Springs. In addition, there are 39 Area Offices throughout Australia, 7 of which are in Western Australia.

According to the DAA Annual Report for 1985-6 the role of the Department is to:

advise the Government on all matters concerning the Aboriginal people; and

formulate policy and to develop and implement and/or coordinate programs directed to their advancement.

The Report then goes on to say that: Consultation with Aboriginal people is fundamental to the performance of this role. The department's role, then, is very much one of overseeing the total area of Aboriginal affairs in Australia in regard to policy formulation, program coordination and funding, and this is done at all levels.

Within the Central Office in Canberra there are four divisions dealing with Heritage, Program Development, Communications and Special Services, and Management. Each of these divisions is concerned with such matters as preparing policy advice within its particular area of responsibility, liaising with other Commonwealth Departments and portfolio organisations as appropriate, and monitoring and assessing the performance of organisations and programs financed through the portfolio.

From the point of view of Aboriginal people in regions such as the East Kimberley the work of the Program Development Division is particularly important. This is the division which is responsible for the development of national policies and strategies in relation to social development in such areas as health, education, employment and training, housing, community services, legal aid and other issues relating to children, youth, aged persons and women. It is in conjunction with this division that the policies of the functional departments and non-government organisations are developed. Responsibility for the coordination of Commonwealth programs was given to DAA in 1978. This role was strengthened in 1986 when it was agreed that the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs would report annually to Cabinet on the needs of Aboriginal people and the priorities to be accorded to the various Commonwealth programs.

An example of the Department's coordinating role is in the implementation of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP). This policy was announced in 1986 as replacing the previous National Employment Strategy for Aboriginals (NESA) in response to the findings of the Miller Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs. Under AEDP a number of new initiatives have been announced by the Commonwealth Department of Education (Com.Ed), the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (DEIR) and the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC). DAA has the responsibility for the coordination of these initiatives as well as for the introduction of new Community Development Employment Projects and training programs for councillors, directors and staff of Aboriginal communities and organisations.

Apart from the coordination of Commonwealth programs, DAA is also responsible for programs which require cooperation between the Commonwealth and the States. When the Regional Office of DAA was set up in Perth in 1984 the Western Australian Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority (AAPA) was merged with it. The two departments separated again

in 1984 but cooperation between them continues. In addition the DAA Regional Office has contact with other State government departments in relation to programs for Aborigines in Western Australia.

An example of cooperation between Commonwealth and State is the Western Australian Aboriginal Land and Communities Improvement Program (WAALCIP) which was announced in March 1986. Under this program the Commonwealth and Western Australian State governments have agreed to provide \$50m. each to be spent over a 5 year period on Aboriginal advancement. The money is to be used to provide services for Aboriginal communities on lands over which they acquire leases under the Commonwealth-State land agreement. The major emphasis of the Commonwealth is on the provision of essential services, such as housing, water, sewerage and power, while the State proposes to supply support services such as maintenance of essential services, management training, enterprises, alcohol programs and sport and recreation. WAALCIP is coordinated by a Commonwealth-State Task Force involving DAA and AAPA.

DAA is also responsible for the allocation of funds within the States, both to State Departments for programs specifically for Aboriginal people through State Grants and to Aboriginal organisations and communities through Grants in Aid. Priorities for expenditure in these areas in Western Australia are worked out through the Perth Regional Office in consultation with the Area Offices.

North-Eastern Area Office

The DAA North-Eastern Area Office for the East Kimberley region of Western Australia is situated in Kununurra and covers the Shires of Halls Creek and Wyndham-East Kimberley. The office has a staff entitlement of an Area Officer, four Senior Project Officers, two Project Officers and a Field Officer, as well as an administrative officer, a clerk and a typist. However, the office suffers from a high staff turnover and seldom reaches the full staff complement. In March 1987, for instance, there was a shortfall of two Senior Project Officers and a Project Officer. However, two officers had been allocated to deal specifically with Community Development Employment Projects in the area and were expected shortly. Of the field staff employed, three were Aboriginal and two of these were women.

The problem of high staff turnover is not restricted to DAA in the East Kimberley; most government departments have the same problem. Officers generally consider that a stay in the area of some two or three years is sufficient before they apply for a transfer back to either Perth or another capital city. The problem has been compounded by delays in appointing replacement staff in attempts to save money during the present economic crisis.

However, it must also be said that DAA seems to have particular problems in keeping its Aboriginal staff. There are several Aboriginal officers now employed in other government agencies in Kununurra who previously worked for DAA and both Aboriginal and white people commented that Aboriginal people frequently transferred or resigned from the DAA office because of disillusionment. Some of this is understandable: Aboriginal people take up employment with DAA with idealistic beliefs that they will be able to work for their people in a meaningful way and help to improve

their lives. Only too often they feel compromised by having to make unpalatable bureaucratic decisions. However, those who take up employment in other bureaucracies manage to survive there reasonably satisfactorily.

The North-Eastern Area Office operates with a fair degree of autonomy. Theoretically the Area Officer is accountable to the Regional Director in Perth but in practice deals mainly with the Deputy Director. Programs for Aborigines in the area are funded by DAA either direct from the East Kimberley budget for Grants in Aid (GIA) or through State Grants. In the latter case the Kununurra office has only a consultative role and money is channelled to the appropriate State departments. This applies in the case of major capital works such as water and sewerage schemes or power plants. In the case of GIA the office is responsible for consulting with Aboriginal communities about their needs, helping to set up programs and monitoring their operation.

Funding

The main areas of GIA funding are Health, Education, Employment, Social Support, Community Management and Services (CM&S), Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP), Culture and Recreation, Legal Aid and Training. However, at present there are programs under only some of the headings funded through the East Kimberley GIA budget. For example, funding for Aboriginal Legal Services in Western Australia goes through the Perth Regional Office. Also, the Kununurra office is responsible for fewer funding categories in Aboriginal communities than it was five years ago since some areas have now been taken over by other Commonwealth departments. For instance, ADC now funds housing and enterprises and has taken over much of the responsibility for the Town Campers Assistance Program, while DEIR is responsible for employment and training. The Special Works Projects formerly funded by DAA have been discontinued following a recommendation in the Miller report.

The two categories CM&S and CDEP now account for 95 per cent of the DAA East Kimberley budget. Under CM&S Aboriginal communities and organisations are given capital and recurrent funding to provide what are called 'Municipal and Transport Services'. Capital funding is mainly for such items as motor vehicles, tractors and office equipment, since major capital items such as houses, water, sewerage and power are funded from other sources. There is now a DAA policy of replacing vehicles only every three years. Recurrent funding is itemised under several headings: generally these are salaries and allowances (community advisers, bookkeepers, mechanics, etc); travel (motor vehicle operating costs, air fares, etc); repairs and maintenance (vehicles, buildings, plant and equipment); services (rent, insurance, accounting fees, telephone, freight, etc.); and supplies (stationery, chlorination chemicals for water supplies, etc).

In the East Kimberley 12 Aboriginal communities and three Aboriginal resource agencies are currently funded under CM&S. This involves the DAA Kununurra office in a number of ways. Forward estimates are required in Canberra by September for the following financial year and a DAA officer is supposed to visit each community to discuss the budget and work out future priorities. Sometime about the middle of the next year the community receives an offer of a grant which has to be signed and conditions accepted. All communities receive documents setting out DAA's

general operating guidelines and financial guidelines for grants as well as the rules relating to acceptance of assistance. Once a community has signed the letter of acceptance money is paid into its bank account at quarterly intervals and the community is required to account for the spending of the grant. DAA officers monitor this and check that the money is spent on the items for which it was given. The control is tight and communities which transfer money across categories are reprimanded and warned that future funding may be compromised if they do not adhere to the spending guidelines. DAA officers also consult with the community to see if the objectives for which the grants are provided are being achieved. Ideally, each community should be visited at six weekly intervals by the field officer in charge of that particular community and twice yearly by the Area Officer, but it is admitted that this ideal is not achieved. Shortage of staff and the necessity to visit some communities more frequently when they have problems are the reasons given for not meeting the target.

The other funding category with which the Area Office is mainly involved is CDEP. This is a program which is intended to allow Aboriginal communities some flexibility in undertaking projects for their own development. Communities which go on to CDEP receive a block grant equal to the total of all unemployment benefits payable to community members, plus a grant of up to 20 per cent of the first item to cover administrative costs and materials and tools necessary for the chosen projects. A once-off capital grant may also be given to allow a community to purchase necessary machinery or equipment to undertake the work involved. Once a community goes on to CDEP, unemployment benefits to individuals cease. Instead community members are paid for work on the projects initiated, usually on a part-time hourly basis, although there may be some allowance for income maintenance for those who do not work. DAA, in cooperation with DEIR, is responsible for helping communities initiate CDEP as well as for ongoing support and monitoring of projects. The Department of Social Security (DSS) is involved only in certifying the level and number of unemployment benefits in a community.

Until recently only three communities in the East Kimberley were on CDEP - Balgo, Kalumburu and Oombulgurri. However, one of the recommendations in the Miller Report was that more communities should be encouraged to take advantage of CDEP and a target of five more communities in the East Kimberley (Kundat Djaru, Mulan, Mindibungu, Warmun and Woolah) was drawn up for 1987. The DAA guidelines for CDEP emphasise that communities must be fully consulted and their informed agreement obtained before CDEP is commenced. The Area Office has consulted with the five communities to some extent, in conjunction with DEIR. The issue was raised in most communities at three or four meetings over about a year although discussions usually took place along with other business. It was admitted that this might have been less than perfect but again shortage of field staff was given as a reason for the possibly inadequate consultation.

When all the new projects are in operation by the middle of 1987 the DAA Kununurra office will be responsible for the support and monitoring of eight CDEP projects. As mentioned earlier the office has been allocated two additional field staff to cope with the extra work but although these officers are supposed to be employed specifically to deal with CDEP the Area Officer envisages each field officer (including the CDEP officers) being allocated responsibility for all work in particular communities. Whether this will prove adequate remains to be seen since past experience

of the operation of CDEP in communities in other parts of Western Australia shows that the scheme requires intensive and specialised support. Lack of such support from DAA has been one of the main criticisms of the program.

Other programs in the East Kimberley with which the Kununurra office is involved are the Town Campers Assistance Program (TCAP) and outstations. In both cases DAA is concerned mainly with the provision of basic facilities. In the case of TCAP this is done in conjunction with ADC although DAA has an ongoing supportive role. Provision of basic facilities for outstations is worked out in conjunction with Aboriginal Resource Agencies in Halls Creek (Ngonjuwah), Turkey Creek (Balanggarri) and Kununurra (Waringarri) which service the outstation groups. Some visits are paid to both town camps and outstations but this tends to be on an irregular basis when time permits.

As well as the above activities the Kununurra office is also responsible for keeping Aboriginal communities in the region informed about such things as Ministerial statements, policy issues, inquiries and commissions, and special grants available to Aboriginal people.

Another responsibility of the Area Office is for coordination of the North-East Area Aboriginal Coordinating Committee. This committee is composed of representatives from State and Government agencies and Aboriginal organisations in the East Kimberley. The committee meets monthly in Kununurra with meetings in Halls Creek and Wyndham once a year. The DAA Area Officer chairs the meetings and secretarial assistance is provided by the Area Office. The purpose of the committee is to act as a forum for the exchange of information about the activities of the various agencies in the area and to coordinate those activities. Recently the committee has been allocated a new function of considering submissions from Aboriginal communities in the area for funding under WAALCIP and of working out priorities for the region in consultation with the communities.

Aboriginal Development Commission

National Structure and Role

ADC is one of the organisations of the Commonwealth Aboriginal Affairs portfolio and was established in 1980. It is headed by ten Aboriginal commissioners appointed by the Governor General and is under the direction of the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. The Central Office of the Commission is in Canberra and there are Regional Offices in Alice Springs, Townsville, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. There are also a number of Area Offices around Australia, four of which are at present in Western Australia located at Perth, Port Hedland, Broome and Kununurra.

Since its inception ADC has suffered from inadequate staffing due to economic stringency. In Western Australia the approved establishment in 1985 was for 67 staff, but there are still only 41 people employed in ADC throughout Western Australia despite the addition of seven new staff in 1987 to deal with the additional work accruing as a result of the implementation of the Miller recommendations. Originally it was intended that all ADC permanent staff should be Aboriginal, and non-Aborigines were employed on contract. However, this was changed in 1983 due to the

difficulty of attracting professionals such as architects, lawyers and business managers who are needed to give expert advice. Nevertheless, Aboriginal people are still employed wherever possible and in Western Australia they comprise 70 per cent of ADC staff.

ADC is responsible for three main areas of operation in relation to Aboriginal affairs; namely, housing, land acquisition and business enterprise. In each area funds may be allocated in the form of either grants or loans. ADC itself operates from both a General Fund, which is for the Commission's operations, and a Capital Fund, which is for the purpose of investment to generate income which may be used for operations. Policies are generally worked out at a national level in consultation with the Regions.

In the area of housing ADC is able to make loans for Aborigines to purchase houses but its main area of operation is the provision of housing in remote areas. In 1984 DAA and ADC carried out a survey of Aboriginal housing needs throughout Australia; allocations are made to the Regions on the basis of the findings of this survey. In Western Australia responsibility for Aboriginal housing is split between ADC and Homeswest, which is funded through the Department for Housing and Construction under the Commonwealth/State Housing Agreement. Under this arrangement in the East Kimberley Homeswest generally builds houses for rent to individuals in Halls Creek, Kununurra and Wyndham, while ADC provides grants to incorporated Aboriginal organisations to build and administer houses in communities and, in some cases, to provide employment and training at the same time.

Although the ADC is able to give loans and grants for the purchase of land, shortage of funds means that this activity is limited. In the East Kimberley, for instance, the only recent grant was of \$200,000 in 1984/5 to the Kija people then resident at Turkey Creek and Guda Guda towards the purchase of Bow River Station. The Western Australian government also contributed \$250,000 towards the purchase price. Because funds are limited, ADC policy is for large areas of land to be purchased only when there is income potential as well as a social reason for the purchase.

Finally ADC also provides both loans and grants to Aboriginal people for business enterprises. Apart from its ongoing activities, under the Aboriginal Development Employment Policy announced as a result of the Miller Report, ADC is responsible for three new programs in this area. The first of these, and the one most applicable to the East Kimberley, is the Community Employment and Enterprise Development Scheme (CEEDS) which will allow Aboriginal organisations and communities in remote areas and very small rural towns to acquire or develop business enterprises in conjunction with a wage subsidy provided by DEIR under the same policy. The second, the setting up of Enterprise Support Units, is intended to supply professional advice to Aboriginal-controlled businesses and housing associations. The third, the Small Business Joint Funding Scheme, is to encourage Aborigines to acquire or develop small businesses.

Kununurra Area Office

The Kununurra Area Office of ADC covers the same area as DAA. It is staffed by a Branch Manager, a Senior Project Officer, a clerk/typist and a receptionist. All staff are Aboriginal, but both field officers are

male. The staff complement also includes a Pastoral Adviser but in early 1987 that position had not yet been filled. Problems experienced in finding a suitable person were at least partly due to the Commission's inability to provide employee housing. The work of consultation and negotiation with the Aboriginal communities in the area is undertaken by both the Branch Manager and the Project Officer. The policy is for visits to communities to be rotated amongst field staff so that they become familiar with all communities in the area. With such a small staff the office tries to make visits to communities task oriented, arranging, where possible, to attend community meetings to discuss specific items on request. However, if nothing comes up in a particular community in, say, two months a visit is usually arranged. According to the Branch Manager the average timetable for visits to communities is every 4-6 weeks.

The Branch Manager of the Kununurra Office is accountable to the Perth Regional Manager and until recently there was very little delegation of authority within ADC. Most decisions had to be made by the Commissioners in Canberra. This made the operations of the Commission so slow that both regions and branches have recently been given delegation powers in some categories of funding. All loans or grants are paid direct to Aboriginal communities which are required to account for their spending in accordance with conditions laid down by ADC when the grant or loan is approved. Controls are maintained which tie spending to the particular items sanctioned.

One of the main areas of ADC operation in the East Kimberley is that of housing. The Area Office is responsible for working out housing needs within an overall budget for the area and the Branch Manager's recommendations are usually accepted at regional level. The responsibility covers both the provision of permanent housing in Aboriginal communities (for community members and for the staff they employ) and the on-going overseeing of the administration of that housing and the provision of temporary shelters for town campers and outstations. Liaison takes place with DAA as well as with communities, for although ADC is now responsible for reticulation of water, power and sewerage to the houses, DAA provides funding for the power houses and water and sewerage systems.

In the case of permanent housing, communities are consulted about their needs and plans are worked out for the allocation for each community in the area. At one time the policy was to try and link the building of houses to employment and training programs, with the Department of Housing and Construction contracting to build the houses and supplying foremen to oversee the employment and training of community members. However, this system often proved both slow and uneconomic and the policy emphasis has now changed to the supply of housing quickly and economically, which generally means by private contractors.

This system has some advantages in terms of Aboriginal people getting houses more quickly but, apart from the loss of training and employment opportunities, there are other disadvantages in using private contractors. Although ADC field staff try to obtain plans from the contractors and discuss them with communities they are often pre-empted by companies going direct to communities. Field officers still discuss suitability with the communities but say it is often difficult to know whether people are being swayed by the few community members who have been approached direct by the building contractors. Apart from deciding on

designs for their housing, community responsibilities in regard to on-going maintenance and the need to charge an economic rent are also discussed.

The other major area of activity for the Kununurra office is the development and support of Aboriginal business enterprises. The most common business enterprise in communities in the East Kimberley is the community store. Here ADC and DEIR often work together with ADC providing grants for store materials, building supervision and loans to commence operation, while DEIR provides grants for training and wages, both during building and when the store starts operating. Other responsibilities in the East Kimberley include ongoing support for pastoral leases, such as the Tjurabalan Pastoral Company at Billiluna/Lake Gregory, and monitoring the operations of a roadhouse purchased by Warmun Community with a partial loan from ADC.

Generally, in the case of business enterprises ADC waits for an approach by an Aboriginal community. The idea is then discussed sympathetically with the community by field officers. However, an application for a loan has to be considered on the same basis as a bank would consider it: that is, in terms of economic viability, good management, etc, and with the community putting in equity in some form. It is felt that doing the work necessary for putting in a submission to ADC is part of the learning process and a test of whether the enterprise is likely to succeed or not, so ADC field staff do not generally get involved in this process other than at a superficial level. In any case, the Branch Manager has a delegation figure of only \$20,000 for the approval of loans for business enterprises so most applications have to go to the Regional Manager or the General Manager. All applications for loans over \$150,000 have to go to the full Commission.

Up till now loans for Business Enterprises rather than grants have been preferred and the Branch Manager has no delegation for grants. However, it is possible this will change in the future with the introduction of the CEEDS program recommended in the Miller Report, whereby Aboriginal communities in remote areas such as the East Kimberley are to be given grants and ongoing wage-subsidy (through DEIR) to start enterprises which may not, in the first instance, be economically viable.

Department of Employment and Industrial Relations

DEIR is responsible through its Aboriginal Employment and Training Branch (AETB) for programs relating to the employment and training of Aborigines throughout Australia. In Western Australia there is a State Office in Perth and Branches in seven centres, including one in Kununurra covering the same area as DAA and ADC.

Under NESAs, DEIR had responsibility for the Training for Aborigines Program (TAP) which includes Public Sector Training, Negotiated Fee Training, Special Projects, Work Experience, Formal Training and On-the-Job Standard Subsidy. TAP is to continue under AEDP but more emphasis is being put on the areas of Negotiated Fee Training, Special Projects and Work Experience, for which funding has been increased. Funding has been decreased for the other three categories, with Formal Training becoming the responsibility of ComEd unless it is specifically directed towards training for employment.

As a result of the Miller review a number of changes have been made to DEIR's operations. Apart from general recommendations that programs should be specifically directed towards youth and women and the special problems of remote communities, DEIR has gained responsibility for three new programs. An Enterprise Employment Assistance (EEA) program will provide wage support for enterprises initiated through the ADC CEEDS program in remote communities and very small rural towns. Under a new Aboriginal Employment Action Program officers will be placed in major enterprises to assist the development of Aboriginal recruitment and training strategies, whilst an Enterprise Management Training Scheme will be established to provide training for Aboriginal managers and directors of enterprises. The emphasis is to be on long term employment opportunities. For this reason the Commonwealth Community Employment Program (CCEP), which was specifically aimed at short term employment for Aboriginal people, will be dropped, although Aborigines can still apply for CEP funding under State programs.

The Area Offices of the Aboriginal Employment and Training Branch deal with all the above programs as they apply in the particular area. The Kununurra office was until recently staffed by only one Senior Vocational Officer. As a result of the extra work created by the additional programs the office has recently taken on two new Aboriginal Vocational Officers. However, the office is still under pressure due to the fact that there is only an agency for CES in Kununurra, so DEIR office staff continue to deal with many Aboriginal problems relating to CES. This is in contrast to the Broome office, which deals with 60 per cent Aboriginal training programs in the Kimberleys compared with 40 per cent in Kununurra, but employs five officers who work out of a fully staffed CES office. In addition the Kununurra staff presently work out of an extremely cramped office, which can only be reached either through the DAA office or by a back door leading on to a parking lot. It has only one telephone for three officers. New Commonwealth offices are planned which will house DAA, DEIR, DSS, DCS and ComEd but construction had not commenced in March 1987.

The Senior Vocational Officer (SVO) in Kununurra is accountable to the Assistant Director of AETB in Perth but has considerable autonomy. There is an overall budget for the area for such things as travel and a target for programs within which the SVO works. The SVO also has reasonable delegation rates for each of the programs under TAP. This is in contrast to other Commonwealth offices in Kununurra which have little authority to sanction spending on particular programs in the area. As with DAA and ADC money is paid direct to communities to administer and must be accounted for according to the conditions of the grant initially accepted by the community.

The work of the Kununurra office within TAP is mainly with Special Projects since this program is most applicable to isolated Aboriginal communities. Work Information Tours, which aim to give Aboriginal people in remote areas a chance to see examples of employment and enterprises in other areas are seen as particularly important. Tours are arranged in response to particular requests from communities or as a catalyst to try to generate ideas. In this respect the input from DEIR officers is seen as essential in helping communities to identify possible new enterprises and employment opportunities.

Special training projects are also important, such as a recent program set up for members of the Balgo, Mulan and Mindibungu communities in bore and windmill maintenance on their pastoral properties. In this case funding was provided to employ an external trainer on contract for a period of 45 weeks as well as for allowances to be paid to the trainees. In other cases individual on-the-job training programs are arranged for Aboriginal people in conjunction with employment in an Aboriginal organisation or community. DEIR also funds trainees to attend courses arranged by the Aboriginal Access section of the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) section of the Western Australian Education Department when these are specifically oriented towards employment.

DEIR officers in Kununurra also cooperate with ADC officers in assisting Aboriginal people to set up enterprises. For instance, in setting up community stores, DEIR provides funding for training while ADC provides funding for materials, building supervision and establishment costs. The new EEA program will also allow DEIR to have more input in initiating enterprises by being able to provide wage support for those set up in communities under the ADC CEEDS program. This will replace the work of monitoring CCEP projects which was particularly time-consuming.

Officers of the Kununurra office also assist in the setting up of new CDEP programs in the East Kimberley, for which DAA is responsible. DEIR has arranged Work Information Tours for both men and women from the communities concerned to other communities in Western Australia where CDEP is already operating. Also DEIR is organising a twelve-month special project whereby two instructors will be employed to go round the communities and run courses for supervisors and community staff involved in operating and administering CDEP.

A considerable amount of the Kununurra officers' time is spent in the field, generally in visiting communities to check on matters such as training programs. Such visits are made as often as every two weeks. From the opening of the office eight years ago until the end of 1986 the SVO was often the sole staff member, apart from some intermittent temporary part time assistance. In this situation there was little that could be done in terms of overall planning for the area. With the appointment of two additional full-time permanent staff members the SVO is hoping to spend more time organising the work of the office, allocating regular periods of time for planning, community visits, administration, etc. However, this does not seem to be happening so far and the activities of the office appear somewhat unstructured.

Commonwealth Department of Education

ComEd is responsible, through its Aboriginal Education Branches in each state, for Aboriginal programs in three main areas: Schools Programs, Aboriginal Education Programs and Student Programs. Under Schools Programs capital and recurrent grants are provided to Aboriginal community schools or for schools run by church organisations for Aboriginal children: for example, those run by the Catholic Education Commission in Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley, Kununurra and Wyndham. Administration of these programs is carried out from the State office of ComEd in Perth. Aboriginal Education Programs deal with matters such as the funding of Aboriginal teacher assistants in both non-government and government schools. These programs are at present funded and administered

by DAA but were to be transferred to ComEd in August 1986. By March 1987 the transfer had still not been carried out.

However, the main responsibility of the State office of ComEd is for Student Programs; those for Aborigines are administered by the Aboriginal section in Perth. There are also six ComEd branch offices in Western Australia, one of which is located in Kununurra. These offices are primarily concerned with administering schemes for Aboriginal student assistance. These are the Absec scheme, under which Aboriginal students are given assistance to undertake secondary education; the Abstudy scheme, which supplies funding for further study after leaving school; and the Aboriginal Overseas Study Awards Scheme. Absec and Abstudy allowances are to be rationalised under the new Austudy scheme.

The Kununurra office is primarily concerned with the Absec and Abstudy schemes. The office is staffed by one Education Officer who is accountable to a senior officer in the Broome office for most day-to-day activity, but also Perth and Canberra on some matters. The Kununurra officer covers the towns of Halls Creek, Kununurra and Wyndham as well as Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley region. Most of the work in the area is with individuals: arranging allowances for those students going away from home for secondary education or trying to place those who have left school into appropriate courses and arrange allowances for them. For instance, at the beginning of 1987 three young people from Balgo community went to Adelaide to attend a course at the music school.

In the case of Absec, visits are carried out to all schools in the area where there are students going away to secondary school. These may be students from state schools who are going to secondary school in Perth or those at schools run by the Catholic Education Commission who generally go to the Catholic secondary school in Broome. Because the work with Absec is fairly mechanical the officer in Kununurra does not consider that there is much necessity for frequent visits to schools and communities. Generally a visit once a term to each school or remote community is attempted at which time discussions are held with teachers, students and parents regarding the options available through ComEd. However, there are constraints of both time and travel allowance and this target is not always achieved.

With Abstudy the work is again concerned mainly with individuals, this time with those who wish to study after leaving school. In this case there is some cooperation between TAFE and DEIR. Under TAFE students are sometimes slotted into existing courses. If there are enough students requiring similar courses TAFE may be able to set up a course and supply the instructors, while ComEd pays individual student fees and allowances, and any fee charged by a school for use of facilities. In the past the distinction between the functions of DEIR and ComEd was often not very clear since both pay allowances to Aboriginal students doing courses. However, this has been clarified under AEDP and DEIR now has responsibility for students doing courses specifically leading to employment, such as apprenticeships and welding courses. For instance most students attending courses at Pundulmurra are financed by DEIR through CES. ComEd has responsibility for general courses not directly leading to employment and for formal courses in recognised educational establishments such as Universities or Technical Colleges. There is, however, one problem that is recognised by DEIR, ComEd and TAFE officers: under the ComEd Abstudy scheme students get less money than DEIR is able

to provide, and this can be a source of hardship particularly for mature-age students.

Under Abstudy it is also possible to arrange study tours for groups of Aboriginal people. However, these have to be sanctioned by ComEd in Canberra, which makes them slow to arrange. The DEIR officer, on the other hand, has delegation power to approve Work Information Tours up to \$15,000 so requests for such tours are usually channelled through DEIR.

It is also possible for ComEd to fund workshops and conferences provided these are in the nature of short courses and fit these guidelines. For instance, the Kununurra office was able to arrange funding for a language workshop held at Turkey Creek for Aboriginal Teacher Assistants from Catholic Education Commission schools in the East Kimberley. The funding for such courses is student based, in that it is for payment for the expenses and fees of the students attending the course rather than to fund the course itself.

Department of Social Security

Unlike the other Commonwealth departments discussed so far DSS does not provide specific programs for Aboriginal people. Since the 1960s all Aboriginal people have been entitled to the same pensions and benefits as the rest of the Australian population. However, there are some special services which have been set up in response to the difficulties experienced by Aboriginal people in obtaining their entitlements.

Aboriginal Liaison Officers (ALO) have been employed by DSS since 1976. There are now 12 based in regional and district offices throughout Western Australia, with two in the Kununurra district office. In 1983 an Aboriginal Services Section was formed, with officers now serving in each State. The Aboriginal Services Section in Perth is responsible for the employment of ALOs and the Assistant Director also visits each of the regions twice a year to monitor the effectiveness of DSS programs in relation to Aborigines.

A review of the access by Aborigines to DSS programs was carried out in 1983 by DSS in conjunction with DAA. A number of recommendations were adopted which have made DSS programs more accessible to Aborigines.

The DSS Kimberley Regional Office is in Broome, and the East Kimberley is served by a District Office at Kununurra. The Kununurra Office was also a regional office until 1985, but was downgraded and records for pensions and community figures transferred to Broome. Records for benefits are still kept in Kununurra. There was, in fact, an attempt to close the Kununurra office altogether for financial reasons, but this raised such an outcry both from other government agencies and Aboriginal people in the area that the attempt was abandoned.

The Kununurra office has a staff of ten which includes the Manager, field and counter staff and two ALOs. The responsibilities of the ALOs are threefold: to disseminate information to Aboriginal people and create awareness of the services and benefits available; to sensitise DSS staff to the cultural differences of Aboriginal people; and to give talks to community organisations explaining the role of ALOs.

Regular visits are carried out by the ALOs (sometimes accompanied by field officers) to Halls Creek and Wyndham and to all Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley. In the towns the DSS officers operate from the offices of the Western Australian Department for Community Services. There is a one day visit each week to Wyndham and a fortnightly visit of two days to Halls Creek. The visits are regular and are also advertised around the towns so that Aboriginal people with problems know where and when they can be sorted out.

The community visits vary in frequency, depending on the distance from Kununurra. For instance, the remote communities at Balgo, Billiluna and Lake Gregory are visited by plane for two days every 10 weeks while the community at Turkey Creek has a one day visit each month. Communities are given one week's advance notice of visits so that people who have problems can arrange to be there on the appropriate day. On the community visits the DSS officers work anywhere convenient, usually in the community office or store. Because of shortage of time they rely on community staff and members to keep them informed of people who may need help, and in turn to educate both staff and community members about DSS entitlements and the reciprocal responsibilities of informing DSS of any changes in circumstances.

The ALOs believe that some recent changes brought about as a result of the 1983 review have made things easier for Aboriginal people. For instance, Homeswest rent may now be deducted from unemployment benefits as well as from pensions. It is now possible to arrange for unemployment benefits to be split between husband and wife without the consent of the husband. However, there are still cases where DSS policies are inflexible and do not take account of Aboriginal customs; the possibility of a man having two wives is still not acknowledged, so the second wife still has to be paid a special benefit. Also DSS still adheres to the concept of a male 'breadwinner', which is not considered appropriate for Aboriginal people.

The CDEP scheme run by DAA is also seen as causing problems for people with DSS, mainly because DAA does not involve DSS in the planning stage and many Aboriginal people do not understand how it operates. The only involvement of DSS is in checking dual registrations, but staff often have to deal with problems created by CDEP, such as those of individuals who leave communities but whose names are left on community lists. It is felt that some of the problems could be overcome if DSS officers, particularly ALOs, were more involved in consultations relating to CDEP.

WESTERN AUSTRALIAN STATE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority

The Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority (AAPA) was established in 1972 to administer Aboriginal affairs in Western Australia. However, in 1974 it was merged with DAA and it was not until 1984 that the two agencies separated and AAPA again became the administrative arm of the Western Australian government. AAPA is headed by a Commissioner and has three main areas of responsibility: the Aboriginal Lands Trust (ALT), the Aboriginal Advisory Council (AAC) and the Aboriginal Affairs Coordinating Committee (AACC), all of which are serviced by staff based in Perth.

ALT acquires and administers land for Aboriginal people. Previously the land administered by ALT was mainly in the form of Reserves, but under the Commonwealth-State land agreement announced in 1986 most of this land is being converted to 99 year leases. Other Reserves are being transferred to ALT from the Department for Community Services (DCS) and are being leased to Aboriginal communities. In addition, a number of excisions are being processed. About 20 of these are in the East Kimberley; at the time of writing no titles have been informally sanctioned.

Services and resources for the new leases are being provided under WAALCIP and AAPA staff are heavily involved both at the transfer stage and in administration. For this reason several new staff have been taken on, bringing the number of staff now employed to 31, about a third of whom are Aboriginal. This is the first time the actual number of staff has approached the staff complement of 32; in 1985, for instance, the number employed was only 16.

AAPA also organises the meetings and provides the secretariat for the AAC and AACC. The AAC, which meets twice yearly in Perth, is composed of representatives elected from eight area consultative committees consisting of representatives of Aboriginal communities, organisations and incorporated bodies. The East Kimberley region is covered by the North-Eastern Aboriginal Affairs Consultative Committee which has regular meetings arranged by AAPA in Kununurra, Wyndham or Halls Creek.

The AACC has a statutory membership consisting of the Commissioner for Aboriginal Planning as Chairperson; the Chairperson of the AAC; and the departmental heads of the Treasury, Homeswest, Health Department of WA, DCS and the Education Department of WA. AACC is intended to coordinate the activities of the various government agencies providing services for Aboriginal people. Meetings are held monthly in Perth. Regional coordinating committees, including the N.E. Area Aboriginal Affairs Coordinating Committee which meets in the East Kimberley, are chaired by DAA Area Officers.

Apart from the above responsibilities AAPA also provides an advisory service to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. There is a Field Section with staff who work closely with the ALT secretary and make visits to communities to discuss matters such as mining permits, excisions, leases and the WAALCIP agreement. Until recently AAPA had a low profile in Aboriginal affairs in WA, but the Commonwealth-State land agreement and the introduction of WAALCIP have changed this. AAPA is beginning to have more input into Aboriginal programs throughout the State, including in the East Kimberley, although so far no officers are based there.

Department for Community Services

The present DCS began its existence as the Department for Community Welfare (DCW) which in turn, grew out of the Department of Native Welfare (DNW) which was disbanded with the setting up of the AAPA in 1972. The Department operated under that name until 1985 when it was altered to DCS following the Welfare and Community Services Review. Under its various names, this department has been the one with which Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley and other areas have had most contact until recently.

This is no longer so, partly because of the advent of many other government agencies providing services and resources to Aboriginal people and partly because of a change of emphasis on the part of DCS.

DCS is responsible for the operation of the *Community Services Act*, 1972, the *Child Welfare Act*, 1947, the *Welfare and Assistance Act*, 1961 and the *Adoption of Children Act*, 1896. Under its principal legislation (*Community Services Act*) the main function of the department is described as 'promoting individual and family welfare in the community'. This function is to be carried out for the benefit of all Western Australians. Indeed, it is difficult to find much mention of Aborigines in the department's Annual Report for 1986, despite the fact that about 90 per cent of its clients in areas such as the East Kimberley are Aboriginal. DCS has no overall policy relating to Aboriginal people, although an Aboriginal Advisory Service has been operating since 1985, and very few of the services and programs are specifically for Aboriginal people.

Few Aboriginal people are employed by DCS and those who are occupy low grade positions. In district offices most are employed as Aboriginal Resource Assistants (ARA). These positions are funded by DAA and are being phased out as DAA funding is being cut as part of the move to make states accept more responsibility for services to Aboriginal people. The only possible promotion from ARA is to District Officer (DO) but these positions too are being phased out as the department moves towards professionalisation of all field positions. Opportunities for additional training are limited since the minimum qualification for most field positions is now a university degree and most Aboriginal people in areas like the East Kimberley do not have the educational background to take advantage of the few opportunities offered by the department to upgrade their qualifications to this level.

DCS now operates on a regional structure with specialist services provided by support directorates based in Perth. Each region is divided into divisions which, in turn, are divided into districts. The East Kimberley Divisional Office is in Kununurra and there are three District Offices located in Kununurra, Wyndham and Halls Creek. East Kimberley is in the Northern Country Region with the Regional Office in Port Hedland.

The East Kimberley Divisional Office is staffed by the Divisional Supervisor, one other officer and a receptionist. In the Kununurra District Office there are five full-time field officers. Three of these are Aboriginal, two being ARAs and the other employed under a DEIR training grant. There are also two part-time Family Resource Workers. In the Wyndham District Office there are three field officers, two of whom are Aboriginal (one DO, one ARA) and in Halls Creek there are three field officers, two of whom are ARAs.

The Kununurra District Office is responsible for the town of Kununurra and the surrounding area, including the Aboriginal outstations located just over the border in Northern Territory whose members have bases in Kununurra. The Wyndham office deals with Wyndham town and surrounding area, including the Warmun, Oombulgurri and Kalumburu Aboriginal communities, while the Halls Creek office covers Halls Creek town and surrounding area and Aboriginal communities as far south as Balgo, Billiluna and Lake Gregory.

The Divisional Office is primarily concerned with planning, coordinating and administering DCS activities in the area. The office is located in the same building as the Kununurra District Office and there is close contact between the two, as indeed there is between the Divisional Office and the other two District Offices in Wyndham and Halls Creek. The main concerns in the division are with child protection and juvenile offenders and involve mostly statutory and case work, although some community programs have been set up for juvenile offenders. The three District Offices work in accordance with priorities decided at Regional level, and supervised at the Divisional level, but there is a certain amount of autonomy in the mode of operation.

There have been considerable changes in DCS activities in the East Kimberley in recent years. In the mid 1970s the department's goals were pursued primarily through a community development strategy and field officers worked closely with Aboriginal people both in the towns and in the outlying communities in setting up programs for their overall development. However, since the reorganisation of the department, as a result of the Welfare and Community Services Review, this way of operating has given way to one where the principal concerns are with child protection and juvenile justice. These are pursued mainly through individual strategies or by setting up programs to deal only with those particular problems. Today the last vestiges of the old strategies are the Community Homemaker Programs operating in Halls Creek and in the Mindibungu, Mulan and Warmun communities, but since these also now operate in isolation, with little other input into the communities by DCS, they can hardly be termed community development in the true sense.

The department argues that it still does community work, but this now appears to mean setting up committees of officials and prominent citizens to work on so-called 'community' problems rather than community development at the grass roots level. Indeed, it is openly stated that the department is attempting to change its image from one which deals only with Aboriginal people to one which is concerned with the whole community. This may be good public relations but it is unclear how this will solve the problems of the Aboriginal people of the area who still make up 90 per cent of the department's clients.

Health Department of Western Australia

Health Department services in the East Kimberley are provided mainly in hospitals located in Kununurra, Halls Creek and Wyndham and by Kimberley Health (formerly and still popularly known as Community Health). The latter has Community Health Centres in each of the towns and in some of the Aboriginal communities throughout the area, and visits those communities which do not have centres. The hospitals are concerned with treating illness and accident while Community Health offers a preventative health service. Among its programs are School and Child Health (including ante-natal care) and immunization and screening programs. In the Aboriginal communities Community Health operates a total health-care service. However, because Community Health has generally been seen as less threatening and more accessible to Aboriginal people than the hospitals, many people in the towns prefer to use the Centres as 'one-stop' health services, although this is discouraged.

Until recently practically all health services in the East Kimberley were provided by the Health Department since few private practitioners operate in the north. However, the East Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service (EKAMS) now operates in Kununurra, running a daily clinic as well as visiting Aboriginal communities in the town and surrounding area. Community Health still retains responsibility for Child and School Health.

Community Health came into existence in the early 1970s and operates in six regions throughout the state, one of which is now called Kimberley Health and covers the whole of the Kimberleys. Kimberley Health is headed by a Regional Director, a Senior Medical Officer and a Senior Administrator. The regions are divided into a number of districts. In East Kimberley there are two, covering the Shires of Halls Creek and Wyndham-East Kimberley. Each district is staffed by nurses and health workers who operate the Community Health Centres and make visits to Aboriginal communities both in the towns and in the surrounding area. Doctors are also employed, mainly to visit the outlying communities, although some also work in hospitals in the towns. Kimberley Health suffers from a chronic staffing problem, partly because of the harsh conditions under which staff must work, but partly because nurses are not eligible for Government Employees Housing Authority accommodation as are other public servants, so that those who have families are unable to work in the region unless they have other means of obtaining accommodation.

Because of the high staff turnover it is difficult to describe staffing levels precisely. There are District Nursing Supervisors located at Wyndham and Halls Creek and several nurses are employed at each of the Community Health Centres in the towns. Nurses are also located at Kalumburu, Ombulgurri, Turkey Creek and Balgo, but the clinics at Billiluna and Lake Gregory are serviced from Balgo, and smaller communities and outstations without clinics are serviced from the towns.

Ideally nurses should have qualifications in general nursing, including midwifery and community health and a degree or diploma in community nursing. However, because of the difficulty of attracting staff this ideal is often not maintained. Nurses are given a minimum four weeks orientation program before going into the field and this includes some input relating to the special requirements of work in Aboriginal communities. They are told they will be operating as independent practitioners and will be expected to make their own priorities. However, the reality often proves to be different. Although some are simply unsuited to the work many others become frustrated when they are overburdened with tasks and with lack of support, which prevent them from doing the sort of work they expected.

Aboriginal Health Workers (AHW) and Camp Nurses are also employed throughout the area. Camp Nurses, who are untrained, are paid an honorary wage to operate simply as contact people in communities performing tasks such as washing old people or bringing them along to the clinic. AHWs are chosen by the community in which they live and may be employed either full or part-time. They receive some training at local workshops but most takes place within the community where the Community Health Nurse is responsible for working through a program of training modules with them. This training depends very much on the ability and available time of the individual nurse and, in any case, completion of the program leads to no qualification even though some AHWs who remain in the job for several years may develop considerable expertise. Some do go on to further

training but this applies to very few - although there is one Aboriginal State Enrolled Nurse in Kununurra.

Kimberley Health also employs two Regional Aboriginal Health Liaison Officers (RAHLO), one of whom is based in Wyndham and covers the East Kimberley. The intention is for RAHLOs to make a major contribution to policy and planning in the region by putting forward an Aboriginal point of view. The specific job involves such things as setting up networks in communities to work on issues such as trachoma or alcohol control, working with AHWs and helping with the orientation of nurses in communities.

Although Community Health provides a service which is available to all the population, since its inception there have been specific policy objectives in relation to Aborigines. These are concerned with the control and prevention of communicable and infectious diseases through programs of immunization and screening, and through education in such areas as environmental health, nutrition and general health care. To this end clinics have been set up in Aboriginal communities and AHWs employed and trained. The Health Department receives funding from DAA to operate these programs. However, although the policy objectives have been partially achieved the State has been unwilling to support the work of Community Health with sufficient resources to make it as effective as it could be. Apart from the shortage of qualified nurses already referred to, partly due to nineteenth century views of nurses' lifestyle, there is also insufficient money allocated to either employ enough AHWs or to train them effectively. Training on the job may be a good way to provide training for Aborigines in isolated communities but it requires nurses with the ability and time to do this. Unfortunately, pressure of other work means that health education, both for AHWs and for communities at large, which is one of Community Health's prime objectives, has to take second place and may simply not take place at all.

Homeswest

The charter of Homeswest is to provide accommodation for people in WA who cannot obtain housing by either rental or purchase through the private sector. For this purpose Homeswest both buys and builds houses. Since few Aboriginal people in Western Australia are in a position to purchase their own houses it is obvious that many of them will require houses provided by Homeswest.

Aboriginal people can apply for houses through Homeswest from two sources. They are eligible to rent the houses built by Homeswest under the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement in the same way as are other Western Australians. But under this agreement money is also channelled through the Aboriginal Housing Board (AHB) to provide houses specifically for Aboriginal people. Some of this is used for construction of houses for Aboriginal communities (usually called village housing). On completion these houses are handed over to the communities which are then responsible for their management and maintenance. The rest of the tied money is used to build houses in urban areas for rent to Aboriginal people.

AHB was set up to deal specifically with the housing needs of Aboriginal people and is an advisory body responsible to the Minister for Housing and Homeswest. The Secretariat for the Board is in Perth but AHB also employs

several Aboriginal Field Officers (AFO) who are located in Homeswest Regional Offices throughout the state and whose duty is to act as a point of contact for Aboriginal people with Homeswest.

In the East Kimberley Homeswest has not been involved in the construction of village housing so only those Aboriginal people who rent houses in the towns come into contact with Homeswest. However, in Halls Creek and Wyndham Aborigines comprise the majority of tenants of Homeswest properties, while in Kununurra 105 of the 284 Homeswest houses are occupied by Aboriginal people. In all three towns there is a waiting list for Homeswest houses and people may have to wait up to a year in Halls Creek and Kununurra and about three months in Wyndham before being allocated a house.

The Homeswest Regional Office is located in Kununurra and is staffed by a Manager, an Accountant, a Secretary and an AFO. There is also a sub-office staffed by one officer in Halls Creek. The AFO has only been employed since August 1986 and so far has worked only in Kununurra and Wyndham although it is intended that eventually she will also visit Halls Creek. Because the job is a new one the AFO is largely defining it for herself within the general guidelines of checking on such things as rent arrears and general maintenance of houses, as well as advising on the allocation of houses to Aboriginal people on the waiting list.

Apart from one day spent in the office on administration the AFO usually spends three days a week around Kununurra and one day in Wyndham, visiting Aboriginal Homeswest tenants to discuss such matters as arranging to have rent paid direct from Social Security cheques, making weekly instalment payments for water and power, or simply helping people with household management or problems with drunken relatives causing damage in the houses. All this she sees as trying to ensure that once people are allocated houses they do not lose them because of rent arrears or poor maintenance, which is often the experience of Aboriginal people who move into Homeswest properties. She also makes some visits to people in surrounding outstations who are on the Homeswest waiting list to keep them informed of their place on the list and to discuss arrangements for moving into houses.

In Halls Creek one officer is responsible for the administration of all Homeswest properties. In addition, Homeswest has recently been contracted by ALT to administer the maintenance of No.2 Reserve since it has been transferred from DCS to ALT. The officer is responsible both for the administration of the waiting list and for dealing with problems of maintenance and arranging repairs where necessary. In the course of her duties she visits many Aboriginal people around the town, either in response to requests or to check where she thinks there may be problems. Her role is purely one of overseeing Homeswest properties; the social support given to tenants by the AFO in Kununurra and Wyndham is seen as the responsibility of DCS.

Education Department of Western Australia

The Education Department is responsible for providing education facilities for all children in WA. This may be by the provision of schools or through Distance Education programs for isolated children in rural areas. Some schools are provided in Aboriginal communities and are

attended mainly by Aboriginal children, but in towns Aboriginal children attend the state schools. In either case they follow the same curriculum as do all other children in WA.

Until recently there was an Aboriginal Education Unit within the Education Department which was responsible for policy development and giving advice on education for Aboriginal children. However, although a Coordinator of Development in Aboriginal Education was appointed in 1984 so far no specific policies for the education of Aboriginal children appear to have been developed. The Unit has now been disbanded with the reorganisation of the Education Department and it is unclear how Aboriginal education will be dealt with in future.

There is also a Western Australian Aboriginal Consultative Group which was established to advise the Minister on matters relating to the educational needs of Aboriginal people in WA. This Group has recently undertaken research into the needs of Aboriginal people in the Kimberleys and a meeting of the East Kimberley Aboriginal Consultative Group was held in Kununurra in November 1986 to discuss the results of the research. The meeting was attended by Aboriginal Teacher Aides and some teachers from both government and non-government schools in the area.

As with most other WA State Government departments, the Education Department does have some services specifically designed to meet the needs of Aborigines. The Aboriginal Education Resource Unit has produced some resource material, including videos, posters and books. Since 1973 the department has employed Aboriginal Teacher Aides (ATA) in schools with significant numbers of Aboriginal students. These positions are funded by DAA. In addition, in the last five years the department has begun to employ Aboriginal Liaison Officers (ALO) in regions throughout the state whose job is to foster understanding of Aboriginal people amongst teachers and to improve community/school relations.

The Kimberley Regional Education Office is based in Kununurra, with a sub-office in Derby. An ALO is located at Kununurra and services the East Kimberley. However, in the Kimberley Regional Education Office Directory for 1986 there is no mention of any staff, services or programs concerned with Aboriginal children. This is not surprising since there is no policy for Aboriginal education but it does mean that any initiatives in the schools directed towards Aboriginal needs come purely through interested individuals, particularly head teachers, and cannot be seen as ongoing since most teachers are transferred out of the area after two years.

In the East Kimberley there are Education Department schools with primary and secondary schools in Halls Creek, Kununurra and Wyndham. In addition the department is responsible for pre-school education in Kununurra and Wyndham and, in association with the Uniting Church, in Halls Creek. There are also department schools in the Aboriginal communities at Kalumburu and Oombulgurri. All other Aboriginal communities in the region have schools run by the Catholic Education Commission which also has schools in Kununurra and Wyndham.

90 per cent of the students who attend the Halls Creek school are Aboriginal, but in Kununurra and Wyndham, where there are also catholic schools, the percentages are 31 and 42, respectively. A few of the primary school teachers trained at Mount Lawley College in Perth have done courses relating to Aboriginal education but no secondary teachers have,

nor is there any other special preparation for teaching Aborigines before teachers are appointed to schools in the Kimberleys. However, all the schools employ ATAs to assist teachers in their dealings with Aboriginal children. Like the AHWs employed by Community Health, ATAs are mainly trained on the job with one week's in-service training in Broome each year.

A few teachers make an effort to develop programs relevant to Aboriginal children but their efforts are restricted both by their own lack of knowledge and by the need to follow the standard Education Department curriculum. However, in the Halls Creek school over the past year the headmaster has made a special effort to improve school contact with Aboriginal parents, inviting them to come into the school both casually and for special events. He is interested in trying to develop some language programs and in making input into other courses relevant to Aboriginal children.

The ALO visits the schools in each of the towns regularly and those at Kalumburru and Oombulgurri occasionally. In the towns he sees his job as trying to instil an interest in education in Aboriginal parents so that they will encourage their children to attend school. Aboriginal Committees on Education have been set up in Halls Creek and Kununurra in an effort to give parents some input into their children's education. The schools in the towns are cooperating with these committees with teachers attending meetings when invited. It is hoped to establish a similar committee in Wyndham during 1987.

Technical and Further Education

The other education programs which many Aborigines take advantage of are those provided by the Aboriginal Access section of TAFE. The range of courses offered by Aboriginal Access are as follows:

1. Basic Literacy Course
2. TAFE Aboriginal Access Course
3. Trade Skills Course
4. Community Education Course
5. Community Skills Course
6. Aboriginal Adult Education Courses

Aboriginal Access courses are intended to cater for Aboriginal people who have left school but whose educational background does not enable them to undertake mainstream TAFE courses. The courses are funded partly by the State and partly by the Commonwealth. The Community Skills Course is funded by DAA, the Community Education Course by ComEd and the TAFE Aboriginal Access Course half by ComEd and half by the State. The other three courses are funded totally by the State. The first three courses listed are not relevant to the East Kimberley as they are held in TAFE Regional Colleges and there is no such college in the area.

A TAFE officer responsible for the East Kimberley has been based in Kununurra since 1985 (the first year Regional Coordinators were employed) and is located in the Regional Education Office. He is responsible for all TAFE courses in the area and is assisted in the Aboriginal Access section by an Aboriginal Liaison Officer (ALO). The ALO is currently the same officer who is employed by the Education Department as ALO for the

schools. Previously TAFE and the Education Department employed separate ALOs and it remains to be seen whether the jobs can be combined satisfactorily.

Aboriginal Access courses are run at TAFE Centres which are located in each of the three towns and in several of the Aboriginal communities in the area. These are usually administered by interested teachers. There is a budget for the East Kimberley which is split between teaching (payment for instructors) and contingency (consumables, travel, rent, advertising, etc) The coordinator has considerable autonomy in the way the money is distributed in the area although he is accountable to the TAFE head office in Perth.

The most common Aboriginal Access courses in the East Kimberley are Aboriginal Adult Education Classes which are generally run in response to particular requests from communities or from Aboriginal people in the towns. The courses cover subjects such as sewing, carpentry, literacy, and leatherwork and are conducted part-time for a period of two or three hours a week. A minimum of six people is required to mount a course. In the towns, where courses may be run in schools, these guidelines have to be adhered to but in communities the operation of courses is more flexible.

The other courses which are offered in the East Kimberley are Community Skills Courses. These are either full-time or part-time courses for periods of several days to several weeks to teach employment related skills required in Aboriginal communities. For instance, a special course was run at Doon Doon station to teach the skills of building a steel station yard.

In organising courses TAFE cooperates with both ComEd and DEIR. TAFE organises courses and provides instructors while student fees and allowances are paid by either ComEd, when the courses are purely educational, or by DEIR, when they are directed towards obtaining skills for employment.

Generally speaking TAFE Aboriginal Access responds to requests from communities to mount courses and it is the job of the ALO to visit communities in response to such requests. He also makes regular visits to nearby TAFE Centres and visits more distant ones approximately once each term for two or three days, when he discusses the present courses with instructors and community members and elicits ideas for future courses.

Water Authority of Western Australia/State Energy Commission

Since the arrangements for the installation and maintenance of water, sewerage and power systems in Aboriginal Communities in the East Kimberley are similar the above agencies (WAWA and SEC) will be discussed together.

Funding for both installation and maintenance of water, sewerage and power is provided direct to WAWA and SEC by DAA under the State Grants (Aboriginal Assistance) Program. Although programs have to be sanctioned by DAA, communities are consulted by the individual agencies about their present and future needs and about the training of community members in plant maintenance.

In the case of WAWA an officer responsible for water supplies in Aboriginal communities throughout the Kimberleys is based in Kununurra. He undertakes regular visits to communities in the East Kimberley either in the course of maintenance checks or specifically to discuss problems or to advise them on plans for the future. Although WAWA is only empowered to deal with communities eligible for DAA funding, that is, those with land tenure, visits are also made in passing at the request of outstations which have water problems and want some advice.

SEC has an Aboriginal Village Connection unit located in Perth which deals solely with the installation of power plants in Aboriginal communities throughout WA. An officer from this unit travels to Aboriginal communities to consult with them about their power requirements and to advise them.

Both WAWA and SEC provide a regular maintenance service and respond to emergency calls. The WAWA officer believes that regular preventative maintenance carried out for the past three years has reduced the number of emergency calls. WAWA has about 120 staff based in eight centres to deal with all water supplies throughout the Kimberleys. SEC, on the other hand, has only two teams each consisting of two men, based in Broome, to cover power plants in Aboriginal communities in both the Pilbara and the Kimberleys. However, it is planned to have a second team operating from Wyndham in 1987 to deal with the increasing work in the area.

Similar training programs for Aboriginal community maintenance staff, funded by DEIR and involving a mixture of on-the-job training with regular maintenance staff and special workshops, are operated by WAWA and SEC. In the case of WAWA selected people are brought to workshops in Broome, Derby, Kununurra or Wyndham for a period of 12 weeks while those selected for SEC training spend two weeks in Broome. The WAWA officer argues that a long period of formal training is necessary because the training with maintenance staff is often not successful, either because the maintenance officer is not interested or because the Aboriginal person may not be in the community when a maintenance check is made. Both WAWA and SEC admit there are shortcomings in their training programs and that more maintenance workers should be trained to allow for people leaving communities or going away for several weeks at a time.

Argyle Social Impact Group

Although not strictly a government agency the Argyle Social Impact Group (ASIG) was set up on the initiative of the WA government to provide some compensation to selected Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley affected by the Argyle Diamond Mine (ADM). The operations of ASIG have had a profound impact on some of these communities.

Originally ADM offered Good Neighbour (GN) money only to the communities at Glen Hill, Doon Doon and Turkey Creek as a conciliatory gesture when the mine was established. However, no agreement was drawn up with Doon Doon or Turkey Creek (there was an implicit understanding that the money was available as long as the communities agreed to cease protesting about the mine).

Some time later the WA government began negotiations with ADM which culminated in an agreement being reached whereby each committed half a

million dollars a year (the ADM share included the GN money already committed) over a period of five years to be allocated to communities in the Turkey Creek, Kununurra and Wyndham area to compensate them for the impact of the mine on their lives. The agreement was reached in May 1985 and the five year period started from the beginning of the 1985 calendar year.

A Steering Committee was set up to administer ASIG funds, consisting of three government and three ADM nominees and chaired by the WA Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. However, it was understood that ADM would continue to have complete control over the GN component of the money. The choice of which communities should benefit from the scheme seems to have been quite arbitrary, based on some vague notion of distance from the mine and relationship to the traditional land owners. No Halls Creek communities were included despite the fact that the claims of some people in that area can be seen as having just as much validity as those of many Wyndham or Kununurra people.

Six Project Committees, to consist of members of communities in different areas, were set up and the funds were divided as follows:

Turkey Creek (outstations) Project Committee	26%
Kununurra Project Committee	20%
Wyndham Project Committee	4%
Glen Hill Station (GN)	20%
Doon Doon Station (GN)	15%
Warmun Community (GN)	15%

This was supposed to compensate communities in proportion to the amount of dislocation suffered from the mine so that communities close to the mine receive more than those further removed. The Project Committees produce submissions for spending the money each year. In the case of the first three committees several communities are involved and decisions have to be made both as to how the money shall be spent and which communities shall benefit.

How the money can be spent is strictly defined: it is available only for capital improvements or items and no recurrent costs are taken into account, although some installation costs may be allowed. Fixed capital items are only permitted for communities with land tenure. Grants are supposed to be restricted to items which would not be funded through normal government channels. Motor vehicles may be requested but in this case communities on ASIG funding have to contribute 10% of the purchase price while those on GN funding do not. Under ASIG funding arrangements communities receive no money; they simply take delivery of capital items, such as motor vehicles, or have capital improvements carried out for them.

An executive officer, paid by the WA Mines Department, but seconded to ASIG and accountable to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs is employed to assist communities and Project Committees in drawing up their submissions. However, he generally leaves most of this work to Aboriginal resource agencies, simply giving advice before the submission is finalised. He also helps with other matters such as problems of land tenure and sales tax exemption, as well as calling for tenders and arranging for work on capital improvements to be carried out.

Other Agencies

Apart from the foregoing, there are several other WA government agencies which provide some limited services to Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley. For instance, the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM) gives advice on matters of land management and is involved in the setting up of the Bungle Bungle National Park. Similarly, the Department of Lands and Surveys carries out surveys of land and draws up plans as part of the process of giving land tenure to Aboriginal communities.

In the case of the Mines Department, an Aboriginal Liaison Officer (non-Aboriginal) is now employed to act as a mediator between Aboriginal communities and mining companies and to ensure that all companies comply with the Aboriginal Heritage Act when carrying out exploration or mining. However, it must be noted that this officer is an employee of the Mines Department and where matters of land tenure are concerned his position is one of supporting the department's stance regarding such matters as opposing the granting of Aboriginal reserve status or long leases on land which is known to have mineral potential.

An officer of the Department of Agriculture was previously employed specifically to advise Aboriginal people under a grant provided by DAA. However, DAA funding was discontinued two years ago and the position lapsed although an officer based in Derby still has responsibility to advise Aboriginal people throughout the Kimberleys along with his other duties. A few officers from the Department of Agriculture office in Kununurra do offer advice and help to Aboriginal communities, mainly as an individual initiative. Generally, the department's principle concern appears to be with a particular plan for agriculture in the region, into which Aboriginal people are expected to fit, with little allowance made for their particular interests or needs. For instance, the department has recently opposed an excision of land for an Aboriginal group in the Kununurra area on the grounds that it would be a waste of potentially good agricultural land.

NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS

Religious Organisations

A number of religious organisations are active in the East Kimberley. All are concerned with providing for the perceived spiritual needs of Aboriginal people. Some, however, are also active in the provision of secular services.

The principal churches in the area are Anglican, Catholic, Uniting, People's (formerly known as United Aboriginal Mission) and Assembly of God (Pentecostal). Aboriginal people mainly attend Catholic, Assembly of God and People's churches although the Oombulgurri community is served by an Anglican priest at present living in Wyndham. There are People's Churches in each of the three main towns, which are principally attended by Aborigines, and the Assembly of God has followings, mainly of Aboriginal people, in Kununurra, Halls Creek and at Billiluna. There are Catholic priests in Kununurra, Halls Creek and Wyndham and also at Kalumburu and Balgo. The priest from Halls Creek serves the Warmun Community while those at Balgo serve the Mindibungu and Mulan Communities. Although the

Catholic church ministers to the total community, special Aboriginal services are held both in town and in the bush where people are encouraged to improvise songs in language and to incorporate traditional paintings and artefacts into the churches in what is called an enculturation of Christianity.

The churches display varying degrees of tolerance towards Aboriginal traditional religious practices, with the Catholic Church, which actively encourages syncretism, at one end of the spectrum and the Assembly of God, which preaches that Aboriginal ceremonial practices are the work of the devil, at the other. The others tend to be mildly tolerant (Uniting and Anglican) or somewhat intolerant (People's Church).

Apart from its religious activities the Assembly of God provides some secular services for Aboriginal people. In Halls Creek, for instance, the Assembly of God owns buses and trucks which are used to help its members with activities such as shopping, collecting wood and water, and to take them on picnics or on longer excursions to attend church meetings in other towns. In addition, basic literacy classes and bible classes are held most weekday mornings in the Yardgee community house.

The Uniting Church runs a pre-school in Halls Creek, through its Australian Inland Mission (AIM), which serves the whole of the Halls Creek community although it is mainly Aboriginal children who attend. The salaries of the teacher and two Aboriginal Assistants are paid by the WA Education Department but the building is owned by the church and accountability is to AIM in Sydney.

A field officer employed by the Aboriginal Resource and Development Service (ARDS), an agency of the Uniting Church Northern Synod in Darwin, is based in Derby but also works in the Halls Creek area. ARDS is a community development service which responds to requests from Aboriginal communities; the officer in the Kimberleys has worked mainly with outstations around Halls Creek, assisting with excisions and other land matters. However, since his area of operation covers the whole of the Kimberleys, the amount of time spent in the East Kimberley is limited.

It is the Catholic Church which is most involved in secular activities in the East Kimberley. For instance, the convent sisters at Halls Creek run a Meals on Wheels service in the town and also visit some of the surrounding communities to offer assistance. Similarly, in Kununurra both sisters and brothers are involved in various kinds of community work with Aboriginal people.

However, it is in the area of education that the church, through the Catholic Education Commission (CEC), is most active. CEC runs schools (funded by ComEd) in Kununurra and Wyndham as well as at Turkey Creek, Balgo, Billiluna, Lake Gregory and Redhill and is about to open one at Ringer Soak. At Balgo there are both primary and secondary schools but the other schools are all primary. Most children from these schools then go on to attend the catholic high school in Broome.

The schools in the communities were all opened as a result of requests from the communities. While it is certainly true that requests only come from communities where the church is already active and has considerable influence, there is another reason why many Aboriginal people prefer CEC schools. This is because CEC has made a real effort to set up schools

which are receptive to Aboriginal ideas and attempt to meet the needs of Aboriginal people, both educationally and culturally. All the schools in the East Kimberley operate on what is called a 'two-way' system; that is, both standard English language education and Aboriginal language and culture education are encouraged. For this reason communities where not all members are practising catholics have asked CEC to put in schools. At Balgo, for instance, the community changed from an Education Department school to a CEC school.

The schools are usually staffed by both religious and lay teachers and religious education forms part of the curriculum. Where possible a linguist is employed and also Aboriginal Teacher Aides; these positions are funded by DAA. In addition, Aboriginal people are encouraged to come into the schools to run the language and culture programs. In most schools time is set aside each day when community members talk to classes about Aboriginal culture, tell stories or conduct language sessions. However, people are also encouraged to come in at other times simply to observe or comment on their children's education, and in the community schools at least, many do.

Of course, similar activities do take place in some Education Department schools in the East Kimberley. The difference is that in those cases they occur as the result of the initiative of individual teachers and since they are not supported by an Aboriginal education policy they tend to be short-term. CEC, on the other hand, does have an Aboriginal education policy and teachers are given support and assistance in putting this policy into effect in the East Kimberley by the CEC Kimberley Regional Office in Broome. Because of this the programs are continuous and it is possible to assess them and to try to improve them as necessary. This is not to suggest there are no problems with Aboriginal education in CEC schools, but at least a real effort is being made to find answers to the problems.

Aboriginal Organisations

Several Aboriginal organisations operate in the East Kimberley and all are funded in some measure by DAA. Most operate on a limited budget yet are attempting to cover a similar area to government agencies which have far more resources. Indeed, some do work previously done by government agencies or are requested to undertake tasks for the government for little or no return.

Aboriginal Legal Service

The Aboriginal Legal Service (WA) Inc. (ALS) has its headquarters in Perth and provides legal aid to Aboriginal people - including representation in court - and gives legal advice to both individuals and communities. There are Area Offices throughout WA staffed by solicitors and Aboriginal Field Officers (AFO).

The ALS Area Office for the East Kimberley is in Kununurra. It is staffed by one solicitor and a part-time clerical assistant. There is also an AFO located in the Ngoonjuwah Resource Agency office in Halls Creek. The solicitor deals mainly with individual legal problems in Kununurra, visits Halls Creek and Wyndham for magistrates' circuits, and gives legal advice

to Aboriginal communities in the region on request. An attempt is made to visit communities on a regular basis but pressure of work means that this is not always possible.

The AFO in Halls Creek deals with individual legal problems in Halls Creek and surrounding communities. He also visits the prison at Wyndham once a month and goes to Kununurra at the same time. Regular visits are made to nearby communities to assist with such matters as renewing driving licences and vehicle registration but more distant communities are visited less frequently, usually only by request.

East Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service

The Kimberleys are now served by two Aboriginal Medical Services: East Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service (EKAMS) which operates from Kununurra and Broome Regional Aboriginal Medical Service (BRAMS) which operates from Broome. There is also an administrative organisation for the region, the Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service Council (KAMSC) based in Kununurra.

EKAMS has been operating in Kununurra for three years though it was only at the beginning of 1986 that resources were officially transferred by DAA from Community Health to EKAMS in accordance with the government policy of giving Aboriginal people control over their own health programs. At that time nurses and Aboriginal Health Workers (AHW) were given the option of transferring to EKAMS from Community Health. Some of those who did so now express satisfaction with the change to a smaller, less bureaucratic organisation where they have more say in policy making and program development as well as less paper work with which to contend.

EKAMS now operates a daily clinic in Kununurra and is responsible for providing health care to outstations in the area. Community Health retains responsibility for Child and School Health programs. One result of the establishment of EKAMS has been to put more health resources into the area. Initially there was some hostility on the part of Community Health but things have now settled down and the two organisations appear to be working well together.

EKAMS office is staffed by a Regional Administrator, an administrative assistant and an accountant. Medical and nursing staff include a doctor, a nurse coordinator, three nurses and four AHWs. EKAMS has some of the same problems as Community Health in that it has no accommodation to offer to staff and is attempting to get some assistance from DAA with this problem. However, local recruitment is preferred so that potential staff can be checked not only for qualifications but for appropriate attitudes towards Aboriginal people.

The daily clinic is open to all Kununurra people. Approximately 60 per cent of patients are Aboriginal and 40 per cent non-Aboriginal. There is no general practitioner in Kununurra and the alternative to the EKAMS clinic is to attend the out-patients section at the hospital.

Visits are made each day to town and nearby communities and regular visits to outstations. Ideally, one day a week is set aside for the latter visits and the outstations are visited in rotation unless the people are in town.

EKAMS has also set up a training program for the AHWs who have all done a two week basic course in Katherine which is followed up by additional two week courses at intervals. Also, they receive training at EKAMS from the nurse coordinator who gives regular lectures. The ultimate aim is to run short courses for people in the Aboriginal communities and outstations using the AHWs to assist with this training under the nurse coordinator's oversight, but so far this has not happened.

Kimberley Land Council

The Kimberley Land Council (KLC) was set up in 1979 to deal with the problems Aboriginal people in the region were having in regard to the incursions of mining companies on traditional Aboriginal land, often causing damage to sacred sites in the process, and to fight for land rights. KLC is headed by a Chairman and an Executive of 12, all elected at an Annual General Meeting from Aboriginal communities in the region. Executive meetings are held monthly and there are three or four full meetings during the year, held at different locations throughout the Kimberleys.

Since its inception, KLC has always been short of money. Until 1982 it received no government funding. It then received a grant from the WA government to prepare a submission for the Land Inquiry. Since then it has begun to receive some funding from DAA but state government support has been withdrawn primarily because KLC is seen as too political and has refused to accept the WA government's backdown on land rights. The DAA funding does not cover the total operating costs of KLC and the organisation relies on grants from church bodies and other sources to make up the difference.

The KLC has two offices, one in Derby, which covers the West Kimberley and one in Kununurra, which covers the East Kimberley. The East Kimberley office is staffed by a Coordinator, a Field Officer and a secretary.

One of the main roles of KLC is to act as a mediator between mining companies and other bodies carrying out work on Aboriginal traditional land and to make sure that proper site clearances are carried out. This involves checking with communities on the existence of sites in the area and ensuring that acceptable people are employed to carry out the site clearance work.

A major area of work in the past year has been on excisions, which form an important part of the state government's latest land package for Aboriginal people. KLC estimates that work on each excision costs approximately \$3,000; much of this cost is born by KLC and other Aboriginal resource agencies which are expected to carry out the work for the state government, since its own agency, the AAPA, is not allocated sufficient resources.

Apart from this work the KLC staff are mainly concerned with arranging and attending meetings and with office administration. There is no time for regular visits to communities, which would be the ideal way of keeping in touch with land matters in the area, although contact is maintained through the attendance of community representatives at executive and general meetings.

It is sometimes asked why KLC should continue to exist now that the fight for land rights is a dead issue. The answer to that is that no other organisation in the Kimberley is as experienced in land matters as KLC. Aboriginal communities and resource agencies know this and expect to receive advice from KLC in relation to excisions and site clearances. The state government also relies on the expertise of KLC but refuses to acknowledge this reliance by funding the organisation.

Aboriginal Resource Agencies

There are three Aboriginal resource agencies in the East Kimberley: Balanggarri, Ngoonjuwah and Waringarri. Balanggarri was set up originally to provide a bookkeeping service and other financial assistance for communities in the Kununurra area. However, its operations were soon extended to Turkey Creek and an office was opened there. At the beginning of this year the Kununurra section of its operations was handed over to Waringarri. Balanggarri is now based solely at Turkey Creek where it provides an accounting service for the Warmun Community and for outstations in the area. Balanggarri also performs other services for the outstations such as helping with submissions for ASIG funding, and administering other funding on behalf of outstations which require assistance.

Ngoonjuwah is based in Halls Creek and began as an association of Aboriginal people in that town in the early 1970s. Since then its role has changed and it now provides bookkeeping and other administrative services for communities and outstations in the Halls Creek area as well as negotiating with government funding agencies on their behalf. In addition, Ngoonjuwah has taken over much of the work previously carried out for those communities by DCS, such as helping them with the ordering and delivery of food supplies.

Ngoonjuwah also acts as a general drop-in centre for Aboriginal people both in Halls Creek town and from the surrounding communities, giving advice and assisting people with matters such as Social Security problems, filling in forms, etc.

Waringarri provides similar services for Aboriginal communities in the Kununurra area as does Ngoonjuwah in Halls Creek. Waringarri was originally set up as a drop-in and social centre and gradually became a resource agency, taking on many of the functions previously performed by DCS. Originally Balanggarri was located in the same office and was responsible for bookkeeping and accounting but now that Balanggarri has relocated at Turkey Creek Waringarri is responsible for all accounting, administrative and other servicing functions for communities and outstations in the Kununurra area. In addition Waringarri operates as a 'one-stop' information and advice centre for Aboriginal people in Kununurra, a service also previously performed by DCS.

In order to understand the problems of the resource agencies, it is interesting to compare the funding and operations of Waringarri and the DCS District Office in Kununurra. Both serve a similar geographical area and population and both employ similar numbers of staff. Waringarri staff work in cramped conditions out of a three-bedroom Homeswest house converted to office accommodation. DCS, on the other hand, is housed in what can only be described as palatial accommodation in the new state government building. Waringarri has two vehicles bought with DAA funds,

which may be replaced every three years. The coordinator uses his own vehicle for Waringarri business for which he receives no allowance. DCS District Office has an allocation of four vehicles which are automatically replaced every two years.

Overall, Waringarri's operations are funded at about two thirds the level of the DCS District Office and rent, insurance, building maintenance and audit fees must be paid from this grant, whereas the DCS office does not have to meet such expenses from its budget. Also, there are numerous back-up services available to DCS through its state-wide organisation which are not available to Waringarri. Waringarri receives no support from the state despite the fact that the resource agency now provides many of the services which used to be provided by DCS, partly because DCS has simply stopped doing the kind of work it used to do, and partly because Aboriginal people prefer to go to Waringarri for help rather than to DCS.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing overview of the activities of government and Aboriginal organisations in the East Kimberley has primarily been from the agency point of view, with a few comments. The view of Aboriginal people and an overall assessment of the effect of the activities on communities in the East Kimberley will be dealt with in Part 2 of this report. However, a few observations are relevant at this point.

Firstly, it is quite clear from their own admissions that there is very little coordination between the various agencies which supply resources or services to Aboriginal communities in East Kimberley. In the Miller Report a major criticism of NESAs was of the lack of cooperation between agencies and one of the major deficiencies identified was:

a lack of cohesiveness in the implementation of elements of the Strategy due to a serious lack of coordination between departments and agencies. (p.9)

This is certainly true in the East Kimberley. Any coordination which takes place is between two or three agencies with similar interests, for example those responsible for the supply of houses, power and water. If Aboriginal labour is being used in construction then DEIR may also be involved. But there is little cooperation, for instance, between organisations which put in essential material services and those which provide social services although it should be obvious that the two have to be complementary if successful development is to take place. Indeed, many agency staff admit to their ignorance about the work of other agencies in the area, nor is there much sign that this is any different in the higher echelons of most government departments.

A measure of the ignorance and lack of cooperation is that there have been several cases of different agencies funding communities for the same things. Since these duplications were only discovered by chance it seems quite reasonable to assume that there have been other cases which were never discovered.

Not only is there ignorance and lack of cooperation, but outright hostility is also apparent between some agencies. This is particularly true between Commonwealth and State agencies and between government and

Aboriginal organisations. In most cases the hostility seems to be due to complete lack of appreciation of the other's role, coupled with a lack of willingness to try to reach an understanding of another agency's work or of the problems they may face. Some government officers are so hostile towards Aboriginal organisations that they openly talk about their efforts to stop funding - hardly a way to foster good or efficient working relationships!

Non-Aboriginal employees of Aboriginal organisations are a particular target for criticism from government agencies. Sometimes this criticism is directed at inefficiency and is justified. However, more often it is directed at so-called 'political' activity, which usually seems to mean that Aboriginal people are being encouraged to question the activities of government agencies rather than to accept them uncritically. Since most government agencies pay lip service to the idea of self-determination for Aboriginal communities it might be thought that development of such critical awareness would be seen as forming an essential part of this process.

The North Eastern Area Aboriginal Affairs Coordinating Committee (NEAAACC), which is the formal mechanism through which coordination of the activities of agencies is supposed to take place, appears to be a completely ineffectual organisation. Many officers express dissatisfaction with it and simply do not attend meetings. Most blame DAA for the failure of NEAAACC to act effectively. However, while it is true that the main responsibility for coordination of Aboriginal affairs does rest with DAA, it is not apparent that other agencies are willing to put forward constructive ideas. This committee has now been given responsibility for coordination of submissions from Aboriginal communities for WAALCIP funding. The lack of enthusiasm on the part of the few representatives who attended the meeting at which this task was announced, coupled with the past performance of the committee, gives little hope for success.

A related issue concerns the lack of training in most government departments. Where special training is provided it is mainly concerned with the functions of the particular department, rather than with general instruction in areas such as communication skills, community development or planning. Nor does it generally involve any information about the work of the other agencies, government or non-government, with which officers may need to work.

Whereas training may not be the whole answer to more effective operating - since an individual's natural ability and sensitivity to Aboriginal needs are also important - it could at least put officers in a position where they would have some knowledge and skills to enable them to be more effective in assisting Aboriginal people attain independence, supposedly the goal of government programs.

However, it must be stressed that training programs do need careful planning. There is a danger of reducing the chances of Aboriginal employment in agencies - and in many there are few enough already - if narrow programs based solely on academic achievement are followed.

A further problem which needs addressing is that of consultation with Aboriginal women. There is a great need for more women field staff to be employed. Most agencies employ more men than women and the sex

segregation in Aboriginal communities makes it difficult for male officers to approach Aboriginal women. However, even where women are employed the organisation of some agencies means that officers are given responsibility for total communities rather than female officers having major responsibility for consultation with Aboriginal women.

Nevertheless, some agencies do manage to include women in programs so the problem is not insuperable. For instance, the DCS Community Homemaker Program is specifically directed at women and DEIR has run Work Information Tours for women and men, usually separately.

In fact, the lack of female officers may not be the major problem since Aboriginal people have become used to dealing with all officers regardless of sex. It is the method of consultation adopted by most agencies of talking to Chairmen and Councillors or at full community meetings which may go against women's view being heard, since few women are in official positions in communities and most are reluctant to speak out at general community meetings. In general, men and women operate in separate spheres in Aboriginal communities and to hear both points of view it is necessary for approaches to be made separately, preferably, though not essentially, by officers of the same sex.

It may be argued that it is the responsibility of Aboriginal communities to ensure that the views of all their members are represented. However, in the wider society the disadvantages suffered by women in the public sphere have recently been recognised and equal opportunity legislation put into effect to try to obviate these disadvantages. Aboriginal women are entitled to similar affirmative action strategies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Christensen, W. 1983.
Aborigines and the Argyle Diamond Project.
Canberra : CRES, ANU, East Kimberley Working Paper No.3.
- Daylight, P. and Johnstone, M. 1986.
Women's business: Report of the Aboriginal Women's Task Force.
Canberra : AGPS.
- Long, T. 1979.
'The development of government, Aboriginal policy: the effect of administrative changes, 1829-1977'.
In Berndt, R.M. and C.H. *Aborigines of the West.*
Perth : University of Western Australia Press.
- Miller, M. 1985.
Report of the Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs.
Canberra : AGPS.
- Rowley, C.D. 1970a.
The Destruction of Aboriginal Society.
Canberra : ANU Press.
- Rowley, C.D. 1970b.
The Remote Aborigines.
Canberra : ANU Press.
- Tonkinson, R. 1978.
'Aboriginal Community Autonomy: Myth and Reality'.
In Howard, M.C. (ed) *Whitefella Business.*
Philadelphia : Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- von Sturmer, J. 1982.
'Aborigines in the uranium industry: toward self-management in the Alligator River region?'
In Berndt, R. (ed) *Aboriginal Sites. Rights and Resource Development.*
Perth : University of Western Australia Press.
- Young, E. forthcoming.
Aboriginal Cattle Stations in the East Kimberley: Communities or Enterprises?
Canberra : CRES, ANU, East Kimberley Working Paper No.21).

Annual Reports

- Commonwealth Departments
Aboriginal Development Commission, 1984/5
Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 1975-1986
Western Australian State Government Departments
AAPA, 1984/5, 1985/6
Department for Community Welfare/Services, 1976-1986
Health Department of Western Australia, 1984/5
Department for Native Welfare, 1965/6 and 1969/70
State Housing Commission, 1984/5
Water Authority of Western Australia, 1985

**ATTACHMENT 1
EAST KIMBERLEY WORKING PAPERS 1985-87**

- 1985/1 East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project: Project Description and Feasibility Study.
East Kimberley Working Paper No.1
ISBN 0 86740 181 8
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/2 The East Kimberley Region : Research Guide and Select References.
M.C. Dillon
East Kimberley Working Paper No.2
ISBN 0 86740 182 6
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/3 Aborigines and the Argyle Diamond Project. Submission to the Aboriginal Land Inquiry.
Dr W. Christensen
East Kimberley Working Paper No.3
ISBN 0 86740 202 4
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/4 Pastoral Resource Use in the Kimberley : A Critical Overview.
M.C. Dillon
East Kimberley Working Paper No.4
ISBN 0 86740 183 4
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/5 Preliminary Report : Ethnobotany in the Bungles.
Dr Deborah Bird Rose
East Kimberley Working Paper No.5
ISBN 0 86740 186 9
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/6 A Preliminary Account of the Ethnobotany of the Kije People of Bungle Bungle Outcamp.
N.H. Scarlett
East Kimberley Working Paper No.6
ISBN 0 86740 205 9
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/7 An Aboriginal Economic Base : Strategies for Remote Communities. Extracts from the *Report of the Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs.*
East Kimberley Working Paper No.7
ISBN 0 86740 190 7
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/8 A Preliminary Indication of Some Effects of the Argyle Diamond Mine on Aboriginal Communities in the Region : A Report to the Kimberley Land Council and the National Aboriginal Conference.
East Kimberley Working Paper No.8
ISBN 0 86740 203 2
ISSN 0816-6323

- 1986/9 Structural Change in Wyndham.
M.C. Dillon
East Kimberley Working Paper No.9
ISBN 0 86740 204 0
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1986/10 Inhabited National Parks: Indigenous Peoples in Protected
Landscapes.
Stan Stevens
East Kimberley Working Paper No.10
ISBN 0 86740 263
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1986/11 An Assessment of the Social Impact of Argyle Diamond Mines on
the East Kimberley Region.
Frank Donovan
East Kimberley Working Paper No.11
ISBN 0 86740 267 9
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1986/12 The Health of Kimberley Aborigines: A Personal 15-Year
Perspective.
Michael Gracey and Randolph M. Spargo
East Kimberley Working Paper No.12
ISBN 0 86740 268 7
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/13 Annotated Bibliography on Tourism and Aborigines. Prepared for
the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project and the Central
Land Council.
Compiled by Ian White
East Kimberley Working Paper No.13
ISBN 0 86740 X
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/14 Aborigines in the Tourist Industry.
Sue Kesteven
Aborigines and Tourism in North Australia: Some Suggested
Research Approaches.
M.C. Dillon
East Kimberley Working Paper No.14
ISBN 0 86740 276 8
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/15 Guidelines for Research into Social Impacts Deriving from Non-
Aboriginal Developments on Aboriginal Land.
Sue Kesteven
East Kimberley Working Paper No.15
ISBN 0 86740 277 6
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/16 Conservation Priorities in North-Western Australia.
Richard J-P. Davies
East Kimberley Working Paper No.16
ISBN 0 86740 282 2
ISSN 0816-6323

- 1987/17 Social Impact Assessment Bibliography
Compiled by Donna Craig
East Kimberley Working Paper No.16
ISBN 0 86740 302 0
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/18 The Potential for Reduced Dependency at Aboriginal Communities
in the East Kimberley Region
J.C. Altman
East Kimberley Working Paper No.18
ISBN 0 86740 301 2
ISSN 0816 6323
- 19878/19 The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Warmun (Turkey Creek)
Community, East Kimberley
J.C. Altman
East Kimberley Working Paper No.19
ISBN 86740 303 9
ISSN 0816 6323