

East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EAST KIMBERLEY
WORK IN PROGRESS

LOCATION AND STATUS OF ABORIGINAL
COMMUNITIES

Nancy M. Williams*
Ian Kirkby**

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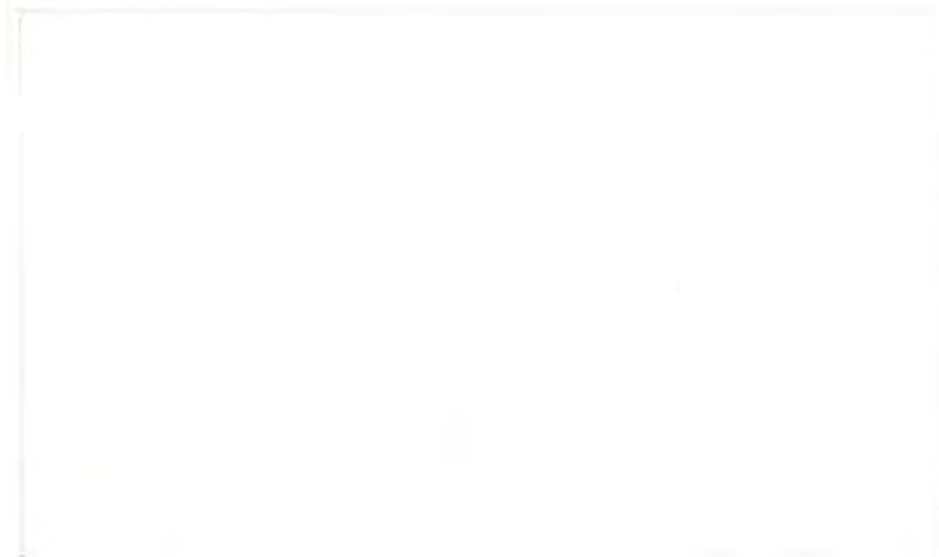
A Joint Project Of The:

Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies
Australian National University

Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

Anthropology Department
University of Western Australia

Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia



The aims of the project are as follows:

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

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

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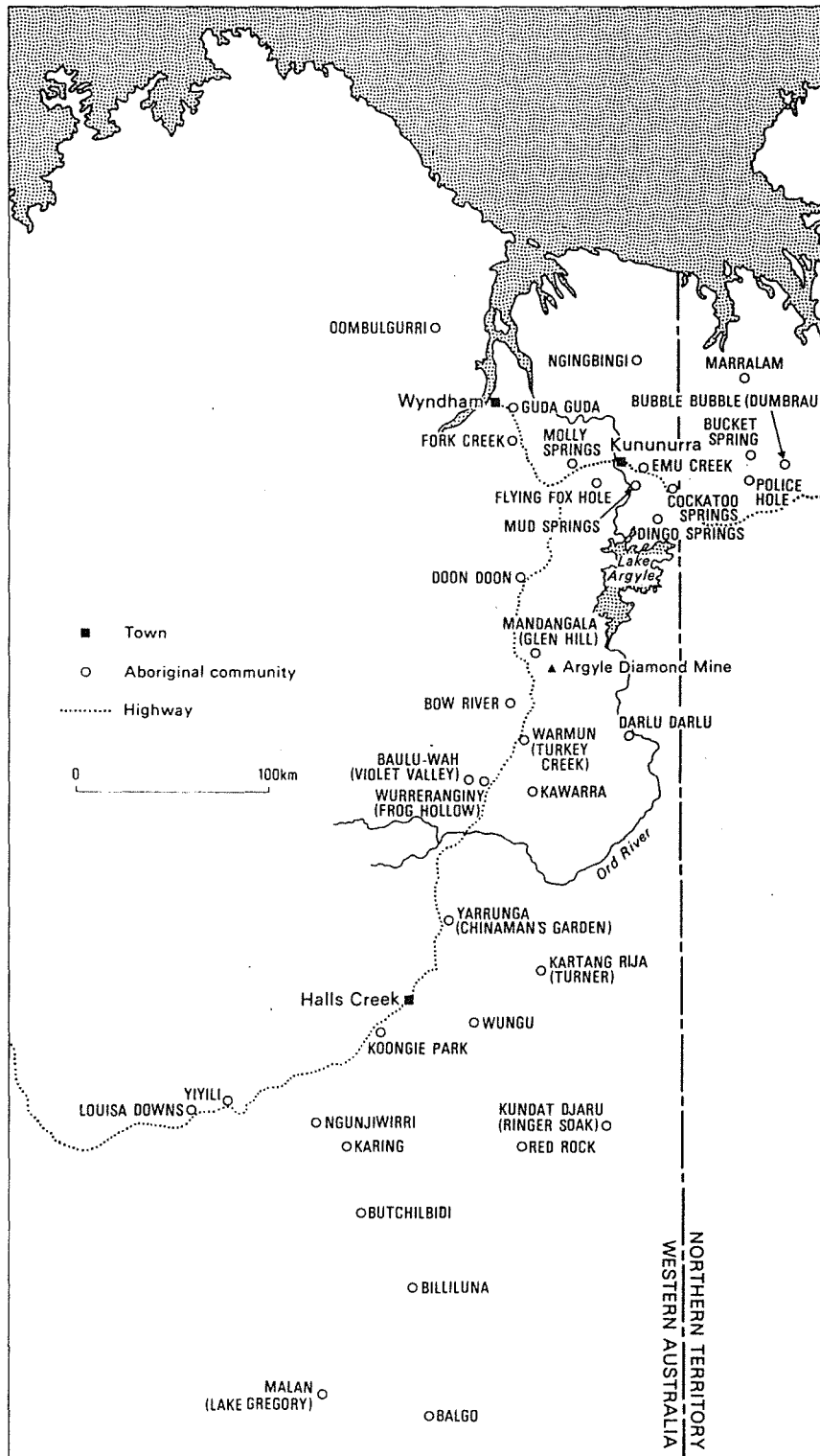
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ABSTRACT

This paper reports work in progress towards a long-term ethnographic and demographic study of the Aboriginal population of the East Kimberley. It explains the rationale for the current focus of study on the Ord River basin and gives a brief account of Aboriginal society and culture in the East Kimberley. It then describes centres of Aboriginal population, gives preliminary demographic information, and relates the historical background to the present distribution of the Aboriginal population.



The East Kimberley Region

THE EAST KIMBERLEY AS A REGION

The types and locations of Aboriginal population centres in the East Kimberley are as diverse as its topography and as complex as its history. For the purposes of our present study we have conceptualized the East Kimberley region as focussed on the Ord River and in general as bounded by the headwaters of its tributaries. Boundaries are of course defined and re-defined on the basis of need and use. Moreover, boundaries can be most clearly recognized by the events or activities that cross them. They are thus above all socially and culturally permeable. We believe nevertheless that what we here call the East Kimberley has long been conceptualized by the Aboriginal traditional owners of the region in terms of its rivers and the flow of water in courses from their upland origins to the sea. The majority of the Aboriginal people of this region are river people, although consistent with riverain characteristics they make finer distinctions of local affiliation to land on the basis of "inland" (or up-river) features, hilly or mountainous areas, and near the sea on estuaries and other coastal features. In these terms, the Ord River basin is a natural region, providing a rationale for broadly coincident social, cultural, and topographic boundaries. We refer to this region as the Ord Basin (but characterize it socially and culturally in terms somewhat different from those of Akerman 1979a:234).

Boundaries, even natural boundaries, alter with time according to changing circumstances, and we have maintained a flexible approach to the inclusion or exclusion of Aboriginal communities from this study. While it is easier for outsiders to picture and understand events and issues in relation to an area with fixed boundaries defined in terms of physical features, be they natural or artificial ones such as roads or even grid bearings, this study is concerned with groups of people whose focus is the Ord River; groups of people who throughout the past 100 years have had to face and continue to face enormous challenges to maintain their identity as viable cultural entities. Part of their response to these challenges has been to come together and collectively form resource organisations to assist them in pursuing their aspirations and to represent their interests when dealing with government and other outside interests and organisations. Thus there are situations, as in Halls Creek with the Ngoonjuwah Aboriginal resource agency, where the membership of the resource organisation overlaps with what we have termed natural and cultural boundaries. Since this study, as part of the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project, is a response to requests for assistance from Aboriginal organisations throughout the East Kimberley, we have felt obliged to consider carefully such situations. Thus, again using Halls Creek as an example, we have included locations such as Moola Bulla and communities such as Ringers Soak and Sturt Creek because of the importance of these places to the membership of Ngoonjuwah. In addition, these organisations in turn affect the outlook of and interaction among the member groups - in terms of trade, ritual, marriage arrangements, kinship and land - and are thus

integral to the cultural dynamism we must consider if we are to understand their present situation. Bolger (1987a, 1987b) describes the delivery of services by agencies in the public sector to the Mulan Community, as a representative "remote" East Kimberley community. This is appropriate in terms of the East Kimberley as an administrative area of government (State and Commonwealth) departments and instrumentalities. It is only for reasons related to our rationale equating the Ord Basin with the East Kimberley that we do not include Mulan (or Mindibingu [Billiluna], or Wirrumanu [Balgo],) in our study. They are culturally and socially affiliated most strongly with desert communities to the south-east and south-west.

For reasons related principally to the time available for field research, data related to Aboriginal population centres are not uniform in breadth or detail. We therefore present as work-in-progress a summary of the information we have acquired both from field research and from other sources (as indicated), some of which is only approximate. On the basis of our field research we believe, however, that the data presented here are more accurate than those previously available, and are correct at a high level of confidence.

We have initiated our research in the East Kimberley by recording basic information on concentrations of Aboriginal population. We have emphasized within the area that includes these concentrations the links or ties among them - including those of language, kinship, ritual, trade, and other forms of economic activities - and that course has to a significant degree guided the geographical directions in which we have expanded our data gathering efforts. Thus we have not in this initial phase of the projected on-going, long-term study included Wyndham, because most of the links of Aboriginal people currently resident in Wyndham are with those of Oombulgurri, with fewer links in the direction of Kununurra or toward Turkey Creek. Where such links do exist, they are dealt with in context. Moreover, it seemed wise to defer study of Wyndham until detailed and comprehensive study of Oombulgurri could be undertaken. A thorough sociological study of Wyndham (as well as of Halls Creek and Kununurra) is also an urgent priority in understanding the present social dynamics of the East Kimberley.

Kalumburu and its surrounding area is administratively a part of the East Kimberley, although outside the Ord basin; in addition the social and cultural links of Aboriginal people in this area are predominantly with Mowanjum and the West Kimberley. For these reasons, this area is not one of first order relevance to the East Kimberley and therefore has been excluded from the initial data gathering. Ultimately, our area of study will include areas to the southwest of the present focal area, in the region of the headwaters of the Ord River.

Aboriginal Society and Culture in the East Kimberley

From south to north, the major language groups whose lands are in the East Kimberley are Doolboong (extinct?) Gajirrawoong (or Gadjerong), Worla (Wula), Miriwoong, Kija (perhaps fusing Kuluwarrang and Lungga, groups earlier differentiated by language rather than dialect), Malngin, Jaru and Nyininy. From northeast to southeast, the following language-defined groups on the East Kimberley boundary have close ties to those in the Ord Basin: Murrinh-patha, Jaminjung, Yilnagali (now apparently extinct), Ngarinyman, and Ngaliwuru. South of the Ord Basin, there are some links with Gooniyandi and Bunuba people; fewer with Walmajarri. Except for Worla, links to the north and northwest of the Ord Basin are limited, the most important ones being based on religious myth and ritual.

One of the first ways by which people identify themselves is in terms of the language they speak. In the past people probably preferred to arrange marriages between a man and a woman whose own language was the same, although it was most desirable to arrange marriages between individuals from widely separated local groups. Since a considerable number of marriages did in fact join people of different languages, their children might be referred to as "half-half" or "mixed"; and people may say they are, for example, Miriwoong-Kija, or Kija-Jaru. In any case, all would be expected to be at least bilingual, more usually multi-lingual - and since the arrival of Europeans, one of their languages would be English, or Kriol, or both. Kriol has developed in the East Kimberley from the form of pidgin introduced by Europeans upon their arrival. While a first order identification of people remains their own language, English and Kriol are widely spoken throughout the East Kimberley at the present time. In fact, Kriol or English may be the first language of more than half of the children under ten years of age.

Language not only serves to indicate social boundaries, it also conveys information about the area of country which its speakers traditionally own. Thus to be a Malngin speaker is to be Malngin and to have proprietary interests in the land Malngin people traditionally own. Within the general area thus identified, individual families or lineages (sometimes referred to by the name of a present or immediately past head of such a group) have stronger and more precise proprietary interests. Thus in terms of their primary rights in land the speakers of each language within the East Kimberley form localized groups within the larger language-labelled country area. Rights to specific local areas and the resources within them may be subject to negotiation by the traditional owners. If an individual has descent links with more than one language group (through parents or grandparents), then his or her negotiations may deal with land in an area to which a different language-defined group is affiliated. Each person has a number of means of negotiating interests in land, all of which may be legitimated by tradition (see Palmer and Williams in Dixon and Dillon forthcoming; see also Rose 1988 on land and resource use).

All this implies that with few exceptions, relations to land, with all their attendant social and economic implications as well as personal and religious ones, are still of pre-eminent importance to Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley. The exceptions, so far as we are yet aware, are confined to the members of some church groups that either actively condemn Aboriginal traditions including relations to land, especially as these may be expressed in ritual which is seen as inspired by forces of evil, or groups which endorse a stand against what are characterized as separatist or discriminatory rights for Aborigines, rights not shared by other Australians. A number of these church or church-affiliated groups are active in Kununurra and Halls Creek. Some church groups, however, including the Uniting Church and the Catholic Church, most actively at Turkey Creek and Halls Creek, have policies of explicit support for Aborigines who wish to maintain their culture and regain at least some of their land.

Shared religious myth provides important linking beliefs and the basis for ritual performance within the East Kimberley and throughout a wider area including the population centres of Derby, Fitzroy Crossing, Port Keats, and surrounding areas. Links, at least at present, with Oombulgurri and Kalumburu are fewer and more tenuous (but see Shaw 1986:17 for comment on the earlier importance of Fork Creek/Guiambol in transmitting religious knowledge from the Worla people, in the north-westernmost part of the Ord Basin and farther west, to Miriwoong and Gadjerong people).

Trade routes link people within the East Kimberley and extend into surrounding areas (see Akerman 1979b). Some of the 1979b items traded such as ochres and incised pearl shell, have a prominent role in the performance of ritual. Some items are economically important (and include utilitarian goods and items of foodstuff), and some appear to have novelty value because of their scarcity or source of origin outside the East Kimberley. It may be, as is sometimes suggested, that the activity of trading, the forging of new links in the trade network or the cementing of old ones - links expressed in kin terms and through which other transactions may take place, including marriage arrangements - is of greater value to the traders than the items of trade themselves. The objects of trade aside, the ideology of reciprocal obligations expressed in the trade, called winan or cognate terms throughout the trading area, remains prominent in social and economic relationships (see Dixon forthcoming).

Ties of kinship and affinity also link all Aborigines in the East Kimberley, although in widely varying degrees of closeness or distance. The idiom of kinship, including "skin" or subsection, is used to label all interpersonal relations, and the terms convey specific behavioural expectations.

English equivalents or approximations are often used; thus aunt (or auntie) refers to father's sister, uncle to mother's brother, cousin-brother and cousin-sister to both parallel and cross cousins.

The range of political organization (and political processes) in the East Kimberley includes extended family groups on outstations and their town and/or reserve bases and resource agencies, and the Kimberley-wide Kimberley Land Council. The resource agencies (Waringarri and Balangarri) are organized on forms derived from the Australian polity, but their officers' and members' processes of decision-making as well as their agendas are largely determined by Aboriginal concerns. The same is true of the larger community organizations, in particular Warmun and Mirima. To comprehend the full range of political activity, account must also be taken of the role of the European advisors, co-ordinators, and administrators of community and resource agencies. Also important are the relations of Aboriginal individuals and organizations to local government, as well as to State and Commonwealth departments. In all these contexts, Aboriginal people are not simply responding passively to policies or programs that affect them, but are regularly engaged in discussion and in planning means to improve their situation, in large measure through enhancing their access to resources and control over their traditional lands (cf. D. Smith [von Sturmer] 1975: 153). Recent additions to their agendas have been the acquisition of capital, or the use of already existing assets, to generate employment and increase income (see Altman 1987).

Centres of Aboriginal population

The centres of Aboriginal population in the region covered by the present report may usefully be grouped in terms of their location in or near towns (Kununurra and Halls Creek), large settlements (Turkey Creek), and as outstations of these towns and settlements. Altman (1987) refers to Turkey Creek as a "remote township". We concur with this usage in reference to Turkey Creek provided that "Turkey Creek township" includes the businesses and residences along the Great Northern Highway contiguous to the Aboriginal settlement on the reserved area. We use "Warmun Community" to refer to the Aboriginal settlement on the reserve itself. These centres are listed in Appendix 1 along with data concerning their location, status of their tenure, and the principal Aboriginal individuals or families involved in their development.

Our demographic figures are drawn from a database developed by Ian Kirkby, which is based on Kimberley Health Services records and our own field surveys (see Appendix 2).

The total Aboriginal population for the Ord River Basin as defined by this study at the end of 1986 was at least 2948 (refer to Table 1). However, as a result of limited fieldwork amongst town-dwellers in Halls Creek and Kununurra, there is likely to be a significant under-representation of Aboriginal people resident in these two towns. We conservatively estimate that an adjustment of the order of 5 per cent of the total regional population is necessary, and believe that the variation affects Kununurra's figures in particular. This adjustment provides a figure of 3100 for the total Aboriginal population of the Ord River Basin.

For the purposes of our analysis, the figures for Guiambol (Fork Creek) and Guda Guda (9 Mile) are subsumed under the Turkey Creek subregion for the reasons outlined above, and Woollah (Doon Doon Station) and Mandangala (Glen Hill) have been included within the Kununurra subregion. This reflects sub-regional social affiliations and mobility.

Our figure compares with an Australian Census total of 1797. The Aboriginal population of the Ord Basin was poorly enumerated at the 1981 census, when 1256 Aborigines were recorded; comparison with our figures suggests that while enumeration had improved by 1986, the Australian census still gives a very incomplete representation of the Aboriginal population of the area.

Aboriginal Population in the East Kimberley

Consistent with patterns of Aboriginal residence, movement, and social links, we show the population figures in terms of three major areas, (subregions of the Ord Basin) defined by focal centres of Aboriginal population, as follows:

TABLE 1: ESTIMATES OF ABORIGINAL POPULATION IN THE ORD BASIN, 1986

	Recorded	ABS Census
Kununurra (includes Doon Doon, Mandangala and outstations)	1138	820
Turkey Creek (includes Guda Guda and Fork Creek and affiliated outstations)	376	258
Halls Creek (includes reserves and outstations, some contiguous to the Ord Basin)	1362	719
Balance not yet verified	72	
TOTAL	2948	1797

The following tables detail the age structure of the Aboriginal population for the Ord Basin and the three major subregions of Kununurra, Turkey Creek and Halls Creek.

TABLE 2: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE ORD RIVER BASIN, 1986

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0- 4 yrs	229	7.7	210	7.1	439	14.8
5- 9 yrs	195	6.6	211	7.2	406	13.8
10-14 yrs	191	6.5	197	6.7	388	13.2
15-19 yrs	182	6.2	166	5.6	348	11.8
20-24 yrs	95	3.2	108	3.7	203	6.9
25-29 yrs	100	3.4	122	4.1	222	7.5
30-34 yrs	74	2.5	99	3.4	173	5.9
35-39 yrs	60	2.0	74	2.5	134	4.5
40-44 yrs	50	1.7	56	1.9	106	3.6
45-49 yrs	52	1.8	36	1.2	88	3.0
50-54 yrs	54	1.8	46	1.6	100	3.4
55-59 yrs	52	1.8	44	1.5	96	3.3
60-64 yrs	38	1.3	39	1.3	77	2.6
65-69 yrs	33	1.1	20	.7	53	1.8
70-74 yrs	21	.7	12	.4	33	1.1
75+ yrs	38	1.3	35	1.2	73	2.5
NOT KNOWN	6	.2	3	.1	9	.3
TOTAL	1470	49.8	1478	50.2	2948	100.0

SUMMARY

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-14 yrs	615	20.8	618	21.0	1233	41.8
15-29 yrs	377	12.8	396	13.4	773	26.2
30-44 yrs	184	6.2	229	7.8	413	14.0
45-59 yrs	158	5.4	126	4.3	284	9.7
60+ yrs	130	4.4	106	3.6	236	8.0
NOT KNOWN	6	.2	3	.1	9	.3
TOTAL	1470	49.8	1478	50.2	2948	100.0

Sex Ratio: 99.5 males/100 females.

TABLE 3: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE KUNUNURRA SUBREGION, 1986

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0- 4 yrs	104	9.14	81	7.12	185	16.26
5- 9 yrs	66	5.80	84	7.38	150	13.18
10-14 yrs	65	5.71	82	7.21	147	12.92
15-19 yrs	65	5.71	66	5.80	131	11.51
20-24 yrs	38	3.34	42	3.69	80	7.03
25-29 yrs	41	3.60	58	5.10	99	8.70
30-34 yrs	35	3.08	46	4.04	81	7.12
35-39 yrs	19	1.67	27	2.37	46	4.04
40-44 yrs	24	2.11	32	2.81	56	4.92
45-49 yrs	24	2.11	15	1.32	39	3.43
50-54 yrs	23	2.02	15	1.32	38	3.34
55-59 yrs	18	1.58	11	0.97	29	2.55
60-64 yrs	10	0.88	8	0.70	18	1.58
65-69 yrs	9	0.79	7	0.62	16	1.41
70-74 yrs	4	0.35	5	0.44	9	0.79
75+ yrs	7	0.62	6	0.53	13	1.14
NOT KNOWN	0	0.00	1	0.09	1	0.09
TOTAL	552	48.51	586	51.49	1138	100.00

SUMMARY

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-14 yrs	235	20.65	247	21.70	482	42.36
15-29 yrs	144	12.65	166	14.59	310	27.24
30-44 yrs	78	6.85	105	9.23	183	16.08
45-59 yrs	65	5.71	41	3.60	106	9.31
60+ yrs	30	2.64	26	2.28	56	4.92
NOT KNOWN	0	0.00	1	0.09	1	0.09
TOTAL	552	48.51	586	51.49	1138	100.00

Sex ratio: 94.20 males/100 females.

TABLE 4: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE TURKEY CREEK SUBREGION FOR 1986

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0- 4 yrs	22	5.85	27	7.18	49	13.03
5- 9 yrs	26	6.91	21	5.59	47	12.50
10-14 yrs	22	5.85	24	6.38	46	12.23
15-19 yrs	25	6.65	20	5.32	45	11.97
20-24 yrs	15	3.99	11	2.93	26	6.91
25-29 yrs	12	3.19	14	3.72	26	6.91
30-34 yrs	6	1.60	10	2.66	16	4.26
35-39 yrs	6	1.60	8	2.13	14	3.72
40-44 yrs	8	2.13	7	1.86	15	3.99
45-49 yrs	5	1.33	2	0.53	7	1.86
50-54 yrs	8	2.13	5	1.33	13	3.46
55-59 yrs	13	3.46	11	2.93	24	6.38
60-64 yrs	6	1.60	5	1.33	11	2.93
65-69 yrs	6	1.60	4	1.06	10	2.66
70-74 yrs	4	1.06	4	1.06	8	2.13
75+ yrs	10	2.66	8	2.13	18	4.79
NOT KNOWN	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.27
TOTAL	195	51.86	181	48.14	376	100.00

SUMMARY

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-14 yrs	70	18.62	72	19.15	142	37.77
15-29 yrs	52	13.83	45	11.97	97	25.80
30-44 yrs	20	5.32	25	6.65	45	11.97
45-59 yrs	26	6.91	18	4.79	44	11.70
60+ yrs	26	6.91	21	5.59	47	12.50
NOT KNOWN	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.27
TOTAL	195	51.86	181	48.14	376	100.00

Sex Ratio: 107.73 males/100 females.

TABLE 5: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE HALLS CREEK SUBREGION, 1986

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0- 4 yrs	96	7.05	98	7.20	194	14.24
5- 9 yrs	101	7.42	104	7.64	205	15.05
10-14 yrs	101	7.42	88	6.46	189	13.88
15-19 yrs	90	6.61	76	5.58	166	12.19
20-24 yrs	39	2.86	51	3.74	90	6.61
25-29 yrs	44	3.23	46	3.38	90	6.61
30-34 yrs	32	2.35	42	3.08	74	5.43
35-39 yrs	33	2.42	37	2.72	70	5.14
40-44 yrs	16	1.17	16	1.17	32	2.35
45-49 yrs	23	1.69	18	1.32	41	3.01
50-54 yrs	23	1.69	23	1.69	46	3.38
55-59 yrs	18	1.32	18	1.32	36	2.64
60-64 yrs	20	1.47	25	1.84	45	3.30
65-69 yrs	16	1.17	9	0.66	25	1.84
70-74 yrs	11	0.81	3	0.22	14	1.03
75+ yrs	19	1.40	19	1.40	38	2.79
NOT KNOWN	5	0.37	2	0.15	7	0.51
TOTAL	687	50.44	675	49.56	1362	100.00

SUMMARY

	Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-14 yrs	298	21.88	290	21.29	588	43.17
15-29 yrs	173	12.70	173	12.70	346	25.40
30-44 yrs	81	5.95	95	6.98	176	12.92
45-59 yrs	64	4.70	59	4.33	123	9.03
60+ yrs	66	4.85	56	4.11	122	8.96
NOT KNOWN	5	0.37	2	0.15	7	0.51
TOTAL	687	50.44	675	49.56	1362	100.00

Sex ratio: 101.78 males/100 females.

The figures for this region indicate an aged population structure approaching that of the total Australian population rather than the national Aboriginal population (cf. Altman 1987, Table 1).

A range of factors is likely to affect the relative number of Aboriginal people in each age group. Difficulties in enumerating Aboriginal people who have recently moved into or out of the region - in particular those who have transferred to take advantage of educational or employment opportunities - have probably resulted in an under-representation of age groups from birth through to middle-age (see section on movement below), and Aboriginal people's dates of birth, and hence ages, up to the late 1960s in many cases are unreliable and will thus affect the relative number of people in each age group, most of all in older age groups. In addition, older people, while often no less mobile than their younger relatives, generally have a single, known residential base and are thus more likely than younger people to be recorded in a survey, even if they are absent at the time. However, biases such as these appear to be insufficient to explain the high relative number of aged Aboriginal people in this region.

Other characteristics of the demography figures presented here, with significant current and future economic implications, are the high dependency ratios, 0.80 for children aged to 15 years to those adults aged 15 to 64 and 0.10 for aged dependents (cf. Altman 1987), and the fact that the decline in the national Aboriginal birth rate is not reflected in the Ord Basin population figures.

Background to present location of Aboriginal population centres

We assume that at the time of the European invasion, beginning in the 1880s, the Aboriginal population was spread throughout the East Kimberley/Ord Basin, not uniformly in terms of persons per square kilometer, but rationally according to terrain and season. We cannot know or precisely reconstruct the location or patterns of movement of the Aboriginal traditional owners of the Ord Basin before that time, although the work of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers in linguistics, history, archaeology, and anthropology is steadily increasing the body of information necessary to tell a more comprehensive story in Aboriginal perspective. On the basis of published work and our own field research, we are however able to make tentative inferences about the locations and movements of Aboriginal groups at least from the mid-19th century. We can do this on the basis of accounts Aborigines give of their own lives (such as have been recorded by Shaw, 1981, 1983, 1986; Kofod, nd; and those told to us), and on inferences we can make from the principles of land tenure and resource use, as well as genealogies, social organization, religion, and what people - especially old people - tell us about continuity and change. Based on all these sources, we conclude that movement of people within the Ord Basin - for as long as it is reasonable to surmise - has been extensive and related to season, performance

of religious ritual, trade, and sociability. Similarly, the area in which East Kimberley people moved extended to include people with whom they had ties outside the Ord Basin. Trade and ritual links have been studied by Stanner (1933), McCarthy 1938-9, Micha (1970), Akerman (1979b), Mulvaney (1976) and Rose (1985).

The Europeans who began to enter the East Kimberley in the 1880s in general followed Aboriginally defined travel routes, and constructed their homesteads at places with year-round resources of water which long had been the locations of large Aboriginal encampments. The initial result of rapidly increasing European control of the land and its resources was decimation of the Aboriginal population through killing and the spread of introduced diseases, but not massive dislocation of Aborigines from their traditional lands. This was followed by restriction of their movement, both through forced retention as a labour pool on the stations and through restrictions of "wild" Aborigines from entry into homestead areas (see Shaw 1983). During the periods when their labour was not demanded for pastoral work (the annual stand-down periods), Aborigines were able to resume their patterns of movement in their own lands and those of groups to whom they were related. This pattern of residence and movement probably remained relatively constant until the second World War, when because of recruitment of European workers into the armed forces, demand for Aboriginal stockmen increased. During this time Aboriginal stockmen were also working more independently, without direct supervision, saw themselves to be performing the same tasks as their European co-workers, and began to press for improved pay.

These and other factors have influenced the location and movement of Aborigines whose lands are located in the East Kimberley. Among them, are the construction of the dams on the Ord River and the creation of an irrigated agricultural zone, the establishment and growth of the town of Kununurra, and - most recently - increased mining activity and tourism. Diseases, especially leprosy, and the facilities for its treatment, were also significant factors.

Derby leprosarium

The Derby leprosarium was opened in 1934 after intensive lobbying by European residents of Broome and Derby who were opposed to the housing and/or treatment of Aboriginal leprosy patients within those towns (Davidson 1978).

The first admission to the leprosarium from the East Kimberley was a 27-year-old Aboriginal man from Violet Valley in 1935. He spent the next 17 years at the leprosarium, was discharged in 1952, re-admitted 18 months later, again from Violet Valley, and died at the leprosarium in 1961. In terms of the time spent away from his relatives and country, this man is typical of the majority of Aboriginal leprosy patients who were admitted to the leprosarium.

Although only a relatively small number of Aboriginal people from the East Kimberley, just over 300, were admitted to the leprosarium during the 52 years it operated before being closed in 1986, it has played an important role in creating or reinforcing links between Aboriginal people and communities across the Kimberley. The mingling of Aboriginal patients from the many language groups throughout the Kimberley, the high rate of readmissions - most people returned at least two or three times and some up to six times - and the long periods of time spent at the leprosarium appear to be the principal factors.

Many of the Aboriginal people most active in the establishment of the Kimberley Land Council and the many Aboriginal resource agencies and other organisations throughout the Kimberley were and are former residents at the leprosarium. These people are generally more articulate and more comfortable with English than their relatives who remained on the pastoral stations because of the long periods they spent at the leprosarium - where English became the lingua franca - with Aboriginal people from other Kimberley language groups and the European staff. They possess, in addition, a broader perspective on the living conditions amongst Aboriginal people throughout the Kimberley.

Missions, ration stations and schooling

Missions and ration stations in the Kimberley also influenced the location and movement of Aborigines. Enforced removal of "half-caste" children and their education, mostly in mission schools, not only enhanced their fluency and literacy in English, but also led to marriages which extended the social links of East Kimberley Aborigines more widely in the Kimberley and throughout Western Australia. (Teachers on some pastoral homesteads sometimes provided limited schooling for the children of Aboriginal workers; e.g., as mentioned by Jeff Janama to Shaw [1986: 115].) Until the Catholic church established a school at Turkey Creek in 1980, children from that area were sent to Beagle Bay mission for schooling. The Forrest River Mission, established in 1913, the Moola Bulla ration station in 1910, and Violet Valley ration station in 1912, all had schools (Shaw 1986: 116), although schooling was not the primary objective of the ration stations:

Moola Bulla and Violet Valley were established ... to contain ... people [jailed ostensibly for cattle stealing] on their release from Wyndham jail or, especially in the cases of women and children, in a policy of direct relocation (Shaw 1986: 7).

A convent school was established in Kununurra in 1967 and some 100 pupils enrolled (approximately 90% Aborigines), many of whom were from pastoral stations. Aboriginal children also attended the state schools in Kununurra and Halls Creek; Willis who recorded the above (1980: 55), also notes that:

Aboriginal children at the government school [in Kununurra] were usually sons and daughters of racially mixed parents who lived in town houses and who consciously pursued a different life-style from station people (1980: 56).

Ord River Irrigation Project

The Ord River Irrigation Project has affected the location and movement patterns of Aborigines, particularly those whose lands are in the northern sector of the Ord Basin, in a number of ways. Proposals and planning for an Ord River Irrigation scheme had begun some two decades before the actual construction of the dams commenced in the early 1960's. The first roads, houses, and services for the town of Kununurra were built in 1960, and the first reserve for Aborigines set aside in 1963 (Willis 1980: 22). With a reserve and a few huts on it, a base was created which provided a place where Aborigines might remain rather than returning to the stations at the beginning of the pastoral working season (Willis 1980:22). An officer of the Native Welfare Department, in the department's annual report for 1962 noted that Aborigines were moving away from the stations and finding work in other places in and around Kununurra (Willis 1980: 29).

Movement from pastoral stations into towns

Pastoral stations began to introduce cash wages in the 1950's, though they were only token amounts. According to Willis (1980: 25,27), who examined archives of the Western Australia Native Welfare Department and was himself in the East Kimberley from the mid-1960's to the mid-1970's, dissatisfaction with wages was already being expressed in the 1940's.

The Federal Pastoral Industry Act of 1965 which came into effect in October 1967 set an award wage for station employees, but the conditions applied only to Australian citizens. Most Aborigines working on stations were not then citizens, as a "certificate of citizenship" had to be applied for under the terms of the W.A. Native (Citizenship Rights) Act 1944 as amended. (These citizenship rights did not however include the right to vote; the franchise was extended to Aborigines in Western Australian state elections in 1964.) The terms of the Federal Pastoral Industry Act were extended to include Aboriginal station workers in December 1968, but the award was to apply only to members of the Australian Workers Union and no Aboriginal station workers were then members of this union. Although at the start of the 1969 mustering season (March 1969) equal wages were to be paid to all station employees, exclusion clauses could still be invoked. By that time station managers were in fact paying full award wages to Aboriginal stockmen because of the keen competition for competent workers, although they were trying to limit the dependants living on the station to a stockman's wife and children. Perhaps the clearest employment effect directly attributable to the introduction of award wages was the cessation of employment of Aboriginal women as domestics on stations. Department of Native Welfare

District employment records kept at Wyndham (quoted by Willis 1980:33) show that no Aboriginal women were employed as station domestics in 1968/69, whereas during the two preceding years approximately 110 had been so employed (Willis 1980: 32-33).

Willis implies that fragmentation of Aboriginal groups residing on pastoral stations which resulted from the changed conditions of employment of stockmen and the cessation of wage payments to women as of 1968 were significant factors contributing to Aboriginal migration to Kununurra, and to the beginning of "commuting stockmen." While this should not be interpreted as entirely voluntary "migration", it was different from the "brutal banishment that occurred in other places ..." (1980: 35). These and similar events were occurring throughout the East Kimberley and influenced the movement of Aborigines in and around Halls Creek as well as Turkey Creek (see Ross 1989).

Social Security payments

The extension of social security benefits to Aborigines was a further factor of considerable influence in the location and movement of Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley. Since the 1960s Aboriginal people have been entitled to the same pensions and benefits as all other Australians (Bolger 1987a: 15). During that decade, aged pensions, invalid pensions, single mothers' and unemployment benefits began to be paid to Aborigines meeting eligibility criteria. In addition to others who qualified for invalid pensions as the result of leprosy, many Aboriginal men qualified on the basis of injuries (mainly back injuries) sustained during stock work.

From reliance on station work to social security there was a gap, during which time rations were issued at Mirima Reserve in Kununurra, and elsewhere, and there was also some employment on farms. To a degree, social security benefits allowed people to move away from the rationing centres, provided they could be provisioned and otherwise resourced.

Social security payments inducted Aboriginal people fully into the cash economy (they had been introduced to a limited extent earlier through the token wages paid to pastoral workers); one consequence of this was that people became increasingly reliant on purchased foods. The status of pensioners was enhanced as a result of their having a reliable and predictable income and so could be relied on to meet most of the regular expenses of their households. At the same time, it created problems in terms of demands on them which they could never entirely fulfil.

The payment of social security benefits affected the pattern of Aboriginal mobility by introducing a fortnightly factor. People began coming to the towns or to large settlements (especially Turkey Creek) during "pension week" (or at least on the day pensions were received in the post), and

tended to move to remoter settlements or outstations during "myla week". While much of the money was and is spent on food, clothing, and other personal and household necessities, a good deal was and is spent on alcohol. Consequently the problems associated with alcohol abuse have become exacerbated during pension week.

Land issues

For a number of reasons, all related to European exploitation of the resources of the East Kimberley, Aborigines' access to and control of their traditional lands has been vastly diminished. Yet their desire to enjoy the proprietary rights of ownership of the lands they regard as theirs has remained.

Aborigines have initiated strategies to regain such rights in whatever contexts it appeared that they might have some chance of success. In the northern sector of the Ord Basin, people who were residing for at least part of each year at the Mirima Reserve - even as their numbers expanded and they were attempting to obtain more and better housing in the early 1970's - were using a variety of contacts with representatives of government departments and church organizations to press for land. Thus in 1972 a Project Officer from the Commonwealth Office of Aboriginal Affairs met with the Mirima Council to discuss a proposed vegetable garden, citrus orchard, housing and a community centre for Mirima Village. He reported that "the opening speaker said: 'Ladies and gentlemen, we are here to talk about the land right and the garden project ...'". The Project Officer went on to remark that "later on, with their guard down, talking naturally, almost every man spoken to made some reference to 'getting the land back' with 'back' the important word which indicated a definite sense of being cheated" (Willis 1980: 257, appendix IV.c.iii, copy of report by E. J. Egan to the Council for Aboriginal Affairs, 7 February 1972).

Subsequently, resource centres (broadly conceived to include individuals as well as formally constituted and/or incorporated organizations) have increasingly had some effect on the efforts of traditional owners to regain control of their land. Among them - and in approximate chronological order - are the formation of Moongoong Darwung (1975), the bookkeeping and consulting services of Dillon and Stephens in the 1970s, and the creation of Balangarri and reconstitution of Ngoonjuwah and Waringarri resource agencies in the early 1980s. Initially efforts were motivated by concern about mining and exploration and the growing activities of multinational companies in the acquisition of pastoral leases. To a large extent these agencies were staffed by young Anglo-Australians with "progressive" attitudes about Aboriginal rights. The development of the resource centres was marked by efforts to acquire resources to support land claims, and they became active in representing the aspirations of East Kimberley Aborigines for land. The formation of the Kimberley Land Council provided a structure for articulating Aboriginal

concerns about land-related matters; although it has not been officially recognized by the Western Australian Government, departments of the State have dealt directly with it.

Throughout the East Kimberley (as in all other parts of Western Australia) Aboriginal people invested great resources in time and effort in presenting evidence of their affiliations to land during the course of the Western Australian Aboriginal Land Inquiry (the Seaman Inquiry), commencing even before the Inquiry itself which began in September 1983 and on which Commissioner Seaman reported in September 1984. Their disappointment, frustration, anger, and bitterness at the state government's response was commensurate with the effort they had put into presenting their evidence and has abated but little. A number of visitors to Frog Hollow outstation during 1986, including several researchers associated with EKIAP, reported that Jack Britten, head of that community, had played during their visit Commissioner Seaman's tape recorded summary of his report, which he had sent to Aboriginal communities for their information. Moreover, the volume at which it was played signalled that all within bounds of the settlement should hear it. After it was finished, Jack Britten initiated conversation with the visitors about the Inquiry, its failed outcome, and Aboriginal land rights in general. Again during the Australian National University/Public Affairs Conference in Kununurra in May 1987, it was clear that land rights in Western Australia had not been replaced on the agenda of East Kimberley Aborigines by Commonwealth-State programs to improve the physical conditions of Aboriginal communities and employment generating and income producing schemes.

This then is the historic context in which the present location of the Aboriginal population - in towns, the remote township to Turkey Creek, reserves, and outstations (presented in tabular form in Appendix 1, and located on Map 1) - must be viewed. Their location is based on traditional and historic relations to land; the rights that inhere in and are expressed by kin links determine the composition of the groups which develop and reside on outstations and to a large extent influence the residential patterns and activities of people in Kununurra and Halls Creek as well as Turkey Creek (see Ross 1989).

The current situation

The course of outstation development demonstrates the continuing salience of Aboriginal social norms in determining the nature and size of the groups involved. It also illustrates the range of issues that arise from their contemporary position in relation to social and economic context of the East Kimberley. One example will suffice; not coincidentally it reveals the significant role of women.

In about 1982, some six years after Dunham River Station was purchased and vested in the Doon Doon Pastoral Company, a senior Kija woman, apparently dissatisfied with changes in management of the station, was instrumental in organizing a group whose core members were her four sons for the purpose of establishing an outstation at Rugan (Crocodile Hole), located on the southern boundary of the Doon Doon lease. With assets and assistance from various sources (including a bore provided through Argyle Diamond Mines' Good Neighbour Program, and housing and a vehicle through transfer of Department of Aboriginal Affairs funds agreed to by Guda Guda community), the development of Rugan began. The facilities in place apparently then attracted young relatives from Wyndham and Kununurra. The presence of additional people on the outstation exacerbated a difference in opinion relating to the presence of alcohol at Rugan. At about the same time that this problem was being dealt with, Bow River Station lease came on the market and the eldest of the senior Kija woman's sons, then the Chairman of Rugan Community and one of the strong opponents of alcohol, became involved in negotiations to purchase Bow River Station. Following successful negotiations for its purchase in 1984 this man and the group of families opposed to alcohol moved from Rugan to the homestead on Bow River Station. Another brother, who did not take a stand against alcohol, remained at Rugan as the chairman of the community. Support (in terms of funding and other resources) was however diminishing in favour of the development of Bow River. The senior woman, disappointed because of drinking behaviour at Rugan and lack of what she perceived as adequate support for its continued development, returned to Doon Doon. Some building development at Rugan did however continue, although diminished in scale, until the death of the chairman in August 1986. With nobody remaining at Rugan, in mid-1987 the buildings were being dismantled and the materials prepared for transport. Half (along with additional materials) were expected to be used in the development of an outstation at Speewah, the old homestead on a small station amalgamated with Dunham River and still located on the Doon Doon lease, where the senior Kija woman and some of her relatives plan to reside, and the other half will go to Bow River to be used in the construction of an outstation at Foal Creek where one of the brothers instrumental in the Bow River development and his family plan to live. Foal Creek was originally an outstation on Greenvale Station, and is located near the boundary between the larger Bedford and Springvale stations - all three located on Kija land, to which the people involved in these proposed developments have particular links.

In addition to the factors contributing to the mobility of Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley indicated at the beginning of this section, there are others even more recent. They include access to motor vehicles, roads (in the case of outstations, if there are no all-weather roads, it is difficult if not impossible for people to reside there during the wet season), the requirements of employment (particularly if it is seasonal or irregular as in the pastoral industry or in agriculture), and the obligations of serving as officers or active members of Aboriginal organizations. As a result, the

number of people resident in an Aboriginal community or neighbourhood (or individual residence) may fluctuate widely, from zero to virtually all those who have some form of tie to the particular place and the people who may be living there. Moreover, the rate of fluctuation may be high; in the case of outstations - which tend to be composed of an extended family or small number of related extended families - the range within a period of a week may be zero to fifty. Thus comparisons of annual censuses even if taken at approximately the same time of year, may suggest misleading inferences. Information concerning the social identities of people associated with any given community, their kin links, and relationship to the land (and/or sites) where the community is located is more useful in predicting who will be where at any given time than census statistics.

Characteristics of Aboriginal Population Centres

With the significant exception of Kununurra (and to a lesser degree, Halls Creek [see Ross 1987]), Aboriginal housing types throughout the Ord Basin fall within a narrow range. At one end of the range, some Aboriginal people in Kununurra, Turkey Creek, and Halls Creek live in state housing or houses of similar type (administered in Kununurra and Halls Creek by the State housing authority, Homeswest, and at Turkey Creek by Warmun Community). In 1987 housing at Mirima in Kununurra consisted of thirteen small houses constructed in the 1960's and all in very poor condition; some people when not on outstations in their own country camped on the verandah of the community centre/kitchen there. At neighbouring Nullywah eleven new houses were constructed by Mayaroong Constructions Company between 1985 and 1987, with a further five houses under construction in the northern area of the reserve.

These houses have a lounge room, kitchen, bathroom, and two or three bedrooms, using a steel stud wall and truss system with colorbond profile steel cladding; floors are concrete slab on ground. Houses of similar design and construction were planned for Mirima. Buildings on outstations generally use a steel portal frame system with colorbond profile steel cladding and concrete slab floor on ground. Both types of building systems incorporate features such as solid core doors, heavy duty locks, and vandal-proof taps, designed to make them low maintenance.

On the outstations, some variation in housing exists, and with joint Commonwealth-State funds it is planned to construct substantial houses in the near future if sufficient funding is obtained. In the case of some outstations, the provision of such housing is contingent on the completion of successful excision negotiations. At Marralam, located in the Northern Territory, with the security of lease tenure, three cabins, ablutions and communal kitchen facilities were being constructed in 1987 by Mayaroong Constructions. On a number of outstations where excision applications are being processed, temporary housing has been provided, frequently in the form of

blue plastic sheeting covered metal frames in the form of a Nissen hut. Some of these shelters have also been provided to Aborigines living in Halls Creek.

On some outstations, the traditional owners and their families are assisting in the construction of new houses to replace simple shelters made earlier with materials such as sheets of corrugated iron and timbers salvaged from still earlier buildings. In one case, the principal developer of an outstation has secured both new and used building materials and is firm in his intention to design and build the houses himself without assistance, except for occasional help by members of his family.

Communications facilities - radio or telephone - are crucial factors in the ability of traditional owners to remain on their outstations. The security of knowing that they can communicate immediately with a resource agency or community office in case of emergency is decisive; thus often after the installation of a radio or telephone, there may be little use of it to communicate with a base while the outstation residents are continuously at the outstation. On the other hand, the radio is used - in some cases monitoring of conversations between outstations if not actual participation in them is almost constant.

Transport is a significant factor as well, necessary not only to carry people to and from the outstations, but also for provisioning. Because of the depletion of native flora and fauna in most areas immediately surrounding outstations, the residents must rely to a large extent on purchased foodstuffs, thus the ability to transport supplies to outstations is necessary if people are to remain continuously on their outstations.

Alcohol, it must be emphasized, is always a factor which affects the ability of traditional owners to establish and to develop their outstations. Abuse of alcohol means not only that the effectiveness of some of the principal organizers may be affected, but - since it is most frequently a problem of young and middle aged men - it may remove from participation the people whose contribution to the work of establishing and maintaining an outstation is most essential. It is certainly the case that the most vigorous outstation development and continuing success has been planned and led by people (both women and men) who do not drink, or drink only occasionally.

Relations with station managers is a further factor - it may even be a determining factor - in the viability of outstations located on pastoral leases. The history of pastoral development as it shaped the relationship between the owners and managers of the stations and the Aboriginal traditional owners continues to influence attitudes and

behaviour of both groups of people. Aborigines continue to regard station managers with some fear and to interact with them in ways to protect themselves from the control that the European station managers have over access to and activities on their leases - whether by appearing to be compliant and deferential or by avoidance when possible. In fact, station managers do continue to have and to exercise this kind of control, although rarely nowadays through use or threat of guns, or by other techniques such as threatening to remove or destroy Aborigines' possessions, or verbal abuse. Virtually every Aborigine in the East Kimberley has close family members who have been shot and whose bodies were burned, or who have been brutally treated by Europeans. Accounts of this treatment make the experiences immediate, not long ago or far away, and influences their behaviour towards station managers. Thus even in cases where nominal agreement has been reached for the establishment of an outstation on a pastoral property, the manager's attitude and style of interaction with Aborigines have a direct bearing on the development of the outstation and whether Aborigines will work or reside on the outstation for any length of time. The salience of the negative effects of bad relations between Aborigines and station managers is also revealed in the readiness with which Aborigines characterize in positive terms the station managers who are well disposed or even generous in dealing with them, expressed for example in comments which name the managers who never refuse access to the lease, do not lock gates, or even voluntarily provide them with killer beef.

Trees planted for shade and fruit and vegetable gardens exist or are planned at all outstations. The size of the garden and the number of trees vary considerably; but their cultivation is invariably a desired feature of outstations. At some of the most recently established outstations only a few trees may be planted. They require considerable regular attention to reach maturity and to continue to survive on their own (or if fruit trees, with only minimal care). On some outstations - such as Frog Hollow, Marralam, Mud Springs, and Cockatoo Springs, substantial areas have been cleared and fenced for garden use, and at Frog Hollow the residents have installed an automatic irrigation system. At Frog Hollow it is also planned to set out tropical fruit trees, including pawpaw, mango, and bananas; should they do well, they may be used for provisioning the community at Frog Hollow and also provide some income through local sales.

Most outstation residents would like to have the capacity to manage a small herd of cattle, commonly referred to as a killer herd, for their own beef consumption. In order to do that they require varying sized areas of suitably pastured non-degraded land and fencing as well as water (provided generally by a bore and pump). With the exception of those located on Aboriginally owned pastoral leases, no outstation in the Ord Basin has yet acquired either sufficient land or assets to run a killer herd, yet the expressed aspiration remains uniformly strong. It seems likely that in addition to the aim of having

a supply of meat readily available, working with cattle would be a source of personal and community satisfaction because it is something that Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley know they have a widely established reputation for doing well.

Recommendations

We recommend that detailed demographic, social, and economic data continue to be collected for the entire area of the Ord River basin. This project should be designed as on-going research and increasingly involve local Aboriginal researchers. All research proposals should include a component for training Aboriginal researchers and upgrading research skills they may already have.

We note that the first recommendation of the Commonwealth House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs reporting the results of its outstation (homeland centres) inquiry (Australia, Commonwealth Parliament 1987) is that all agencies involved in developing policies and programs for homeland centres improve their collection of statistics on homeland centres to better determine their need for the provision of facilities and services (1987: xvi). This recommendation is applicable to the East Kimberley as a whole, not exclusively to its outstations (or homeland centres).

Continuing research in the East Kimberley should be multi-disciplinary, and should have major sociological and anthropological contributions to its design as a regional study. Questions should be framed to elucidate the dynamics of regionalism. If there is a positive impact on the quality of life from a shared sense of regional identity or regional culture, how can this be fostered or nurtured in the East Kimberley as a region ?

Detailed urban-focussed sociological studies of Kununurra, Wyndham, and Halls Creek are needed, with emphasis on the comparative analysis of their roles in the East Kimberley region, to enhance the predictive power of the research findings on specific issues.

We recommend that specific research projects be undertaken in two areas not adequately studied by the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project, as a matter of urgency. These areas are, first, urban Aborigines in the East Kimberley, especially in Kununurra, Wyndham, and Halls Creek, in order to take into account more adequately their needs and aspirations as well as to provide a data base to allow more confident predictions about social and economic developments in the region. The second urgently needed study focusses on Aboriginal children and adolescents. Very little is known, and as far as we are aware no pertinent systematic data collection has yet been undertaken, to provide an accurate assessment of their perception of their present situation within the East

Kimberley and their expectations for the future, either in terms of individual careers or in terms of social, economic, and political change. Where do they believe they will be, what will they be doing, and in what kind of environment, in five years ? ten years ? twenty years ? Do they ask these kinds of questions at all ? Answers to these questions (and related ones) would seem to be vital to the development of strategies which Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley will wish to plan and put in place in the near future, and which governments will be able to support.

We recommend that policies from local to Commonwealth level are based on community development as a process. Emphasis in training should be toward locally defined goals, not, as in the past, on quick cures or crash programs to tidy up the institutional appearance of Aboriginal communities. We therefore recommend on-going consultations with community leaders, officers, and employees of Aboriginal organizations to maximize the potential for the development of administrative structures and processes which are based on Aboriginal styles of management, decision-making, and organization, not imposed forms and procedures modelled on Anglo-Australian institutions. The role of local planning and co-ordination must be paramount; regional, state, and federal agencies must respond to local policy planning and development.

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APPENDIX 1

ABORIGINAL POPULATION CENTRES IN THE REGION OF THE ORD BASIN
AS AT AUGUST 1987

ABBREVIATIONS

AAPA	Aboriginal Affairs Planning authority
ALT	Aboriginal Lands Trust
AOG	Assembly of God
CALM	Department of Conservation and Land Management (Western Australia)
CCNT	Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory
CLC	Central Land Council (Northern Territory)
Ha	Hectares
KLC	Kimberley Land Council
NLC	Northern Land Council (Northern Territory)
UAM	United Aborigines Mission
WAWA	Western Australian Water Authority

KUNUNURRA SUB-REGION

Community, Reserve or Outstation	Location	Tenure	People involved
Kununurra	Town	Individual families in Homeswest or other rental family-type housing.	Miriwoong & Gajirrawoong people; Aboriginal families from southern WA, other states and the Northern Territory.
Mirima-Wirrjinj Darwung (Mirima Reserve)	Kununurra	ALT 99-year lease (Town Reserve vested in ALT, as of 10/86 (Ca. 6 ha. application for additional 12 ha. with ALT).	Miriwoong, Gajirrawoong and Murrinh-patha people; Jaminjung and Ngarinyman connections. David Newry is Chairman.
Nullywah	Kununurra	Town Reserve vested in ALT, c/o Waringarri Resource Agency (49 ha).	Miriwoong and Jaru and Oombulgurri people
Moongoong Darwung	Kununurra	Town Reserve, vested in ALT (ca.4 ha.).	Miriwoong people; affiliated with UAM or AOG churches; Charlie Barney is President.
Bethel Sanctuary	Kununurra	Bethel Homes Sanctuary.	Affiliated with church group.
Shedleys' Block	Packsaddle Plains		
Gulgagulganeng (Emu Creek)	Off Duncan Hwy on Emu Creek, ca.6km east of Kununurra.	ALT Reserve (ca.1km ²); negotiating lease, probably excision-type, for 99 years.	Bamboo Spring, Wave Hill & Kildurk when in town from south and east; ca.8 regular residents.

Ningbingi	Carlton Hill Station (D. Bradley, lessee).	WA Land Act provisions re access (lessee allows gathering hunting, fishing excursions & temporary facilities; has refused to negotiate excision, and has attempted to sell the Ningbingi Pastoral lease as an enterprise project. KLC negotiating.	Daisy Jandun's family; Dodger Carlton; Topsy Aldus; Alfi Gerard.
Gurrbumi (Kumbarumba)	Ivanhoe Station Berati P/L c/- La Scarr Assocs., Eastwood NSW is lessee; Sonny Roots, Dick Webb are managers.	Lessees have permitted traditional owners to camp at Molly Springs, have refused to enter into excision negotiations.	Sheba Dignari; Colin James; Toby Banmar.
Yardungarl (Dingo Springs)	Ord River Irrigation Area (north of Lake Argyle; under control of WA Water Authority).	WAWA lease to ALT, sub-leased to community (Yardungarl Aboriginal Corporation Inc.) for 21 years (expires 1991); seeking to transfer reservation to ALT land and to acquire lease term to 99 years (ca.51,638 ha.).	Pensioners - Miriwoong and closely related people.
Ngunulum (Cockatoo Spring)	Dingo Springs lease.	Family group wishes to establish Cockatoo Spring as a living area and base for contract cattle work. The group will seek a separate lease after Dingo Springs is vested with ALT.	Ben Ward and family.

Ngulwirriwirri	On Dingo Springs lease (Cockatoo Springs Area).	Family group wishes to establish living area with horticultural potential. Incorporation in process.	Marjorie Brown and family.
Woolerregeberleng	On Dingo Springs lease (Cockatoo Springs Area).	Family group wishes to establish living area. Incorporation in process.	Lizzie Ward and family.
Marralam	Legune Station, NT (Desa Cattle Co. c/o GRM, Brisbane is lessee).	5 year term lease, handed over 12/1986. Convertible to freehold at expiration of lease if covenants fulfilled (but no legislation to enforce) (439.1 ha.).	Biddy Simon (spokesperson); Bulgarri Light (leader); Murrinh-patha people related to Miriwoong.
Binjin (Bucket Springs)	Keep River National Park, NT (CCNT is controlling authority).	Excision application made to NT Conservation Commission; negotiations in process; not yet surveyed (3 km ²).	Miriwoong and Gajirrawoong people; Mary Yundunpany; Charlotte Thurrwi; Mengel family.
Parradan (Police Hole)	Keep River National Park, NT (CCNT is controlling authority).	Negotiations occurring prior to formal application.	Button Jones; Boombi family; Peter Newry

Dumbral (Bubble Bubble)	Newry Station, NT (Sogex Pastoral P/L Brisbane is lessee).	Excision application being negotiated; lessees offered 3 km ² , but traditional owners seek larger area. (NLC negotiating).	Miriwoong people Alfie Deakin is spokesperson.
Darlu Darlu (Nine Mile)	Ord River Regeneration Area (WA Dept. of Agriculture).	ALT 99-year lease excision application in process, has agreement in principle, Darlu Darlu Aboriginal Corporation Inc. (8-9 km ²) (KLC negotiating).	Edwards family.
Wijilawarrim (Molly Springs)	Ivanhoe Station (Berati P/L is lessee).	ALT 99-year lease excision application in process; excision originally sought in 1984, lessee has objected (KLC is negotiating).	Annie Simon (Jipapi) and family.
Worrworum (Flying Fox Hole)	Ivanhoe Station	ALT 99-year lease excision application in process; lessee objected (KLC negotiating); 7/87 application for Special Purpose Lease of 65 km ² Vacant Crown Land south of Flying Fox Hole. (A popular fishing and swimming place for towns- people; much equipment has been stolen or vandalised.)	Michael Dinkum Phyllis Ningarrarra and their adult children
Ribinyung Darwung Aboriginal Corporation, Inc. (Mud Springs/ "Rowena Downs")	Ord River Irrigation Area (WA Dept. of Agriculture).	ALT 99-year lease excision; agreement in principle reached (1 km ² plus 0.6 km ² grazing lease).	Cathie Lingnaria Danny Wallace

Jirrngow
(Bamboo Springs)

Waterloo Station,
NT (Hamish Findlay
is lessee/manager).

NT living area excision
being negotiated. Original
negotiations (1985) with
lessee of Mistake Creek
Station, but boundary change
in 1987 made Jirrngow within
Waterloo Station (5 km²
around Bamboo Springs). In
CLC area.

Hector Gitniyarri;
Don Cameron;
a number of old people who have
to be looked after

Amanbidji

Kildurk Station

Amanbidji Pastoral Co. holds
lease for Miyaluni Community
Inc.; lease transfer 1973;
members of Miyaluni
Community took tentative
steps toward lodging claim
(NT Land Rights Act) for
Aboriginal title in 1983;
re-activated in 1985; claim
research now in process for
lodging with Aboriginal Land
Commissioner for hearing
(2930 km²).

Ngarinyman and Malngin
people; Ginger Packsaddle is
the senior man of the
community.

Goodadoo

Waterloo Station
NT
(Hamish Findlay is
lessee/manager).

NT living area under
negotiation with lessee/
manager approximately
100 km. south of homestead
(ca.5 km² desired). In
CLC area.

Jeffrey Nipper and
family.

Goonama	Waterloo Station NT (Hamish Findlay is lessee/manager).	Group of mainly old people living in a camp adjacent to homestead, are satisfied with Station's support. Station manager has indicated he will consider a special purpose lease for this group, to allow government-funded improvements to the camp. In CLC area.	
Bulla River	Auvergne Station	Established by church group (Assembly of God).	
Doon Doon	Doon Doon Station	Title vested in Doon Doon Pastoral Company (not yet incorporated) in August 1976 (396423 ha).	Woolah Community Inc. (Worla and Kija people (Tiger Moore is Chairman)
Mandangala	Glen Hill Station	Title vested in ALT August 1976, leased to Mandangala Community (14724 ha).	Mirriwung and Kija people; George Dixon; John Toby.

TURKEY CREEK SUB-REGION

Turkey Creek	Township on Great Northern Highway	Houses (32) range from "transition" to state housing style on Aboriginal Reserve.	Warmun Aboriginal Community (5 main "camps") incorporated in 1977).
Rugan (Crocodile Hole)	Doon Doon Station (on Wilson River at southern boundary)	Application for incorporation of community and for secure title in process.	Kija families
Juwulinypany (Bow River)	Bow River Station	Aboriginal pastoral lease; handed over 5/1984 (ca.3200 km ²).	Kija families; Joe Thomas; Tim Timms
Bauluwah (Violet Valley)	Violet Valley Aboriginal Reserve	ALT Reserve; 99-year lease to Bauluwah Community as of November 1986 (964080 ha).	Kija families; Sandy Thomas is senior man.
Wurreranginy (Frog Hollow)	Violet Valley Aboriginal Reserve (on Frog Hollow Creek)	ALT 99-year lease; application for larger area for grazing purposes (entire valley where outstation is located up to Maggoty Bore) in process.	Kija people; Jack Britten is senior man.
Jarlalu	Mabel Downs (E.G.Green & Sons lessees).	Excision application process begun 23/5/87; no reply from Mabel Downs lessees as of 8/87.	Kija people; George Mung Mung and family (Tickilara group).
Koomie	Springvale Station (Springvale Pastoral Co., Daglish WA, Tom McGuinness,	Excision application process recently begun for area near Idemere Yard for Koomie Association (incorporation in process).	Paddy Bedford; Clifton Gilmari; Kija families.

Manager.)

Yarrunga (Chinaman's Garden)	Alice Downs Station (Water Reserve 1619, surrendered by Alice Downs Pastoral Lease; A.C.Pilkington P/L Harvey, WA is lessee).	ALT 99-year lease being negotiated is contingent on lessee agreement to legal access via station road (10.5 km ²). Outstation established 1975. Community seeking small extension to incorporate a massacre site and other significant sites. Australian Survey Office has produced maps of the area locating these sites.	Kija families; Kenny Bray; Simon Drill
Kawarra (Bungle Bungle)	Purnululu National Park at former Bungle Bungle pastoral outstation.	Outstation established 1983, agreement in principle by WA Dept. of Conservation and Land Management for lease.	Raymond Wallaby and family.
Kuyumpul (Fork Creek)	Off Great Northern Highway, ca.15 km. southeast of Wyndham.	ALT Reserve; community incorporation in process (18.23 ha).	Octer Carrol (spokesperson) Charlie Bow, senior man
Guda Guda (Nine Mile)	At Nine Mile Mark (southeast of Wyndham).	ALT 99-year lease, expires 2077 (within Wyndham Town boundary; Nine Mile Reserve No.25238) leased to Guda Guda Community, Inc.(22.1769 ha).	John Patrick; Peggy Patrick; Jack Gallagher
Goose Hill	Water and Faun Reserve No.1059.	ALT Reserve 99-year lease excision application lodged 4/87, rejected by CALM Minister 5/87; KLC proceeding with negotiations (10 km ²).	Gerry Moore and family

HALLS CREEK SUB-REGION

Halls Creek	Town Area	Individual families and extended families in Homeswest family type housing.	Kija people; Jarua people
Yardgee	Halls Creek Town Area	Homeswest Development on former "No.1 Reserve"	Kija people; some Jarua people; Dick Taylor is senior man.
Lundja (Red Hill)	Halls Creek Town Common	ALT Reserve, currently Lundja Aboriginal Corporation Inc. negotiating 99-year lease for Reserve No.37420 (67.8539 ha). Corporation seeking extension of area to include a soak & site of significance.	Jarua people; George Sturt and Rhonda Lightning are senior men
Lumboo Creek	Halls Creek Town Area	Homeswest Pensioner Units.	Kija and Jarua people and families (mostly pensioners with some young relatives)

Blueberry Hill	Halls Creek Town Common	Title held by Halls Creek Shire Council. (Application for secure title first agreed to 7/87 then rejected 8/87 by Shire Council.) Area needed for minimum 4 3BR houses.	Jaru, Gooniyandi, and related groups; Eric Hunter; Phyllis Gallagher; Jack Carey
Nicholson Camp	Halls Creek Town Common	Ngoonjuwah holds title. Halls Creek Shire Council contends the housing should be for all station Aborigines "in transit"	Jaru, Warlpiri, and related groups.
Budawee Djaru (Sturt Creek)	Sturt Creek Station (Peter Sherwin, c/o Australian Stations P/L, Mt Isa, lessee).	ALT 99-year lease in process (application lodged 4/87). Lessee's lawyers have requested information re application from AAPA.	Paddy Padoon is senior man; Jaru and Warlpiri.
Yaruman (Ringer Soak)	Gordon Downs (Peter Sherwin, Australian Stations P/L, Mt Isa, lessee).	ALT 99-year lease application for living area being negotiated.	Jaru and Warlpiri, and Walmajarri people.
Wungu (Old Flora Valley)	Ord River Regeneration Area, Fox River Station (WA Dept. of Agriculture).	ALT 99-year lease agreed to in principle (5 km ² for living area plus 3 paddocks to carry up to 25 head cattle).	Jaru people; Jack Huddleston is senior man.

Kartany Rijarr
(Turner River
Station)

Ord River
Regeneration Area
(WA Dept. of
Agriculture).

ALT 99-year lease, agreed
to in principle, for 2 km²
living area plus grazing
area for 25 cattle; Kartang
Rija Aboriginal Corp. seeks
grazing area for 200 head
cattle.

Jaru people;
David Turner is senior man;
Nora Nocketta and
Tanbar Turner are
chairpersons.

Ngiling Anjaru
(Nicholson Station)

Ord River
Regeneration Area
(WA Dept. of
Agriculture).

ALT 99-year lease, agreed
to in principle; community
incorporation in process
(ca.1 km² living area plus
ca.5 km² grazing area;
applicants requesting
10-15 km² grazing area).

Nyining & Jaru people;
Jock Mosquito is senior
man.

Old Halls Creek

Abandoned/historic
townsite.

Camping area, especially
during wet season.

Jaru people.

APPENDIX 2

EAST KIMBERLEY DEMOGRAPHIC DATABASE

Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley, in common with those in the West and throughout northern Australia, are constantly observed, studied, surveyed and "consulted" - with and without their permission - by State and Commonwealth public servants, anthropologists, health personnel, sociologists, and researchers of various ethno-ologist denominations. Despite this proliferation of "consultation" there is an apparent lack of direction and purpose underlying much of it - at least to Aboriginal people. Although their patience is rarely obviously strained, despite being constantly asked the same questions albeit by different government departments and organisations, Aboriginal people are confused by the lack of information sharing, coordination and consultation between, and even occasionally within government agencies.

As part of the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project's (EKIAP) initial aim, "To compile a comprehensive profile of the contemporary social environment of the East Kimberley region utilising existing information sources and limited fieldwork" (East Kimberley Working Paper No.10), we were asked to undertake a number of baseline studies including the ethnography and demography of Aboriginal people resident in the East Kimberley.

In developing our approach and methodology, we have taken particular cognisance of the Project's commitment to "... establishing a framework where *Aboriginal communities in the north can themselves* assess the options and strategies available both to minimise and mitigate the negative social impact of major resource developments and to maximise potential benefits they may confer" (East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project 1985: 16, emphasis added). We did not want to produce another once-off report from yet another once-off survey to sit on a sagging shelf amongst similar efforts in an office far removed from the people we have been working with and amongst over the past eight years. As we understand local Aboriginal people and their organisations, that is also far from what they want.

However, we believe the development of more effective policy and planning in many areas that directly affect Aboriginal people, and the provision of more efficient services particularly in non-urban centres, can be achieved through an increased understanding of local and regional ethnography, demography and mobility. As Smith (1980: 3), notes at the beginning of his book on the Aboriginal population of Australia:

Records of Aboriginal births and deaths are, in general, only available for specific Aboriginal communities or groups, so it has been necessary to go to such local levels in order to gain some insight in to the parameters of the Aboriginal demographic transition. But again, this is only done for the light it sheds on the situation in the States and Australia; an examination of local ethnographies and genealogies, and of changes in size, composition and location of all tribal and community groups is a task that desperately needs to be undertaken, but it is quite beyond the scope of this study.

What are the local and regional demographic effects of the introduction of education facilities to a non-urban Aboriginal community? Does the introduction of such a service significantly alter the structure of the local population so that it requires modification or expansion of existing services and/or the introduction of new ones? These are the sorts of issues currently confronting Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley with the expansion of capital works funding.

Further, we believe that a study of change over time in residency, kinship, and mobility in both regional and local contexts is critical to an adequate understanding of these social factors. A survey that examines a fragmentary, but dynamic moment in time, and interprets those data from a static perspective is likely to produce questionable information of limited use.

These were the principle conceptual themes we have attempted to draw together in the continuing development of the demography project. In response, we have developed a flexible computerised database that we believe is:

- . amenable to a long-term research project;
- . as useful as possible in relation to the issues faced by local Aboriginal people, their communities and organizations given the limitations of the hardware and software available (always a factor of funding priorities);
- . easily expanded to include adjacent geographic regions and future population growth; and
- . as simple to use as possible.

Discussions were held in 1986 with relevant Aboriginal organizations in the region including the East Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service, the Executive Committee of the Kimberley Aboriginal Medical Service, the Kimberley Land Council and local Aboriginal resource agencies concerning the

nature and scope of the demographic study. Following this consultation and a consideration of the objectives of researchers associated with the East Kimberley Project, we decided to focus our research on Kununurra, Turkey Creek, Halls Creek, and outstations and Aboriginal cattle stations directly associated with these population centres. Thus Balgo and Billiluna and outstations emanating from these centres have not been included.

The database is comprised of personal and kinship data including personal names and names of relatives, Aboriginal names, subsections, language categories, "country" and places of origin, sex, birth and death data, places of residence and occupation. These are grouped in five files; a master file, records of deaths, leprosarium admissions, communities and locations where a census was carried out for this project and communities and locations covered in leprosy surveys from 1968-1971.

The core of the data used in the initial establishment of the East Kimberley demography database came from a 1983 Department of Public Health printout listing all Aboriginal people who came in contact with departmental staff, their date of birth, sex and residence for all communities and other residential locations in the Wyndham-East Kimberley and Halls Creek shire districts (over 2000 records), and 1986 update. This database was selected not only because of its availability but also because it is generally recognised that Kimberley Health Services hold the most up-to-date and systematic records of Aboriginal people resident in the Kimberley. In addition, much relevant information from our field notebooks was incorporated into the database, and we carried out censuses in many of the communities.

ATTACHMENT 3

EAST KIMBERLEY WORKING PAPERS 1985-89

- 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 - 86740 202 4
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/4 Pastoral Resource Use in the Kimberley : A Critical Overview.
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 *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
- 1985/9 Structural Change in Wyndham.
M.C. Dillon
East Kimberley Working Paper No.9
ISBN 0 86740 204 0
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/10 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 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.17
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
- 1987/19 The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Warmun (Turkey Creek) Community, East Kimberley.
J.C. Altman
East Kimberley Working Paper No.19
ISBN 0 86740 303 9
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/20 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
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- 1987/21 Aboriginal Cattle Stations in the East Kimberley: Communities or Enterprises.
Elspeth Young
East Kimberley Working Paper No.21
ISBN 0 86740 324 1
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1987/22 Aboriginal Community Representative Organisations: Intermediate Cultural Processes in the Kimberley Region, Western Australia.
Patrick Sullivan
East Kimberley Working Paper No.22
ISBN 0 86740 325 X
ISSN 0816-6323

- 1987/23 The Effect of Public Sector Activity on Aborigines in the East Kimberley.
Part II. Aboriginal Communities in the Kimberley
Audrey Bolger
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Cathie Clement.
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ISBN 0 86740 326 8
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Hilary and Dennis Rumley
East Kimberley Working Paper No.25
ISBN 0 86740 327 6
ISSN 0816-6323
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Michael Gracey, Stuart Gunzburg and Randolph M. Spargo
East Kimberley Working Paper No.26
ISBN 0 86740 3500
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East Kimberley Working Paper No.27.
ISBN 0 86740 355 1
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Cathie Clement
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Ben Boer
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- 1989/30 The Legal Framework Affecting Aboriginal People
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East Kimberley Working Paper No.30.
ISBN 0 86740 358 6
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1989/31 The Development of Social Impact Assessment in
Australia and Overseas and the role of
Indigenous Peoples.
Donna Craig.
East Kimberley Working Paper No.31.
ISBN 0 86740 359 4
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1989/32 Argyle Social Impact Group (ASIG): Issues for
Review.
Ross, H. and Johnson, J.
East Kimberley Working Paper No.32.
ISBN 0 86740 362 4
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1989/33 Forthcoming.
Summary of Findings and Recommendations
Ethnography of the East Kimberley
Work in Progress: Working Paper
Location and Status of Aboriginal Communities.
Williams, N.M. and Kirkby, I.
East Kimberley Working Paper No.33.
ISBN 0 86740 363 2
ISSN 0816-6323