



Aborigines in the Economy: A Select Annotated Bibliography of Policy-Relevant Research 1985-90

L.M. Allen, J.C. Altman and E. Owen
(with assistance from W.S. Arthur)



Centre for
Aboriginal
Economic
Policy
Research

The Australian National University



Research Monograph No. 1



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**Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
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FOREWORD

This study was undertaken as a consultancy by the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR), Australian National University, for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). The contract was signed in July 1990, research started in August and the study was completed in April 1991.

The study was conducted in various stages. The first stage was undertaken primarily by Elizabeth Owen, assisted by Linda Allen, in the period August to October 1990. Early research focussed on library searches to compile a comprehensive listing of all published material in the broad area 'Aborigines in the Economy' and preparation of appropriate data base and retrieval softwares.

The second stage of the project, undertaken from October 1990 to February 1991, required annotation of selected published material. This part of the project was jointly conducted by Linda Allen and Elizabeth Owen, assisted by Bill Arthur and myself who provided editorial and other comment on annotations. It became clear at this stage that, given available resources, all published items identified could not be annotated unless annotations were extremely brief. Therefore it was decided to select a proportion of all items for annotation. The final selection has resulted in the annotation of 133 items. This number is arbitrary and was influenced by time, resource constraints and an assessment of the policy-relevance of the research. An additional influencing factor was the belief that, to be useful, individual annotations had to be reasonably comprehensive.

The last stage of the project from February to April 1991 required final editing and indexing of the select bibliography. This task was undertaken by Elizabeth Owen and Linda Allen, assisted by Hilary Bek. During this period, I drafted the introductory essay and sought comment on it from co-authors and others.

A number of people have assisted greatly in the completion of this study and the monograph's production. First, thanks to Peter Owen and Kim Holburn of the ANU's Computer Services Centre for assistance with software application. A number of people generously read and made comments on the introductory essay, including Anne Daly, Michael Dillon, Chris Gregory, Nicolas Peterson, Diane Smith and John Taylor. Staff at the libraries of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Canberra, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and the Australian National University were also extremely helpful.

ANU Graphic Design assisted by designing the monograph's cover and the ANU Printing Service produced the volume with their usual efficiency. A special thanks to Hilary Bek for her help with sub-editing, proof-reading and indexing when the project was in its final throes and to Diane Smith who assisted, at very short notice, in the completion of the indexes.

Jon Altman
Director, CAEPR

May 1991

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INTRODUCTION

This study, by the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR), annotates a selection of research on Aboriginal economic development issues published in the period 1985-90. The specific focus is on the relevance of available research for policy formation, with an emphasis on economic development and labour market issues and the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP). The 1985 starting date for the select bibliography was set by the commissioning agency, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) and corresponds with the year that the Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs (often referred to as the Miller Report, after its chairman Mick Miller) handed its findings to the Federal Government. The end point of 31 December 1990 was chosen to make the study as up-to-date as possible.

Background and policy context

The most recent data from the 1986 Census show that Aboriginal people, who constitute 1.5 per cent of the Australian population, experience relative economic disadvantage in comparison with other Australians. For example, in 1986 the official Aboriginal unemployment rate was 35 per cent compared with 9 per cent for the total population. Only 9 per cent of Aborigines had some form of post-school qualification compared to 30 per cent for all Australians. Consequently, the occupational status of Aborigines was relatively low: about 14 per cent of employed Aborigines were managers, administrators or professionals compared with 30 per cent for the total population. The median annual family income for Aborigines was only 67 per cent of the median for all Australian families.

The extent of Aboriginal economic disadvantage and the recommendations in the Miller Report resulted in the launch of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy in 1986. The AEDP has broad and long-term goals of employment, income and educational equity between Aboriginal and other Australians by the year 2000. In the policy statement, equity is generally regarded as synonymous with statistical equality. Equity goals are to be achieved via two broad strategies, depending on locational and structural factors. In areas where mainstream labour markets exist, AEDP programs seek to ensure equitable Aboriginal participation by providing training and employment programs in both the public and private sectors. In remote areas, which frequently

lack economic opportunities and labour markets, programs aim to build an economic base, thus creating employment opportunities, and to train local Aborigines to replace non-locals in available jobs. Resources totalling about \$250 million per annum are currently earmarked for the AEDP.

The focus of this study was initially intended to provide a means to assess AEDP-relevant research undertaken in the period 1985-90. However, given that the official launch of the AEDP only occurred in October 1987, it is not surprising that there was little research published by December 1990 that addressed AEDP issues directly. Consequently the subject matter of this annotated bibliography has become somewhat wider than originally anticipated.

Aims and audiences

The principal aim of *Aborigines in the Economy: A Select Annotated Bibliography of Policy-Relevant Research, 1985-90* is to provide an up-to-date information base to assist ATSIC and the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) make rational decisions in the allocation of research funds. The AEDP has a substantial research budget, but it is not clear what research has been done and who is available to undertake further work. The selection criteria for the consultancy specified that a register of researchers should be compiled, but in its tender CAEPR suggested that the focus should be placed on researchers who had published research on the Aboriginal economy. It was also proposed that emphasis should be placed on research actually completed in the period 1985-90, rather than on research that may have begun in the study period but was not yet completed.

This introduction also identifies specific areas that require additional economic research. Identification of areas for further research should assist the AEDP's research program which aims to monitor and to evaluate the performance of AEDP programs. However, as already noted, much of the work published in the 1985-90 period reports on research that precedes the implementation of the AEDP. Nevertheless, with a review of the AEDP planned for 1993, this pre-AEDP research will provide a useful data base that should allow rigorous comparisons with post-AEDP research findings, especially on the effectiveness of programs.

ATSIC regional councils, as well as many Aboriginal organisations and Aboriginal communities, are currently contemplating their statutory requirements under the new ATSIC legislation to undertake regional or community planning exercises. By highlighting the sorts of data and analysis that has been undertaken to date, and its regional coverage, the bibliography directly assists such Aboriginal organisations by identifying

research relevant to their particular needs. The study will also prove extremely useful to academics, researchers, students and others seeking information on the contemporary economic situation of Aboriginal people.

The main part of this study provides detailed annotated entries for 133 selected studies. These annotations provide a summary of major research findings that can be used without going to original sources, although users are encouraged to refer to original material whenever possible. All annotated entries are listed alphabetically and three means are provided to identify key subjects and locations of research. First, each entry has a number of key words. Second, each entry has approximately six key cross-references to other annotated items. Third, the study includes two indexes that identify specific subject headings (incorporated in key words) and geographic regions (like the East Kimberley) and communities (like Warmun).

Sources and methods

The definition of 'economy' and 'economic development' for this bibliography was problematic. There is no clear and unambiguous definition of economy, or economic development, and the boundary between the economy and the rest of society is an artificial one, mainly used for analytical purposes. While there is no doubt that research on Aboriginal health, housing, education and so on have enormous implications for economic issues, the focus here has been intentionally narrowed. This study emphasises the AEDP's stated concern with the extent of Aboriginal employment and income inequity, and excessive Aboriginal welfare dependence as referred to in the Australian Government's *Aboriginal Employment Development Policy Statement* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1987).

Published research was emphasised from the outset to concentrate on material that is available for public scrutiny and appraisal, and partly because research of a confidential nature is out of place in what is essentially a resource directory. The materials cited and annotated in this study fall into three categories: books and monographs, or relevant parts thereof; published government and research reports; and articles published in journals. The major sources of reference for the bibliography were four Canberra-based institutions:

- i The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) library. An exhaustive search was conducted of this library's Subject Card Catalogue 24 'Aborigines in the

- Economy' and its published *Annual Bibliography* for the period 1984/85 to 1989.
- ii The library of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission's central office and its microfiche index from 1985 to 1990.
 - iii The Australian National University's library system and its URICA computer-based library catalogue.
 - iv The National Library of Australia and its Australian Public Affairs Information Service for the period 1985-90.

The initial phase of the project resulted in a comprehensive listing of all published material in the broad area 'Aborigines in the economy'. At the completion of this phase of the research, CAEPR produced a progress report 'Aborigines in the Economy: An Annotated Bibliography 1985-90' for ATSIC. This report listed 489 items for possible inclusion in the bibliography. Subsequently, this listing was reduced to 260 items listed in Appendix 1. Items were excluded either because they were unpublished (even though they were held by public libraries), or because examination revealed that they contained little or no research relevant to this study's particular focus.

The selection of items for annotation was determined by a number of factors. First priority was given to published research that was based on primary data collection. Next, we chose items that were based on secondary data analysis, but which were of relevance to the broad areas of Aboriginal economic development and the AEDP. Finally, we included some pieces that were of a more theoretical or conceptual nature but which nevertheless addressed issues associated with Aboriginal employment, unemployment and economic policy. A decision was made to exclude items, especially by the same author, that duplicated previously published material. When similar items are included it is because primary data have been used to undertake different analysis or to provide a different policy-relevant argument.

In any exercise that gives priority to some research publications above others there is inevitably an element of arbitrariness. To cover this we have provided the comprehensive listing from which we made our selection at Appendix 1, highlighting items chosen for full annotation.

The format of annotations was dictated partly by the consultancy agreement with ATSIC: each publication was identified by author and title, a brief note was made on its availability (if a book), key words were listed, the geographic area of study was specified, research aims and research methods were outlined, a summary of major findings was

compiled and each entry concluded with a short statement about its policy-relevance, especially to the AEDP.

Initial consideration was given to dividing entries into sections by broad subject matter. However, such an approach was rejected. Just as it is extremely difficult to differentiate studies of the economy from studies of other aspects of societies, so it is even more difficult to classify economic research by subject. For example, a study of a tourism enterprise may also need to address issues that could fall under the subject headings enterprises, arts and crafts industry, land rights, and so on. To overcome this problem, we have listed all entries alphabetically, by author name, but have paid particular attention to the use of key words and indexes.

Other available sources of information

There are other sources of information on Aboriginal economic development issues that are publicly available, but have not been dealt with in this study. These include the following:

- i Annual reports of government departments such as the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the Department of Employment, Education and Training and statutory authorities such as the Aboriginal Development Commission and Aboriginal land councils in the Northern Territory and New South Wales.
- ii Parliamentary Hansards and, in particular, published submissions received by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. For example, this Committee received 44 written submissions during the course of its outstations inquiry (*Return to Country: The Aboriginal Homelands Movement in Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1987) and 61 submissions during the course of its inquiry into service delivery to remote Aboriginal communities (*A Chance for the Future*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1989 and *Our Future Our Selves*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1990). These submissions contain important economic research material.
- iii The Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs received 305 submissions in 1985, which were not published. Some of these are held in the Canberra libraries of DEET, ATSIC and AIATSIS. Similarly, the Review of the Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Industry conducted in 1989 received 119

submissions, only four of which were confidential. These submissions are held by the following libraries: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Canberra; Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra; the Australia Council, Sydney; and the Museums and Art Galleries of the Northern Territory, Darwin. More recently, the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, due to report in May 1991, has received numerous submissions which deal with economic issues.

- iv Other inquiries in the period 1985-90 have received submissions dealing specifically with Aboriginal economic issues. These include the Australian Government's Inquiry into Tourism (1987); the Industries Commission (formerly the Industries Assistance Commission) Inquiry into Travel and Tourism (1989) and more recently the Industries Commission Inquiry into Mining and Minerals Processing in Australia (1990) and the Resource Assessment Commission Kakadu Conservation Zone Inquiry (1991) among others.

Some caveats

In order to keep this annotated bibliography to a manageable size, we have had to make decisions about the boundary between the economy and the rest of society. While there is absolutely no doubt that Aboriginal health, housing, education and a range of other issues have an enormous impact on the Aboriginal economy, we focus here on the economic. We also note that there are bibliographies in these other fields; one example in the health field is N. Thomson and P. Merrifield's *Aboriginal Health: An Annotated Bibliography* (Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1989).

We have emphasised primary data collection and quantification because economics is a quantitative social science and effective policy-relevant research must be based, at least in part, on 'hard' data. Nevertheless, many of the studies included in our annotation have very limited quantification because little research of this kind has been completed. The 133 items annotated do, however, represent the best available policy-relevant Aboriginal economic research published in the period 1985-90.

The often long lead-time in completion and publication of some research has introduced a distortion to our selection. Some research published between 1985 and 1990 reports work undertaken many years previously. Much of the data published in the late 1980s was collected in the 1970s and earlier. Therefore, this bibliography rewards some tardy researchers who undertook commissioned research in the early 1980s and

published in the period 1985-90; others may have undertaken and published research in 1984 and would, unfortunately, be excluded from this bibliography. This problem has been partially overcome by the inclusion in annotations of earlier key references that would have influenced, or been used, in research published in the study period.

Statistical analysis of findings

To undertake an analysis of the annotated entries a synoptic data base was set up on Microsoft Excel software. The data base required a degree of simplification, even when analysing only 133 entries, and included information on each work's author, year of publication, broad and narrow regional focus of research, primary and secondary research subject areas and the instigator or sponsor of the research.

Authorship

Analysis of authorship of research was based on the following premises. First, no distinction was made between authors of books and articles: both were given equal weighting. Similarly, sole authorship was not distinguished from co-authorship. Problems arose with annotated publications which did not clearly specify authorship. In general, government publications were referenced as broadly authored (for example, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs). Non-governmental committees have generally been referenced under the name of the chairperson, although it is recognised that, at times, they were not the sole authors of final reports published under their names. As a general rule, there is no reference as such to edited volumes in this study, with authored articles in edited texts being referred to. The exception to this rule is the Coombs et al (1989) co-edited *Land of Promises: Aborigines and Development in the East Kimberley* which is annotated as one entry.

One of ATSIC's interests in this project was to gauge the availability of researchers for consultancy work. As such, our listing does not provide a complete assessment of availability, but it does demonstrate that there are numerous researchers who have undertaken research on Aboriginal economic issues. The 133 annotated entries had 99 identified authors and co-authors, although authorship of eight items was impossible to assess. Interestingly though, there were only 32 authors who had more than one entry in our select bibliography, indicating the possibility that there are far fewer specialists than the total number of authors implies. It is difficult to assess whether comparable areas of research would have greater or lesser author concentration. Very few academic or professional economists wrote about Aboriginal economic issues: of the 32 'multiple'

authors, no more than five are economists, with Drs Russell Ross and Owen Stanley standing out as the only authors actually employed by university-based departments of economics. All told, 45 annotated items were authored or co-authored by women and six were authored or co-authored by Aboriginal people. Of the multiple authors, only seven were female and one was Aboriginal.

One important issue that is evident from the data base is that much of the best and most detailed research published in the period 1985-90 is based on post-graduate and, especially, doctoral research. It is of some concern that there are indications that such field-based work in Aboriginal communities is decreasing in the 1980s. The nature of Aboriginal economic issues means that fieldwork, and especially participant observation, is of crucial importance if cultural aspects of the Aboriginal economy are to be fully explained and if accurate assessments of the economic and other impacts of government expenditure on Aboriginal communities are to be made.

Research output

There is no straightforward means available to assess research output and we have chosen not to assess output using novel quantitative techniques like bibliometrics, or number of pages or words of research. Giving all items chosen for annotation equal weighting, the data base indicates that for the six years covered there is no clear trend of growth or decline in output. Our select annotated bibliography includes 32 items published in 1985, 10 from 1986, 16 from 1987, 31 from 1988, 17 from 1989 and 27 from 1990. If our selection is accepted as representative of the best policy-relevant research in this area, then there is a degree of instability and no clear increase from year-to-year in published research material.

Subject coverage

An analysis of research by primary focus indicates that some topics have received fairly comprehensive coverage, while others are either relatively or totally neglected, despite our attempt to include material for annotation that encompassed diversity of subject areas. Not surprisingly, the largest proportion of studies chosen focussed on employment and employment programs (22) and government and economic policy (22), followed by studies on economic development (14) and economic status (13). Other areas that were relatively well-researched included those that focussed on tourism (11), mining (10), outstations (8) and pastoralism (8). Most other economic areas had very little research focus. For example, while there were six annotated entries on local and community government, there were only three on labour migration (as a primary research focus), three on economic aspects of land rights, four on the Aboriginal arts and crafts industry, and only one that focussed on Aboriginal women and one on

Aboriginal youth. While there were only three studies specifically on Aboriginal enterprises, this is partly because much research on this subject results from confidential consultancies. Research in this area would increase markedly if agencies allowed the publication of such work when it was no longer 'commercially sensitive'.

Our coverage of some areas such as economic aspects of housing (three entries) and health (one entry) primarily reflect the particular emphasis of this bibliography, but do correlate with the lack of attention to the economic aspects of these issues by researchers. Similarly, there is very little independently researched and published evaluation of the performance of government programs, many of which, like the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme and the Training for Aboriginals Program (TAP), pre-date the AEDP and have been implemented for sufficiently long periods to warrant rigorous assessment.

Geographic coverage

Geographic coverage of research is not easy to assess, partly because authors define their geographic areas of research in imprecise and inconsistent ways. In assessing geographic coverage, which is an extremely important element of research in Aboriginal affairs owing to the diversity of the economic situation of Aboriginal people, two methods have been used. First, we examine geographic distribution of research using broad State and Territory jurisdictions. A proviso here though is the common use of the terms 'central Australia' (usually referring to the north of South Australia and the southern half of the Northern Territory), 'remote Australia' (usually in reference to isolated parts of the Northern Territory, Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia); and 'northern Australia' (usually referring to the Top End of the Northern Territory, but also including, at times, northern Queensland and the Kimberleys region of Western Australia). Second, geographic coverage is more precisely defined in terms of specific regions or communities. Even this exercise is circumscribed either by researchers who do not focus on particular communities or regions, or research that focuses on numerous communities, all of which may not be named in published research.

Most research in our selection was undertaken in the Northern Territory (50 studies), followed by Australia-wide research (30) and research in Western Australia (19). This focus was augmented by research specifically in central Australia (6), remote Australia (11) and north Australia (2). It is of special interest that only four published studies focussed specifically on Queensland and only two on South Australia. In contrast, New South Wales was surprisingly well-represented with nine studies specifically in this State. No research was

found that concentrated specifically on Aboriginal economic issues in Victoria, Tasmania or the Australian Capital Territory.

Coverage of specific regions was limited to a handful of locations. The greatest regional focus in our selection (16 studies) was on the East Kimberley, primarily because of the research efforts of the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project between 1985 and 1988. While such regional concentration is commendable, there has been relative neglect of other regions, partly owing to limited research dollars and personnel. Two other areas that stood out in terms of regional focus were the Alice Springs/central Australia region (eight published items) and the Katherine region in the Northern Territory (10). The only other regions or localities that had multiple coverage were Kakadu National Park (5), the Torres Strait (3), Pine Creek (2) and Uluru National Park (2). Arnhem Land, which is often represented as extremely over-researched, was the focus of only two entries, while Newcastle was the only major urban area that received coverage in the 1985-90 published literature. It must be noted, however, that 43 items were not classified as either community or regionally-based and 36 others, while community-based, relied on information (usually of a fairly impressionistic nature) from numerous communities.

The importance of case studies cannot be overstated in the Aboriginal economic policy context. For example, a number of studies of Katherine (see Loveday 1985, 1987; Taylor 1988, 1990) indicate the need to make fine distinctions between different segments of the town's Aboriginal population. There is little recognition of the diversity and complexity of particular situations in the literature and in policy. Case studies provide important qualifiers for analyses of statistical data and challenge the potential efficacy of broad policies and programs.

Sponsors of research

It is no straightforward task to unambiguously identify the major sponsors of research. While almost all published research has been undertaken at tertiary educational institutions, there has been a significant government involvement in providing both the impetus and additional financial support for much research. However, at times, it is unclear whether government is actually providing the research leadership or merely responding to a request for funds from academics to undertake research. Of the 133 annotated entries, 34 were undertaken at the instigation of government, with the former Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) being the primary sponsor for ten major projects. A number of projects financed by the DAA, such as Fisk's (1985) study of the Aboriginal economy Australia-wide, have become important landmarks in the literature. A range of other government departments and agencies including the Department of Employment, Education and

Training, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Australian National Audit Office, the Resources Assessment Commission, the Office of Multicultural Affairs, the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, the Australia Council and Northern Territory Government departments have sponsored or undertaken some Aboriginal economic research. Much of this research sponsorship, however, has been undertaken in an ad hoc and uncoordinated manner, although such practice is not uncommon in research generally. Aboriginal organisations, and especially land councils, have also played a part in sponsoring eight research projects in our selection. An important contribution to the summarising of research has been provided by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.

By far the most significant instigator of research has been the university system, with 81 of the annotated items being university-based. Even here there is diversity. For example, of the 81, 15 were undertaken under the auspices of the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project (EKIAP) that is reported to have been initiated by Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley and which was largely funded by the State Government of Western Australia and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The North Australia Research Unit of the Australian National University, with 15 annotated items, also stands out as a research centre that has played an important role in Aboriginal economic research. More recently, research units within the bureaucracy, such as the North Australia Development Unit (NADU) in Darwin, have become involved in Aboriginal economic research but with a specific Department of Social Security (DSS) focus. The DSS-funded Social Policy Research Centre at the University of NSW has also sponsored some important research on the economic situation of Aboriginal people in NSW.

As already noted, doctoral research has been of especial importance in generating research output and, even though only eight annotated items in the bibliography are the result of such research, they are often of great significance, especially in terms of cost-effectiveness. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) has played a major role sponsoring research on economic issues, providing funding for field research for university-based researchers.

A high percentage of research has been undertaken by academics working independently which is the normal practice in research. This has resulted in some geographic and subject matter concentration and there may be a role for government in providing leadership in setting the research agenda. Interestingly though the two government instrumentalities with responsibility for administering the AEDP, namely ATSIC (formerly DAA) and DEET, have undertaken little in-house research in recent years and have not been especially active in sponsoring policy-relevant research.

Further research

The statistical analysis of the annotated entries in this select bibliography clearly outlines both subject and regional areas for future research. We do emphasise though that the paucity of research in particular areas reflects in part the fact that much research is unpublished. This is problematic because it results in research that is almost invariably publicly-funded having a restricted circulation and not being disseminated into the wider community. This concern applies equally to unpublished research and to published, but poorly distributed, research. For example, submissions to government inquiries are usually archived but finding out where it is stored and gaining access to such material can be extremely difficult.

The identification of areas for further research covers nine broad areas outlined below. It should be noted though that research currently under way at CAEPR and elsewhere should assist in filling some of these economic research gaps. It is of interest, and somewhat salutary to note, that at least half these broad areas were identified for further research over a decade ago by Jon Altman and John Nieuwenhuysen in *The Economic Status of Australian Aborigines* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979). It is of some concern that available data in the late 1970s were probably more comprehensive than in the late 1980s.

The need for better information

At present, macroeconomic research is dependent on information from the five-yearly censuses undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Case studies, however, consistently demonstrate that census data are of questionable accuracy. There is no Aboriginal identifier included in special ABS surveys (such as the household expenditure and income surveys) and many government departments (including DSS and DEET) have incomplete data bases on their Aboriginal clients. There has been no comprehensive research on Aboriginal expenditure patterns, sources of income and real levels of unemployment. Similarly, while 1986 Census data on the Aboriginal population is publicly available, there has been little comprehensive analysis of disaggregated Census data, with the exception of the work of Ross (1988, 1990) in New South Wales and Tyler (1990) in the Northern Territory. While a number of papers on the economic status of the Aboriginal population will be published in 1991, a lead time of five years is long, reflecting the time it takes to collate census data and make it publicly available.

The Aboriginal macroeconomy

The only comprehensive research on the Aboriginal macroeconomy was undertaken by Fisk (1985). There has been no comprehensive research on

the Aboriginal component of the Australian economy since then. This research void is partly due to the absence of comprehensive data on the Aboriginal economy and partly to the complications inherent in the heterogeneity of the lifestyles of Aboriginal people. The lack of research on Aboriginal participation in the Australian economy means that, for example, the impacts of macroeconomic changes on Aboriginal employment levels cannot be assessed. Consequently, the impact of government programs in ameliorating the impacts of such changes cannot be gauged.

Major urban areas

The only economic research on major urban areas published during the study period were for Darwin and Newcastle. There have been no economic studies undertaken of the economic situation of Aboriginal people in State capitals like Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Brisbane for many years. There has never been a study of the economic situation of Aboriginal people in Hobart, and even Adelaide, which was comprehensively researched in the past, has not been the subject of major research since Fay Gale and Joy Wundersitz's *Adelaide Aborigines: A Case Study of Urban Life 1966-1981* (Development Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982).

Geographic coverage: States and Territories

The analysis of major geographic jurisdictions indicated that in 1985-90 no published research focussed specifically on the Australian Capital Territory, Tasmania or Victoria. While this suggests that research is warranted in these three regions, it should be noted that, according to the 1986 Census, only 9 per cent of the total Aboriginal population lived in these States/Territory. Of greater concern is the lack of research specifically on the economic situation of Aboriginal people in Queensland and New South Wales. These two States account for 53 per cent of the Aboriginal population, yet account for only eight and four of the annotated entries (compared with, for example, 50 for the Northern Territory).

Geographic coverage: regions

Regional economic studies using social accounting or input:output methods are very rare. Two exceptions to this statement are the studies by Crough, Howitt and Pritchard (1989) in central Australia and Arthur (1990) in the Torres Strait. The East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project, with its methodological emphasis on Social Impact Assessment, generated very little primary data that provided a quantitative economic profile of the Aboriginal economy in the East Kimberley. The lack of regional research is of concern because ATSIC regional councils are

required by statute to produce regional plans. These will need to be produced with very few up-to-date statistics and few regional studies anywhere in Australia to utilise as possible models. It is interesting that some regions that are generally assumed to be over-researched, like Arnhem Land in the NT, will have similar problems in accessing regional economic studies.

Sub-populations

There are few studies of sub-populations of the Aboriginal population. For example, only one annotated item focuses specifically on Aboriginal youth (Miller 1989) and only one on Aboriginal women (Daylight and Johnson 1986). There are no studies of the economic situation of Aboriginal aged persons and only Choo (1990) focuses on Aboriginal child poverty. Similarly, there is an absence of any study of employed or the relatively rich Aborigines, compared with an over-emphasis on Aboriginal unemployment and poverty. Such imbalance is not unusual in social science research generally, because the relative power of the successful makes them fairly inaccessible to researchers. In the Australian context, it is possible that economically successful Aboriginal people are not especially visible and in some cases, with economic assimilation, they may cease to identify as Aboriginal. There is also a need for further research on particular sub-populations. For example, almost all research on remote area urbanisation has focussed on town-campers, with no research undertaken of suburban dwellers in non-metropolitan urban centres. Similarly, there has been virtually no economic research focussing on residents of excisions on pastoral properties.

Economic impact of government

There is little comprehensive information on public expenditure on Aboriginal people by different levels of government and even less information on Aboriginal access to mainstream programs and services. Similarly, there has been little rigorous assessment of the success or failure of Aboriginal education, training and employment programs: reliable follow-up data from Aboriginal clients are not comprehensively collected by service delivery agencies. Likewise, it is unclear whether demand-side or supply-side factors are limiting Aboriginal participation in mainstream labour markets; there is little systematic research that rigorously differentiates situations where Aboriginal people are excluded from employment opportunities and situations where employment opportunities are non-existent. While there is some research on the impact of Federal Government programs, there is almost no published research on State and Territory Government policies and programs.

Migration

In remote locations where there are locational barriers to the AEDP's statistical goals of employment and income equality, it remains unclear if skilled Aboriginal people will migrate for employment. As an overall topic, labour migration is under-researched, with only four studies among the annotated entries and a lack of comprehensive analysis at a disaggregated level of existing 1986 Census data. An important issue that requires further research is whether the creation of employment opportunities in remote areas is resulting in employment for local Aboriginal people or for Aboriginal migrants from elsewhere (see Taylor 1988, 1990). The extent to which government policies preclude or necessitate migration also needs to be established. There is also a dearth of research on Aboriginal labour migration using dual or multi-locale methods.

Economic implications of age structure

There has been little research that has systematically examined the economic implications of the demographic structure of the Aboriginal population. For example, 1986 Census data show that the Aboriginal childhood dependency ratio (the ratio of persons under 15 years of age to persons aged 15-64 years) is twice that of the Australian population. The economic burden, defined as the ratio of children and economically inactive persons to employed persons, is three times higher for the Aboriginal population than for all Australians. These demographic factors go some way towards explaining current Aboriginal poverty. They also have important implications for the future size and location of the Aboriginal population. The AEDP aims for employment equality between Aboriginal and other Australians by the year 2000, but there are indications that far more research is needed to predict both the location and number of Aboriginal people of working age that may be seeking employment in the 1990s. Current programs may maintain the status quo without generating the additional jobs needed by the rapidly growing Aboriginal population of working age.

Policy implications

Many of our annotations indicate that academic research often ends with general rather than specific findings and researchers are frequently loath to make concrete recommendations. On the other hand, from the academics' perspective, concrete recommendations are often ignored by policy makers for reasons of political expediency rather than as a result of any objective assessment of the accuracy or quality of research findings. What are the policy implications of this summary of a select

annotated bibliography of economic research on the Aboriginal population?

Our finding is that much useful policy-oriented research has been published in the 1985 to 1990 period. However, lack of coordination and absence of adequate statistics has meant that coverage of a range of important areas are incomplete or non-existent. The range of topics outlined above are intended as a guide to the most important areas requiring further research. These guidelines should provide ATSIC and DEET with sufficient information to initiate new research with AEDP funds earmarked for this purpose. An especially important and extremely cost-effective avenue for field-based research may be special post-graduate research awards that will encourage students to undertake work in the area of Aboriginal economic development.

With recent changes in Australian public administration and increased calls for accountability of moneys spent on special Aboriginal programs, there is no doubt that greater resources must be earmarked for economic policy research. The question remains though as to how ATSIC and DEET can ensure that funded research results in policy-relevant outcomes, and how the findings of research can best influence policy formation? With a major independent review of the AEDP due in 1993 these issues will need to be addressed soon.

ANNOTATED SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTMAN, J.C. 1985a, 'Aboriginal employment in the informal sector: The outstation case', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 163-173.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Dietary analysis, employment in the informal sector, government programs, income support, outstations (homelands), social security benefits, subsistence income, unemployment.

Geographic area

Momega outstation, central Arnhem Land, NT.

Study aims

To quantify Aboriginal participation in the informal, or 'non-cash', economy and to discuss policy implications.

Research method

Data, collected by direct observation, time allocation and dietary survey methodologies, were utilised to investigate the work effort and food production of all adult producers over a one year period during 1979-80.

Research findings

Aboriginal people at Momega (Gunwinggu) work full-time, when the definition of employment is broadened to include activities outside the formal labour market. 'Labour force' participation in subsistence was 100 per cent for people over 15 years of age and the number of hours worked per day was 3.6 for seven days per week, or a per capita average of 24 hours per week. This compares with an Australian average of 25 hours per week, calculated on five days of work per week and a labour force participation rate around 60 per cent. In other words, Momega people can be described as fully employed according to mainstream criteria of per capita hours per week and labour force participation.

Momega people are dependent on welfare transfers to meet their cash needs; the outstation is not financially self-sufficient. Momega people require cash income from government, in the form of unemployment benefits, to supplement both income earned from the sale of arts and

crafts and subsistence returns.

Because of its greater flexibility, the author considers the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme as more appropriate than unemployment benefits as a minimum income support scheme for modern hunter-gatherers. The CDEP scheme provides a means for Aboriginal administrative autonomy and it allows communities to pay wages for whatever the community considers to be productive activity, like traditional subsistence activities.

Policy relevance

This study is based on quantitative data, obtained from direct observation of a small Aboriginal community. This method serves as a limitation on the application of these findings to other Aboriginal communities, because significant regional differences across Australia result in great variation in imputed incomes from subsistence activities.

With reference to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, if the author's assessment and definition of Aborigines' work effort were accepted then it could be argued that at least some outstations have already achieved the goal of employment equity. In view of this, the author considers the CDEP scheme as a more appropriate form of income support than unemployment benefits, because the CDEP scheme has provision for the recognition of subsistence activities as work. Unemployment benefits, on the other hand, recognise people as being unemployed.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c; Altman and Taylor 1989; Cane and Stanley 1985; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989; Young 1985a.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1985b, 'The impact of mining royalties on Aboriginal economic development in the Northern Territory', in *Economy and People in the North*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 61-71.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$18.00.

Key words

Economic independence, economic status, mining royalty payments.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

Altman discusses the possible role of royalty payments in raising the low

economic status of Aborigines in the NT political economy.

Research method

This article summarises findings of a research project (see Altman, J. C. 1983, *Aborigines and Mining Royalties in the Northern Territory*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra) which was funded by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission). Reports of the Auditor-General provide a secondary source of quantitative data on expenditure of royalty income for the financial years 1979 to 1983, inclusive. Primary data collection was undertaken in the NT in 1982.

Research findings

The *Aboriginal Land Rights Commission: Second Report* (AGPS, Canberra, 1974) headed by Mr Justice Woodward identified capital as necessary for Aboriginal economic advancement. A potential source of capital was seen as mining royalties, because they could be used for community benefit and because they could provide an income independent of both annual government appropriations and government administration. Woodward recommended that royalties be distributed according to a formula which would give 30 per cent to communities in affected areas (through the incorporated royalty associations), 40 per cent to Aboriginal land councils (to meet their administrative expenses) and 30 per cent to the Aborigines Benefits Trust Fund (ABTF). The Liberal-National Country Party coalition, however, legislated ministerial control over 70 per cent of royalty payments.

During the study period, royalty payments were used to finance successful Aboriginal claims over 172,418 square kilometres of unalienated Crown land. The 40 per cent designated for the administration of land councils, however, was insufficient, given that their budgets consistently exceeded that amount. This undermined the basis of Woodward's proposed 30/40/30 formula. An amendment to the Act, S. 64(7) allowed additional royalties to be paid to land councils when 40 per cent of royalties did not meet the cost of their ministerially approved budgets. This exacerbated apparent variations in access to royalties between Aborigines in areas affected by mining and Aborigines elsewhere in the NT. Royalty associations had difficulty in devising or sustaining sound financial and investment policies, resulting from pressure to distribute association income to individuals. The role of the Aborigines Benefit Trust Account (the former ABTF) was never clarified, and its Aboriginal Advisory Committee was under continual pressure to distribute grants to small, regional interest groups. Such fragmentation of scarce financial resources resulted in limited investment in large scale enterprises.

Policy relevance

The author raises problems that have resulted from government failure to clarify the relationship between royalty payments and normal government expenditure on Aboriginal communities. In the absence of clear policy and with most royalty equivalents under ministerial control, royalty payments have substituted at times for government funding responsibilities. Royalties, however, have been the main source of funds for Aboriginal land claims to unalienated Crown land. As such, land is the major economic return for Aborigines from mining royalties.

Key cross references

Altman 1983, 1985c, 1985d; Cousins 1985; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1985c, 'The payment of mining royalties to Aborigines: Compensation or revenue?', *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 475-488.

Key words

Compensation, land rights, mining royalty payments, source of income.

Geographic area

Principally the NT, with some reference to WA, SA and NSW.

Study aims

The author examines whether mining royalty equivalents are paid to Aboriginal interests as a form of compensation or revenue.

Research method

The author undertook field work in 1982. Secondary sources of material relating to mining royalty payments in Australia are also utilised.

Research findings

The paper examines the historical background of mining royalty payments to Aboriginal people between 1952 and 1984. It is noted that the Federal Government has never clearly stated the purpose of mining royalty payments to Aborigines, either as a form of compensation for disturbance to Aboriginal social, cultural and economic life or, alternatively, as a form of revenue to provide Aborigines with an additional source of income to government funds. In the meantime, there have been some cases of royalty payments substituting for normal program funds.

There has been considerable variation in the amount of royalty payments received by Aboriginal people. This has been the result of different-sized resource development projects on Aboriginal land and different royalty regimes, that include ad valorem (leverage-based), profit-based and output-based.

Policy relevance

The author establishes that, in remote areas where there are limited options for economic development, royalty equivalents are an important source of capital to stimulate Aboriginal economic development. This makes royalty equivalents and other mining payments particularly important to Aboriginal groups that, otherwise, have limited opportunities to raise venture capital. There is a need to clarify the purpose of royalty payments, to assess their equitability and distribution, and to establish mechanisms to ensure these moneys are utilised effectively.

Key cross references

Altman, J.C. 1983, *Aborigines and Mining Royalties in the Northern Territory*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra; Altman 1985b, 1985d; Dixon, Elderton, Irvine and Kirby 1985; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; O'Faircheallaigh 1986; Ross and Johnson 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1985d (Reprint), *Report on the Review of the Aboriginals Benefit Trust Account (and Related Financial Matters) in the Northern Territory Land Rights Legislation*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 320.

Available from

Out of print.

Key words

Administration of mining royalty payments, government funds, land councils, mining income.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

The terms of reference required a general review of the role, structure, functions and operation of the Aboriginals Benefit Trust Account (ABTA, the former Aborigines Benefits Trust Fund) and of the ABTA Advisory Committee. It also involved an examination of the nature and the extent of royalty payments to date.

Research method

The issues were addressed by a working party which included representatives from the Central and Northern Land Councils, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, ATSIC) and the ABTA Advisory Committee. The NT Government, the Aboriginal Development Commission (now ATSIC) and royalty associations (which represented Aborigines of areas affected by mining) were not represented. Quantitative data provides a regional

breakdown of ABTA moneys to Aboriginal communities. The data were collected by D.E. Smith, review research officer, and from the author's previous research (Altman, J.C. 1983, *Aborigines and Mining Royalties in the Northern Territory*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra).

Research findings

The formula proposed for the distribution of mining royalty equivalents in the second report of the Aboriginal Land Rights Commission 1974 (Woodward 1974) has never been applied. In particular, Woodward's proposal that 30 per cent of all royalty payments be distributed for the benefit of all NT Aborigines was, instead, at the discretion of the Minister; this 30 per cent was used primarily to supplement normal running costs of land councils. In relation to grants, the ABTA operated without any broad financial, investment and expenditure policies. Grants were approved on an ad hoc basis, with a significant proportion expended on vehicles and little going into productive investment. The Report also noted that the distribution of royalty payments was fairly equitable between broad regions but not between localities - payments were determined irrespective of the impact of resource development projects. To deal with these problems, the Report recommended that the ABTA be restructured. It proposed a Northern Territory Aborigines Trust Account (NTATA), which would receive all royalty payments in the initial instance and which would function as the clearing house for mining royalty payments. The NTATA would distribute all income from mining royalty payments to land councils (40 per cent to land councils for administrative expenses and 30 per cent to land councils for disbursement to areas affected) and 30 per cent to a new ABTA. The new ABTA would function independently, with 50 per cent to be expended in grants and 50 per cent of funds to be accumulated for investment purposes. To guarantee funds for Aboriginal economic advancement, the Report recommends the implementation of Woodward's 30/40/30 proposal.

Policy relevance

Although the Report deals with matters in the NT and is now somewhat dated, it provides useful data and insights on royalty payments and expenditure which might assist future policy formation. It includes comments on the Federal Government's apparent use of royalty payments to renege its funding responsibilities; it also discusses whether mining royalty payments should be determined either on an ad valorem basis or as a percentage of profits. Its comments regarding the absence of investment policies have broader application to Aboriginal economic development issues.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c; Christensen 1985; Dixon, Elderton, Irvine and

Kirby 1985; Howitt 1990; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1987a, *The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Mutitjulu Community, Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park*, Working Paper No. 7, Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 118.

Available from

Department of Political and Social Change, RSPacS, ANU; \$7.00.

Key words

Commercial concessions, economic status, employment status, enterprises, income status, tourism.

Geographic area

Mutitjulu community, Uluru National Park, NT.

Study aims

This study provides a detailed account of the economic structure of the Mutitjulu community (Anangu), and recommends ways in which Aboriginal interests, which are in direct competition with white business interests, could capture a greater proportion of the tourist trade. It was undertaken as a consultancy for the Central Land Council, the Pitjantjatjara Council and the Mutitjulu community under the auspices of The Ayers Rock Region Tourism Impact Study (*Sharing the Park: Anangu Initiatives in Ayers Rock Tourism: A Tourism Impact Study* 1987, unpublished).

Research method

The study includes quantitative data on Anangu employment, household cash incomes and enterprises, collected by the author during field work in 1985. General comparisons are made with the wider Australian economy and the tourism industry.

Research findings

Most Anangu are engaged in part-time, casual or occasional employment. This accounts for the high rate of dependence on welfare benefits, which amounts to 70 per cent of the Mutitjulu community's household income; this compares with only 11 per cent for Australians generally.

Mutitjulu residents had an estimated annual income of \$3,750 per capita, or about one half of the Australian average. Mutitjulu community members, however, receive \$55 more per week than the 11 per cent of Australia-wide households which rely on welfare as their principal source of income.

In terms of direct employment, tourism has not had a marked impact on Anangu employment status. This is partly a consequence of the age structure of the Mutitjulu community, which has a high proportion of people aged over 65 years. Of the limited pool of labour available for full-time employment, 64 per cent had worked in tourism in a variety of occupations. Highest employment was between 1983 and 1984, when part-time and contract employment was available at Yulara during its construction.

The indirect benefits of tourism have been significant for Anangu-owned enterprises. The Mutitjulu community is well placed to take advantage of a monopoly trading position within Uluru National Park. Rentals paid for the lease of the Park by the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service provide a source of capital that can be used for enterprise development. Various recommendations are made, including: the relocation of Maruku Arts and Crafts in order to boost annual sales from \$100,000 (1985) to between \$200,000 and \$250,000; the opportunity to accumulate lease moneys so that they can be used to minimise the negative social impacts of tourism; and assistance for Anangu to take up business opportunities that arise within the National Park.

Policy relevance

This case study is one of the few that provides a comprehensive picture of the economic structure of an Aboriginal community. Consequently, the author was able to undertake a rigorous assessment of the direct impact of the region's tourist industry on the community's economy.

The study shows that while Aborigines might own a key tourist destination, direct economic returns, such as employment and increased income, accrue to non-Aborigines. This finding highlights the importance of lease arrangements in providing Aborigines with an opportunity to channel some of the economic benefits of tourism to their communities which, in the case of the Mutitjulu community, enables the community to use its monopoly within the Park to expand its commercial enterprises.

Key cross references

Altman 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Byrnes 1988; Dillon 1987; Lawrence 1985; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986; Williams 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1987b, *The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Warmun (Turkey Creek) Community: East Kimberley*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 19, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 73.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Arts and crafts, economic status, employment, enterprises, income, tourism.

Geographic area

Warmun community, Turkey Creek, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To establish the economic status of the Warmun community, including the current and the potential economic impacts of tourism on the community.

Research method

This is one of two papers by the author on the Warmun community (Altman 1987d), undertaken under the auspices of the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project. Primary quantitative data on employment, income and demography were collected during a visit to the community in August 1986. Data is also drawn from both the 1981 Census and the *Tourism Development Plan: Kimberley Region* (Barrington Partners 1986, for the WA Tourism Commission, Perth).

Research findings

Limited employment opportunities and entrenchment in the welfare economy accounted for the Warmun community's high unemployment rate of 57 per cent, a fairly typical figure for remote Aboriginal communities. Most employment was short-term, through the Federal Government's Community Employment Program, although the program offered fairly regular employment. Private sector employment was limited to work on white pastoral stations, the Argyle Diamond Mines and the community's Wungkul store. There was some indirect employment in the arts and crafts industry.

Welfare transfers accounted for 63 per cent of household income, compared with 11 per cent for Australian households generally. The mean per capita income was \$171, which was in the lower range of Australian household incomes. The author, however, does not view income status as synonymous with economic status, as poverty was reduced by the community's access to cheap housing and services.

The author saw tourism as having the potential to become a significant component of the Warmun economy. The Turkey Creek Roadhouse, of which the Warmun community has a 40 per cent share, has a locational advantage over other enterprise developments. Its projected turnover is about 9 per cent of total tourist expenditure in the East Kimberley region. Other development proposals include: the establishment of the Bungle Bungle National Park, which would involve joint management between the Department of Conservation and Land Management and Aboriginal-traditional owners; and, possibly, the establishment of Aboriginal commercial enterprises within the proposed park.

Policy relevance

This paper raises policy issues about Aboriginal involvement in the tourist industry. The study showed the community to be both poor and welfare dependent despite it having locational and comparative advantages in the context of the region's growing tourist industry. Despite the possibility of increased income, the author foreshadows only limited financial returns for the Warmun community as it becomes more directly involved in tourism. This finding is based on the author's research at other Aboriginal communities already involved in tourism, where many forms of participation in tourism have proved unsuitable for Aboriginal communities. This is primarily because economic benefits might be offset by social, cultural and, even, economic costs.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1988a, 1989b; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Kesteven 1987; Lawrence 1985; Ross and Johnson 1989; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986; Williams 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1987c, *Hunter-Gatherers Today: An Aboriginal Economy in North Australia*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp. 265.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$32.95.

Key words

Dietary analysis, expenditure patterns, hunting and gathering, outstations (homelands), social accounts, subsistence income.

Geographic area

Momega, Maningrida, north-central Arnhem Land, NT.

Study aims

To examine the interrelationships between the economy of a remote Aboriginal outstation community and the Australian market economy.

Research method

Nineteen months of field work were undertaken while the author was residing with the Gunwinggu people at Momega outstation. Information on economic activity was collected via participant observation methods and data was analysed using quantitative techniques of mainstream economics, including dietary analysis, social accounting, expenditure pattern analysis and time allocation methods.

Research findings

This is an account of the micro-economy of Momega outstation, which averages 37 residents. The Gunwinggu residents represent an enclave of indigenous hunter-gatherers within the Australian economy: fishing, and hunting and gathering are the key subsistence activities, while the welfare state has the role of providing social security benefits.

A survey of dietary intake over a 296 day period provided an outline of the outstation economy. Expenditure on purchased foods and the production of bush foods were recorded. Data on food production were converted into energy and protein intakes, with bush foods providing 46 per cent of kilocalories and 81 per cent of the protein per capita, per day. Economic activity at Momega outstation was quantified using social accounting methods. Income from subsistence production was converted to dollar terms by ascribing outstation production a market replacement value. Cash and imputed income for Momega outstation (1979-80) were social security 26 per cent, arts and crafts 10 per cent, and subsistence income 64 per cent. The community's total mean cash and imputed income was \$5,694 per month.

Total cash income at Momega for the year was \$20,831. Of the 78 per cent recorded expenditure, 54 per cent was on foodstuffs, 12 per cent on tobacco and 10 per cent on capital items. A further 6.5 per cent were recorded as savings, 5.8 per cent were recorded as transfers (including gambling), and 9.5 per cent went unrecorded. Seasonal factors seemed to influence bush food returns more than levels of cash income.

Men spent 2.9 hours per day on subsistence activities, and women 2.3 hours. Men expended a total of 3.8 hours per day on productive activities, and women a total of 3.4 hours. Although the hours spent per day on productive work are short in terms of the labour force, Gunwinggu can be said to work full-time. That is to say, their work effort equates with the hours worked in the general Australian labour force when allowance is made for labour force participation rates.

The social organisation of production remains informed by traditional practices. Decisions are made by consensus, with division of labour regulated by age and sex and productive cooperation influenced by kinship. Sharing practices are determined by residential arrangements, so that kinship relations result in a relatively equitable distribution of game; contemporary Aboriginal ideology does not tolerate the personal accumulation of food nor cash.

Gunwinggu place great importance on ceremonial life, which takes up about 15 per cent of time that would otherwise be available for production. Ceremonial activity, however, does not impede subsistence production, and can even augment subsistence returns when large-scale projects are undertaken cooperatively.

A major economic change has seen the market supersede ceremonies

as the major exchange mechanism. The traditional exchange system cannot provide the goods that the Gunwinggu now desire, making cash necessary to procure such goods from the market.

Policy relevance

This is a thorough study based on careful collection of data, participant observation and meticulously applied quantitative methods. It is one of the few studies of a modern Australian Aboriginal hunting and gathering economy, although it is now somewhat dated. Furthermore, because this study is on an Aboriginal community which had unlimited access to a resource-rich environment, care is warranted when making extrapolations from this economy to those of other Aboriginal communities. This would indicate the need for further research to assess the potential of the natural resource base to support subsistence activities at other locations.

The book clarifies the role of subsistence economies, thus demonstrating how they can increase the economic status of Aboriginal people; they provide a large proportion of daily food requirements and allow people to live as they choose on their traditional lands.

In the context of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, the study shows why it is difficult for such tradition-oriented people to successfully participate in the mainstream economy. Aboriginal egalitarian values (such as sharing of goods), their anti-accumulation ethic, and their desire to participate in traditional activities (such as ceremonies and subsistence) run counter to the values required for managing commercial enterprises and for employment in mainstream labour markets. The author believes that, as long as these people live at remote outstations, they will never attain formal employment equity with other Australians and will always need income support.

Based on the evidence that these hunter-gatherers are fully employed in the informal sector, working in subsistence and other productive activities, the author believes that unemployment benefits are an unsuitable form of cash income support for them. Not only do unemployment benefits denigrate the value of subsistence work but they are also susceptible to policy change. The problem for policy-makers, though, is that such outstation groups require ongoing cash income support (see Altman and Taylor 1989).

Key cross references

Altman 1985a; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Dillon 1985; Jennings 1985; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989; Young 1988c, 1988d, 1988e.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1987d, *The Potential for Reduced Dependency at Aboriginal Communities in the East Kimberley Region*, East

Kimberley Working Paper No. 18, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 26.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Economic status, employment, expenditure patterns, income, self-determination, self-management, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Warmun community, East Kimberley Region, WA.

Study aims

To investigate the level of government funds received by East Kimberley Aborigines, based on a comparison of their relative disadvantage with other Australians; to estimate whether money allocated to the Warmun community will result in economic advancement; and to establish whether moneys are being spent in a manner consistent with Aboriginal development priorities.

Research method

1981 Census data were used to establish the community's employment rate, income level and demography. Data from field work undertaken in 1986, on the income and expenditure levels at Warmun, were compared with data from the 1984 Household Expenditure Survey (Australian Bureau of Statistics).

Research findings

Sixty per cent of the adult Aboriginal population of the East Kimberley were unemployed; the same rate was calculated for the Warmun community. Private sector jobs accounted for only 11 of the 33 full-time jobs at Warmun.

For August 1986, community income totalled \$40,000 per fortnight; 63 per cent of this was from social security, 20 per cent from program funds and 17 per cent from private sector employment. A high proportion of those in employment also received social security benefits. For the East Kimberley region as a whole, per capita allocations suggest that the rate of government support is less than it should be; on horizontal equity grounds alone, program funds should have totalled \$12 million.

Members of the Warmun community are in a better financial position now than in the past. Although the Warmun community experiences levels of dependence and poverty similar to other East Kimberley Aborigines, four factors reduce these at a community level. Firstly, subsistence activities are estimated to contribute an additional 10 per cent to cash income. Secondly, the Warmun community spends only 2 per cent of cash income, per fortnight on housing and service charges; this compares with

25 per cent of income for Australians generally. Thirdly, the material aspirations of Warmun community members are different to mainstream society. Few aspire to, or can afford, their own housing; in turn, the absence of an Aboriginal housing market means that the most common avenue in Australia to private capital accumulation, home ownership, is closed to Aborigines. Fourthly, moneys from mining, through the Good Neighbour Program and the Argyle Social Impact Group, contribute \$430,000 per annum to the Warmun community; this amounts to approximately \$1,400 per individual, per annum. It is unclear, however, the extent to which this scheme merely offsets capital expenditure that would normally be financed by the Federal Government and the WA Government.

The main obstacles to Aboriginal economic development are remoteness from mainstream economic opportunities, the 'welfare trap' and the 'ethnic trap'. From an Aboriginal perspective, welfare can be economically appealing because individuals are able to pursue cultural and social prerogatives while in receipt of a steady, year-round income from unemployment benefits that is only marginally less than what they would receive from award and under-award wage employment. Aborigines are caught in an ethnic trap, only being able to enjoy economic advancement when ties are broken with their community.

Policy relevance

The Federal Government's Aboriginal affairs policy supports Aboriginal cultural autonomy through self-determination. It also seeks Aboriginal economic advancement. The author argues that these two objectives can be inconsistent. The point is elaborated by Fisk (1985). Fisk claims that the two best options available to improve the economic status of Aborigines are either entry into the mainstream economy or participation in the outstations movement. While the former might achieve economic equality, this could be at the cost of cultural autonomy. Conversely, residing at outstations can help both to maintain cultural autonomy and to provide a degree of economic independence, but it does not resolve welfare dependence. The author concludes that the apparent contradiction between economic assimilation and cultural autonomy might be overcome if government policy were to reduce dependence through income generation and if the government were not to seek total economic independence. Reduced dependence would require a reallocation of available program funds from social welfare to economic objectives.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c; Coombs 1986; Fisk 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Stanley 1985b.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1988a, *Aborigines, Tourism, and Development: The Northern Territory Experience*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 361.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$20.00.

Key words

Arts and crafts industry, land rights, lease of Aboriginal lands, rental payments, tourism.

Geographic area

Uluru National Park, the Ayers Rock region, Kakadu National Park, Gurig National Park, Melville and Bathurst Islands, NT.

Study aims

To determine the actual and the potential economic benefits accruing to NT Aborigines living on Aboriginal land through their involvement in the tourist industry. The study introduces the notions of direct and indirect tourism, and cultural and environmental tourism.

Research method

Direct observation methods were used to provide a source of primary data for a comparative study of tourism development at five Aboriginal-owned tourist destinations in the NT. Quantitative data were obtained from the files of government departments, statutory authorities and from the authors own field trips which were made between 1985 and 1988.

Research findings

Aborigines generate most of their income in the tourist industry from indirect 'cultural' tourism, by the manufacture of artefacts. The Aboriginal enterprises surveyed are small in scale and few are financially independent. The Aboriginal Arts Committee (formerly, the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council), the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), the Aboriginal Development Commission (now ATSIC) and the Aboriginal Benefits Trust Account (formerly, the Aborigines Benefits Trust Fund) provide no significant loans or grants to tourism ventures. The NT Government provides only limited financial support, especially when compared with its significant backing of large, non-Aboriginal tourist developments in the NT. Aboriginal tourism ventures are closely linked with non-Aboriginal owners, co-owners, entrepreneurs or managers, and most marketing occurs away from the place of production. This results in a lower proportion of income from retail sales accruing to Aborigines. Income from arts and crafts generally provides only a cash supplement to welfare entitlements.

Direct cultural tourism, which involves face-to-face contact with visitors, is limited. On the one hand, Aborigines are generally reluctant to

participate, many believing that tourism cannot be differentiated from other non-Aboriginal intrusions which have had a negative impact on their culture in the past. Furthermore, Aboriginal attitudes to employment cannot be differentiated from general attitudes to employment in the formal labour market; aspects of Aboriginal value and belief systems require that commercial considerations are not paramount when considered alongside socio-cultural needs. On the other, Aboriginal culture seems to be of secondary importance to tourists; Aboriginality influenced the choice of tourist destination for only 30 per cent of visitors to the NT. Land rights should provide Aboriginal interests with sufficient leverage to benefit from tourism in the same way that they benefit from mining. This potential leverage is curtailed, however, by the limited capacity of Aborigines to restrict visitors. Of the cases examined, it is only the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands who have an absolute veto over any commercial developments. Also, unlike mining, financial returns from tourist development are not guaranteed by statute, which results in enormous variability in both the nature and the level of payments to Aborigines for access to their land. They receive between only 1 and 2 per cent of total tourist expenditure in the NT.

Policy relevance

While the tourist industry appears to offer employment opportunities and is a potential source of income for the NT's Aboriginal population, growth in the tourist industry has had negligible impact on the economic status of Aborigines at the five localities examined.

The study shows that there is some incompatibility between the demand and the supply of Aboriginal cultural tourism. Despite the high tourist interest in Aboriginal religion, mythology and ceremonies, Aborigines find it difficult to supply these cultural elements to tourists. The problem relates to elements of Aboriginal culture, like the secret nature of some ceremonies, which limit their incorporation into the tourist industry and which also explain why Aborigines find indirect tourism more acceptable. This cultural incompatibility is compounded by the fact that Aboriginal people frequently lack the English communication and managerial skills required to participate in the industry.

Tourist development is often perceived as positive because of its capacity to create employment opportunities in remote areas. But this interpretation fails to account for the incompatibility between the demand and the supply of cultural tourism, and the negative impacts of tourist development on Aboriginal lands. The legitimacy of rentals as a form of compensation for negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts are rarely recognised.

Other policy issues are raised, including the limited nature of Aboriginal involvement in the tourist industry, the relationship between tourist development and land rights, and whether Aboriginal involvement

in commercial developments would result in more Aboriginal control over tourists. The study suggests that an important means for Aborigines to gain financial returns from tourism is the lease of their land for tourism projects.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1987b, 1989b; Byrnes 1988; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Kesteven 1987; Lawrence 1985; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986; Williams 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1988b, 'Economic status', in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, general ed. J. Jupp, Angus & Robertson, pp. 201-207.

Available from

University Co-Operative Bookshop Ltd; \$39.95.

Key words

Economic status, employment, housing, income, occupation.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To establish the relative economic status of Aborigines compared with other Australians; to discuss factors which prevent improvement in their economic status; and to outline problems associated with measuring Aboriginal economic status.

Research method

Data were drawn from Miller (1985), the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, and Fisk (1985).

Research findings

Aboriginal employment is affected by their geographical dispersion. Forty-two per cent of Aborigines reside in rural areas with a population of less than 1,000; this contrasts with 14 per cent for all Australians. The demand for Aboriginal labour in these areas is hampered by prejudice and negative stereotyping, while the supply of Aboriginal labour is restricted by their low educational status - only 4 per cent of the Aboriginal population aged 15 years and over have any tertiary qualifications, compared with 24 per cent of all Australians.

Aboriginal employment across Australia declined to 50 per cent in the mid-1980s; unemployment was roughly six times higher than that for all Australians. Compared with other Australians, Aborigines were employed predominantly in unskilled and low-paying jobs, being under-represented

in white-collar, managerial, administrative, professional and technical categories. Of the Aboriginal working population, 97 per cent were employees compared with 85 per cent for other Australians; only 48 per cent of Aboriginal workers, as opposed to 69 per cent for all Australians, were employed in the private sector.

Fifty-three per cent of Aborigines derive their household incomes from welfare transfers; this compares with 11 per cent for Australian household incomes. In 1981, median annual incomes were \$3,677 for individual Aborigines and \$6,626 for Aboriginal families; the comparative figures for all Australians were \$6,509 and \$12,191, respectively. Only 2 per cent of Aborigines earned incomes greater than \$15,000 compared with 13 per cent of all Australians.

High dependency ratios amongst Aboriginal families exacerbate Aboriginal poverty. Aborigines have about twice the number of children aged 0-14 years as other Australian households. The ratio of young dependants to employed Aborigines is almost four times the corresponding ratio for all Australians.

Policy relevance

This paper gleans data from several sources to provide a summary of Aboriginal economic status. While the data used are dated, the issues emanating from this paper still have direct relevance to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy. To advance the economic status of Aboriginal people, enterprise development depends upon both land and capital. National land rights legislation has shortfalls. The land transferred to Aborigines through legislation has limited commercial value, and the communal ownership and inalienable title of Aboriginal land make it difficult to use land ownership to raise capital for individually-owned enterprises. In addition, funds going to Aboriginal communities, while they appear to be devoted to Aboriginal advancement, in reality come from special Aboriginal program allocations to provide a range of services that most Australians expect as a civil right. Altman also uses the paper as a forum to define terminology frequently used in Aboriginal affairs.

Key cross references

Ball 1985; Beck 1985; Choo 1990; Fisk 1985; Miller 1985; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990; Treadgold 1988; Tyler 1990; Young 1988f.

ALTMAN, J.C. (Chairman) 1989a, *The Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Industry: Report of the Review Committee*, for the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 392.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$19.95.

Key words

Arts and crafts industry, funding levels, government policy.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To make recommendations for the establishment of a comprehensive policy that would facilitate the future viability of the Aboriginal arts and crafts industry to ensure that: maximum returns go to artists for their work; opportunities exist to increase Aboriginal employment and training; and the cultural integrity of Aboriginal art is safeguarded.

Research method

Submissions were invited from all interest groups. Questionnaires were sent to all community-based Aboriginal arts organisations and specialist retail outlets. A literature search, consultations and research were undertaken by the review committee and consultants. In the absence of any viable industry statistics, primary data were collected on cash received by Aboriginal people from the sale of arts and crafts in 1987-88. A data base with information on 2,300 Aboriginal artists was compiled.

Research findings

Miller (1985) identified the Aboriginal arts and crafts industry as a source of cash income which was under-utilised. A response was an increase in financial and other support for the industry, including the programs in the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP), but this occurred in an uncoordinated and ad hoc fashion both at state and Federal levels. This remains the case: there is no integrated arts industry policy and there is evidence of a lack of coordination of the industry at every level. For example, art enterprises are often set up without subsequent support for promotion and marketing.

There was a rapid increase in both the amount of art produced and in the returns to producers in the 1980s. Aboriginal art became accepted as mainstream fine art, and the industry grew by 33 per cent, per annum. In 1987-88, it returned \$7 million to 4,800 artists, though only 7 per cent of artists earned more than \$5,000 per year and the average income was \$1,500. Women accounted for 56 per cent of art producers but received only 31 per cent of total arts income.

It is argued that the industry is an economic and cultural success that should be facilitated and encouraged, art being the main private sector economic activity and the only export product at many communities. However, because the industry is fragmented with 80 per cent of producers residing in remote areas, little art would reach the market

without government support.

Government-funded, community-based art centres mediate between producers and retail outlets. A variety of government departments provide funds; art centres are unevenly resourced, they often face liquidity problems and workers lack training. They do, however, usually generate favourable outcomes. One dollar of subsidy generates \$6.00 of sales and \$4.30 to producers. Every \$1,000 of government support generates marketing opportunities for four producers.

Policy relevance

Primary data were collected but the authors noted that it was of varying quality. Despite this, the study forms a comprehensive review of the industry, providing a detailed analysis and evaluation of its interaction with Commonwealth programs. It makes important policy recommendations.

The author states that the industry has had a significant economic impact, particularly on remote Aboriginal communities. It is unlikely, however, that the arts and crafts industry will enable Aboriginal people to generate sufficient income to be independent of government assistance but it will provide a small and important income supplement. The report contends that this income could be increased if the industry were run more efficiently, although it also notes that the industry is susceptible to fluctuations in demand, and that new enterprises might founder without market research, promotion and marketing support.

It is concluded that the arts and crafts industry could provide an extremely cost-effective means to provide employment and an income supplement to Aboriginal people who have a unique comparative advantage in the production of Aboriginal arts and crafts. It is imperative though that there is greater rationalisation and coordination within the industry and that the government modify existing programs to meet industry needs. The review stresses that priority be given to assessing the funding and training needs of art centres. The report recommends the establishment of an Aboriginal arts industry strategy to be administered by a specialist unit within the central office of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission). Such a strategy within the AEDP context could facilitate Aboriginal employment equity but would require ongoing government support.

Key cross references

Altman 1988a, 1990b; Finlayson 1990; Spring 1990.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1989b, 'Tourism dilemmas for Aboriginal Australians', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 16, pp. 456-76.

Key words

Commercial concessions, national parks, ownership of land, tourism.

Geographic area

Uluru National Park, Kakadu National Park, Gurig (Cobourg Peninsula) National Park, Melville and Bathurst Islands, NT.

Study aims

To establish whether tourism will result in improved Aboriginal economic status.

Research method

Data on employment and income were collected between April and September 1986. The economic impact of tourism was calculated using four indicators: employment, enterprise, sale of artefacts, and sale of hunting and ritual culture. Comparisons are made between four Aboriginal communities which have both high and low tourist visitation.

Research findings

Despite Aboriginal ownership of Uluru and Kakadu National Parks, lease-back agreements with the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service (ANPWS) mean that Aboriginal owners have only limited means to restrict visitor access. This 'imposed' tourism constrains their ability to charge tourists entry fees. At Uluru, for instance, owners received only 1.3 per cent of the gross revenue from tourism in the Ayers Rock region.

Where tourism is 'invited', Aboriginal owners have greater economic leverage. At Gurig, tourism provided 43 per cent of household income for the small, resident Aboriginal population. At Melville and Bathurst Islands, on the other hand, partly because of a much larger population, tourism income was far less significant, accounting for only 5 per cent of the Island's Gross Domestic Product.

Employment and income from tourism at Uluru from the ANPWS and from Maruku Arts and Crafts accounted for an estimated 60 per cent of jobs, and 54 per cent of employment income. At Kakadu, over half the jobs were related to the tourist industry, with wages from the ANPWS totalling 26 per cent of total cash income and 38 per cent of employment income.

The economic significance of tourism varied between locations, as demonstrated by the amounts earned from lease payments, entry charges, and bounties levied on animals hunted on safari tours: \$7,502 for Kakadu in 1986, \$175,000 for Uluru in 1986, about \$120,000 at Gurig in 1986 and about \$40,000 at Melville and Bathurst Islands in 1987. These amounts represent only a small proportion of profits from tourism at these destinations.

Policy relevance

Aboriginal communities have come under increasing pressure to seek

involvement in the tourist industry as a means to reduce their poverty and welfare dependence. The statutory ownership of national parks leased back to Federal and NT parks authorities, however, does not provide sufficient leverage for traditional owners either to gain significant commercial concessions or to extract a greater proportion of tourism rent from non-Aboriginal business interests. The data demonstrate marked variations in tourism income, although they also show that tourism has a substantial economic impact on each observed community. Legally binding lease-back agreements, which precede tourism growth rather than follow it, are necessary if tourism were to have a marked impact on the overall economic status of Aborigines.

Key cross references

Altman 1987b, 1988a; Byrnes 1988; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Lawrence 1985; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; Spring 1990; White 1986; Williams 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1990a, 'The economic future of remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, pp. 48-51.

Key words

Economic equity, government policy, government programs, remote communities, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Remote Australia, especially the NT, WA, Qld, SA.

Study aims

To examine the Federal Government's policy response to the economic situation of Aboriginal people in remote communities, to assess what economic issues these communities are likely to face in the 1990s, and to discuss options for economic improvement.

Research method

The study utilised secondary data, including the author's own research papers.

Research findings

All remote Aboriginal communities have a high economic dependence on the state. The Federal Government's Aboriginal affairs policy since 1972 has been to support Aboriginal self-determination and self-management. This has been associated with increasing levels of government financial intervention. The Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP), introduced in 1986, has the objectives of employment, income and educational equity between Aboriginal and other Australians by the year

2000; it aims to get Aboriginal people off welfare into employment and training programs and then into the mainstream labour force.

Some dilemmas inherent in the AEDP for remote communities are outlined. The AEDP assumes that government expenditure and intervention (such as training) will improve Aboriginal economic status; but in remote regions, there are few economic opportunities. The AEDP's goal of decreased dependence and economic equity between Aborigines and other Australians will require greater injections of public funds, perpetuating dependence. AEDP also assumes that cultural autonomy and economic advancement are compatible goals, but economic equity implies incorporation into the mainstream economy and, therefore, assimilation.

The economic outlook for most remote communities in the 1990s is poor. Future options could include: involvement in mining, tourism, artefact manufacture, and primary industries; import substitution by participating in subsistence; changing the mix of welfare and program support to provide infrastructure and services; and setting up businesses, such as stores. These are limited options though and are not equally available in all regions.

The paper raises economic policy questions. For example, are community-based programs (such as the Community Development Employment Projects scheme) appropriate, or do they merely undermine the 'individual' and the 'household'? Are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and the AEDP special programs for Aborigines belated attempts to swim against the 'mainstreaming' tide? To what extent is the Federal emphasis on special Aboriginal programs allowing state, territory and local governments to renege on their funding responsibilities?

The paper concludes that current government structures and policies do not offer a solution to the problems of remote Aboriginal communities because locational, historical, structural and cultural barriers to economic advancement remain largely insurmountable and because economic policy problems in implementation have never been addressed nor overcome.

Policy relevance

This is a provocative analysis of the way present AEDP and other policy initiatives pursue laudable goals, but how these goals can be inconsistent with each other in remote regions. Examples include possible inconsistencies between economic equity and self sufficiency, on the one hand, and economic assimilation and cultural autonomy, on the other. This abstract paper, which uses little quantitative data, provides few answers to a number of important policy questions.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1989; Castle 1989; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1988, 1989; Pollard 1988.

ALTMAN, J.C. 1990b, 'Selling Aboriginal art', in *Marketing Aboriginal Art in the 1990s*, eds J. C. Altman and L. Taylor, Papers presented to a workshop in Canberra 12-13 June 1990, Institute Report Series, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 5-15.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$10.00.

Key words

Arts and crafts industry, income.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To provide an up-to-date analysis of the Aboriginal arts and crafts industry.

Research method

The study uses data from a number of Aboriginal art centres in remote parts of Australia.

Research findings

Average real growth in the Aboriginal arts and crafts industry exceeded 50 per cent per annum between 1979 and 1988. In 1987-88, industry sales were \$18.5 million and returns to producers were \$7 million. This growth was related to the associated expansion in tourism, the Bicentennial year and purchases by museums and art galleries. Since 1987-88, sales have declined in real terms to total \$20 million with returns to artists being in the vicinity of \$7.6 million. This decline is associated with a slowing of the economy and a slump in the tourism sector due to the pilot's dispute.

The author argues that a plateau in the industry was established in 1988. He predicts that, in contrast to the eight-fold increase during the 1980s, the industry will only double or treble in scale in the 1990s. This prediction is based on a division of the industry into tourist art and fine art components. Tourist art accounts for 50 per cent of industry sales and visitors to Australia are estimated to double to 4.9 million by the year 2000. The demand for fine art is difficult to predict but it seems clear that the high demand by galleries and museums will decline as they have already amassed significant collections. The prospects for expansion appear to lie in overseas markets. This option, however, has been tried before without significant reward.

Policy relevance

In the context of the Aboriginal economy, the author argues that the Aboriginal arts and crafts industry was the major economic success in the

1980s and that prospects for the industry are good. A number of key issues need to be addressed though for the gains of the 1980s to be maintained through the 1990s. This includes whether there should be some regulation of the industry to protect prices, as there is currently oversupply of some forms of fine art. A great deal of tourist art will be available in the 1990s owing to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy which supports the establishment of new arts enterprises. New output will need to be marketed effectively to compete with niches dominated by imported tea towels and toy koalas. Furthermore, there is a danger of overservicing from a plethora of Federal and state agencies eager for quantifiable outcomes in Aboriginal programs.

Key cross references

Altman 1989a; Finlayson 1990; Spring 1990.

ALTMAN, J.C. and DILLON, M.C. 1988, 'Aboriginal land rights, land councils and the development of the Northern Territory', in *Northern Australia: Progress and Prospects, Volume 1, Contemporary Issues in Development*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 126-154.

Available from

NARU; ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$24.00.

Key words

Aboriginal land councils, land rights, resources (land), royalty associations.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To examine some of the economic impacts and the strategic significance, for Aboriginal people, of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*.

Research method

The Aboriginal Benefit Trust Account and royalty associations, institutions which are financially interdependent with land councils under the provisions of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*, are briefly examined. The authors also have worked with land councils in the past. The study also utilises secondary sources of data from the Aboriginal Land Commissioner's and Central and Northern Land Council's annual reports.

Research findings

The paper analyses the nature, functions and activities of land councils, estimating what their future role in the NT might be. The authors suggest that the use of mining royalties to finance the participation of land councils in the land claims process is of strategic significance.

The priorities of land councils have altered since their establishment. At first, land claims and the negotiation of resource agreements dominated their activities. In the decade since 1976, they have begun to deal with issues relating to the development of Aboriginal land, as well as issues of broader significance to the political and economic aspirations of Aboriginal people.

The authors view land councils' activities as increasingly paragovernmental in nature, and conclude that the Land Rights Act has significantly altered the structural position of Aboriginal people in the NT. By the time the land claims process is completed, Aboriginal people could own 45 per cent of the land in the NT.

Policy relevance

The paper argues that economic development in the NT must become increasingly based on greater cooperation between the NT Government and Aboriginal land councils; this has not always been the case to date. It emphasises the changing position of Aboriginal people as owners of land and resources; this new status could have implications for the establishment of enterprises with an associated expansion of job and other economic opportunities for Aboriginal people on their land.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985d; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Ross 1988; Sullivan 1987; Turner 1986; Wilkie 1985; Young 1988f.

ALTMAN, J.C. and SMITH, D.E. 1990, *The Possible Economic Impacts of Mining and Tourism in the Kakadu Conservation Zone on Aboriginal People*, Consultancy Series, Kakadu Conservation Zone Inquiry, Resource Assessment Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 102.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$29.95, reprinted on request.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, employment, land rights, mining, tourism, training.

Geographic area

Kakadu Conservation Zone (KCZ), Katherine region, NT.

Study aims

To assess the potential economic significance of mining and tourism development in the KCZ to the region's Aboriginal population.

Research method

A comparative method was used to assess the economic impacts of resource development projects on Aboriginal people, based on primary and secondary sources of data. Representatives of businesses, Aboriginal organisations, and government departments and agencies were interviewed.

Research findings

The Aboriginal population affected by resource development in the region numbers about 2,700 people. Their formal educational status is low. Only 6 per cent of the population aged 15 years and over has some educational qualifications, compared with 30 per cent of the total Australian population. Their employment status is also low. For example, the Elsey Balance statistical area has an unemployment rate of 30 per cent, compared with 9.2 per cent for the total Australian population in 1986.

Based on case studies of other mining projects, the authors suggest that the proposed employment of 20 to 30 Jawoyn people from the Coronation Hill Joint Venture (CHJV) seems unlikely. Constraints to their employment include: the Jawoyn people's low levels of education and industrial skills; and their reluctance to choose employment in mining, with other employment opportunities being preferred. The use of non-local, Aboriginal labour might fill an Aboriginal 'quota' but could further marginalise Jawoyn from the workforce.

The financial significance of possible payments to regional, Aboriginal interests can be only speculative, owing to uncertainty about both ownership of minerals in the KCZ and land which is currently under Aboriginal claim. Future payments could vary between \$0.6 million and \$1.7 million per year, and could represent the largest injections of capital to Aboriginal interests independent of government sources. Such moneys could play a major role in economic development. Appropriate structures would need to be developed to ensure the effective use of this resource.

Tourism growth in the Kakadu region could benefit those Aboriginal interests that already have significant commercial investments in the tourism sector. In the immediate future, however, the Jawoyn people are unlikely to be able to take advantage of any commercial, tourism-related opportunities in Stage 3 and in the KCZ. Currently, their resources are fully committed to seeking to gain some economic return from Nitmiluk (Katherine Gorge) National Park, which was transferred to Aboriginal ownership in 1989.

Policy relevance

While the CHJV and the NT Government present mining as the panacea to

Aboriginal poverty and associated problems, the authors suggest that the financial benefits that accrue to Aboriginal people from mining at Coronation Hill will be limited. The comparative research presented here provides little evidence from anywhere in Australia that economic spinoffs from mining generate sufficient benefits to regional Aboriginal groups to alter their economic situation; on considering the cultural and social costs of mining, most Aborigines in the region oppose mining. If mining in the area were to proceed, it would possibly provide a share of statutory and negotiated royalties and would offer a small number of jobs to the region's Aboriginal population over a relatively short period of time.

Nonetheless, the payment of mining moneys provides an option for economic independence that could allow Aboriginal people to pursue commercial opportunities outside the mining sector, namely tourism; tourism is also promoted as an important economic development option for Aborigines. The economic impact of tourism, however, varies considerably and, in fact, can leave Aboriginal people relatively poor compared with other Australians.

Thus, in the long term, the indirect benefits of a mine could greatly exceed the short-term, direct economic spin-offs for Aboriginal people, providing that strategic planning, overseen by appropriately structured organisations, occurs.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Cousins 1985; Howitt 1990; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; McGill and Crough 1986; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989.

ALTMAN, J.C. and TAYLOR, L. 1989, *The Economic Viability of Aboriginal Outstations and Homelands*, Report prepared for The Australian Council for Employment and Training, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 106.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words

Government policy and programs, hunter-gatherers, income support, outstations (homelands), welfare dependence.

Geographical area

Remote Australia, especially, NT, Qld and WA.

Study aims

To examine: the provision of a guaranteed cash income supplement to

assist the development of marketable production, instead of paying unemployment benefits; the feasibility of providing support for traditional activities; the range of possible mechanisms which might suit the economic circumstances of outstation and homeland residents; and the applicability of Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme moneys as a form of cash income support.

Research method

The study includes a review of local and overseas literature which relate to Federal Government Aboriginal economic policy for outstations since the 1970s. Both authors have resided and undertaken research at outstations.

Research findings

Outstations are defined as small communities of closely related kin, established by the movement of Aboriginal people to land of social, cultural and economic significance to them.

There are large differences in outstation and homeland economies. Research at Momega outstation, Arnhem Land, shows that bush food accounted for 64 per cent of total cash and imputed income (import substitution) in 1987, whereas, this was 23.4 per cent in central Australia in 1983. Estimates indicate that artefact manufacture (export generation) in central Arnhem Land provided 13.5 per cent of cash income in 1979, and 5.6 per cent in 1980. Declines in relative values can be explained by the introduction of unemployment benefits in the early 1980s. The significance of artefact production and subsistence varied. Income from art, tourism, mining royalty payments, and formal employment also differed between communities. Thus, flexibility in government program provisioning is essential to cater for the varied economies of Aboriginal communities.

The success of the outstations movement hinges on the provision of government transfers in the form of unemployment benefits, pensions or CDEP moneys to supplement subsistence incomes. This welfare support is not designed for outstations which lack formal employment opportunities. It is an inappropriate source of cash income to supplement subsistence because it can be politically manipulated and because it presents hunter-gatherers as excessively dependent on the state. This report argues that outstation residents are among the least dependent people in north Australia.

The applicability of CDEP wages for subsistence activities is assessed. The CDEP scheme provides block funds of unemployment benefit entitlements to be used for employment creation, with 20 per cent of this to cover administrative oncosts at that time. It is a voluntary work-for-the-dole scheme, where communities can have their own definitions of work which can be rewarded with wages. It is unsuitable as an income

support scheme because it is distributed like welfare, at outstations with good subsistence and artefact manufacturing sectors. The report suggests a more appropriate income support scheme would be a 'Guaranteed Minimum Income for Outstations' scheme which would depend on a residency test; it is neither welfare nor a job creation scheme but, rather, income support for subsistence activities that often provide a high level of employment.

The Income Security Program which the Cree of Quebec, Canada have negotiated, while not directly applicable to Australia, is of policy relevance. It provides financial support for subsistence production and is guaranteed; it has reduced dependency by enabling Cree to set up businesses, thus, increasing income.

It is suggested that support for the traditional economic sector include training people: as subsistence producers; in feral animal control; and to maintain equipment. The Training for Aborigines Program does not presently provide such training options. A capital fund for generating income in the subsistence sector is suggested; at present, no scheme gives capital grants for this. Also suggested is greater CDEP scheme support, research into arts and crafts marketing (through capital grants to Outstation Resource Centres), and establishment of regional sales centres.

Policy relevance

The terms of reference required a literature search as a source of data. Altman and Taylor also have drawn on previously collected primary data.

The report clarifies issues such as employment and income equity, as they relate to funding policy for outstations and homelands. The authors state that 'Issues of employment equity, income equity and financial dependence are confused in the outstation context'. They state that the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP) aim of employment equity between Aborigines and other Australians already exists at outstations (assuming that subsistence activities are recognised as employment). They suggest that employment at outstations be redefined to include Aboriginal work effort in hunting and gathering, as at outstations, all adults are often involved in productive activity to the same extent as other Australian adults in the workforce. Income equity, however, cannot be achieved because there is virtually no possibility of wage employment. Aborigines at outstations and homelands are always going to have a certain level of dependence on government. In remote regions, the AEDP objectives of self-sufficiency and economic equality might be both unachievable and contradictory.

The differences in the economies of outstations, such as subsistence potential and access to formal employment or mining royalties, means that any program introduced to these communities must be flexible. Furthermore, it must be questioned whether communities receiving large amounts of mining royalties or tourism moneys should be eligible for

AEDP support; an income test might be required. It is clear that a new system of income support could be more satisfactory than either unemployment benefits or CDEP moneys.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a, 1990a; Bonner 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1988, 1989, 1990; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989.

ANDERSON, C. 1988, 'Anthropology and the Australian Aboriginal economy', in *Social Anthropology and Australian Aboriginal Studies: A Contemporary Overview*, eds R.M. Berndt and R. Tonkinson, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 125-188.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$22.95.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, anthropology, theoretical perspectives.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To review the anthropological literature of the past 25 years on the topic of the Aboriginal economy. To discern broad patterns of theory and methodological approach.

Research method

Uses secondary sources.

Research findings

The economic life of Aborigines has tended to be a neglected area of research, although a considerable amount has been achieved. The article discusses the various theoretical perspectives which have been utilised in the past and discusses the collection of economic data.

The author notes four major trends in anthropological, economic research over the last 25 years: the material aspects of culture and food-getting activity; the consideration of social, cultural and economic activity within an ecological framework; the measurable state of human material conditions (that is, the data which economists produce); and as part of a broader set of social relations, or political economy.

New directions in recent work on the Aboriginal economy are noted. These include: looking at the interface between micro-processes and macro-structures; constructing new general models of pre-contact

Aboriginal systems; and bridging the analytical gap between pre-contact systems and contemporary ones.

Policy relevance

The article provides a very useful overview of pre-1985 material (material not covered by this publication) for those seeking comprehensive studies of Aborigines in the modern Australian economy. It has no direct policy relevance except to suggest that research has followed the changing perception of the place of Aborigines in the Australian society and economy.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c; Howitt, Crough and Pritchard 1990; Young 1985b, 1990.

ARTHUR, W.S. (with assistance of V. McGrath) 1990, *Torres Strait Development Study*, Report prepared for the Island Co-ordinating Council Thursday Island, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp. 160.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, library.

Key words

Employment, enterprises, fishing industry, government training strategy, income, public and private sector employment, subsistence income, tourism.

Geographic area

Torres Strait Region.

Study aims

To carry out research in preparation for a regional development plan and to make an assessment of the options for economic and social development. The emphasis is on possibilities for income generation to enable residents to reduce dependence on government.

Research method

Discussions were held with industry representatives, community councils, residents and local, state and Federal Government officials involved in development. Because the region is economically and politically diverse, it was divided into zones: the outer islands, communities on Cape York who identify as Torres Strait Islands (TSI), and the southwestern islands.

Research findings

The TSI, with a population of 6,245 people, form a unique region containing Australia's international border with Papua New Guinea

(PNG). Some PNG citizens have been granted visiting rights to the region, making planning of services and resource use difficult.

The public and service sectors are mainly located on Cape York and Thursday Island in the southwestern islands. Torres Shire employs Islanders, although non-Islanders predominate in the managerial, professional and para-professional sectors of government employment. The Federal Government plans to develop a public sector employment and training strategy.

Fishing, the main primary industry, provides a high but uneven level of self-employment and modest income. Total regional income from commercial fishing was more than \$20 million. Total employment levels are limited by the finite nature of the resource and by competition from more efficient outsiders, although there is potential to increase cash and non-cash income. A strategy for sustainable development is required to control access, and to maximise Islander involvement. Strategies for fisheries projects should be similar to those used for Pacific islands, rather than programs developed for the Australian mainland. Poor management contributes to failure of enterprises.

Tourism is poorly developed and, principally, involves communities on Cape York. There is limited potential for development of this sector.

The retail sector is primarily located on Cape York and Thursday Island. Potential exists for increased employment in this sector; a small business and job-creation scheme is required. An agency which could assist with development and public sector projects is needed.

In the southwestern group, the unemployed receive unemployment benefits and pensions, whereas, the outer islands are involved in the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme. In fact, with 70 per cent of communities involved, CDEP and formal employment form the greatest source of earned income on the outer islands; the CDEP scheme is mainly used for public works. The Report recommends that Government increase its commitment to the CDEP scheme, and suggests that CDEP be provided as a development subsidy to small, private fishing enterprises. Torres Strait Islanders complain that the CDEP scheme, as it is presently implemented in the TSI, reduces the time available for fishing.

Policy relevance

This is an extensive, detailed and careful study of the TSI regional economy. It provides a great deal of data on the value of subsistence, government grants, primary production and development prospects. Imputed incomes from subsistence, and incomes from Council employment, pensions, and commercial fishing are provided but, unfortunately, the data are of inconsistent quality. For example, incomes from formal employment were not available for the study, with the consequence that it was impossible to calculate the proportion of incomes

provided by each sector.

The Report suggests that Islanders prefer the secure environment of CDEP to risks associated with self-employment. It also suggested that Islanders might wish to see more privately managed enterprises, rather than management by councils. As the CDEP scheme is organised through the councils, this might inhibit such a 'privatisation' process. The author sees CDEP as suitable income support for those who supplement their incomes with subsistence activities.

Fishing offers opportunities in self-employment but provides only low levels of cash and non-cash income for most Islanders. There are problems of access to the fishing industry and, like other sectors of the economy, it has limited potential to greatly increase income and employment opportunities. There is scope for increased employment through 'Islanderisation' of the public and private sectors (which depends on education and training programs), although opportunities are limited, causing continued dependence of many Islanders on government benefits in the form of pensions or CDEP moneys for income support.

Key cross references

Auditor-General 1990; Beckett 1987; Bonner 1988; Lea, Stanley and Phibbs 1990; Moizo 1990; Sanders 1985; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990b.

AUDITOR-GENERAL (J.C. Taylor) 1990, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission - Community Development Employment Projects*, Audit Report No. 12, 1990-91, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, pp. 31.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$5.95.

Key words

Administration of Community Development Employment Projects, government policy.

Geographic area

Qld, NT, WA.

Study aims

To identify possible areas where administration of the Community Development Employment projects (CDEP) scheme might be improved.

Research method

An audit into the administration of the CDEP scheme was undertaken by the Australian National Audit Office in 1989-90.

Research findings

Community Development Plans did not identify how CDEP contributed to communities' overall development. Many communities did not have development plans, and annual work programs were not generally prepared.

Many Aboriginal councils lacked sufficient understanding of their responsibilities in relation to the control and the use of CDEP moneys, with the result that financial and administrative documentation was poor.

Other problems associated with communities and CDEP moneys included: some communities receiving inaccurate payments; some CDEP participants receiving payments below the level of unemployment benefit entitlements; and inappropriate rates being paid, even although many activities performed with CDEP funds appeared to be covered by existing Awards.

Policy relevance

This Report examines administrative procedures of CDEP in state and regional offices of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) in Qld, the NT and WA. The Report identifies problems, including lack of overall policy in community development, poor administration of CDEP by councils, and provision of inappropriate funds by the DAA. It recommends that staff direct efforts to overcoming these problems. The Report neither assesses the performance of the CDEP scheme in achieving AEDP goals nor the issue of how work could be created at remote locations.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1987; Bolger 1987a, 1987b; Miller 1985; Prior and Wunungmurra 1987; Sanders 1988.

AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS (commentary by J. Taylor) 1990, *Aboriginal People in the Northern Territory*, Government Printer of the Northern Territory, Darwin, pp. 112.

Available from

Australian Bureau of Statistics, Darwin, cat. no. 4107.7; \$19.50.

Key words

Educational status, employment, income status, labour force participation, residential status, unemployment.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To provide a statistical overview of the Aboriginal population of the NT.

Research method

The study is based primarily on 1986 Census data, supplemented with information from other organisations.

Research findings

The Aboriginal population forms 22.4 per cent of the NT population. The majority live in rented houses; only 20 per cent of dwellings are owned, or are being purchased, by Aborigines. Aboriginal household sizes are larger than those of non-Aborigines (six compared with three per dwelling, respectively).

About 20 per cent of Aborigines did not attend school, 49 per cent of 15-24 year olds left school before the age of 16 years and almost 75 per cent of Aborigines had no formal qualifications. Those who left school at an early age were more likely to be unemployed. For example, 20 per cent of those who left school before 13 years of age were employed compared with 33 per cent who left school between the ages of 13 and 16 years. The Aboriginal unemployment rate was four times that for non-Aborigines, and was highest among the 15-24 year old group.

There is a clear link between labour force status and income. Almost 66 per cent of Aboriginal people over 15 years of age were either unemployed or not in the labour force, with 72 per cent indicating that they had incomes below \$173 per week. A further twenty-five per cent of employed Aboriginal people had incomes below \$173 per week. The majority of the Aborigines were employed by Federal, Territory and local Governments, and by Aboriginal organisations. Males worked as labourers, plant and machine operators, tradesmen and welfare workers. Most females were in clerical positions and some were unskilled workers.

Approximately 80 per cent of the Aboriginal population had incomes below \$288 per week. The proportion of Aboriginal people in the lowest income bracket (below \$173 per week) is twice that recorded for the remainder of the general population. The most common income bracket for Aboriginal families was \$173-\$287 per week. The lower incomes of Aborigines, relative to non-Aborigines, is caused by concentration in unskilled labouring employment; 75 per cent of Aboriginal workers in this occupational group earn less than \$288 per week. Females earned much less than males.

Policy relevance

The document is the first NT Aboriginal Census report to be published. No reports exist from the previous two Censuses for Aborigines in the Territory, other states, or at the national level. The report shows a positive correlation between education, employment and income status; this link is assumed in the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy. An important feature of the analysis is the presentation of Aboriginal characteristics according to 'urban', 'rural' and 'other rural locations'.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Ball 1985; Castle 1989; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989; Miller 1989; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990; Treadgold 1988; Tyler 1990; Wolfe 1987; Young 1985a, 1985c.

BAKER, S., NICOLL, P. and YIK, W.F. 1985, 'Aboriginal participation in the Community Employment Program State/Territory element in the Northern Territory and Australia', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 83-96.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Funding structures, government employment programs, unemployment.

Geographic area
NT.

Study aims

To evaluate the progress of the NT component of the Community Employment Program (CEP) during the first year of its operation in 1983-84.

Research method

Quantitative data were drawn from several secondary sources, including Bureau of Labour Market Research estimates, Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) statistics, a Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (now Department of Employment, Education and Training) report on the CEP, Australian Bureau of Statistics labour market estimates and Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) Aboriginal social indicators.

Research findings

The high rate of long-term unemployed Aborigines in the NT, compared with Aborigines nationally, made them an ideal target group for the CEP. Eleven per cent of those registered with the CES in the NT were Aborigines, compared with a national Aboriginal figure of only 2.6 per cent. Of NT Aborigines, 45 per cent were classified as long-term unemployed who had been in continuous unemployment for nine months or more; this compared with a figure of 7 per cent for the NT's unemployed non-Aborigines. Aborigines constituted 60 per cent of all persons registered for three months or more with the CES in the NT.

Sixty-nine CEP projects were approved in the NT, of which 41 per cent were for Aborigines. In terms of jobs, 211 of the 513 jobs, or 42 per cent, were occupied by Aborigines. This meant that while Aborigines made up 60 per cent of those unemployed for three months or more only 42 per cent of projects were approved for Aborigines. Furthermore, 90 per cent of CEP placements, as compared with a national figure of 72 per cent, were in manual occupations, and only nine of these jobs were occupied by Aboriginal women.

Policy relevance

The authors conclude that the first year of the CEP had a very limited impact on Aboriginal unemployment in the NT. It failed to reduce the high rate of long-term unemployment. The CEP guideline that 50 per cent of jobs be filled by females was not met.

The study shows that the poor performance of the CEP was related, in part, to regional constraints in the NT. The number and the type of projects which could be implemented was limited, with the result that the projects in Aboriginal communities involved only manual labour or blue-collar work. On the one hand, this was a reflection of both the lack of skills, education and training of individuals, and the limited variety of employment opportunities that could be provided at communities. On the other, the types of work provided through the CEP were automatically biased against Aboriginal women. This left administrators with a dilemma: if they were to reject projects that did not meet guidelines, they would further restrict the already small number of total jobs for Aborigines created by the Program. These two factors continue to affect the success of submission-based projects, such as Community Development Employment Projects.

Key cross references

Altman 1990a; Cass 1988; Castle 1989; Castle and Hagan 1985; Miller 1985; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990a.

BALL, R.E. 1985, 'The economic situation of Aborigines in Newcastle 1982', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 1, pp. 2-21.

Key words

Aboriginal expenditure patterns, Aboriginal women, education, employment opportunities, employment status, household expenditure, poverty, residential status, social security benefits, sole supporting parents, urban Aborigines.

Geographic area

Newcastle, NSW; Adelaide, SA; Robinvale, Vic.

Study aims

To examine the economic status of Aborigines in Newcastle.

Research method

Economic and attitudinal data are utilized from two questionnaires which were administered to 60 Aboriginal households in Newcastle in 1982.

Research findings

Sixty-four per cent of Newcastle's Aboriginal population are under 19 years of age; Aborigines of both Adelaide and Robinvale had a similar age structure.

There was a dramatic increase in Aboriginal unemployment over the last decade, to the extent that unemployment and sole supporting parent benefits accounted for almost one half of incomes for adult Aborigines in 1982, 28 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively; only 31 per cent of Newcastle Aborigines were in wage employment, with only 12 per cent of Aboriginal women employed compared with 45 per cent of Aboriginal men.

Eighty-two per cent of unemployed Aborigines had been unemployed for more than six months, and 78 per cent had been unemployed for over 12 months. An associated problem is that the poverty which results from long-term unemployment continues well after employment is found.

Women were the poorest group. Nineteen of the 21 Aboriginal sole parents surveyed were women. Their chances of employment decreased as the number of children in their households increased. To a certain extent, this accounts for the higher percentage of female Aborigines that are dependent upon social security, 88 per cent compared with 55 per cent for males.

Occupational status was consistently low throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Eighty-three per cent of the Aboriginal women were employed in semi-skilled jobs, compared with 45 per cent for Aboriginal men.

More than 57 per cent of Aboriginal households spend 15 per cent of their income on accommodation, which is almost the same as the 14 per cent of poorest Australian households. Eight-five per cent of Aboriginal households rent accommodation, compared with 25 per cent of the Australian population. Only 15 per cent either own or are in the process of purchasing their own homes. This has important implications for household capital accumulation.

Policy relevance

While the findings date from 1982, the study is one of the few to have collected primary data on both urban Aborigines and Aboriginal women. The findings reveal a trend of increasing poverty among Newcastle's Aboriginal population during the previous decade. Sole supporting parents, who were mostly women, had the most restricted employment

opportunities; they and their children suffered the most poverty. Low employment status and high housing rentals compounded poverty. The low employment status of Aborigines, together with their high rate of job turnover and associated low incomes, effectively restricted the group's capacity to build up assets, particularly in housing.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Daylight and Johnstone 1986; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990.

BECK, E.J. 1985, *The Enigma of Aboriginal Health: Interaction Between Biological, Social and Economic Factors in Alice Springs Town-Camps*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp. 157.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; hard back \$25.95, paper back \$17.95.

Key words

Aboriginal children, Aboriginal expenditure patterns, Aboriginal fringe-dwellers, economic status, employment status, health status, income status, subsistence income, town camps.

Geographic area

Three Alice Springs town camps, representing the four linguistic groups: western Aranda and Luritja (camp 8), Walpiri (camp 9) and eastern Aranda (camp 18), NT.

Study aims

This study, mostly about the interaction between biological, social and economic factors in town camps, attempts to examine the link between Aboriginal expenditure patterns and the health status of Aboriginal children.

Research method

Two surveys, conducted in July and August 1979, are utilised to compare three town camps (8, 9 and 18). Fifty-seven adults and 57 children were surveyed. Quantitative data are provided on sources and amounts of income for a two-week period. An estimate is made of the contribution of subsistence foods to income. Expenditure patterns are estimated from qualitative data.

Research findings

Subsistence activities, while not quantified, did not contribute significantly to incomes. Access to bush food depended upon availability of transport

because there was only a limited supply of bush food close to the camps.

Social security amounted to 80 per cent of the study population's income, or 61 per cent of income for men and 89 per cent of income for women. The average income per head of adult population was \$114 per fortnight, with social security payments accounting for \$76 and earned income \$38. Women received an average amount of \$67 per fortnight compared with \$145 for men. Although camp 8 received the highest amount of earned income, it also had the lowest total income per adult, per fortnight, \$99 compared with \$126 (camp 18) and \$121 (camp 9).

While not quantified, it was estimated that most income was spent on food, transport and alcohol. The pattern of spending was greatly influenced by fortnightly social security payments - there was relative 'feast' one week, followed by 'famine' the next. This pattern of expenditure was partly due to the low income level, which contributed to an inability to save, and to peoples involvement in the kinship system which dictated that they distribute resources according to tradition.

Policy relevance

This is one of a very few studies to collect primary data on Aboriginal town-campers and fringe-dwellers in an urban situation. Chapter 3, which constitutes the economic aspect of this study, is concerned with establishing a link between adult economic status and the health status of Aboriginal children. The results of the study support this hypothesis by establishing that the camp with the highest per capita income also had the children with the best nutritional status. The author cites an overseas study that shows how improved food expenditure results in an improvement in the nutritional status of children. Beck's study raises another related issue. It was demonstrated that the camp (8) with the highest earned income had the lowest overall income when social security payments were taken into account, viz., \$99 (camp 8) compared with \$126 (camp 18) and \$121 (camp 9). This finding has important policy implications. The incentive to seek formal employment might be undermined if, as a consequence, income status were to decrease.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Choo 1990; Loveday 1985; Wolfe 1987.

BECKETT, J. 1985, 'Colonialism in a welfare state: The case of the Australian Aborigines', in *The Future of Former Foragers in Australia and Southern Africa*, eds C. Schrire and R. Gordon, Cultural Survival, Massachusetts, pp. 7-24.

Available from

Out of print.

Key words

Colonialism, economic dependence, government policy, racism, social security income, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

The study outlines government policy, the low demand for unskilled Aboriginal labour and the continued dependence of Aborigines on the welfare state.

Nature of data

The paper is based on secondary sources of qualitative data. This paper largely takes a political economy approach, and is concerned with the historical development which led to the contemporary situation of Aboriginal economic dependence.

Research findings

Aboriginal dependence on the state is high. Aborigines, with an unemployment rate often in excess of 70 per cent for males, receive high levels of social security income. Many employed Aborigines also are dependent on the public sector either through job creation schemes or because they are employed in government funded service organisations. Oversupply of unskilled labour, negative stereotyping of Aboriginal work performance and few employment opportunities in remote locations mean that the employment situation for Aborigines in remote areas is unlikely to change in the future. In this regard, Australian Aborigines face economic problems similar to those of other indigenous minorities in advanced capitalist countries.

Policy relevance

The author argues that the downturn in the Australian economy has decreased the demand for Aboriginal labour, serving to marginalise Aborigines further. It is concluded that the Federal Government's response, that of primarily providing welfare to Aborigines under their rights as citizens, has increased Aboriginal dependence on the state. Following research done in the Canadian north, Beckett refers to this situation as 'welfare colonialism'.

Key cross references

Beckett 1987; Jennett 1987; Palmer 1988; Smith 1990; Stanley 1985a, 1985b.

BECKETT, J. 1987, *Torres Strait Islanders: Custom and Colonialism*, Cambridge University Press, Sydney, pp. 264.

Available from

University Co-Operative Bookshop Ltd; \$22.50.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, enterprises, government policies and programs, 'welfare colonialism', welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Torres Strait Islands (TSI).

Study aims

To outline the position of Torres Strait Islanders in relation to their history of incorporation into the Australian state.

Research method

The study used both primary data (mainly from 1958 to 1961) and historical materials which included government reports, field studies, Missionary Society reports and archival materials. Primary research was updated by short-term visits to the region. The theory of 'internal colonialism' was utilised.

Research findings

The book contains a history of relations between Torres Strait Islanders and the Australian state. The combined effects of the Qld and Federal Governments' administration of the TSI have increased their dependence on the state.

Present redistributive activities of the welfare state are carried out in recognition of the rights of citizens, in particular, to a guaranteed minimum standard of living. Minimum living standards, however, can be established only in underdeveloped areas through costly programs and direct subsidies. The result of such programs and subsidies is increased dependence on the state; when Torres Strait Islanders and Aborigines seek economic aid, claim land, or attempt to establish economic enterprises, they must operate through the state. The paradox is that government agencies continue to exert extraordinary influence through the allocation and supervision of funds, yet the official policy is self-management.

There is some commercial fishing but the islands can be best described as having remittance economies. On Thursday Island, the Government's primary function is to channel government-funded goods and services to the outer islands and to Cape York. The subsistence economy has contracted, with very few food gardens now evident. Many previous industries, such as pearling, are now defunct. Cray fishing and prawning are currently the most productive industries. The Commonwealth provides a de facto subsidy to fisheries in the form of unemployment benefits. The Qld Government remains the biggest employer through services and agencies like education, health, law enforcement and municipal services. When wages and social security are taken into

account, it is apparent that the bulk of the region's cash income is derived from the public sector. Badu Island derives 49 per cent of its annual income from the Commonwealth and 24 per cent from the State.

Policy relevance

Contains data, mainly of a historical and qualitative nature. Some quantitative data are used to support arguments relating to the TSI present economic situation but these tend to be somewhat dated.

The Islanders are portrayed as increasingly supported by, and dependent upon Federal and Qld Governments. But it is unclear whether Torres Strait Islanders are much more dependent economically than other Australians living in remote areas. The author seems to overstate differences; perceiving Islanders as dependent when they gain their incomes from government-funded work in contrast to other Australians in similar situations. The theory of 'internal colonialism', it seems, can result in an overstatement of the differences between the 'colonised' group and other groups in society.

TSI dependence on, and control by, the state has increased in spite of policies of self-determination and self-management, in part, because of the state's control of funds. The Community Development Employment Projects scheme aims to redress this dependence, by providing community councils with the equivalent of unemployment benefit entitlements for a wide range of 'work' as defined by communities. Increased TSI regional autonomy, however, remains dependent on increased economic self-reliance; in this region, economic independence appears unattainable.

Key cross references

Arthur 1990; Beckett 1985; Bonner 1988; Lea, Stanley and Phibbs 1990; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989.

BOLGER, A. 1987a, *The Effect of Public Sector Activity on Aborigines in the East Kimberley. Part I: Public Sector Agencies in the East Kimberley*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 20, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 43.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Administrative structures, government funds, government service provision.

Geographic Area

East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

The paper provides an overview of the role and the funding arrangements of government and non-government agencies which service Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley.

Research method

Secondary sources of data are used, mainly government department annual reports, for 1985-86. The study is in two parts, the second being Working Paper No. 23 (Bolger 1987b). The author undertook field work in the Kimberleys.

Research findings

The main departments responsible for implementing the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP) have been allocated more staff specifically to administer such AEDP programs as the Community Development Employment Projects scheme. A general shortage of staff and resources, however, has resulted in new staff doing other departmental duties instead. For example, the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (DEIR, now the Department of Employment, Education and Training) was allocated two Aboriginal vocational officers to cope with changes to the Training for Aboriginals Program. It was inferred, however, that these new staff would be expected to perform other duties because of continuing staff shortages; before the arrival of the new staff, other DEIR staff were already undertaking the duties of other departments, such as those of the Community Employment Service.

The numerous government and non-government agencies and organisations involved with Aboriginal communities in the East Kimberley make the administration of programs and funds complex. In the main, each agency acts independently. Responsibility for the coordination of government activities was in the hands of the North Eastern Area Aboriginal Affairs Coordinating Committee. The Committee, however, has proved ineffective, and there is some hostility between agencies.

Policy relevance

This study, together with Bolger 1987b, identifies several issues which stem from public sector activity in remote Aboriginal communities. Firstly, the study identifies regional staff shortages in government departments responsible for the implementation of AEDP programs, which were in existence even before the introduction of the AEDP. This led to the expectation that new staff assigned specifically to meet the extra workload from AEDP programs would carry out other departmental duties. Secondly, the study outlines the complexity of both funds and administration of programs associated with remote Aboriginal communities. It is the author's opinion that the lack of coordination of governmental activities has resulted in some instances of duplication of

resources at some communities, and that this has been counter-productive to Aboriginal community development, thus undermining the objective of Aboriginal self-determination.

Key cross references

Bolger 1987b; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1988, 1990; Sullivan 1987; Young and Doohan 1989.

BOLGER, A. 1987b, *The Effect of Public Sector Activity on Aborigines in the East Kimberley. Part II: Aboriginal Communities in the East Kimberley*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 23, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 66.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Administrative structures, community development, government policies and programs, government service provision.

Geographic area

Yardgee, Mirima, Mulan, Warmun, Wurreranginy, Gulgagulganeng, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To assess the impact of public sector activities on specific Aboriginal communities and outstations in the East Kimberley.

Method

Six locations were investigated, chosen to represent town communities, remote communities and outstations. Data are mainly qualitative in nature and are reported in a historical fashion. The author visited each community, although this is not reflected in the discussion.

Research findings

There has been a recent and rapid proliferation of public sector agencies involved in the administration of Aboriginal assistance programs. For example, between 1979 and 1987, the role of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA, now Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander Commission) changed from primary decision-maker to being the coordinator of other public sector agencies that had become involved in decision-making for the Warmun community. Warmun's community adviser documented over one hundred agencies with which he had communicated in a three month period.

No Aboriginal community in WA has a strategy for community

development. This is the result of the inadequate coordination of public sector agencies. Public sector agencies also have a poor level of consultation and communication with communities. For example, the Warmun community expected to commence the Community Development Employment Projects scheme in May 1987. However, between September 1986 (when the scheme was first mooted) and February 1987, only one consultative meeting had been held between the community and the DAA.

Policy relevance

Little quantitative data are provided to compare the six case study communities. The author's generalisations, however, were supported by the evidence provided. The author found that reduced independence, or a move away from the Federal Government's goal of self-management, was partly a consequence of increased public sector activity in Aboriginal communities. This was because communities had limited autonomy to set their own priorities for community development. Furthermore, funds were conditional on communities accepting the pre-conditions of funding agencies. The author suggests that this was due to lack of coordination which had left communities without overall strategies for community development. These issues are important given that public funds will continue to financially support Aboriginal communities in the foreseeable future. The author proposes block grants to Aboriginal communities which would both encourage and provide them with an opportunity to set their own priorities for community development. The paper does not recommend strategies for creating long-term development, nor does it confront the issue that economic development options might be absent at these remote locations.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1989; Bolger 1987a; Hanlon 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989, 1990; Miller 1985; Stanley 1985b, 1985c; Sullivan 1987; Young and Doohan 1990.

BONNER, N.T. (Chairman) 1988, *Always Anangu: A Review of the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara Aboriginal Communities of Central Australia 1988*, Report to the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Adelaide, pp. 165.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words

Aboriginal organisations, administrative structures, economic dependence, government programs, outstations (homelands), self-management.

Geographic area

Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara communities, SA.

Study aims

To examine the system through which external resources are provided to these communities, and its contribution to furthering Aboriginal self-determination.

Research method

Consultation was carried out by a review committee in communities and homelands between April and August 1987.

Research findings

Anangu have a flourishing homelands movement, with several resource organisations under Aboriginal control. Some, like the Nganampa Health Service and the Pitjantjatjara Resource Centre, are very successful. Despite these organisations, poor health remains endemic, literacy and numeracy levels low, petrol sniffing and alcohol abuse chronic, and economic life dependent on the proceeds of government welfare.

The major cause of Anangu problems are identified as lack of community control over resources and decision-making. Bonner proposes institutional changes to allow Anangu to transpose their cultural values and traditions to contemporary life.

The Report recommends that the 70 government funding and service bodies be replaced by an umbrella organisation of a type chosen by Anangu; this would better meet Anangu needs by facilitating Anangu decision-making. All positions would be filled by Anangu who would be trained in a new management college. Community government councils would have responsibility for all essential services, including education, health and housing.

The Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme was introduced in 1977 at many Anangu communities, and represents \$6 million, or 47 per cent, of the funds provided to communities in the area by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission). The CDEP scheme, however, is used to provide mainstream services to communities; these absorb 44 per cent of CDEP wages. In this way, the CDEP scheme is subsidising community infrastructure provision. The Report recommends that the SA government accept responsibility to fund councils to provide essential municipal services.

Community stores absorb 20 per cent of CDEP wages in subsidies. These subsidies should be discontinued - stores should be commercially run and store workers should be paid award wages. Homeland residents mainly receive CDEP income maintenance and have little opportunity to participate in work activity. Work is defined in accordance with western concepts and, therefore, does not include traditional activities such as

hunting, despite CDEP guidelines which accommodate such activities. CDEP wages are paid to those producing arts and crafts and, indeed, the industry has become largely dependent on this form of subsidy. The Report supported the use of the CDEP scheme at homelands but did not spell out the reasons for this.

Policy relevance

The Review suggests that Aboriginal and government agencies should be restructured to empower Anangu to direct and to control their communities. The suggested rationalisation of the Federal and state bureaucratic structures, however, would be a major and complicated exercise and is unlikely to be carried out.

If this recommendation were implemented, the reorganised institutional structure could be more culturally appropriate (although many cultural values do not transpose easily into contemporary life), and could be more efficient. Duplication of services would decrease; with a heavy emphasis on training and Anangu participation in decision-making, more Anangu would have jobs and funds would be spent on Anangu priorities. Anangu would begin to have more real control over their communities and their lives. The question, however, is whether Anangu want the suggested involvement in these institutions. Some central desert communities say that they do not (see Cane and Stanley 1985). Aboriginal lifestyle needs, particularly the time required to participate in traditional activities, run counter to the stringent needs of bureaucracies. Reorganisation of bureaucratic structures to suit Anangu cultural values, while a nice vision, will clearly not provide the total solution to Anangu problems. The report fails to consider structural and locational problems facing Anangu.

The Report highlights that long-term participation in the CDEP scheme can result in dependence; after participating in it for several years, some activities would now collapse without it. Arts and crafts enterprises fall into this category. Aboriginal concern with levels of CDEP payments is evident, with some being eligible for payment for 'work' and others who lead more traditional lives being paid less. CDEP guidelines allow people involved in traditional hunting and gathering to be paid as 'workers', if the community chooses. The Report sees CDEP as suitable income support at homelands and outstations. The CDEP scheme is also regarded as suitable for funding enterprises, although the 20 per cent oncosts component is insufficient.

The Report lends weight to the argument that it is unlikely that Anangu will achieve income or employment equity with other Australians by the year 2000. The CDEP scheme, or equivalent government programs, is likely to remain the basis of the Anangu economy in the foreseeable future. The current situation could be changed, however, with changes in the structure of regional bureaucracy (by including more

Anangu in the workforce), more Anangu training programs and the transfer of workers from CDEP money to salaried positions.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1989; Bolger 1987a; Cane and Stanley 1985; Downing 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987.

BYRNES, J. 1988, *Enterprises in Aboriginal Australia: Fifty Case Studies*, Rural Development Centre, University of New England, Armidale, pp. 195, plus bibliography and appendixes.

Available from

Rural Development Centre; \$20.00.

Key words

Aboriginal enterprises.

Geographic area

Central Australia, south-western Australia, northern Australia and south-eastern Australia.

Study aims

To compare a cross section of Aboriginal enterprises.

Research method

A standardised interview was conducted with staff of each enterprise to gather information about its size, scope, objectives, state of development, nature of ownership and type of funds. No systematic method was used to select the 50 sample enterprises.

Research findings

The case studies revealed three general problems associated with the operation of Aboriginal enterprises: initial goals were ill-defined; most enterprises experienced difficulty in securing funds, especially during their establishment phase; and Aborigines running the enterprises lacked marketing and management expertise.

Policy relevance

There was no evaluation by the author of the commercial and/or social viability of the enterprises, including how much these enterprises contributed to individual/community income, whether certain enterprises were more successful than others and whether enterprises were becoming independent of government subsidy. A particular target of future research could be to assess the performance of Aboriginal enterprises in light of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy. It is important to identify commonalities in successful, or unsuccessful, enterprises.

Key cross references

Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; Young 1987, 1988b.

CANE, S. and STANLEY, O. 1985, *Land Use and Resources in Desert Homelands*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 242.

Available from

Out of print.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, central Australian economy, government employment programs, income sources, outstation (homelands), subsistence production.

Geographic area

Pintupi homelands, Kintore; Luritja homelands, Papunya; Walpiri homelands, Yuendumu; Pitjantjatjara/Ngaanyatjara homelands, Docker River; Pitjantjatjara/Yangkuntjatjara homelands, Ernabella; SA, WA, NT.

Study aims

To provide information to the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) about the economies of five central Australian homelands centres, by emphasising their apparent marginality in formal, economic terms. The description of their economies includes levels of services, government grants, extent of gardens, animal husbandry and the production and sale of artefacts.

Research method

Over a four month period in 1984, field visits were made to five homelands centres: Pintupi 89 people, Luritja 241, Walpiri 245, Pitjantjatjara/Ngaanyatjara 300, and Pitjantjatjara/Yangkuntjatjara 100.

Research findings

It is noted that one third of NT employees on cattle properties are Aboriginal but that employment opportunities are declining. Aboriginal-owned cattle stations provide economic and social benefits to Aborigines but do not generate profits. Bush resources make a valuable addition to the economy. Finance for vehicles and roads, however, is required before bush resources can be fully exploited. Arts and crafts make a small contribution to cash incomes but incomes could be increased with the development of tourism. Commercial fruit and vegetable production and collection of plant seeds could be supported but are unlikely to provide a major cash income supplement. Employment in community services dominates in many larger Aboriginal communities, although few of these jobs are available to outstation residents.

Prospects for the development of tourism are considered good but these will not necessarily lead to an increase in demand for Aboriginal labour. Aborigines at outstations are likely to benefit only when Aboriginal employment is stipulated by agreement when development takes place on their land.

More schools are needed, and the authors suggest that education should prepare children for their homelands life. The residents of these homelands will always need a degree of income support and the Community Development Employment Projects scheme is considered appropriate as it gives Aboriginal people control over funds.

Policy relevance

There is very little quantitative, economic data available on desert homelands. Although the study contributes substantively to this, most of the authors' findings are impressionistic. It might be construed from this that further research is required to collect the empirical evidence needed to substantiate the authors' findings.

The horticulture projects at some outstations indicate that there might be an emerging interest in operating within the market economy. Additional advice and capital support might be required.

The report concludes that most outstation people will benefit little from the recent growth of the NT economy. Thus, the social security system will remain their main source of cash income, supplemented through occasional employment, bush food production and some small income from enterprises.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c, 1987d; Altman and Taylor 1989; Bonner 1988; Downing 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989; Young 1985a, 1985c, 1988d, 1988e.

CASS, B. 1988, *Social Security Review, Income Support for the Unemployed in Australia: Towards a More Active System*, Issues Paper No. 4, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 241-253.

Available from

Department of Social Security, Woden; \$5.00.

Key words

Aboriginal labour market, educational status, government employment policy, government employment programs, remote communities, social security benefits, welfare dependence.

Geographic area
Australia.

Study aims

This study is a review of the Australian social security system, but the focus here is on the Aboriginal component. The Review aims to examine the current situation of unemployed and jobless Aborigines, to propose directions for long-term reform of income support programs, and to identify immediate priorities.

Research method

The review compares the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal labour force, using 1986 Census data.

Research findings

In 1986, Aboriginal unemployment rates were almost five times the level of the general population, 35.3 per cent and 7.5 per cent, respectively. Aboriginal teenagers and Aboriginal young adults experienced unemployment at the rate of two to three times that of the non-Aboriginal sub-population; proportionally, this Aboriginal group is twice the size of that of the non-Aboriginal population.

There is an inverse relation between rates of unemployment and educational attainment. Eleven per cent of the Aboriginal working age population has never attended school, and a smaller proportion than in the general population continue their education past age 15. Only four per cent have a post-school qualification, compared with 24 per cent in the general population.

Unemployment is exacerbated by a high proportion of the Aboriginal population (40 per cent) being located in rural and remote areas, by long-term decline in the rural sector and by reduced opportunities for unskilled workers caused by economic conditions and increased mechanisation.

The Review considers the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP) the key to improving Aboriginal employment and unemployment, including the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme because it aims to improve Aboriginal education, living standards and, subsequently, economic independence.

Policy relevance

The AEDP is identified by the Review as the key to improving Aboriginal welfare, employment and incomes. The Review sees the AEDP and the CDEP scheme as moving Aboriginal people away from dependence on such income support payments as social security payments. There is no critical evaluation, however, of the direct nexus between CDEP and unemployment benefit entitlements.

The Review provides neither a systematic nor a rigorous assessment of the performance of Aboriginal policy and programs. It could, for

instance, have investigated the suitability of the CDEP scheme as an income support mechanism for Aboriginal people, especially at remote locations.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Castle and Hagan 1985; Gray 1987; Miller 1985; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989; Ross 1988, 1990; Sanders 1988; Young 1985a.

CASTLE, R. 1989, *Employment Prospects for Aboriginals in Rural Labour Markets*, Report prepared for The Australian Council for Employment and Training, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 72.

Available from

Department of Employment, Education and Training; free publication.

Key words

Aboriginal employment trends, Aboriginal labour market in rural areas, education, government employment and training programs.

Geographic area

Bourke, Kempsey, Bega and the far south coast, NSW.

Study aims

To study the nature, extent and causes of the high rates of Aboriginal unemployment in NSW.

Research method

Three rural areas of NSW are utilised as case studies of Aboriginal employment and unemployment. Sources include the 1976 and 1981 Censuses, DEET (Department of Employment, Education and Training) data on the Community Employment Program, the 1985 Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) community profiles, and Commonwealth Employment Service data on job seekers, training, placements and duration of unemployment.

Research findings

In the regions studied, Aborigines have access to mainstream labour markets. The Aboriginal male unemployment rate rose from 7.6 per cent in 1976 to 10.1 per cent in 1981; during this time, male labour force participation rates fell by 5 per cent. In the same period, female unemployment rates rose from 6.5 per cent to 9.3 per cent, while their participation rate was approximately 41 per cent.

The majority of Aborigines working full-time are in jobs in the public sector or community-based organisations. The structure of rural

economies has excluded Aborigines from most private sector jobs. Thus, relatively few Aborigines have jobs in the private sector. Male employment fell as jobs in primary industries contracted, due to a combination of technological change, lowering commodity prices and drought, and a growing reluctance by Aborigines to take jobs as the amount of welfare payments increased. The Community Employment Program provided the main source of new jobs for Aborigines in the survey period. The Report noted that the recent development of the far south coast of NSW is likely to provide good employment prospects in the tourist industry but that these jobs will be seasonal.

The survey identified problems in the education system that limited employment and training opportunities for Aborigines. The overwhelming majority of Aboriginal children leave school before year 10, and there is massive absenteeism. Furthermore, there appears to be some conflict of interests between Aboriginal social norms and identity and the education system, and this affects basic schooling. The youthfulness of the rural Aboriginal population will compound the problem of unemployment in coming years.

Policy relevance

The quantitative data utilised in this study of Aboriginal employment trends in rural NSW shows that the Aboriginal employment situation has deteriorated. Fewer Aboriginal people were in work in 1985 than in 1981 or 1976, despite numerous training programs and increased access to education. The author expects this trend to continue unless new initiatives are taken, especially to improve school performance. In country towns, support is needed for Aboriginal enterprises - in the tourist and craft industries, in taxi and trucking enterprises, and to establish Aboriginal food shops. Public sector employment of Aborigines should be increased. In rural areas, the author proposes: the instigation of a job creation scheme through the public sector; the linking of Aboriginal employment to an Aboriginal housing scheme; and subsidies for government authorities and councils to create positions for Aborigines.

Key cross references

Gray 1987; Loveday 1985; Pollard 1988; Ross 1988, 1990.

CASTLE, R. and HAGAN, J. 1985, 'A critique of Aboriginal employment and training programs', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 40-49.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Employment, government employment and training programs, labour force participation rates, occupational status, private sector employment, public sector employment.

Geographic area

NSW; Australia.

Study aims

To examine structural aspects of Aboriginal unemployment.

Research method

An assessment is made of the Community Employment Program (CEP) from secondary data sources, which include Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (now Department of Employment, Education and Training) expenditure on Aboriginal training programs from 1979-80 to 1984-85 and the 1976 and 1981 Censuses.

Research findings

Between 1976 and 1981, labour force participation rates fell, with Aboriginal unemployment in 1981 being almost five times higher than the unemployment rate for the Australian population, 25 per cent compared with 6 per cent, respectively. In NSW over the same period, there was a fall in Aboriginal labour force participation of almost 2 per cent (men and women, inclusive), with the sharpest drop amongst Aboriginal women and Aboriginal youth. Compared with a figure of 16 per cent for Aboriginal men, Aboriginal women had a participation rate of 33 per cent, which was below the rate for non-Aboriginal women. The participation rate for Aboriginal youth (15-19 years) dropped from 55 per cent to 44 per cent.

The emphasis of on-the-job training for Aborigines switched from the private to the public sector, as both the number and the proportion of Aboriginal trainees in the private sector fell. Most of the programs in the private sector are now of short duration, while the decline in training positions in the private sector is attributed to relatively low rates of public subsidisation.

The public sector is the main source of increased employment opportunities for Aborigines. Aborigines, however, are mostly employed in low paid positions, reflecting their lack of formal, educational qualifications.

Policy relevance

While this paper is based on data that are now somewhat dated, it makes observations and recommendations that are still relevant for those Aboriginal people who might be seeking formal employment in urban settings. The authors propose that a graduated scale of subsidisation be introduced to encourage the private sector to provide Aborigines with

long-term employment. With respect to the low occupational status of Aborigines, the authors feel that on-the-job training does not advance the promotional prospects of Aborigines already employed in the public sector, although they still recommend greater support for Aborigines seeking formal qualifications to improve their access to higher paid positions.

Key cross references

Baker, Nicoll and Yik 1985; Castle 1989; Manuel 1985; Miller 1985; Scott 1985.

CHOO, C. 1990, *Aboriginal Child Poverty*, Sponsored by the Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care, Brotherhood of St Laurence, Melbourne, pp. 138.

Available from

Brotherhood of St Laurence; \$8.00 plus \$1.50 postage.

Key words

Educational status, employment status, unemployment, young Aboriginal adults.

Geographic area

Central Australia, WA, SA, Qld, Vic.

Study aims

The study attempts to explain the poverty experienced by Aboriginal children, relating poverty to Aboriginal demographic/family structure. It also investigates the link between unemployment and low educational achievement.

Research method

The study was undertaken as a joint venture by the Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care and the Brotherhood of St Laurence. Secondary sources of quantitative data include the 1986 Census, Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (now Department of Employment, Education and Training) Aboriginal Statistics 1986 and Commonwealth Department of Education Aboriginal Statistics 1986. Aboriginal communities were consulted.

Research findings

The 1981 Census shows that 11 per cent of Aboriginal people had never attended school, although retention rates have improved, from 10 per cent in 1982 to 17 per cent in 1986. Year 12 Aboriginal students, however, still have a retention rate half that of non-Aboriginal students.

Aborigines in the age category 15 to 19 years are under-represented

in the workforce. While Aborigines make up 2 per cent of the Australian population, 6 per cent of men between 15 and 19 are Aborigines. As the length of unemployment increases, the proportion of Aborigines in the group also rises, to 9 per cent for an unemployment period of 9-12 months and to 10 per cent for more than 12 months.

A breakdown of education levels for Aborigines registered with the Commonwealth Employment Service reveal that 4 per cent of unemployed Aborigines are without formal education, while 14 per cent have only primary school education. Of the 53 per cent who are educated to secondary level, only 3 per cent had completed years 11 or 12. Thus, when employment and education levels are compared, higher levels of education correspond to increased likelihood of employment.

Policy relevance

The study links low educational achievement to Aboriginal unemployment. The author argues that state and Federal Government moves to mainstream Aboriginal education are inconsistent with the stated aims in the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy to achieve employment in a way compatible with Aboriginal culture. A proven correlation between special Aboriginal education and positive employment outcomes would greatly assist arguments for public funds in this area.

Key cross references

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990; Ball 1985; Pollard 1988; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990.

CHRISTENSEN, W. 1985, *Aborigines and the Argyle Diamond Project*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 3, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 65.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Company policies, land rights, mining industry, mining royalty payments, private sector employment.

Geographic area

Warmun, Turkey Creek, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To provide a submission to the West Australian Aboriginal Land Inquiry on behalf of East Kimberley Aborigines.

Research method

Field research with Aboriginal people over 10 months at Warmun.

Research findings

There is evidence of inadequacy and inappropriateness in the approach taken by the Argyle Diamond Mines (ADM) to local Aboriginal issues. ADM's policies contain no provision for properly negotiated, legally binding agreements with relevant Aboriginal communities, and represent a denial of any obligation with respect to traditional lands or possible damage to sites of religious significance.

Little information is provided by the mine about present or future company activities, about the likely effects of mine activity on Aboriginal communities, or about ways in which Aboriginal people could participate more fully in the benefits which will flow from mining, such as employment; few Aborigines are presently employed at the mine.

The Mine's payments to Aboriginal communities appears minimal. For example, a large discrepancy exists between the ADM's 'Good Neighbour' payments and mining arrangements which apply in the NT where there are statutory rights to land. The ADM's administration of the Good Neighbour Program hampers community independence and weakens traditional systems of authority. In addition, ADM has shown a willingness to cooperate with the State Government only when it suits the company.

Contrary to its own environmental review management program, ADM has discouraged independent research into the local consequences of the mine and the Good Neighbour Program, and it does not make its own research on these topics publicly available.

Policy relevance

To overcome the above-mentioned problems, the author made several recommendations: Aboriginal traditional ties to the Argyle tenements should be given legal standing; Aboriginal traditional ties to land be investigated, and then systematically made the basis of assessing royalty compensation payments for use or damage to traditional lands; Aboriginal communities should be allowed to decide their own expenditure priorities; and all research documents prepared on behalf of the ADM that relate to the project's impact on the Aboriginal population should be made publicly available.

The research shows that large-scale mining projects do not necessarily provide jobs for local Aboriginal people. Similarly, payments from mining companies do not necessarily assist Aborigines to establish enterprises nor to provide appropriate employment opportunities, unless channelled specifically to such activities.

Key cross references

Altman 1985c; Altman and Smith 1990; Cousins 1985; Dixon, Elderton, Irvine and Kirby 1985; McGill and Crough 1986; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989.

COLLMANN, J. 1988, *Fringe-Dwellers and Welfare: The Aboriginal Response to the Bureaucracy*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, pp. 291.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words
Fringe-dwellers, poverty, self-determination, social welfare dependence.

Geographic area
Mount Kelly town camp, Alice Springs, NT.

Study aims
To analyse the relationship between Aboriginal fringe-dwellers and the welfare state.

Research method
Field research and secondary sources of mainly qualitative data.

Research findings
Collmann estimated that Aboriginal 'fringe-dwellers' who live at settlements on the outskirts of Alice Springs numbered in the hundreds. Mount Kelly people live in very poor quality shacks or 'humpies'.

The social security sector is the basis of the Mount Kelly economy. Additional money is earned in the pastoral industry and in urban employment, mostly in unskilled labouring. Cattle work is the preferred source of employment but this work is seasonal and insecure. These Aboriginal people, however, deny that they are poor - instead, they present their living conditions as a mark of their independence. Their self-image of affluence has its basis in the combination of small, regular incomes and relatively large but irregular incomes. People restrict their demand for material goods to what they can afford on the basis of their pension incomes, and splurge the 'extra' income from irregular employment on large amounts of liquor - what outsiders interpret as self-destructive behaviour, Aborigines see as a manifestation of their wealth, independence and self-determination.

Women have greater access to and control over pension incomes, and men depend on women's incomes during periods of unemployment. Men are under a greater obligation to work. Women's incomes ensure the viability of fringe-camp life.

Mount Kelly people say that by living in the fringe-camp in unconventional housing they are not indebted to, nor controlled by, white welfare agents who control urban housing projects and rural settlements.

Policy relevance
The poor living conditions found at fringe-camps in Alice Springs are typically interpreted as indicating Aboriginal poverty and social

degradation. In contrast to this, the author presents fringe-camp life as an indication of Aboriginal ingenuity: fringe camp life near Alice Springs allows Aboriginal access to welfare payments, to get some employment on cattle stations, or in town, while minimising the control of white welfare officers who control urban housing projects and rural settlements in and around Alice Springs.

Fringe-camps are seen as a product of Aborigines' need to come to terms with, and to exercise some control over, their relationship with the white bureaucracies which impinge upon daily Aboriginal life. While the book is somewhat dated, being based on research undertaken in the 1970s, its main policy message remains important - excessive intervention in people's lives can have unintended consequences.

Key cross references

Beck 1985; Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Ross 1987; Rowse 1988; Young 1988f, 1988g.

COOMBS, H.C. 1986, 'Towards Aboriginal independence', in *Science and Technology for Aboriginal Development*, Proceedings of a workshop held in Alice Springs from the 8th to the 10th October 1985, eds B. Foran and B. Walker, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, Melbourne, Session 1.9.

Available from

CSIRO; free publication.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, bureaucratic structures, economic independence, self-determination, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To discuss both the notion of Aboriginal independence and the emergence of an Aboriginal economy.

Research method

The paper draws together some themes of the workshop.

Research findings

A stated Aboriginal objective, according to the author, is to decrease dependence on government, the world market, mainstream society and, especially, the administrative and bureaucratic system. Aborigines will have a degree of economic independence when they have a choice about their lifestyle, their sources of livelihood and whether or not to reject the

values of the wider society. Independence, however, does not necessarily mean rejecting the social services available to all members of the community, such as education, health and access to unemployment benefits.

There is evidence of progress towards Aboriginal economic independence: Aborigines are beginning to make productive use of their land; they supplement their cash and non-cash incomes through subsistence activities; and they derive benefits from cattle projects, even though their management practices often differ from those of white farmers. The Aboriginal service organisations which support these activities have become instruments of political action. Thus, the author sees evidence of an emerging Aboriginal economy, with its own priorities, which are only marginally part of the mainstream economic system.

Policy relevance

The article addresses a central issue of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy - reduced dependence on government. It notes that, although Aborigines have succeeded in gaining aspects of independence, economic independence has, on the whole, remained elusive. The author provides general discussion of broad strategies for independence but specific, concrete recommendations are not made.

Key cross references

Cane and Stanley 1985; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Coombs, McCann, Ross and Williams 1989; Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Fisk 1985; Hanlon 1985; Jennings 1985; Palmer 1990; Stanley 1985a, 1985b; Young 1988b, 1988c, 1988d.

COOMBS, H.C., DARGAVEL, J., KESTEVEN, J., ROSS, H., SMITH, D.I. and YOUNG, E.A. 1990, *The Promise of the Land: Sustainable Use by Aboriginal Communities*, Working Paper No. 1, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 19.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Aboriginal pastoral properties, alternative land uses, government funding priorities, land degradation, subsistence resources, sustainable development.

Geographic area

Arid, semi-arid and northern tropical zones, north Australia.

Study aims

To outline constraints to sustainable land use by Aboriginal communities, and to identify possible areas of research.

Research method

The study considers environmental conditions and land uses; it cites secondary sources of quantitative data.

Research findings

The Northern Land Council and a number of government bodies identified feral animals and noxious weeds as the major management problems on Aboriginal land, bearing major responsibility for the increase in the rate of erosion in the arid and semi-arid zone; over 75 per cent of the area held by Aborigines falls into the arid zone.

It is likely that periodic injections of government funds will be required to sustain the commercial operation of Aboriginal land in the arid to semi-arid zone. Commercial viability has been increasingly emphasised as the funding criterion of the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), which is largely responsible for providing funds for the acquisition and the management of Aboriginal land. The ADC's stance is unlikely to change because of strong external pressures for public accountability.

Aborigines have received limited funds from the National Soil Conservation Program to counter land degradation, which has amounted to only two programs to date. Aboriginal land councils also have limited their involvement in land management - the Northern Land Council, for instance, employed only two staff to work in the environmental area in 1987-88. Limited funds have come from the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service and through the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP).

Aborigines generally do not regard feral animals as a problem, nor associate them with land degradation. Aborigines are not generally in favour of extermination, although there is some interest in programs that generate work and income. They further view the problem as one of prior European mismanagement, and believe that the government should fund programs for eradication, control and rehabilitation.

Policy relevance

The authors regard Aboriginal pastoral properties, on the whole, as lacking in commercial viability. Consequently, a major focus of the paper is on alternative land use for non-commercial, productive purposes. Specific research topics are proposed, including Aboriginal perceptions of alternative land use and the potential of subsistence activities. Also included in the paper is a brief comment on the AEDP as a source of funds for programs to counter degradation on Aboriginal land and a state-

by-state breakdown of Aboriginal land according to population and tenure.

Key cross references

Coombs 1986; Dillon 1985; Hanlon 1985; Jennings 1985; Young 1988a, 1988d, 1988e.

COOMBS, H.C., MCCANN, H., ROSS, H. and WILLIAMS, N.M. (eds) 1989, *Land of Promises: Aborigines and Development in the East Kimberley*, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, and Aboriginal Studies Press, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp. 165.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$10.95.

Key words

Control of resources, economic status, land rights, resource development, sustainable development.

Geographic area

Kununurra, Wyndham, Halls Creek, Turkey Creek, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

The original aim, to assess the social impact of mining on Aborigines in the region, was broadened to that of assisting Aboriginal people to develop strategies to deal with changes arising from resource development. In this way, communities would be able to achieve more control of the development process.

Research method

The book is the summary report of the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project (EKIAP) undertaken between 1984 and 1988. (A number of working papers from this project are reviewed elsewhere in this volume.) The 'social impact assessment' method is utilised to gather information. Few economic data are presented. Unemployment data are from the 1986 Census.

Research findings

Settled by non-Aboriginal pastoralists in the late 19th century, the East Kimberley has more recently experienced other European economic incursions: the Ord River Irrigation scheme (1960s), the Argyle Diamond Mines (late 1970s) and a surge of tourism in the 1980s.

In economic terms, East Kimberley Aborigines are worse off than their non-Aboriginal counterparts and, in statistical terms, are some of the

poorest people in Australia. In 1986, the unemployment rate amongst East Kimberley Aborigines was 23.7 per cent compared with an unemployment rate for non-Aborigines of 4.4 per cent. Fifty five per cent of Aborigines were not in the labour force compared with 24.6 per cent of non-Aborigines. Forty three per cent of Aboriginal families had incomes under \$15,000 compared with only 22 per cent of non-Aboriginal families. Ninety three per cent of Aborigines had individual incomes below \$15,000 per year compared with 49 per cent of non-Aborigines. Forty per cent of non-Aborigines had formal trade or professional qualifications compared with 23 per cent of Aborigines.

A theme of the book is that, because the present form of development in the region is based on the exploitation of non-renewable resources, it is not sustainable. Thus, new principles of 'sustainable resource development' should be adopted. The authors link these principles with an increase in Aboriginal control of resources. The book considers the use and control of various forms of resources in the region, arguing that, if Aborigines were to benefit from economic development, activities must be under Aboriginal control. Present enterprise developments are structured so that profits flow out of the region.

Numerous policy recommendations for Aboriginal control and use of land are put forward, including the need for alternative land uses to pastoralism. It is suggested that some land could be used to produce food for local consumption. Capital for Aboriginal development could be raised from a land tax and from payments for the commercial exploitation of natural resources. Other issues are raised, including: the possibility of vesting conservation reserves with Aboriginal interests and leasing them back to the State Government; the notion that Aboriginal access to pastoral leases could be protected by negotiation with lease holders; and the possibility that Aboriginal people might be able to seek forms of compensation arising from the dispossession of certain areas of land. A basic problem is that Aborigines lack the stability of land rights and, therefore, the title to land, the control of resources, as well as, the political leverage associated with the control of resources. The authors do not expect the WA Government to soften its attitude to land rights.

Policy relevance

The book proposes a major change in policy direction but some problems at the practical level seem evident. Although it is suggested that the EKIAP should be followed by a regional plan, more detail on how this might occur, backed up by field data, seems necessary.

The book is predicated on a questionable assumption, that land in the East Kimberley can produce wealth for large numbers of people. Apart from providing somewhere to live, the value of land rests with its potential to generate income; virtually, the only land available to Aborigines has low economic potential, unless minerals are discovered.

There might not be a direct correlation between land rights and the generation of wealth in this area. It would have been helpful to include an estimate of how many people each community could sustain, or the level of development required to sustain communities.

Little is said in the book about tourism and the Argyle Diamond Mines. This is despite the fact that the EKIAP arose out of Aboriginal concern about the impact of mining on their communities.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c; Christensen 1985; Dillon 1985; Hanlon 1985; Holmes 1985; Jennings 1985; Ross and Johnson 1989; Young 1988a, 1988d.

COUSINS, D. 1985, 'Aboriginal employment in the mining industry', in *Economy and People in the North*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 178-193.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$18.00.

Key words

Australian mine labour force, employment, government training programs, land rights, mining industry, occupational status, private sector recruitment, unemployment.

Geographic area

Papua New Guinea and Australia.

Study aims

The study examines the extent to which the mining industry will provide Aboriginal employment opportunities.

Research method

This study, of nine major mining companies, was co-researched by the author and J. Nieuwenhuysen (Cousins, D. and Nieuwenhuysen, J. 1984, *Aboriginals and the Mining Industry*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney), and was funded by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission). The author has compiled Census data on Aboriginal employment in the mining industry for the years 1971, 1976 and 1981

Research findings

The Censuses for 1971, 1976 and 1981, show only a slight increase in the number of Aborigines employed in the mining sector - 603, 617 and 638, respectively - despite significant growth in the industry. Almost half of those Aborigines were employed in Qld, with Mount Isa Mines (129) and

Comalco Ltd (81) employing most Aborigines. It is significant that the number of Aborigines employed in mining represents only 1.5 per cent of the total Aboriginal workforce, and 2 per cent of the total workforce for the nine mining companies studied. Cousins does not expect a significant increase in the number of Aborigines employed in the mining industry in the future.

Within the industry, Aborigines are engaged predominantly in unskilled or semi-skilled, blue-collar jobs. Consequently, a disproportionately high number of Aborigines, compared with other mine workers, were retrenched during economic recession.

Bougainville Copper Limited (Papua New Guinea) provides an international comparison. The indigenous population was successfully employed throughout the organisation, despite their previous inexperience, poor education and lack of skills. The author explains that this is because the company was motivated by a need to overcome resistance to mining and, hence, devoted considerable resources to train and to employ as many local nationals as possible. Low demand and the limited supply of Aboriginal labour hampers similar high rates of Aboriginal employment in the Australian mining sector.

Overall, any special provision for Aborigines which might have been provided by mining companies was curtailed by discriminatory policy. This was reflected in the small number of Aborigines involved in training and apprenticeships. In June-July 1982, two companies alone, Mount Isa Mines (37 apprentices) and North Australian Bauxite and Alumina Company Limited (12 trainees), accounted for the majority of Aboriginal trainees and apprentices, 49 of 75. Furthermore, government training subsidies were insufficient to influence a company's choice to train Aborigines in preference to non-Aborigines - 20 per cent of training costs for Aborigines under the Training for Aborigines Program compared with 3 per cent for non-Aborigines under the Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentices of Full-Time Training scheme. Instead, the key selection criterion was the likely success of the applicant. There is a current trend by mining companies to employ Aborigines on a contract basis, which could be linked to cost-saving measures.

Several observations were made regarding the motivation of Aborigines to work in mines. While some people believe that cultural traits undermine the motivation of Aborigines to seek paid employment, available data on Aboriginal work performance show that such stereotyping does not apply to all Aboriginal people.

Policy relevance

While this article pre-dates the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, it is important because it is one of the few studies based on primary data that provides information on Aboriginal employment in the mining industry. This research demonstrates that mining is not a major

employer of Aborigines and that it is unlikely to be so in the future. In fact, during the decade covered by the study, the proportion of Aborigines working in mines actually declined. In this context, the author proposes that further research is needed to investigate Aboriginal work motivations.

Government action seems necessary if employment opportunities for Aborigines in the mining industry were to increase. This study demonstrates that, without incentives, mining companies will not devote additional resources to special programs aimed at recruiting Aborigines. Government funds provided by the Training for Aborigines Program were insufficient as an incentive. This raises the issue of how much Government should subsidise the private sector for Aboriginal training and employment programs.

Land rights could be of special significance in gaining commitment for Aboriginal training and employment from mining companies. Ranger and Nabarlek Agreements, however, contained only general conditions concerning employment and training of Aborigines and were ineffective. Greater success was achieved from the Pancontinental Agreement which had more specific terms. Opportunities exist to negotiate better agreements in the future, since land rights legislation enables Aborigines to negotiate terms and conditions of mining before it proceeds.

Key cross references

Cousins and Nieuwenhuysen 1983, *Aboriginal Unemployment in Australia, Its Extent and Policies to Reduce It*, Monograph, Committee for Economic Development of Australia, Melbourne; Cousins and Nieuwenhuysen 1984; Howitt 1989; McGill and Crough 1986; Miller 1989; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988.

CROUGH, G., HOWITT, R. and PRITCHARD, B. 1989, *Aboriginal Economic Development in Central Australia*, Report for the Combined Aboriginal Organisations of Alice Springs, Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, printed by Asprint, pp. 94.

Available from

IAD Supplies; \$20.00.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, central Australian economy, economic development, economic status, employment status, income status.

Geographic area

Central Australia, including: the Tanami Desert, Alice Springs and Uluru National Park, NT; East Pilbara, WA; and Pitjantjatjara Lands, SA.

Study aims

The aims of the study, which was undertaken for the Combined Aboriginal Organisation in Alice Springs, were to identify and to quantify the main features of the Aboriginal component of the central Australian economy.

Research method

Research was conducted in central Australia over three months, from late 1988 to early 1989. It concentrates on data for the financial year 1987-88 and draws heavily on disaggregated employment and income data from the 1986 Census.

Research findings

The Aboriginal economy was broken into five contributing categories, and quantified for 1987-88. Aboriginal organisations based in Alice Springs, including commercial enterprises, contributed \$32 million. Aboriginal organisations and individuals in central Australia earned \$31 million. Citizenship entitlements amounted to \$104 million, which included the use of public services, social security payments, the Community Development Employment Projects scheme and local government grants. Grants from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, ATSIC), the Aboriginal Development Commission (now ATSIC), the Department of Employment, Education and Training and the Aboriginals Benefit Trust Account totalled \$46 million. The Aboriginal bureaucracy, which administered the distribution of grants, accounted for \$2.2 million. This breakdown establishes that the Aboriginal economy is not based merely on welfare transfers from the government. In fact, the Aboriginal component made up one third, or a total of \$184 million, of the central Australian economy in 1987-88.

Aboriginal economic status was ascertained from employment and income data. The Aboriginal labour force participation rate was 42.7 per cent in Alice Springs. Aboriginal employment in Alice Springs compared unfavourably with non-Aborigines; while they comprised 16 per cent of the population, only 8 per cent of Aborigines were employed. Aboriginal employment was concentrated in two industries, public administration and Aboriginal community organisations. These organisations accounted for 54 per cent of Aboriginal employment (650 jobs). Aborigines in remote areas, which accounted for two-thirds of the central Australian Aboriginal population, have few employment opportunities. In the Tanami desert, for instance, only one out of every ten Aboriginal adults had any sort of job. The Aborigines of these remote areas, however, believe that their living conditions were better than if they were residing at other Aboriginal communities, or at European towns.

There is a marked income difference between Aborigines and non-

Aborigines in central Australia. Aboriginal incomes were less than half of those of non-Aborigines in 1986, or only about \$9,000 per capita, annually. Social security benefits made up 70 per cent of income for town camp Aborigines. This poverty must be addressed directly before economic development can progress. Otherwise, funds provided by government agencies for economic development will be viewed by Aborigines as a form of compensation to meet their immediate consumption needs.

Several recommendations were made. The first relates to the narrow economic base of central Australia. To avoid competition with white business interests, Aborigines need to take advantage of both unmet Aboriginal demand and existing business opportunities, as distinct from establishing new ventures. A structure is needed to both monitor and provide feedback on developments in the local economy. Secondly, care must be taken to establish commercial enterprises, such as cooperatives and companies, which will channel profits back to Aborigines equitably so as to advance the overall economic status of Aboriginal people.

Policy relevance

The data used in this report successfully quantify, firstly, the amount of income generated by Aboriginal people independent of government and, secondly, the extent to which Aborigines contribute to the central Australian economy. Despite their significance, the report addresses a need to further Aboriginal enterprise development. It found that 'Despite the stated policy procedures (of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy), effective local co-ordination of funds and programs ... is not happening ... local administrative structures in Alice Springs ... do not effectively respond to Aboriginal initiatives.' It makes a recommendation that a local Aboriginal Employment Promotion Committee be established, as proposed in the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, to lobby for local initiatives in a wide range of employment options.

A key issue raised by the authors is the equitability of income distribution. The authors propose that a discrepancy exists between income produced by Aborigines on the one hand and profit returned to non-Aborigines on the other, raising the possibility that substantial profits are being expropriated from Aboriginal enterprises. The authors propose further research both to consider possible changes in the structure of the central Australian economy and to assess the degree to which Aborigines could achieve financial independence.

Key cross references

Altman 1988a; Bonner 1988; Byrnes 1988; Fisk 1985; Young 1985c, 1987, 1988b.

DAYLIGHT, P. and JOHNSTONE, M. 1987 (Reprint), *Women's Business*, Report of the Aboriginal Women's Task Force, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Office of the Status of Women, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 153.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$29.95.

Key words

Aboriginal sole parents, Aboriginal women, education, employment status, government training programs, income status, workforce participation rates.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To inquire into a range of issues affecting Aboriginal women, including land rights, culture, health, housing, welfare and employment and educational needs.

Research method

The task force of thirteen women collected data via consultation with Aboriginal women across Australia over one year. Except for 1981 Census data, all information is qualitative in nature. The Report includes recommendations.

Research findings

The participation rate of Aboriginal women in the workforce is 32 per cent, compared with 46 per cent for all Australian women. Aboriginal women are concentrated in a limited range of jobs: service, sport and recreation (35 per cent); clerical (23 per cent); and professional and technical (17 per cent). Only 4 per cent of Aboriginal women workers earn more than \$10,000 per year compared with a national figure for women of 7 per cent. The unemployment rate of Aboriginal women is understated. Many are discouraged from seeking employment and, rather than register for unemployment benefits, register for pensions.

Many women had only minimal, or no, secondary schooling. Invariably, the educational levels achieved were inadequate for the few jobs that were available, particularly in rural areas. Women indicated a preference for courses held where they lived and which would enable them to operate more effectively, such as bookkeeping and general office procedures.

Aboriginal women have more likelihood than non-Aboriginal women of raising their children alone, with 30 per cent of Aboriginal women being sole parents. Pensions and allowances provide them with a stable but low income.

Policy relevance

This is one of the few studies about the economic situation of Aboriginal women. Many of the obstacles to their employment were identified from the interviews with Aboriginal women. At the same time, the authors noted a dearth of comprehensive information from which to develop effective policies to increase employment opportunities for Aboriginal women.

The Report's recommendations are listed separately with a specific section on employment. Public sector selection procedures presented as a major obstacle to the employment of Aboriginal women because Aborigines were under-represented on selection panels and because inappropriate language was used at interviews. Recommendations to increase employment prospects for Aboriginal women included: the immediate creation of an information package for Aboriginal women on the establishment of new enterprises and cooperatives; adaptable programs to suit the differing needs of clients created by their diverse geographical locations; the need for government departments to consult with Aboriginal women to develop community-based courses to meet their community needs; and a national campaign to promote the employment of Aboriginal women in the private sector.

Key cross references

Baker, Nicoll and Yik 1985; Ball 1985; Manuel 1985.

DILLON, M.C. 1985, *Pastoral Resource Use in the Kimberley: A Critical Overview*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 4, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 26.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Alternative land uses, pastoralism.

Geographic area

Kimberley region, WA.

Study aims

To outline the parameters which determine policy development in the pastoral industry.

Research method

The study utilises quantitative and other data from the *Kimberley Pastoral Industry Inquiry 1985* (Chairman B. Jennings), as well as other secondary sources.

Research findings

Pastoral resource use in the Kimberley is based on a set of assumptions which might no longer be tenable for a long-term industry. Although areas of the Kimberley have high pastoral potential, much of the land is ecologically unstable, and economically unsuitable for pastoralism. Continued pastoralism would increase environmental degradation.

The author proposes several possible alternatives to pastoralism. These include: privately-owned conservation areas, wilderness areas and national parks, and capital intensive, small-scale agriculture. These alternatives could help to satisfy Aboriginal aspirations for access to their traditional lands and could facilitate the development of Aboriginal enterprises along the 'modified hunter-gatherer' model. For example, small 'killer' herds could be kept for consumption and exchange; in such a scheme requirements for capital would be low and additional labour costs, in monetary terms, would be zero. The author suggests the necessity for research to assess optimal land units, herd size and management in order to reduce ecological impacts.

Policy relevance

The author concludes that the long-term solutions to the pastoral industry's problems might be found outside the existing notions of land-use. Although not specifically stated by the author, a modified hunter-gatherer type economy might be an economically viable option for the use of much of this land.

Key cross references

Dillon 1985; Hanlon 1985; Holmes 1985; Jennings 1985; Young 1988a, 1988d, 1988e.

DILLON, M.C. 1986, *Structural Change in Wyndham*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 9, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 30.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Aboriginal welfare transfers, economic marginalisation, migration, small town economies.

Geographic area

Wyndham, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To examine structural change in the Wyndham economy.

Research method

Secondary sources of data are used, including press clippings relevant to the closure of the Wyndham's meatworks and the future of the WA state shipping service.

Research findings

There has been an out-migration of Wyndham's Aboriginal population to Oombulgurri, Bow River, Turkey Creek and Frog Hollow. These migrations are attributed to the homelands movement and the marginal economic status of Wyndham's Aboriginal population. The migration has coincided with the general relocation of service agencies from Wyndham to Kununurra.

The Aboriginal population's welfare payments constitute a substantial proportion of Wyndham's consumer expenditure, and form an established part of the town's economic base. This is important at this particular point in Wyndham's economic history, because the relative economic significance of Aboriginal people will increase as Aboriginal welfare payments moderate the extent of Wyndham's decline.

Policy relevance

The data do not quantify the dependence of the town's economy on Aboriginal welfare transfers, nor the extent to which transfer payments have stabilised the towns economy during its economic downturn. Such data would have added support to the author's argument which links the town's economic survival to Aboriginal employment. It is argued that the town's potential for economic growth is limited by the amount of consumption expenditure from welfare payments. To overcome this limitation, the author proposes that governments adopt strategies which create employment opportunities for Aborigines. The author points to the potential of tourism which, given problems of accessibility to the coast and interior, would require the active involvement of the Kalumburu and Oombulgurri communities.

Key cross references

Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Fisk 1985; Howitt 1989; Young 1985c.

DILLON, M.C. 1987, *Aborigines and Tourism in North Australia: Some Suggested Research Approaches*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 14, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 9-13.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Aboriginality, economic returns, land, social impacts, tourism.

Geographic Area

Australia.

Study aims

This paper seeks to clarify issues relating to Aboriginal involvement in cultural and environmental tourism, and identifies areas where research is needed on the impact of tourism on Aborigines.

Research method

The hypothesis that cultural tourism is likely to involve negative social impacts on Aboriginal communities is examined.

Research findings

This brief discussion paper considers Aborigines as a tourism resource. It discusses how, as 'Aboriginality' itself is the marketable product, Aborigines should control and derive the benefits of their own exploitation. The author points to the potential negative impact of this type of tourism; it could transform, perhaps irreversibly, the resource itself. Thus, Aboriginality is not considered an unlimited resource. Research is necessary to determine both the negative and the positive impacts of tourism on Aboriginal communities.

Policy relevance

This discussion paper highlights significant issues about Aboriginal involvement in the tourist industry. While it is acknowledged that tourism has the potential to provide Aborigines with an income independent of government, it emphasises the need for research to determine possible, and likely, socially and culturally detrimental impacts on Aboriginal communities and religious sites. This view is the basis for two conclusions: Aborigines should use their ownership of the land as a tourist attraction to expropriate economic returns from non-Aboriginal visitors; and research that demonstrates the negative impacts of tourism on Aboriginal communities could prove to government that Aboriginality is a limited tourism resource, thus, establishing a basis for compensation.

Key cross references

Altman 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Gillespie 1988; Kesteven 1987; Lawrence 1985; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986; Williams 1989.

DIXON, R.A., ELDERTON, C., IRVINE, S. and KIRBY, I. 1985, *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, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, pp. 46.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Compensation, dependence, economic marginalisation, mining, employment, training programs.

Geographic area

Kununurra and the Mandangala community, Warmun and Woolah community, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To document the social effect of the Argyle Diamond Mines (ADM) on Aboriginal communities.

Research method

Data are derived from secondary sources, and from meetings with members of councils, government departments, community members and others concerned with the impact of mining on local Aboriginal communities.

Research findings

The land requirements of the ADM are limiting Aboriginal access to land. Furthermore, communities near the ADM are not achieving the economic independence which they expected as a result of the mine. The Mandangala, Warmun and Woolah communities accepted ADM's offer of assistance in the form of a 'Good Neighbour Program' (GNP) but terms of the GNP deny these communities control over the management of GNP funds. In fact, the GNP has increased the ADM's control over these communities because the GNP's financial payments are contingent on the company's ongoing activities, such as exploration, and the GNP terms also allow the company to impose sanctions against non-compliant communities.

Aboriginal people represent 56 per cent of the local population yet constitute only 1 per cent of the total ADM workforce. The company's proposals include opportunities for local Aboriginal employment. These fall far short of a genuine employment policy though, since there are neither specific employment targets nor any significant development of Aboriginal training programs.

Government and mining company activity in the region has increased since the discovery of diamonds, creating a demand for new decision-making structures in Aboriginal communities. Without these structures, key decisions are often made in Aboriginal communities which do not accurately reflect the consensus view.

Policy relevance

The authors conclude that the ADM has far-reaching implications for the East Kimberley, as it is radically altering the economic base of the region. The overall effect of this on the Aboriginal population is to impede the process of Aboriginal control in the region and to increase their marginalisation. Hence, what might be economically good for a region might not automatically benefit the local Aboriginal people. Mining often proceeds on the unquestioned assumption that there will be some sort of compensation for Aboriginal people from mining in their area. But the report makes it clear that this assumption may be unwarranted.

Key cross references

Altman and Smith 1990; Christensen 1985; Cousins 1985; Dillon 1986; Howitt 1989, 1990; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989.

DOWNING, J. 1988, *Ngurra Walytja: Country of my Spirit*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 195.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$16.00.

Key words

Administrative structures, outstations (homelands) movement, self-determination.

Geographic area

Homeland communities in 'Pitjantjatjara country', SA and NT.

Study aims

To examine the development and future directions of the homelands movement.

Research method

Participant observation methods and secondary sources of data were used.

Research findings

The accomplishments of the homelands movement include improved social and general health, increased group identity and improved morale. At homelands, Aboriginal people enjoy greater autonomy to organise their own lives. Although people depend upon Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) money, homelands can provide some limited employment; people can supplement their non-cash incomes from the traditional subsistence sector.

The author contends that the homelands movement is hampered by the control exercised by the present administration over programs and funds,

and the complexity of these arrangements. It is recommended that the administrative system be simplified and that Aboriginal people be helped to work out new administrative structures for their regions. CDEP money should be managed by the community and should not be externally controlled.

Policy relevance

The paper notes Pitjantjatjara motives for forming outstations. It lacks quantitative data though about the positive effects of the movement to homelands; statements are impressionistic, rather than being based on rigorous research. For example, the author tells us that one positive result of the move to homelands is that Aboriginal health has improved, but no empirical data is provided to support this. The author also states that homelands will never be economically viable but gives no information on their economy. There is no information on the relative economic contribution of subsistence hunting and gathering, arts and crafts, government support nor welfare benefits.

The outstations movement has clearly achieved some of its goals, including the creation of useful work and a return to Aboriginal decision-making. The changes in bureaucratic structures recommended by the author would give Pitjantjatjara more financial control. The data, however, make it clear that reorganisation of the bureaucratic structure alone will not gain them the economic independence necessary to achieve employment and income equity with other Australians by the year 2000.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c; Altman and Taylor 1989; Bolger 1987a; Bonner 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989; Young 1988c.

ELLANNA, L., LOVEDAY, P., STANLEY, O. and YOUNG, E.A. (with assistance from I. White) 1988, *Economic Enterprises in Aboriginal Communities in the Northern Territory*, Monograph, Report prepared for the Department of Community Development, NT, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 298.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$24.00, plus postage.

Key words

Enterprises, funding of enterprises, remote communities.

Geographic area

Yuendumu, Barunga, Wugularr, Eva Valley, Mountain Valley, NT.

Study aims

To analyse the experience of and opportunities for economic enterprises in selected Aboriginal communities in the NT.

Research method

Data was assembled from field work surveys, the 1976, 1981 and 1986 Censuses, the NT Department of Community Development, and community files.

Research findings

This study focuses on the difficulties of establishing and operating Aboriginal commercial enterprises. These difficulties include: management problems; inadequate funds; problems associated with access to land; the poor natural resources base; the socio-political context of enterprise development; the small size of local markets; and distance from larger markets. The study includes traditional hunting and gathering within its definition of 'enterprises'.

Income and employment status are analysed for Yuendumu in the period 1978-86. The following enterprise activities are dealt with: Ngarliykirlangu Cattle Company; Yuendumu Mining Company; Warlukurlangu Artists Association; Yuendumu Social Club Store; Yuendumu Housing Association; the Aboriginal owned stores at Barunga and Wugularr; the contracting businesses run by families at Ngukurr; the contracting businesses operated by Yuendumu Community Council, and Yuendumu Housing Association; and the sale of artefacts at Adelaide River and Katherine. The history of the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme at Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley is outlined.

Enterprises provide some employment but most have not been commercially successful, except in cases where outside management has been introduced, for instance, in the case of the Yuendumu Mining Company. The price of financial success, however, has been Aboriginal loss of control of business management. The market economy is not important in terms of Aboriginal self-reliance, employment or in its contribution to the economy.

Policy relevance

The authors see the Yuendumu Mining Company, though not under Aboriginal management, as providing a model for future commercial success. It survived because it diversified widely. The families at Ngukurr who run successful contracting businesses are another model - they are of interest because they operate all aspects of their businesses themselves. The Yuendumu community council and Yuendumu Housing Association provide examples of enterprises run at the community level. They operate successful private contracting businesses but remain reliant on subsidy in the form of access to government equipment.

CDEP funds have proven to be insufficient as a basis for most commercial enterprises to date. Those CDEP jobs in the service sector do not reduce dependence on government, although they do provide an opportunity to learn relevant skills. The case studies indicate that some Aboriginal people do not want to be involved in CDEP for fear of losing their individual unemployment benefits.

The authors want subsistence production to be included within their definition of 'enterprise' but they do not provide any data to indicate what contribution subsistence might make to non-cash income. Artefacts are regarded as potentially important in economic terms to some of the communities; little data, however, are provided on arts and crafts income.

Among its recommendations, the report stresses that the introduction of new market-oriented enterprises is difficult, and suggests an alternative approach could be to strengthen existing enterprises. The authors, however, see very limited opportunities for Aboriginal economic enterprises at these communities, and jobs in the service sector appear to be on the decline. The authors feel that opportunities could be created with training and education. It is implied, however, that most Aboriginal people at the communities visited will remain dependent on public support in the foreseeable future.

Key cross references

Altman 1990a; Altman and Taylor 1989; Bonner 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Prior and Wunungmurra 1987; Young 1988a, 1988c.

FINLAYSON, J. 1990, 'Tourist art versus fine art', in *Marketing Aboriginal Art in the 1990s*, eds J.C. Altman and L. Taylor, Papers presented to a workshop in Canberra 12-13 June 1990, Institute Report Series, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 55-64.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$10.00.

Key words

Arts and crafts industry, copyright, marketing of Aboriginal art, tourism.

Geographic area

Cairns region, Qld.

Study aims

To comment on issues of production and marketing of Aboriginal artefacts for the tourist market.

Research method

The study uses direct observation to research case studies as background to comments on problems and concerns within the arts and crafts industry. The author looks at three categories of enterprise: wholesale production, retailing, and the regional, commercial centre for Aboriginal artefacts.

Research findings

Cairns is a popular tourist destination. Between July 1988 and June 1989, there were 970,000 visits by Australians to Cairns and there were 320,000 international visitors in 1988. Tourism at Cairns was worth \$352.6 million for the financial year 1988-89; the pilots strike in late 1989, however, would have had a severe impact on tourism earnings. The author was unable to assess whether arts and crafts enterprises are sharing the wealth generated by tourism.

Two wholesale producers manufactured similar products, but one labelled its products as genuine artefacts.

Retail outlets found that they could sell artefacts only within a certain price range and 'suitcase' size, and that turnover was highest for items decorated in colours popular in current home decorating. T-shirts and other articles were sold which were decorated with genuine Aboriginal motifs. These directly competed with very cheap, commercially produced T-shirts and other goods with graphic arts 'Aboriginal' designs.

An Aboriginal arts enterprise sold items on behalf of a number of communities across Qld, which fixed its own prices. This was a problem, as the quality of artefacts varied considerably. Tourists were found to have conventional expectations about Aboriginal art, often seeing 'authentic' Aboriginal art only in terms of painted boomerangs, didgeridoos and certain designs. This tended to determine what the artists produced. Although not noted in the paper, this indicates that producers are responding to market demands.

Policy relevance

The case studies highlight many of the problems faced by that part of the arts and crafts industry which is oriented to tourists. These include pricing and quality control, copyright, issues of cultural integrity, the question of what constitutes a 'genuine' Aboriginal artefact, and the demand-side constraints placed on artists by the narrow range of goods and designs which tourists want to buy.

The trade-off between commerce and culture looms as a major dilemma facing Aboriginal arts organisations and producers. The paper makes it clear that in Qld there are very strong pressures within the industry to give commercial consideration primacy.

Key cross references

Altman 1989a, 1989b, 1990b; Spring 1990.

FISK, E.K. 1985, *The Aboriginal Economy in Town and Country*, joint publication of Allen & Unwin, Sydney, and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp. 156.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$29.95.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, Australian economy, employment, government funding levels, income status, poverty.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To document and to quantify the Aboriginal component of the Australian economy.

Research method

This is an analysis and summary of four studies conducted as part of the 'Aboriginal component of the Australian economy' project undertaken from 1978 to 1981 under the auspices of the Australian National University. It utilises 1976 and 1981 Census material, Department of Social Security surveys, Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) statistics and estimates of expenditure, and Australian Taxation Office statistics.

Research findings

Fisk gives an account of Aboriginal participation in the Australian economy. The total flow of goods and services from the main economy to the Aboriginal sector in 1981 was estimated at approximately \$660 million. Of this, \$194 million was income, \$215 million was social security benefits, and \$425 million was expended under Aboriginal Advancement Programs.

The Aboriginal population is divided into categories according to geographic location: outstations and other small groups; Aboriginal towns and settlements on Aboriginal land; small non-Aboriginal towns; and large towns and cities. The incomes of each category are estimated and analysed, and comparison is made between the Aboriginal sector and the corresponding sectors of the Australian economy.

The average adult Aboriginal income in 1976 was \$3,368 per annum and in 1981 it was \$4,626, whereas the average incomes of adult Australians for the same years were \$5,020 and \$8,170, respectively. In 1981 only 1 per cent of Aborigines had incomes over \$15,000 compared with 14 per cent of all Australians. In 1971, 46.3 per cent of Aboriginal income came from social security payments; this had increased to 52.9 per

cent by 1981.

Fisk identifies inputs from the mainstream economy to the Aboriginal sector which do not directly feature in Aboriginal incomes. These include the provision of special government services, which are designed to improve Aboriginal health, education and living conditions.

Policy relevance

Fisk's study is unique as it is the only study available that attempts to provide a macroeconomic overview of the Aboriginal economy. It provides the type of data essential for effective policy formation. Fisk's research was extensively used by the Miller Committee (1985) and was of central importance to the subsequent formation of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy. The study concludes that the flow of resources to assist Aborigines has been large, yet the results do not seem encouraging. More has been achieved, however, than is often recognised. Improvements have been made in general living standards even though income gains have been limited; improvements in housing, health care, and access to social security benefits have been significant. Unemployment in towns and cities is the main factor frustrating Federal Government efforts to assist Aboriginal incorporation into the modern Australian economy. Only on some outstations, where hunting and gathering activities supplement government pensions, is unemployment not a critical impediment. Aboriginal poverty is also related to location, housing, and social problems that have economic consequences such as alcohol abuse, poor health, and low levels of education. An update of Fisk's work using the latest Census data would be useful for ongoing policy assessment.

Key cross references

Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Dillon 1986; Miller 1985; Stanley 1985b, 1985c; Young 1985c.

GILLESPIE, D. 1988, 'Tourism in Kakadu National Park', in *Northern Australia: Progress and Prospects, Volume 1, Contemporary Issues in Development*, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 224-250.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$24.00.

Key words

Land rights, national parks, tourism.

Geographic area

Kakadu National Park, NT.

Study aims

Gillespie discusses the growth of tourism in Kakadu National Park in general, the potential impacts of rapid tourism growth on Aboriginal residents of the Park, and the need to consider Aboriginal involvement (including economic involvement) in Kakadu tourism.

Research method

A range of research methods were used, including questionnaires of visitors, tour operators, and some direct observation (by consultants) of vehicle occupancy rates. This research was part of the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service's ongoing research in the Park; none was specifically with Aboriginal people. Data are mainly about tourist visitation. There are no quantitative data on either the Aboriginal component of the regional economy or on Aboriginal employment.

Research findings

Gillespie documents visitor growth to Kakadu between 1982-87. He raises the key issue of how Aboriginal people in the region might benefit financially from tourism growth to the region, foreshadowing successful Aboriginal involvement in Kakadu's tourism industry through joint Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal enterprises.

Policy relevance

Gillespie set out in part to consider Aboriginal involvement in tourism in Kakadu National Park. Tourism questionnaires, however, did not specifically raise the issue of demand for Aboriginal cultural tourism; nor was there systematic, quantitative research about Aboriginal tourism aspirations. Perhaps, the major significance of this article with respect to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is the need to undertake further research on economic options for Aboriginal people in the tourism industry in situations where they have commercial concessions and statutory ownership of land.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1988a, 1989b; Dillon 1987; Kesteven 1987; Lawrence 1985; Ross and Johnson 1989; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986; Williams 1989.

GRAY, A. (with assistance by J. Vesper) 1987, *Progress Without Grant: Employment in Some Aboriginal Communities*, Aboriginal Family Demography Study, Working Paper No. 5, Study co-sponsored by the New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 47.

Available from

Department of Demography, ANU; free publication.

Key words

Aboriginal labour force, education, employment, government training programs, small rural towns, unemployment.

Geographic area

Ballina, Box Ridge, Cabbage Tree Island, Coraki, Lismore, NSW.

Study aims

To examine the employment histories and present employment situation of some Aboriginal people living in small towns.

Research method

The study provides primary data. Research is based on a demographic study of 100 households and 544 Aboriginal people in towns on the far north coast NSW in 1986. The 1981 Census is utilised. Detailed employment data are presented.

Research findings

The level of Aboriginal unemployment is six times the level of the rest of the Australian labour force. Twenty five per cent of the Aboriginal labour force is unemployed, and when those Aboriginal people who are not in the labour force are included the rate is around 35 to 40 per cent.

The study found a high degree of stability of employment for the few Aboriginal people who obtained permanent local jobs. However, on the whole, Aboriginal employment seems very unstable. People in temporary jobs and people who had left jobs in the last two years had work histories which included travelling outside the study area to look for work, a succession of temporary jobs, periods of unemployment and had spent time in training or job creation programs. Clearly, it is difficult for Aborigines to obtain permanent jobs. Very few Aborigines were employed in the local area in the construction, small manufacturing, agricultural, service, food processing and tourism sectors, which were the mainstay of wage employment in the areas. Gray contends that both demand and supply barriers to employment exist in the form of discrimination and lack of qualifications.

Policy relevance

The author suggests that lack of education and training is not the main barrier to employment, as of the 37 people interviewed (aged between 25 and 45 years), only two of the 12 who had permanent jobs, were aged less than 30. This means that the higher levels of education being achieved by young Aboriginal people does not carry much weight in the present labour market.

It is suggested that factors which the study calls 'family responsibility'

and 'urban orientation' are more important in the labour market. These are measures of Aboriginal participation in the wider Australian society. These measures reveal that Aboriginal individuals are likely to be employed if: they are aged between 25 and 45 years; have a spouse and children in the household; have a working spouse; they own or are in the process of buying the house in which they reside; their place of residence is located in a town; and the household is not a Housing Commission house. These measures of participation are closely associated with one another and indicate that, to be successful, programs aimed at increasing Aboriginal participation in the labour force must be linked to other programs aimed at more general social advancement and participation. This paper has important implications for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy and the need for a holistic approach to Aboriginal employment issues.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Dillon 1986; Howitt 1989; Loveday 1985, 1987; Ross 1988; Wolfe 1987.

GRAY, A. 1989, 'Aboriginal migration to the cities', *Journal of the Australian Population Association*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 122-144.

Key words

Labour force participation, labour migration.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To examine the characteristics of Aboriginal interstate and rural-urban-rural (circular) migration, and its possible relationship with labour force participation and employment rates.

Research method

Data were drawn from the 1981 and 1986 Censuses.

Research findings

The volume of Aboriginal migration is large in terms of the size of the Aboriginal population; approximately, 17 per cent in-migration and 13 per cent out-migration, Australia-wide. The size of intra-state movement often exceeds 100 or 200 per thousand Aborigines. In Sydney and in Melbourne, the size of the Aboriginal population declined. With the exception of the NT, net in-migration was amongst the 15-24 age group. In the eastern states, net outmigration was amongst the older groups and children aged from 5 to 14 years. There was less out-migration in Adelaide and Perth compared with the eastern states.

Labour force participation is higher in urban as opposed to non-urban areas. While urban migrants have higher participation rates than rural-living Aborigines, they have lower labour force participation rates than Aborigines who live in urban areas, permanently. Country residents have lower employment rates than city residents, 62 per cent compared with about 74 per cent respectively. Employment of migrants, however, is lower than that of non-migrants (inter-state and between urban and non-urban areas).

Policy relevance

This paper makes some important interpretations about the pattern of rural-urban-rural migration by Aborigines. It shows that movement is largely circular, related to age and to economic factors; the circularity of migration accounts for the fact that there has been no overall increase in the size of the Aboriginal urban population. In addition, lower rates of employment among migrants tends to weaken any advantages conferred by higher labour force participation in rural areas. The author concludes that young, single people move to the city but return to rural areas, with families, some five to ten years later. Furthermore, the more permanent urbanisation in the western states seems to be associated with housing programs. Both conclusions imply an economic motivation for migration. The author indicates areas for further research which have significance for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, including the extent to which Aboriginal people will be prepared to migrate to urban areas for employment and improved housing.

Key cross references

Loveday 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Taylor 1988, 1990; Young 1985a; Young and Doohan 1989.

HANLON, D.W.G. 1985, 'The Aboriginal pastoral industry: A conflict of development objectives', in *Ecology and Management of the World's Savannas*, eds J.C. Tothill and J.J. Mott, Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, pp. 185-189.

Available from

Out of print; library of the Australian Academy of Science, Canberra.

Key words

Alternative land uses, economic viability, pastoral industry, self-sufficiency.

Geographic area

Several Aboriginal communities in the NT.

Study aims

To compare Aboriginal aspirations for self-sufficiency and control over decision-making with government funding policies in the pastoral industry.

Research method

The author classifies 11 Aboriginal pastoral properties into four groups to facilitate a comparison of current usage. Data are mostly quantitative, from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, ATSIC), the Australian Agricultural Consulting and Management Company, and academic research.

Research findings

During the 1980s, the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now ATSIC) has tended to fund only those pastoral operations that could become economically viable. Funds have been provided for both land purchases and ongoing operational costs but have often been granted with the pre-conditions of European management and employment of consultants.

Aboriginal pastoral properties are situated on land that is marginally viable; only 4 of the 11 properties examined were able to achieve an operating surplus. Furthermore, most of the properties are unable to meet the fencing requirements of the Brucellosis and Tuberculosis Eradication Campaign.

The author contends that Aborigines do not necessarily aspire to generate profits from these properties. For example, the aim of the community associated with the Lajamanu Cattle Project is to produce fresh beef for local consumption and to provide employment opportunities for the community's young people.

Policy relevance

This research makes two policy-relevant points. It highlights the marginality of Aboriginal pastoral properties. Consequently, Aborigines are dependent on ADC funds, the conditions of which are aimed at achieving commercial viability in what the author believes to be an unrealistically short time frame. Some evidence is presented to argue that the aims of Aboriginal communities which operate pastoral properties conflict with policies of the ADC. The author contends that Aboriginal communities want their properties to meet self-sufficiency needs and, therefore, that traditional owners should in some way be involved in decisions about their land. The paper is less useful in suggesting to what degree dependence on government subvention will be lessened by the exploitation of natural resources, traditional or otherwise, on land with limited economic worth.

Key cross references

Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Holmes 1985; Jennings 1985; Palmer 1988; Young 1988a, 1988d, 1988e

HENDERSON, G. 1985, 'How to create unemployment: The Arbitration Commission and the Aborigines', in *Wages Wasteland: A Radical Examination of the Australian Wage Fixing System*, eds J. Hyde and J. Nurick, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, in association with the Australian Institute for Public Policy, pp. 197.

Available from

University Co-Operative Bookshop Ltd; \$19.95.

Key words

Australian wage fixing system, award wages for Aborigines, pastoral industry, unemployment.

Geographic area

Northern Australia.

Study aims

To document the introduction and effects of award wages on Aboriginal employment in the pastoral industry.

Research method

Uses government reports and other secondary sources.

Research findings

Aboriginal unemployment is running at about 60 per cent. Aborigines are victims of Australia's rigid, centralised wages system. They provide an example of the devastating social consequences that result from determining wage levels irrespective of the capacity and willingness of individual industries and enterprises to pay.

The response of politicians and bureaucrats to high levels of Aboriginal unemployment has been to call for more employment studies, to propose more government funded employment schemes and to urge the private sector to employ more Aborigines. The level of Aboriginal wages is seldom mentioned as a factor. This is despite clear evidence that the decisions of the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission have been directly responsible for significantly increasing Aboriginal unemployment, especially in the NT and north-west of WA.

In 1965, the NT Administration determined a wage for Aborigines which was below the minimum wage. Under these conditions, Aboriginal stockmen made important contributions to the running of cattle stations. The application to bring Aborigines under the Cattle Station Award came from white officials of the North Australia Workers Union, and coverage

for Aborigines was introduced in December 1968. The members of the Full Bench conceded that 'disemployment to some degree' would occur but almost from the date of the decision there was a dramatic decline in Aboriginal employment on cattle stations, and Aborigines began moving to missions. The Arbitration Commission's decision to give Aborigines 'industrial justice' has dramatically increased Aboriginal unemployment in the pastoral industry.

Policy relevance

The article focuses on an important historical aspect of Aboriginal employment in the north - the introduction and payment of award wages for Aborigines. The author's assessment does not sufficiently recognise other factors such as long-term structural change in the industry and technological changes which have contributed to Aboriginal unemployment in the pastoral industry.

Key cross references

Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Dillon 1985; Hanlon 1985; Henderson 1985; Holmes 1988; Jennings 1985; Sanders 1985; Stanley 1985a, 1985b.

HOLMES, J.H. 1988, 'Private disinvestment and public investment in Australia's pastoral zone: Policy issues', *Geoforum*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 307-322.

Key words

Employment, locational disadvantage, pastoral industry, rural restructuring.

Geographic area

NT, Qld, SA, WA.

Study aims

This study is concerned with the rights of the Aboriginal people, particularly, issues of social justice and sound resource management in relation to their traditional land.

Research method

Secondary sources are utilised.

Research findings

The pastoral zone embraces Australia's arid and semi-arid regions, where land is almost exclusively used for grazing. While this zone comprises 55 per cent of Australia's land surface, its population is only 500,000 people.

Growth in agricultural and pastoral activities in the pastoral zone has

declined. The decline has been associated with locational disadvantage and a fall in the value of rural products on the world market. The result has been a reduced demand for labour, which has been compounded by the introduction of new technology, including the use of helicopters. Stock work is now largely performed by transient stock camp workers - a large pastoral station typically employs between only 15 and 25 people. Aborigines now mainly reside on reserves and on the fringes of towns, although the few remaining Aboriginal stock workers constitute the stations' most permanent residents.

There is strong economic growth in other areas which counters the decline in pastoralism, including new mining ventures, tourism projects and defence installations. The government's service provision has also increased, in response to the need to provide people living at these remote locations with similar services to those available to city dwellers, despite the government having to overcome exceptional logistical problems to provide these services.

The economic importance of public investment in service provision has increased in these marginal zones. The emerging government and service sector, however, consists mainly of non-Aboriginal employees. The growth in income transfers to Aborigines is accounted for in the areas of social security and mining royalties in some regions (NT).

Policy relevance

This paper is largely about economic restructuring - Aborigines are not the specific focus of this paper. Changes in productivity in the pastoral zone have increased dependence on government expenditure. Goals for national development and economic expansion have been replaced by those of social justice and regional equity in service provision; this has also led to increases in government expenditure. These changes have brought about a restructuring of remote rural economies, including the creation of new employment opportunities in the area of service provision. This economic restructuring of the pastoral zone has not increased Aboriginal employment greatly. The author concludes that the prospects for pastoralism need to be assessed, not only on economic and environmental criteria, but also in relation to alternative land uses, the most notable of these being land use by Aboriginal people.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Coombs, McCann, Ross, and Williams 1989; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Smith, and Young 1990; Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Dillon 1986.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS (Chairman C.A. Blanchard) 1987, *Return to Country: The Aboriginal Homelands Movement in Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 368.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$19.95, printed on request.

Key words

Economic independence, economic status, employment in the informal sector, government employment programs, homelands (outstations) movement, subsistence resources, education.

Geographic Area

Remote areas of the NT, SA, Qld, WA, SA.

Study aims

The Committee was instructed to enquire into the social and economic circumstances of Aboriginal people living at homeland centres and outstations, and to make recommendations for the development of policies and programs to meet the future needs of these people.

Research method

The Committee invited submissions from Aboriginal service organisations, Aboriginal individuals and Federal, state and territory government departments and agencies involved in the provision of services to Aboriginal homeland communities. Public hearings were held to examine witnesses in relation to the submissions. The Committee also visited outstations and pastoral 'excisions'. Much of the Committee's information came from submissions that have been published in a number of volumes of Hansard.

Research findings

The Committee defined homeland centres (or outstations) as small decentralised communities, established by the movement of Aboriginal people to land of social, cultural and economic significance to them. In separate chapters, the Committee examined existing government policy in relation to outstations, government funds, resource organisations which service outstations, physical infrastructure, and education and health services. Chapter 8 concentrated on economic issues, and is the focus here. The Report's major findings are described below.

Formal employment at outstations is minimal. 1983 Community Profiles provided estimates of formal employment levels of less than 10 per cent, or unemployment rates of around 90 per cent.

The Committee noted that up to 5,000 Aboriginal people might supplement their cash income by selling artefacts. For example, a case study of an Arnhem Land outstation documents 26 per cent of cash

income (in 1979-80) as coming from such production. The Committee also reported Aboriginal participation in small horticultural and pastoral enterprises but the produce was mainly for domestic consumption rather than for sale. The Committee emphasised that most evidence on the contribution of non-cash, or imputed, income to cash income was limited to north Australia, and cautioned that these findings could not necessarily be extended to the more arid parts of central Australia.

Outstations have low levels of cash income, a high proportion of this being derived from social security benefits. The Committee expressed concern at the problems experienced by the Department of Social Security in servicing outstations effectively, in providing residents with their entitlements and, somewhat paradoxically, the high level of welfare dependence at these remote locations (when imputed income from subsistence activities would indicate high levels of Aboriginal economic independence).

Outstation residents spend their cash income on a limited range of goods - an estimated 60-70 per cent was spent on food. The Committee also noted that outstation residents were spared many of the expenses of other Australians, like housing and the cost of travelling to work. The Committee observed that, while outstation residents often lived in economic circumstances that were superior to those enjoyed by Aboriginal people living in townships, their economic options, nevertheless, were extremely circumscribed.

A positive feature of the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme is its capacity to recognise and to reward informal and traditional economic activities. Meanwhile, the oncosts component of the scheme can be used for the purchase of equipment. The Committee, however, regarded the CDEP scheme as a form of income support, rather than as an employment scheme. Problems with the scheme include costs and difficulties associated with its administration, the exclusion of pensioners from the scheme, and regional and political distortions in its implementation.

Policy relevance

As the data on which this report was based were primarily collected by other researchers, its integrity must be assessed in the context of its focus on these other studies. Nevertheless, the Committee emphasised that there are important regional gaps in available data and recommended specifically that more research was needed on the economic significance of subsistence at desert outstations.

The Committee specifically addressed the role that the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP) might play in improving the economic situation of outstation dwellers. There was an especial need to expand the CDEP scheme, Enterprise Employment Assistance and the (now defunct) Community Employment and Enterprise Development

Scheme to outstations. The Committee was especially supportive of 'export generating' enterprises, like artefact manufacture, and 'import substituting' enterprises, like cattle projects, gardens and self-servicing in health, education and housing.

The Committee made a number of recommendations for policy formation and modification that would assist economic development at outstations, which included modifications to the AEDP to suit the particular circumstances of outstation communities. The Committee condoned and reinforced many of the recommendations of Miller (1985) with respect to outstations.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a, 1987c, 1990a; Altman and Taylor 1989; Cane and Stanley 1985; Downing 1988; Prior and Wunungmurra 1987; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990b; Young 1988c.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS (Chairman C.A. Blanchard) 1988, *The Effectiveness of Support Services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Communities: Interim Report*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 56.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$4.95.

Key words

Community development, government policy, government service provision, government training programs, self-determination, self-management, self-reliance.

Geographic area

Remote Aboriginal communities, particularly in Qld, NT and WA.

Study aims

To report on the effectiveness of existing community support services within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island (TSI) communities.

Research method

The Committee sought written submissions from Commonwealth, state and territory departments and agencies which provide support services to Aboriginal and TSI communities, from individuals and from community organisations. It held public hearings in Brisbane, Woorabinda (Qld), Perth, Kintore (NT), Canberra and Adelaide. Extensive informal discussions were held with Aboriginal communities and representative organisations throughout the NT, Qld, WA, SA and NSW.

Research findings

Support services are defined as administrative, management and advisory services which assist communities to run their affairs and to regulate the provision of services. The inquiry revealed that Aborigines and Islanders did not receive many services which other Australians take for granted.

Several problems were identified in support service delivery to Aboriginal communities. These include: the complex way in which support services are provided; lack of coordination and cooperation, and conflicting policy objectives between the different levels of government, and between government and other agencies; inadequate consultation between Aboriginal communities and service agencies, and the poor training of field staff of service agencies; the plethora of service agencies and their various requirements for financial accountability; the lack of financial autonomy of almost all Aboriginal communities, local government councils and resource organisations (most funds are tied, leaving little room for independent decision-making); and the lack of Aboriginal management and administrative skills, resulting in a dependence on non-Aboriginal staff.

Policy relevance

The policies of self-determination and self-management are meant to increase Aboriginal control over the process of design and the delivery of support services to their communities. The Report identifies problems which have impeded this objective. The services are often externally imposed and are not successfully ameliorating the urgent need for basic services such as housing and health care.

The evidence put to the Committee demonstrates that satisfying Aboriginal needs is a more complicated process than simply funding infrastructural services. The Report suggests that a simplification of the processes of service delivery could partially redress problems, as would consistency of policy at all levels of government. A focus on training for employment in management and administration is also required, and more attention should be given to the selection of suitable community advisers.

The Committee recommends a broad policy shift from a focus on the welfare needs of communities to a more holistic approach to community development. The Report outlines the environment in which employment progress must be implemented. This is of particular significance for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP). If communities cannot cope effectively with existing programs, they will experience difficulties administering new AEDP programs.

Key cross references

Altman 1990a; Bolger 1987a, 1987b; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989, 1990; Smith 1990; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990a, 1990b.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS (Chairman W.E. Snowden) 1989, *A Chance for the Future: Training in Skills for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Community Management and Development*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 232.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$12.95.

Key words

Community development, government funding, government policy, government training programs, self-management, self-determination.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To inquire into the effectiveness of support services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, including administrative and advisory services; and to expand on a number of discussions raised in the Interim Report (House of Representatives Standing Committee Report 1988).

Research method

The Committee held public hearings in Canberra, Adelaide, Sydney and Darwin, and written submissions were invited from individuals, organisations and Aboriginal communities.

Research findings

Among its numerous recommendations, the Committee suggested that the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP) should provide the policy framework for the funding of Aboriginal education and training programs and that all government agencies should provide coordinated and long-term funding commitments to education and training programs for community management. With respect to community development plans, the Committee recommended that government agencies should assist Aboriginal communities to develop community plans, which would include the identification of education and training needs, and that Aboriginal communities and their organisations should be involved in designing training programs that are responsive to Aboriginal needs. It also recommended an expansion of training for Commonwealth agencies involved in the implementation of the AEDP, with an emphasis on inter-agency training so that staff would understand the roles of all agencies.

Policy relevance

The Report focuses on education and training for community management, and on appropriate back-up services to support this. There is little mention of the economic development problems of communities.

The initial chapters of the Report provide an overview of problems

associated with the definition of the policies of self-management and self-determination. Reference is made to the possibility that certain Aboriginal cultural or social practices might undermine economic development goals.

Key cross references

Beckett 1985; Cass 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1988, 1990; Sullivan 1987.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS (Chairman W.E. Snowdon) 1990, *Our Future Our Selves: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community Control, Management and Resources*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 192.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$16.95.

Key words

Government policy, government service provision, self-determination, self-management.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To inquire into and report on the effectiveness of existing support services within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, including administrative and advisory services.

Research method

Public hearings were held in Canberra, Kintore (NT), Woorabinda (Qld), Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide, Sydney, Darwin and Alice Springs. Extensive informal discussions were held throughout the NT, Qld, WA, SA and NSW. Written submissions were invited from individuals and organisations.

Research findings

The Committee's recommendations aim to implement the policies of self-determination and self-management. Several recommendations are made. The process of consultation with Aboriginal people should be replaced with a process of negotiation. Federal and state governments should develop a system of block grant funding, as this would be more compatible with community development planning. Resource agencies, which have the objective of developing the self-management capacity of their client group, should be funded at realistic levels, subject to meeting performance indicators. All governments should recognise the

deficiencies in the level of services in Aboriginal communities, and should ensure full and adequate funds for local government services. Governments should strengthen the financial accountability of Aboriginal community management, by implementing training programs for Aboriginal book-keepers and by assisting communities to develop simple but effective accounting systems. Also, all Commonwealth agencies involved in service delivery to Aboriginal people should improve coordination of staff, particularly in terms of their visits to Aboriginal communities.

Policy relevance

This Report is mainly concerned with community control and self-management. It focuses on the effective use of available government programs and support. While it does not examine the economic development problems of Aboriginal communities in any detail, it does provide some recommendations on how Aborigines might develop their economic base through enterprise development and contract work.

Key cross references

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987, 1989; Palmer 1990; Sullivan 1987; Young 1987, 1988b, 1988c.

HOWITT, R. 1989, 'Resource development and Aborigines: The case of Roebourne 1960-1980', *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 155-169.

Key words

Economic marginalisation, mining industry, rural and small-town economies, unemployment.

Geographic area

Roebourne, Pilbara Region, WA.

Study aims

The article documents the declining economic status of Aborigines between 1960 and 1980, in contrast to the rapid economic growth in the Pilbara generally.

Research method

The study is based on the author's own field work in the region.

Research findings

In contrast to their previous dependence on the Pilbara's pastoral industry, local Aborigines would supposedly benefit from increased opportunities for economic advancement from the Pilbara's mining boom. Between 1962 and 1975, the region experienced rapid expansion as a

result of the development of iron ore mines and associated facilities: its population grew from 3,243 to 39,950 and ten towns, four railways and three deep water ports were constructed.

Local Aborigines, however, were not absorbed into the mining labour force; Hamersley agreed to employ only six Aborigines at the Dampier rail complex but this resulted in only one, longer-term position. About 40 Aborigines at a time were employed in contract work.

Various factors operated to exclude Aborigines from the labour force. Without training, Aborigines lacked the necessary qualifications and experience for immediate employment, and the company opted to import labour to speed up production. In addition, the WA Country Party requested that the mining companies recruit employees only from capital cities, so as not to disadvantage local pastoralists who relied heavily on Aboriginal labour.

Policy relevance

The relevance of this study to Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is that such economic theories as 'trickle-downs' and 'multipliers' do not necessarily ensure that benefits will accrue to local people, especially Aborigines, even when a region is undergoing rapid economic growth.

Howitt recommends government intervention to encourage the private sector to train and to employ local Aborigines. In this instance, policy decisions were made outside the region, and local socioeconomic issues such as Aboriginal employment were given low priority. The labour pool scheme offered to local Aborigines, as an alternative to mainstream employment, failed to address such issues as training and employability and the incompatibility between conventional wage labour and aspects of Aboriginal culture.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c; Cousins 1985; Dillon 1986; Gray 1987; Howitt 1990; Loveday 1985, 1987; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Wolfe 1987.

HOWITT, R. 1990, 'All They Get is the Dust': Aborigines, Mining and Regional Restructuring in Western Australia's Eastern Goldfields, ERRRU Working Paper No. 1, Economic and Regional Restructuring Research Unit, Department of Geography, University of Sydney, pp. 102, plus appendixes.

Available from

Department of Economics and Geography, University of Sydney; \$18.00.

Key Words

Economic equity, economic marginalisation, employment status,

government legislation, mining industry, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Eastern Goldfields, WA.

Study aims

To review key issues in the gold mining sector which are relevant to Aborigines. The Report was prepared originally for the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody.

Research method

Six weeks of field work was undertaken by the author in the Eastern Goldfields of WA during August 1990.

Research findings

The mining industry has been a principal vehicle for both the dispossession of land and the economic marginalisation of Aboriginal people in the Eastern Goldfields Region of WA. The present situation maintains Aboriginal marginalisation, as employment in mining is taken up by migrants to the Region. The number of Aborigines directly employed in the Eastern Goldfields has declined since the 1960s and 1970s; in 1970, there were 133 Aborigines employed but, by 1986, the figure was down to 48.

The existing structure of the mining industry and the policies of the mining lobby make it very difficult for Aboriginal people to benefit from Federal, State and industry policies, which are ostensibly aimed at securing equity. Current education, employment, training and income support policies, aimed at assisting Aboriginal people towards economic independence, have entrenched dependence and disempowered Aborigines.

In the recent past, mining transferred enormous amounts of wealth away from both the Region and Aboriginal control. Until the gold tax takes effect in 1991, profits from gold mining are, on the whole, free of taxation liabilities and no royalties are payable to the WA State. The author points out that if there were an equivalent of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* in place in WA, and if gold royalties were paid in the same way as for other minerals, 30 per cent of statutory royalty equivalents would be distributed directly to Aboriginal groups, thus, ensuring that Aborigines have some direct access to the benefits of mining. The author calculates royalty and other payments foregone to Aboriginal groups to be in the vicinity of \$283 million between 1970-1988.

Policy relevance

The author notes that, while existing constraints on the mining industry limit its potential as a vehicle for achieving social equity for Aboriginal people, opportunities exist for securing Aboriginal participation in and

benefits from the industry. The author recommends that steps be taken to secure an employment profile for Aboriginal people through education and training programs. The industry should put into practice its public commitment to the Aboriginal Employment Action Program.

The author highlights the importance of Aboriginal involvement in the creation of wealth rather than the use of welfare to support them. It is suggested that some wealth be transferred to Aboriginal interests by way of government legislative provisions, for instance, such as those found in the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*.

The author recommends that a strategy for empowering marginalised Aboriginal people should be put in place, to enable them to secure a more equitable social and economic position in the region. This strategy would include efforts aimed at a broader social recognition of Aboriginal contributions to social, economic and cultural wealth. It is also seen as essential that the Department of Employment, Education and Training and the Commonwealth Employment Service, the major agencies responsible for employment and training in the region, act to develop the self-esteem and work skills of Aboriginal people, particularly those between the ages of 15 and 35 years of age. On-the-job training, aimed at employing Aborigines in all positions in the mining industry, is urgently needed.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c; Altman and Smith 1990; Cousins 1985; Dillon 1986; Gray 1987; Howitt 1989; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; Loveday 1985; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Taylor 1990; Wolfe 1987.

HOWITT, R., CROUGH, G. and PRITCHARD, B. 1990, 'Participation, power and social research in central Australia', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 1, pp. 2-10.

Key words

Economic policy, economic research, self-determination.

Geographic area

Central Australia, including the Tanami Desert, Alice Springs and Uluru National Park, NT; East Pilbara, WA; Pitjantjatjara Lands, SA.

Study aims

To discuss the research approach which the authors adopted in another of their studies on Aboriginal economic development in central Australia (Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989).

Research method

This paper provides a summary of the research method adopted in the

1989 study.

Research findings

Aborigines provide a strong basis for regional economic growth through their need for government funds for basic services and infrastructure. Because small, local markets and the locational disadvantage of central Australia constrain regional economic development, growth in the Aboriginal sector will depend on continued external support and subsidies from the Federal Government.

Policy relevance

This article is intended to demonstrate the way that these researchers linked their research method to local, Aboriginal economic development issues. Research objectives were determined by local Aboriginal organisations and the research was conducted with the help of students from the Institute for Aboriginal Development (Alice Springs).

A major rationalisation for adopting this particular approach to research was that Aborigines are the long-term strength of the regional economy. The research is intended to provide information for Aboriginal decision-makers to plan economic development. The results are reported in Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989.

Key cross references

Anderson 1988; Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Williams 1989; Young 1985b, 1990.

JENNETT, C. 1987, 'Race and inequality in the West: Incorporation or independence? The struggle for Aboriginal equality', in *Three Worlds of Inequality: Race, Class and Gender*, eds C. Jennett and R. G. Stewart, Macmillan, Sydney, pp. 57-93.

Available from

University Co-operative Bookshop Ltd; \$26.95.

Key words

Government policy, land rights, positive discrimination, structural position of Aborigines in the workforce.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

This paper describes the structural position of Aborigines in terms of power relations with the Australian state based on political theory.

Research method

The study analyses secondary data.

Research findings

Aborigines are concentrated in the lower segment of the workforce, as labourers and welfare recipients. They act as a pool of reserve labour, their employment prospects will decrease as structural unemployment increases among the non-Aboriginal workforce.

Land rights did not provide Aborigines with economic independence. Instead, the provision of land rights allowed the Federal Government to more effectively incorporate Aborigines into the Australian state. Land rights prevented hundreds of unemployed and impoverished Aborigines living in remote areas from 'invading' rural towns. This enabled the Federal Government to take a group of people that had experienced chronic unemployment 'off the books'.

The author suggests that the public is opposed to positive discrimination for Aborigines, because of the burden to tax-payers and because of the threat felt by many Australians from a perceived change in the balance of power in Australian society in favour of Aborigines.

Policy relevance

The author analyses the economic role of Aborigines in terms of the theories of 'internal colonialism' and dependency. The example of the Federal Government's failure to achieve national land rights for Aborigines is used to argue that the state has continued to give priority to capital interests in its administration of Aboriginal affairs. In this context, the author concludes that the best prospects for increasing Aboriginal employment is through the state and Aboriginal-owned enterprises.

The author also notes an Aboriginal preference for the language of race, rather than ethnicity, to help differentiate their claims from 'ethnic' groups within Australia's multicultural society, and the need for land rights based on current socioeconomic need.

Key cross references

Beckett 1985; Jennett 1990; Peterson 1985.

JENNETT, C. 1990, 'Aboriginal Affairs Policy', in *Hawke and Australian Public Policy*, eds C. Jennett and R.G. Stewart, Macmillan, Sydney, pp. 245-283.

Available from

University Co-operative Bookshop Ltd; \$29.95.

Key words

Government policy, land rights.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To place Federal Government Aboriginal affairs policy in the 1980s in the context of competing interests - Aborigines, capital and government.

Research method

The study uses mostly qualitative data, and some secondary quantitative data.

Research findings

The Labor Party's 1983 election platform promised to set up uniform national land rights and to use Commonwealth constitutional powers where states refused to enact appropriate land rights legislation. The Federal Government, however, has since abandoned its attempts to institute national land rights and has, through amendments to the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*, diminished the right of Aborigines to veto mining on Aboriginal land.

The change in the Federal Government's stance on land rights has been in response to pressure from the anti-land rights lobby, which had claimed in their campaigns that Aborigines were making valuable land unproductive. Such claims had little basis, as much Aboriginal land was unproductive before it passed to Aboriginal control.

The Federal Government, however, has some major achievements in the policy areas of employment, education and training, including a clear articulation of Aboriginal policies, the consolidation and organisation of programs, and has significantly increased funds to these areas.

Policy relevance

This paper discusses the Labor Party's breaking of its 1983 election promises regarding land rights and, in particular, the dilution of the right of Aborigines to veto mining on Aboriginal land. The conduct of groups opposed to land rights is traced, showing how they successfully portrayed special measures for Aborigines as unnecessary, costly and discriminatory against other Australians. The author makes the point that there has been a public backlash against welfare expenditure in general in the 1980s and a concomitant withdrawal of public support for land rights and self-determination. An outline also is provided of the development of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy. The paper is mostly concerned with the politics of policy formation and has limited relevance for the design and implementation of policies.

Key cross references

Beckett 1985; Jennett 1987; Palmer 1988, 1990; Peterson 1985; Wilkie 1985.

JENNINGS, B.G. (Chairman) 1985, *Kimberley Pastoral Industry Inquiry, Final Report, An Industry and Government Report on the Problems and Future of the Kimberley Pastoral Industry*, Department of Regional Development and the North West, Perth, pp. 272, plus appendix.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words

Alternative land uses, economic management, government employment policy, pastoral industry, sustainable development.

Geographic area

Kimberley region, WA.

Study aims

To inquire into the problems of the pastoral industry in the East Kimberley Region and to make recommendations to increase its productivity.

Research method

The Committee called for submissions from interested individuals and organisations involved in the area. An economic and technical survey team collected detailed data from pastoral stations, the WA Department of Agriculture, the Pastoral Board, Department of Lands and Surveys, private companies, the Commonwealth Employment Service, the Western Australia Aboriginal Land Inquiry, and the Department of Conservation and Environment.

Research findings

The Report outlines all aspects of the pastoral industry, including its history, present viability and problems of present land tenure. It also touches on competing land uses, like tourism and mining. The Committee considered many matters associated with Aboriginal land rights to be outside its mandate.

Financial records were studied for four Aboriginal stations; three had four sets of financial accounts for the period 1979-83, and one station had only one set of accounts for the financial years 1979 to 1981. The accounts show that, with government support, surplus income over and above operating costs was generated in only eight of the periods. If government support were excluded then surplus income would have been generated in only three of the 15 financial periods. The income derived from off-station sources (mainly government), for the four pastoral leases, contributed from 27 per cent to 64 per cent of the total income recorded.

The Report recognises that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal pastoralists

face similar problems; these are associated with management, funds and marketing, disease and pest control, and environmental degradation. Aboriginal-owned stations, however, differ in that they receive government purchasing and development funds, and that they are serviced with sound financial and managerial advice. Their owners, however, have different concepts because of their traditions and their lack of education and experience in business. Furthermore, their decision-making and planning processes are complicated by the nature of funds and the requirement for land titles to be held by a corporate body.

Aboriginal use of land for social purposes is regarded as legitimate by the Report. This alternative usage is addressed by the State Government's proposed Aboriginal land rights legislation and the *Western Australian Aboriginal Heritage Act*. The Report, however, evaluated Aboriginal pastoral leases along similar economic lines to those for non-Aboriginal leases.

Policy relevance

The Report states that the Kimberley Region's pastoral industry is in financial crisis: there is little prospect that Aborigines could develop a pastoral station to its full potential, if they were financed under normal commercial terms. Even if they do not offer economic independence, the authors see value in pastoral stations, because Aborigines have the opportunity to follow a chosen lifestyle. The Report, however, seems most uncomfortable with this alternative use of pastoral stations, going on to suggest that the eventual aim of Aboriginal properties should be that they are self-maintaining, otherwise, 'these properties might end up being expensive lifestyle projects that do not contribute to Aboriginal economic independence or the pastoral industry'. It states that Aboriginal properties purchased and developed with tax-payers' money should use a comprehensive reporting system to allow management accountability. The Report reinforces other research (Hanlon 1985) which suggests that, while Aboriginal involvement in pastoralism might generate some employment and income, this involvement will not result in independence from government subvention.

Key cross references

Coombs, McCann, Ross and Williams 1989; Dillon 1985; Holmes 1985; Phillpot 1985; Young 1988a.

KESTEVEN, S. 1987, *Aborigines in the Tourist Industry*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 14, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 1-7.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words
Employment status, income status, tourism.

Geographic area
Kakadu National Park, NT.

Study aims
To discuss tourism and Aborigines in the context of economic self-management.

Research method
This paper is based on studies previously undertaken by the author (see Kesteven 1984, Summary of report to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs on a field trip to Kakadu National Park to discuss tourism with Aboriginal traditional owners of the Park and residents of the Park area), which were based on unstructured interviews with Aborigines of Kakadu National Park.

Research findings
While Aborigines are disturbed by the presence of tourists to Kakadu, they are tolerated, possibly because they are aware of the benefits that can be derived from tourism.

Local Aborigines avoid employment associated with tourism enterprises. Income from tourism is further limited by the size of local services which are too small to support the infrastructure necessary for tourism; this results in tourists bringing only a relatively small amount of money to Kakadu. In relation to the sale of arts and crafts, there are only a limited number of Kakadu's resident Aboriginal population involved in the industry, and they sell most of their work to retail outlets in Darwin - this means that the 'value added' accrues outside the region. Lastly, rental from the lease of the Park is small. The general reluctance of the Park's Aborigines to become involved in the tourist industry leaves them with only one avenue to profit from Kakadu's tourism - this is through their ownership and control of tourist facilities.

Policy relevance
A main finding of this study is that Aboriginal communities in Kakadu National Park derive little economic benefit from tourism. They are reluctant both to market their culture (cultural tourism) and to take up formal employment opportunities that arise from the rapid increase in tourism at Kakadu National Park.

Key cross references
Altman 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Kesteven 1984; Lawrence 1985; Snowdon and Alexander 1986.

LANE, M.B., DALE, A., ROSS, H., HILL, A. AND RICKERSON, R. 1990, *Social Impact of Development: An Analysis of the Social Impact of Development on Aboriginal Communities of the Region*, Consultancy Series, Kakadu Conservation Zone Inquiry, Resource Assessment Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 134, plus appendixes.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$54.95, reprinted on request.

Key words

Mining, Social Impact Assessment, tourism.

Geographic area

Barunga, Beswick, Katherine, Pine Creek, The 'Conservation Zone', Kakadu National Park, NT.

Study aims

To determine the socioeconomic implications of development in the Kakadu Conservation Zone, including mining, on Aboriginal communities in the region.

Research method

The Social Impact Assessment method is used. This includes a study of the history, social and economic profiles, characteristics and values of communities and potential impacts of mining and tourism on communities. The study also uses the Blishen-Lockhart model to measure social economic and political aspects of communities.

Research findings

Aboriginal groups in these areas are tradition-oriented, and show vitality and social cohesion. Communities, however, show evidence of crisis in that alcohol abuse, stress, poor health, hostility, and low educational standards are common. They have a fear of being 'drowned' by new laws and agencies.

The socioeconomic profile of these Aboriginal groups is low. They have a heavy dependence on welfare payments, with 80-90 per cent of all adults in the region unemployed. Approximately 65 per cent of the Aboriginal population accrue annual incomes of less than \$15,000.

Mining in the Conservation Zone offers the possibility of income to communities in the form of royalty payments. In terms of economic viability, however, the authors contend that the communities would substitute one form of economic dependence (welfare payments) for another (mining). The authors see a link between dependency and eventual diminished social vitality and political efficacy.

The mining proposal offers employment possibilities for Aborigines. The authors argue though that such optimistic statements need to be

compared with the record of Aboriginal employment in the mining industry. There were 26,000 jobs in mining in remote north Australia, and yet only 1.8 per cent of those jobs were held by the Aboriginal population which make up approximately 25 per cent of the total population.

Much development has occurred in the region during the 1980s - approximately 220,000 tourists visit Kakadu National Park each year, Tindal Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Base near Katherine was constructed, and there has been considerable mining exploration. These developments have had a negative cumulative effect on the local Aboriginal people. The authors argue that Aboriginal communities in these areas are in desperate need of respite from development pressures.

Policy relevance

The analysis concludes that the optimum decision for the Kakadu region is for mining to be prohibited and for the Conservation Zone to be incorporated into Kakadu National Park. Mining is likely to have many negative social and cultural impacts which are beyond mitigation. Given the experience of Aboriginal communities in other parts of Australia, the study concludes that mining in the Conservation Zone offers limited economic opportunities for regional Aborigines communities.

A less disruptive means of bringing employment, enterprise and other economic opportunities to communities can be provided in the region by Aboriginal involvement in tourism, and by the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service in the form of management of the Conservation Zone.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Altman and Smith 1990; Christensen 1985; Coombs, McCann, Ross and Williams 1989; Cousins 1985; Dixon, Elderton, Irvine and Kirby 1985; Howitt 1990; McGill and Crough 1986; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Taylor 1990.

LAWRENCE, R. 1985, 'The tourist impact and the Aboriginal response', in *Aborigines and Tourism: A Study of the Impact of Tourism on Aborigines in the Kakadu Region, Northern Territory*, Part II, ed. K. Palmer, funded by the Federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Northern Land Council, Darwin, pp. 52-136.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words

Aboriginal ranger training, employment opportunities, Kakadu National Park, tourism.

Geographic area

Kakadu National Park, NT.

Study aims

To determine Aboriginal perceptions of visitors to Kakadu to assist in the formation of Park policy.

Research method

Qualitative data was gleaned by using two survey methods: direct observation of the Aboriginal residents and traditional owners of Kakadu National Park; and interviews with Aboriginal people involved in the administration of the Park and from the Gagudju Association.

Research findings

Aborigines perceive tourism at Kakadu National Park as inevitable, in the same way that missions, buffalo hunting and mining occurred in the Park. In a positive sense, tourism is perceived by Aborigines as the only way to preserve the Park. However, Aborigines view tourism with some ambiguity - with the potential to cause both the demise and the salvation of Aboriginal culture.

To meet tourist needs, more of the Park has been made available to tourists for a greater part of the year. This development threatens Aboriginal privacy, and active planning is needed to ensure sufficient space for Aborigines to withdraw from tourists.

According to Lawrence, there is a general sense among Aborigines and Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service staff that the Aboriginal ranger program has not worked as anticipated. The current design of the program emphasises all aspects of management from administration to verbal presentations on the significance of rock art. Retention rates are low; Aboriginal rangers do not reach a professional level and they are often little more than ranger 'aides'.

Policy relevance

Lawrence provides an account of how Aborigines interact with tourists, their management of these interactions and the phenomenon of tourism itself. The study discusses the withdrawal of Aborigines from tourist-related activity and, hence, from the increasing range of employment opportunities associated with Kakadu's tourism industry. More specifically, it provides a perspective on why the training program for Aboriginal park rangers is not entirely successful, despite the eagerness of Aborigines to participate in Park management. The study proposes that the program could be improved by expanding informal roles, such as guides and part-time instructors or guardians. It is important to note that other studies often contradict some of these findings, especially with respect to ranger training and employment.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Altman and Smith 1990; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Kesteven 1987; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986; Williams 1989.

LEA, J.P., STANLEY, O.G. and PHIBBS, P.J. 1990, *Torres Strait Regional Development Plan 1990-95*, Prepared for the Torres Strait Island Coordinating Council, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Sydney, pp. 70.

Available from

University of Sydney; free publication.

Key words

Employment programs, enterprises, fishing industry, income support, mining industry, tourism.

Geographic area

Torres Strait Islands (TSI), northern Cape York, Qld.

Study aims

To assess the current and potential opportunities for development in the Torres Strait.

Research method

The study utilised the 1986 Census and Arthur's (1990) detailed inventory of actual and potential economic resources and activities. The TSI was divided into three zones (following Arthur 1990): Zone 1, the outer islands; Zone 2, communities on Cape York which identify as belonging to the TSI; and Zone 3, the southwestern islands.

Research findings

Using 1986 Census data, the authors provide an economic overview of the TSI. They show low rates of employment in the formal labour force (33.5 per cent in 1986 compared with 52.3 per cent for Qld) and low occupational status (3 per cent are managers and 48 per cent are labourers, compared with 12.5 per cent and 15.9 per cent respectively for Qld). Only 0.7 per cent are self-employed compared with 5.7 per cent for Qld.

An analysis of each sector of the economy is provided. Key areas of employment are public administration, community services and fishing. In Zone 1, 38 per cent of the labour force were employed in public administration and in Zone 2, 60 per cent were employed in community services. Many Islanders undertake commercial fishing on a small scale but the numbers involved were not enumerated. Commercial fisheries

earn \$17-20 million per annum. There is very little private sector activity, except in fishing.

The Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme is used as a means of staffing and financing activities in some communities, involving work such as road repairs, building maintenance and garbage collection. The authors make suggestions for alterations to the CDEP scheme to make it more effective as an economic development program.

The authors undertake a preliminary analysis of possible future economic growth, looking at a range of industries which include mining and tourism. They see some potential for growth in construction and small scale fishing, a moderate potential in tourism and little potential in mining and manufacturing. Artefact production has potential if marketing were organised. Even those industries with strong growth prospects, however, have limited economic significance.

Economic planning is hampered by lack of statistics for the region. The authors describe the Torres Strait as an underdeveloped region; problems are linked to lack of indigenous property rights, limited resources and isolation. Prospects for economic growth in the TSI are modest.

Policy relevance

The authors note that this is a preliminary investigation and that there is a need for further research; the study utilises little primary data. CDEP is not seen in terms of a scheme to provide income support but, rather, in terms of its potential as an economic development program.

The authors identify a range of strategies which could be undertaken to increase income and employment. These include: raising royalties from the current, non-Islander users of TSI resources; 'Islanderisation' of existing employment through training programs; and development of the enterprise sector.

A primary finding of this study (and Arthur 1990) is that there is no regional body to handle development issues for Islanders. Both studies recommend the establishment of some form of regional resource centre or development agency.

It is clear that Islanders are better off than people in many remote Aboriginal communities because they are likely to have access to cash and non-cash incomes from commercial and subsistence fishing. Islander cash incomes, however, are still low and the regional economy is highly dependent on the government sector. This study emphasises problems in trying to achieve the equity goals of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy in remote regions like the Torres Strait.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c; Arthur 1989; Beckett 1987.

LOVEDAY, P. 1985, 'Aboriginal employment in Katherine', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 117-136.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Education, employment opportunities, labour market, unemployment.

Geographic area

Katherine, NT.

Study aims

To investigate factors which reduce Aboriginal competitiveness in the labour market (supply factors) and negative stereotyping which might obstruct the level of demand for Aboriginal employment (demand factors).

Research method

Two surveys of 295 Aborigines were conducted in Katherine during March 1985. The surveys compared the employment status of town residents with town camp residents and visitors. In addition, 74 employers completed a mail-back survey. The 1981 Census, Bureau of Labour Market Research and Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) statistics on Aboriginal unemployment between December 1984 and April 1985 also were used.

Research findings

Seventy per cent of Aborigines left school by the age of 16 years, only 20 per cent went beyond Year 10. Twenty-four per cent received further education and/or training after leaving school.

Fifty-four per cent of town residents were employed in blue-collar and rural industry jobs, with 53 per cent in full-time employment in contrast to 15 per cent who preferred part-time work. Corresponding employment figures for town-campers and for visitors in blue-collar and rural industry jobs were 63 per cent and 69 per cent, respectively.

Aboriginal organisations were the biggest employers of Aborigines, accounting for 42 per cent of town residents and 38 per cent of town-campers in employment. Five per cent of all respondents believed that private and public sector employers employment practices discriminated against Aborigines.

The rate of unemployment for town residents was 46 per cent; this figure corresponded with survey results from the Bureau of Labour Market Research which identified 155 unemployed Aborigines in Katherine but which diverged from a figure of only 77 Aborigines

registered as unemployed with the CES. Unemployment rates were higher for town-campers (18 per cent) and visitors (28 per cent).

Forty per cent of all employed respondents were looking for work; only 1.5 per cent of town residents, 13 per cent of town-campers and 6 per cent of visitors answered that 'no job' was best.

Policy relevance

This paper argues that Aborigines do not regard traditional culture and wage labour as incompatible. On the contrary, the data suggest that Aborigines want full-time work and, in fact, one of the main reasons Aborigines move residence is to find employment. The author uses this evidence to argue against the negative stereotype that Aborigines prefer unemployment to work. Despite this stereotype, the Aborigines of Katherine have to compete in a labour market where there is an oversupply of unskilled labour and where poor levels of education and training restrict them to blue-collar work.

The author identifies two areas where Aboriginal employment might be increased. The first is the private sector, which was shown to employ few Aborigines. The second is with Aboriginal organisations, where Aborigines might use their control and ownership to generate more employment and where government funds might allow affirmative Aboriginal employment practices.

A follow-up study was conducted by the author in late 1986 (see Loveday 1987).

Key cross references

Byrnes 1988; Castle and Hagan 1985; Loveday 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Manuel 1985; Taylor 1988, 1990; Tyler 1990; Young 1985a.

LOVEDAY, P. 1987, *Two Years On: Aboriginal Employment and Housing in Katherine 1986*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 68.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$10.00.

Key words

Employment status, housing, labour migration, unemployment.

Geographic area

Katherine, NT.

Study aims

To estimate the impact of construction associated with Tindal air force base on Aboriginal employment rates and housing in Katherine, between 1984 and 1986.

Research method

A survey of 386 Aborigines was conducted in August and September 1986. The survey compared the employment status of town residents, town camp residents and visitors to Katherine. It also noted the residential status and movement of Aborigines. This study is a follow-up to an earlier survey by the author in 1984 and 1985 (Loveday 1985).

Research findings

Aboriginal unemployment levels have not changed significantly since early 1985, with only a small number of Aborigines employed by Tindal contractors. Poor education is one of the most important factors limiting Aboriginal employment. Competition for jobs in the open labour market appears to have increased as a consequence of non-Aboriginal workers moving to Katherine in search of employment. Federal Government employment programs for Aborigines have had little impact on the rate of Aboriginal unemployment.

The development of Tindal and the associated growth in the non-Aboriginal population have not disadvantaged Aborigines in the housing market; Katherine's Aboriginal population has not grown and might even have declined since the construction of Tindal began. Of those surveyed, 29 per cent had lived in Katherine for six years or more and 50 per cent had lived their entire lives in towns. Town camps are not 'staging posts' for Aborigines to make a transition from bush to urban life, with few making the transition to town life. Pressure for housing in town camps has not intensified but the quality of this housing remains unsatisfactory.

Policy relevance

An implication of this study is that the construction of a large facility in a remote region, like Tindal air base, does not necessarily decrease the rate of local Aboriginal unemployment. Aborigines were unable to take up employment opportunities because they lacked the necessary work skills and educational background.

The study further shows that, unlike the non-Aboriginal population, Aboriginal migration to Katherine was not in response to increased employment opportunities - there was a high turnover of Aborigines in Katherine but the size of the Aboriginal population remained the same as in the pre-Tindal period. The study pinpoints education as the main restriction on Aboriginal employment; the need for both training programs and education of Aboriginal children is emphasised. The author identifies an area where some suitable employment for Aborigines exists, that being casual jobs connected with servicing local Aboriginal communities, especially town camps.

Key cross references

Castle and Hagan 1985; Gray 1989; Loveday 1985; Loveday and Lea 1985; Manuel 1985; Taylor 1988, 1990; Young 1985a.

LOVEDAY, P. and LEA, J.P. 1985, *Aboriginal Housing Needs in Katherine*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 220.

Available from
NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$13.00.

Key words
Housing, migration.

Geographic area
Katherine, NT.

Study aims

To identify and to quantify the housing needs of Katherine's Aboriginal population, as a benchmark against which to measure the future accommodation needs which would result from the development of Tindal air base.

Research method

A survey was conducted of 250 Aboriginal residents of Katherine, including town residents and town-campers. An additional 47 Aboriginal visitors were surveyed.

Research findings

The Aborigines of Katherine fall into three groups: residents, town-campers and visitors. The number of residents in Katherine is estimated to be 900, with an additional 400 town-campers. An unspecified number of Aborigines visit Katherine several times a year for short periods. The growth rate of the Aboriginal population has not kept pace with Katherine's non-Aboriginal population.

Aborigines moved their place of accommodation for various reasons: 18 per cent of movement was associated with accommodation needs; only 2.4 per cent was related to employment. The town camp groups are highly mobile, with the greatest movement taking place within the Katherine area. Over 50 per cent of the Aboriginal town residents surveyed stated a preference for living in houses situated amongst non-Aboriginal residents. Town camp residents prefer to live out of town although living conditions are primitive.

Some 21 per cent of respondents are on the Housing Commission's 18 month waiting list; the Housing Commission has a shortfall of 80 houses for Aboriginal town residents. Between 35 and 40 extra places are needed in hostel type accommodation.

Policy relevance

The study, commissioned by the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) and the Aboriginal Liaison Unit of the NT Chief Minister's

Department, highlights the need to consider the housing situation of town residents, camp residents and visitors, separately. The study revealed that the need for conventional accommodation by town residents was unlikely to be met by the Housing Commission, whose 1985 backlog of 80 houses for Aborigines did not take into account any increased demand that might result from an in-migration of people as a consequence of Tindal's development. The authors point to town-campers' need to control visitor access to their camps. The authors point to town-campers' need to control visitor access to their camps. The author proposed the establishment of a management body made up of traditional camp leaders and outlined five development options for the town camps. Of relevance to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is the link between housing needs and employment creation in remote towns like Katherine.

Key cross references

Loveday 1985, 1987; Ross 1987; Rowse 1988.

MANUEL, C. 1985, 'Equal employment opportunities in Darwin? Aborigines in the workforce', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 97-115.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Educational status, employment, employment programs, workforce participation.

Geographic area
Darwin, NT.

Study aims

To investigate the employment status of Darwin's Aboriginal workforce.

Research method

Public and private sector organisations as well as those run by Aborigines were surveyed in late 1984 and early 1985. Altogether, 63 employers of Aborigines and 208 Aboriginal employees were given a standardised questionnaire that included both quantitative and qualitative data.

Research findings

Aborigines made up 1.5 per cent of the workforce in the private sector, 7 per cent in the public sector and 69 per cent in Aboriginal organizations. Of the 208 Aborigines interviewed, private companies employed 13 per

cent, the public sector over 50 per cent and Aboriginal organisations 33 per cent. At June 1984, 58 per cent of Aborigines had an average weekly wage almost \$100 less than the NT weekly average of \$377.

Fourteen per cent of the Aborigines interviewed held professional, technical and administrative jobs. Those that held middle to senior positions were all employed in NT Public Service agencies dealing with Aboriginal affairs. Aboriginal-run organisations offered the best opportunities for promotion.

Seventy per cent of Aboriginal women had received post-secondary education, compared with 43 per cent of men; over 50 per cent of the women did clerical training and 25 per cent of the men had received trades training. This was reflected in their type of employment, in which, over 50 per cent of women were employed in routine clerical work and nearly 60 per cent of men were employed as blue-collar workers.

Recruitment practices within the Public Service vary considerably. Recruitment of Aborigines to the NT Public Service is left to the initiative of each department. On the other hand, the Australian Public Service has two special avenues for Aborigines: the Aboriginal Services Recruitment Program and ministerial appointments. Private employers studied had no policies for recruiting Aborigines and little knowledge of Aboriginal training and employment programs; few employment applications were received from Aborigines. Trade unions appear to play no part in the recruitment of Aborigines to permanent jobs. The author criticised the Community Employment Program for not providing Aboriginal participants with skills of employment value in the competitive market place.

Policy relevance

This research is useful in its focus on the employment situation of Darwin's urban Aborigines. It proposes a link between education-training and subsequent employment. Poor educational and technical qualifications limited Aboriginal men to unskilled or semi-skilled work and Aboriginal women to low-grade clerical work. It noted that Aboriginal organisations were more successful in maintaining and increasing the occupational status of Aboriginal employees compared with the private and public sectors, despite the Federal Government's policy of Equal Employment Opportunity.

Key cross references

Ball 1985; Castle and Hagan 1985; Daylight and Johnstone 1987; Loveday 1985, 1987; Miller, M. 1985; Miller, P. W. 1989; Scott 1985; Wolfe 1987.

MCGILL, S. and CROUGH, G.J. 1986, *Indigenous Resource Rights and Mining Companies in North America and Australia*, Report prepared for the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 139.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words

Indigenous peoples, land ownership, mining, resource rights, resources.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To compare mining agreements made with Australian Aborigines with those made between mining companies and the indigenous populations of North America.

Research method

Secondary sources of quantitative data are used, including the 1981 Census.

Research findings

In 1985, seven major mineral and petroleum projects were in production either on Aboriginal land, on land excised from Aboriginal reserves, or in situations where agreements had been made with local Aboriginal communities. In the NT, the value of the bauxite, manganese, uranium, oil and natural gas extracted from Aboriginal land amounted to approximately 89 per cent of the value of the Territory's total mineral and petroleum production; the Groote Eylandt operation accounted for about 10 per cent of world production of manganese.

Forty-six of the 133 member companies of the Australian Mining Industry Council (AMIC) are principally foreign-controlled transnationals. These companies have experience with indigenous land owners in North America, by virtue of the fact that they are subsidiaries of parent organisations which have operations in North America. The corporate groups in AMIC that are predominantly Australian-owned have limited experience with indigenous people in North America.

Policy relevance

The authors use data to support the argument that Aboriginal groups have found foreign-controlled, transnational mining groups more responsive to Aboriginal requirements and more prepared to negotiate appropriate agreements with Aborigines than Australian companies. The reason given for this is that transnational companies are more willing to accept the nature of indigenous resource rights. The authors argue that much more land controlled by Aborigines would become available for development if

corporations were to offer agreements with reasonable social, environmental and financial terms to Aborigines, adding that such agreements would decrease the flow of profits overseas, would increase financial returns to Aborigines and would stimulate the Australian economy. The study includes a profile of each of the corporate groups, which notes the extent and the terms of agreements entered into with Aboriginal groups.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Altman and Smith 1990; Christensen 1985; Cousins 1985; Dixon, Elderton, Irvine and Kirby 1985; Howitt 1989, 1990; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989.

MILLER, M. (Chairman) 1985, *Report of the Committee of Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 462.

Available from

Commonwealth Government Bookshop; \$29.95, copies reprinted on request.

Key words

Economic base, economic self-reliance, education, employment, land rights, training.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To review all Commonwealth Government employment and training programs, including the Community Development Employment Projects scheme (CDEP), and the activities of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) and the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), to determine whether programs and their delivery are appropriate to the needs of Aboriginal people and if a more effective labour market strategy could be established to improve the employment status of Aborigines.

Research method

The Committee called for submissions from individuals and institutions, and met with representatives of Aboriginal organisations, Commonwealth and State government departments, local government authorities, Aboriginal communities, employers, trade unions, educational institutions and former and current participants of employment programs. It also

analysed 1981 Census data.

Research findings

The Aboriginal unemployment rate is 24.6 per cent compared with an Australia-wide rate of 5.9 per cent. In 1977, the Commonwealth Government launched the National Employment Strategy for Aborigines (NESA) which aimed to reduce Aboriginal unemployment to a level similar to the rest of the population but this program had little effect. The Report concludes that NESA ignored a substantial section of the Aboriginal population, paid too little attention to sources of livelihood other than employment, lacked emphasis on programs which facilitate long-term employment and failed to extend the CDEP scheme beyond a small number of communities. The Report makes recommendations aimed at correcting these problems.

The Aboriginal population is younger and more concentrated in rural and remote areas than the general population. Aboriginal employment is concentrated in a few low-skilled occupations which are often temporary, and declining in number because of technical and structural changes. The retention of Aborigines in secondary schooling from years 8 to 12 is lower (10 per cent) than the national rate (35 per cent). Only 4 per cent of Aboriginal people held accredited post-school qualifications, compared with 25 per cent of the general population. The proportion of Aborigines earning high incomes is relatively low and dependence on unemployment benefits is relatively high.

The Report concludes that the majority of Commonwealth expenditure results in short-term employment in low-skilled, 'training' positions and jobs. Most training courses and post-secondary education do not lead to recognised qualifications. Although 20 per cent of Aboriginal working-age people are involved in various programs, such an involvement has not produced expected improvement in rates of long-term employment.

The Committee saw education as fundamental to improving Aboriginal employment prospects. It noted a lack of schools; an inflexible school system; uncoordinated vocational training programs; and few enterprise management, technical and business skills training programs. It found that the Training for Aborigines Program needed to be more responsive to the demands of the labour market. It recommended that tertiary education programs be expanded, and that more Aborigines take part in trade-based pre-employment courses and youth traineeships. It noted the need for an overall increase in funds for education. Public sector recruitment and career development of Aboriginal staff was poor. Management development programs and study courses were recommended. Private sector employment of Aborigines was low; the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) should inform employers of government incentives to employ Aborigines, and affirmative action policies should be introduced. In urban areas, where Aboriginal

employment options are primarily in the mainstream labour market a more responsive CES is needed. Few Aborigines are involved in commercial enterprise; the Report suggested that an enterprises fund, administered by ADC, should be formed.

The Report stressed the need to foster Aboriginal independence and self-sufficiency at remote communities, including the need to develop an economic base. To achieve this, Aboriginal communities must become the coordinators of government funds and services; mining royalties must be wisely invested; and Aboriginal equity in tourism developments must be maximised. Also, the purchase of pastoral properties must be continued and artefact production and subsistence activities be supported. More ideologically, the Report recommends that non-Aboriginal staff be replaced with Aboriginal staff at communities. It was recommended that all homeland centres and outstation groups have access to the CDEP scheme or the Remote Communities Grants Scheme and that the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation should investigate means of enhancing the subsistence bases of outstation communities. A review of the current arrangements relating to marketing of arts and crafts was recommended; the ADC should give a high priority to purchasing pastoral properties for Aboriginal groups and provide ongoing working capital for these properties.

Policy relevance

The Report contains a great deal of quantitative data, mostly taken from the 1981 Census. It provides a very thorough analysis of Aboriginal education and training programs to 1985. The data collected, however, do not allow any quantitative assessment of the performance of different programs. The Report was the basis of the Commonwealth Government's Aboriginal Employment Development Policy and, consequently, is the most policy-relevant publication in this literature directory.

An important aspect of the Report is the distinction made between urban and remote Australia. It recognised that the problems Aboriginal people have in providing for their livelihood cannot be completely ameliorated by changes in employment and training programs alone. Therefore, it took a broader perspective, addressing structural problems such as access to land, mining royalty moneys, education and funds for enterprises.

The Report supports the broad strategy that changes in education, employment and training programs are a large part of the solution to the economic and employment problems of Aboriginal people. Insufficient attention, however, is paid to factors which programs cannot alter; like the unwillingness of Aboriginal people to take part in training programs which take them away from their kin, communities and land.

Key cross references

Auditor-General 1990; Bonner 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; Fisk 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Smith 1989, 1990; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990a, 1990b.

MILLER, P.W. 1989, *The Structure and Dynamics of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Youth Unemployment*, Report for The Australian Council for Employment and Training, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 36.

Available from

Out of print.

Key words

Aboriginal youth unemployment, education, labour market, racism.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To study the dimensions of and the social and economic nature of Aboriginal youth unemployment, and to provide guidelines for a possible solution.

Research method

The model adopted by the author examines the relationship between three sets of factors: age, marital status and racial origin; individual educational attainment and post school qualifications; and individual labour market history. Estimates are derived using labour market information from the 1985 Australian Longitudinal Survey. 1981 Census and Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) data are used to document unemployment.

Research findings

Age, marital status, location, labour market history and educational attainment have significant influences on the unemployment levels of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth. Higher unemployment occurs especially amongst those with lower levels of educational achievement. There is an inverse relationship between age and unemployment; amongst the 16-25 year old labour force, 66 per cent of Aborigines and 43 per cent of non-Aborigines left school at year ten or earlier. Only a small fraction of the difference in unemployment rates between Aborigines and non-Aborigines originates in differences in levels of marketable skills. The Aboriginal youth unemployment rate, however, is three times higher than that of non-Aboriginal youth, 43.2 per cent compared with 14.7 per cent. This means that Aboriginal youth unemployment is potentially attributable to discrimination and/or cultural differences.

Indirect methods used by the author to measure the amount of hidden Aboriginal youth unemployment suggest that this is not a special problem. This finding is contrary to evidence on hidden Aboriginal youth unemployment in the Australian Longitudinal Survey, which suggests that 10 per cent of male and 20 per cent of female non-participants in the labour force were not looking for work because they believed that their job prospects were negligible.

Cross tabulations from CES data indicate that Aborigines are more likely to be long-term unemployed than other groups, and the likelihood of their remaining unemployed increases with time. The expected duration of spells of unemployment is shown to be related to educational status, marital status, location and length of exposure to the labour force; longer spells of unemployment were shown to be related to racial origin.

Policy relevance

This study highlights the relationship between Aboriginality and youth unemployment and for this reason supports the Federal Government's efforts to secure employment equity for Aboriginal people through education and training programs. The author makes recommendations about future research, including the need to consider the role of mobility patterns and/or location and their relationship to Aboriginal youth unemployment.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Choo 1990; Miller 1985.

MOIZO, B. 1990, 'Implementation of the Community Development Employment Scheme in Fitzroy Crossing: A preliminary report', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 1, pp. 36-40.

Key words

Government employment programs.

Geographic area

Junjuwa, Fitzroy Crossing, WA.

Study aims

To make a preliminary assessment of the effectiveness of the CDEP scheme in a remote community.

Research method

A seven week field trip was made to the community in September-October 1988. A census and interviews were conducted with community members following the introduction of a CDEP in 1988.

Research findings

Three groups of about ten people had formed their own communities since the introduction of the CDEP scheme; the employment scheme gave these groups the opportunity to become financially independent from the larger Junjuwa community.

Under the scheme, each worker was required to work three hours per day for five days per week in return for an unemployment equivalent of \$115 per week for a single person. This was less than what would have been received from unemployment benefit, because of deductions for tax and for non-attendance at work.

Aborigines were unhappy with the menial types of work offered under the CDEP scheme, which included rubbish collection, servicing of utilities (fixing taps), maintenance of fences, firewood collection and contract work for local enterprises and cattle stations.

The CDEP scheme facilitated a change in the town's economic cycle, as it was accompanied by a decision to replace fortnightly wage payments with weekly payments. 'Book down', or the deduction of moneys owed to the community store before payment of wages, was reintroduced. This change left less money available to spend on alcohol and kept more money within the community.

Policy relevance

The paper provides a limited and preliminary description of the town's economy. It includes the results of decisions made subsequent to the introduction of the CDEP scheme on spending patterns within the community. The author points to increased numbers of non-Aboriginal workers, due to the need for increased administration associated with the CDEP scheme. The relevance of the paper to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is that Moizo found no evidence of the CDEP scheme generating employment independent of government support.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a; Altman and Taylor 1980; Arthur 1989; Auditor-General 1990; Bonner 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Sanders 1985, 1988; Smith 1990; Stanley 1985c.

MOWBRAY, M. 1986, *Black and White Councils: Aborigines and Local Government in the NT*, Report for the Central and Northern Land Councils, Northern Land Council, Darwin, pp. 89.

Available from

Northern Land Council; \$15.00.

Key words

Community government councils, funding levels, government policy, local government.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To indicate problems with existing models of local government in the NT.

Research method

A comparison is made between Aboriginal community councils and municipal councils in the NT, using community councils' financial statements, Australian Bureau of Statistics data, and Federal Government and NT Government budget data.

Research findings

Financially, Aboriginal community councils are almost entirely dependent (93 per cent) upon the NT Government's Town Maintenance and Public Utilities grants. The bulk of these funds, about \$170 million, come directly from the Federal Government's General Purpose Payments to the NT. By contrast, the municipal councils receive an amount of 'untied' funds from the Federal Government (via the NT Government) - their revenue amounted to 41 per cent from government grants and 38 per cent from rates in 1981 and 1982. This included \$2.56 million as general revenue grants in 1985 and 1986, and \$1.33 million in 1983 and 1984 under the *Road Grants Act 1981*.

Per capita council incomes which included government grants and rates to the citizens of Windouran municipal council was only about \$350 per year less than for those of Lajamanu Aboriginal council, or \$1,300 compared with \$1,600, respectively. Per capita, untied income for Lajamanu residents, however, was only \$21 compared with \$937 for residents of Windouran. This difference in government grants is too great for Aboriginal townships to catch up to the level of amenity investments of the municipalities.

Policy relevance

This report, prepared for the Central and Northern Land Councils, provides a detailed analysis of the capacity for Aboriginal community councils to set their own development priorities, based on government funds and incomes. Within a political-economic framework, the author provides a detailed analysis of government funding levels and the make-up of funds for Aboriginal community councils compared with non-Aboriginal municipal councils. The author concludes that funding levels for community councils are not as generous as is claimed by the NT Government. Furthermore, the smaller levels of untied income paid to community councils gives them far less discretionary control over

spending than the NT's municipal councils. This suggests that Aboriginal communities might have less discretion to fund appropriate employment and other programs.

Key cross references

Mowbray and Shain 1986; Rumley and Rumley 1988; Smith 1989; Turner 1986.

MOWBRAY, M. and SHAIN, K. 1986, 'Self-management: One Northern Territory experience', *Legal Service Bulletin*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 106-111.

Key words

Community government councils, government policy, local government, self-management.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To argue that the NT Government's proposal to bring Aboriginal communities under the provisions of the *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1985* will work against prospects for Aboriginal self-management.

Research method

Various relevant Acts, especially the *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1985*, the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* and the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* are considered.

Research findings

The NT Government has increased its efforts to incorporate Aboriginal settlements as community government councils under the *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1985*. The Act specifically provides for revenue raising by way of levying rates and charges, and it specifies the Government's right to control community council expenditures under certain circumstances.

In 1985, the NT Government transferred a portion of the costs for essential services to community councils. This resulted in deductions from Government Town Maintenance and Public Utilities Funding grants for all communities, of about 25 per cent of the cost of the previous year's electricity bill. This was equivalent to approximately 12 per cent of council incomes.

Policy relevance

This paper raises several issues relating to the NT Government's desire to incorporate Aboriginal communities under the *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1985*. The authors claim that the Act would give more control of Aboriginal communities to the minister, or the NT Government. This would allow the NT Government to decrease Town Maintenance and Public Utilities grants to Aboriginal communities, and would force community councils to raise a higher proportion of their own revenue through rates and charges to Aboriginal consumers. While the authors argue that incorporation under the Act would place Aborigines under greater control, the NT Government portrays the Act as increasing Aboriginal self-management and autonomy.

Key cross references

Bolger 1987a; Mowbray 1986; Rumley and Rumley 1988.

O'FAIRCHEALLAIGH, C. 1986, 'The economic impact on Aboriginal communities of the Ranger project: 1979-85', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, pp. 2-14.

Key words

Economic status, employment, labour migration, mining industry, mining royalty payments, training schemes, uranium mining.

Geographic area

Kakadu National Park, NT.

Study aims

To examine the economic impact of the Ranger uranium project on Aboriginal people of Kakadu National Park; to determine whether mining royalties provide Aborigines with a means to establish an economic base independent of government subvention; and to examine the level of Aboriginal employment at a major resource development project on Aboriginal land.

Research method

The author evaluates the impact of royalty payments and the opportunities in employment and training for local Aborigines generated by Ranger Uranium Mines (RUM). Sources of quantitative data include the Gagudju Association's (which represents traditional owners and residents of Kakadu National Park) financial statements for an analysis of royalty income and expenditure, and RUM's reports for an assessment of Aboriginal employment and training.

Research findings

The author provides a summary of Gagudju's financial accounts. Royalty

equivalent payments to the Association totalled \$13 million for the period June 1980 to June 1985. Of this, \$1.7 million was distributed to members, \$5 million was used to meet expenses on productive expenditure (including enterprise and infrastructure development) and the remaining \$6.4 million was invested either in a Children's Trust Account or in equity participation in regional tourism developments, especially the Cooinda Hotel which is wholly owned by Gagudju.

Each Association member received \$1,000 per annum from royalty payments in 1986. These payments were significant in the context of the absolute level of per capita income, which was only \$2,300 per annum. However, in terms of average per capita incomes, Association members' incomes remained 50 per cent below the national average. Gagudju also used its royalty income to finance community projects. Outstation communities in particular were developed and provided with houses, schools, roads and water services.

Gagudju's investments have had mixed success. Short-term investments and a retail outlet, the Border Store, generated some income. Cooinda Hotel and Gagudju Contracting did not generate an operating surplus, although the Hotel is recognised as a longer-term, strategic investment.

Section 44 of the Ranger Agreement required RUM to train and to employ local Aborigines. Additional, casual employment was provided within the Gagudju Association. Data on RUM employment between 1982 and 1985 indicate differences in employment patterns between local and non-local Aborigines, and between Aborigines employed through the Operator Training Scheme and the casual labour pool. Local Aborigines lacked either qualifications or interest in working for RUM; the more highly qualified local Aborigines preferred to work for the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service.

Policy relevance

This is an important and thorough study. O'Faircheallaigh provides primary data on both the financial performance of the Gagudju Association and the employment and training performance of RUM. These data allow the author to examine issues of importance to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy (AEDP). O'Faircheallaigh shows that while some jobs are taken up by local Aborigines, most permanent positions are filled by Aboriginal migrants to the region. Opportunities for local Aborigines are largely limited to casual and unskilled positions. The author argues that this is a result of both demand and supply factors. He points out that, irrespective of the opportunities available, if Aboriginal people are not prepared to work in modern industrial complexes then major resource developments in remote areas will not alleviate their high levels of unemployment.

In terms of the AEDP, O'Faircheallaigh's study of Gagudju's

expenditure of mining royalty payments and agreement payments, which amount to about \$3 million per annum, provides a means to examine the possible role of enterprise investment in improving Aboriginal economic status. The author shows that while the Gagudju Association has made some important strategic investments these have had limited financial success, at least for the period 1979 to 1985. It also is questionable whether sufficient income will be generated from investments to alter significantly the economic status of the members of the Gagadju Association.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Altman and Smith 1990; Christensen 1985; Cousins 1985; Howitt 1989; O'Faircheallaigh 1988; Ross and Johnson 1989; Taylor 1988.

O'FAIRCHEALLAIGH, C. 1988, 'Uranium royalties and Aboriginal economic development', in *North Australia: Progress and Prospects Volume 1, Contemporary Issues in Development*, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 155-181.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$24.00.

Key words

Economic development, income, mining royalty payments, uranium mining.

Geographic area

Oenpelli, Warruwi, Minjilang, Naborlek, Arnhem Land, NT.

Study aims

To analyse the Kunwinjku Association's expenditure of royalty and other mining payments from the Naborlek mine.

Research method

Secondary sources of material, including the Kunwinjku Association's financial accounts and audit reports, are analysed. Personal interviews were held with Kunwinjku Association staff. Relevant policy issues are discussed and some recommendations are made.

Research findings

The Kunwinjku Association, established to manage 'up front' rental payments and a share of statutory royalty equivalents for Aboriginal residents affected by mining at Naborlek, received a total of \$8.3 million between January 1982 and June 1986. Most of this was distributed to

individuals, with individual and clan payments accounting for 36 per cent of moneys. A further (excessive) 33 per cent was used on administrative expenses which benefited officials and employees rather than Kunwinjku's total membership.

Several factors influenced this pattern of expenditure of mining moneys. Membership of Kunwinjku was based on residence, rather than on ownership of affected land. Within the three large Aboriginal communities in Kunwinjku's membership (Oenpelli, Waruwi, Minjilang), there was neither common association with a particular area of land nor close kinship links. These factors encouraged individuals to maximise their personal gains from Association revenues. Furthermore, the Kunwinjku Association was inexperienced in entering commercial agreements. For example, the legal requirement of the Kunwinjku Association to produce yearly audits for the NT Registrar of Companies was overlooked. By contrast, the Gagudju Association appears to have been more successful on both counts.

Policy relevance

This article contrasts the expenditure patterns of two royalty associations, and should be read in conjunction with O'Faircheallaigh (1986) which deals more fully with the Gagudju Association. The contrast was used essentially to demonstrate that the Kunwinjku Association's mismanagement need not have occurred if appropriate organisational structures had been put in place. Two recommendations are made. The Federal Government should ensure that royalty associations are based on land ownership, rather than on residency. This would bring Associations like Kunwinjku more in line with Gagudju, in which family ties and land title are the basis for decision-making. The second is that the NT Government should provide Aboriginal Associations with appropriate managerial support. The author suggests that without these changes it is unlikely that mining moneys will be managed effectively. As a result, opportunities for Aboriginal regional economic development will be lost and Aboriginal economic status will remain low.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Cousins 1985; Howitt 1989; O'Faircheallaigh 1986; Ross and Johnson 1989.

PALMER, I. 1988, *Buying Back the Land: Organisational Struggle and the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 188.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$22.95.

Key words

Aboriginal Development Commission, Aboriginal Land Fund Commission, government policy, land rights, resource ownership.

Geographic area

WA, Qld, NT.

Study aims

To document the Federal Government's response to the demand for Aboriginal land in the early 1970s.

Research method

Files of the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, ATSIC) and the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission (ALFC) were utilised, and personal interviews were conducted with public servants and prominent political figures associated with the land rights debate.

Research findings

Aborigines were generally able to reside on pastoral leases and reserves on their traditional lands until the mining boom of the 1950s and 1960s. At this time, they were forced from many areas of land which led them to question the absence of statutory rights to their traditional lands. According to the author, this and other factors, such as the International Labour Organization's Convention 107 which recognised the right of indigenous peoples to the possession of their native lands, led to a policy response by the Federal Government to provide land rights. The ALFC was set up in 1974-75 to purchase land for Aboriginal communities that could not obtain land through land rights legislation. The land purchased was to be used by Aboriginal groups for social and economic purposes. The book documents ALFC dependence on, and conflict with, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA, now ATSIC) and the federal Minister for Aboriginal affairs due to constraints on the ALFC land purchases.

By 1976, ALFC land purchases for Aborigines were being successfully blocked by the Qld and WA States. The ALFC found that it had neither ministerial nor DAA support in these matters; attempts to purchase land continued as it saw itself as having a moral obligation and statutory responsibility to do so but was severely restricted by the DAA which controlled funds. Requests for land far exceeded the ALFC's ability to purchase land. The number of land purchases by the ALFC from each state was: WA 15, Qld 5, Vic. 2, SA 5, Tas. 3, NT 10, NSW 18.

In 1978, the Federal Government moved to dismantle the ALFC. A new body, the ADC, took over the land acquisition program.

Policy relevance

The author concludes that the government and the DAA made only a

token effort to purchase land for Aborigines, and that problems of the ALFC can best be understood in terms of political conflict between Commonwealth and State Governments. Aboriginal land ownership was seen to pose a threat to the mining and pastoral industries.

Although this book is a historical account, it has economic relevance today. The Commonwealth Government's lack of support for land purchases in the 1970s means that Aboriginal people today own less land, especially in states such as Qld and WA. Land can be of economic benefit to Aboriginal people; it opens up the possibility for increasing non-cash incomes in the form of subsistence and for increasing cash incomes by making available raw materials for arts and crafts. While commercial pastoral enterprises undertaken by Aborigines are rarely successful, small cattle herds can be maintained for local consumption. Aboriginal people might have more income equity with other Australians if more land had been purchased on their behalf in the 1970s.

Key cross references

Altman and Dillon 1988; Christensen 1985; Jennett 1990; Peterson 1985; Wilkie 1985.

PALMER, K. 1990, 'Government policy and Aboriginal aspirations: Self-management at Yalata', in *Going It Alone? Prospects for Aboriginal Autonomy: Essays in Honour of Ronald and Catherine Berndt*, eds R. Tonkinson and M. Howard, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 165-183.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$22.95.

Key words

Government policy, outstations, self-determination, self-management.

Geographic area

Yalata, SA.

Study aims

To consider implications of the policy of self-management for remote communities, using Yalata community as an example.

Research method

Data are from 18 months field work undertaken by the author in 1981 and 1982.

Research findings

Yalata community is populated by Aboriginal people who identify as

Pitjantjatjara but who comprise several cultural subsets. This diverse social structure, together with the fact that most community issues were predicated by outside influences, made decision-making for the community council difficult. This, and government policy and priorities for expenditure set by funding authorities, left the community council with few opportunities to set its own priorities; community decisions were limited to such trivial issues as the shape of a verandah on a house.

Some residents of Yalata community established an outstation at Oak Valley in 1985, after several other sites had been tried between 1982 and 1985. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) provided minimal financial support for the establishment of the outstation until the southern Pitjantjatjara's successful land claim was finalised in 1984. Facilities for Oak Valley's population, which averaged 80 people during 1987 and 1988, were still limited to vehicles, an airstrip, four water tanks and a water truck in 1988.

Policy relevance

The author uses the Yalata example to highlight contradictions in the policy of self-management. This had several implications. Firstly, the policy and the form of funds to Yalata assumed community democracy, that is, that decisions were made by the community as a whole. In reality though the community was comprised of disparate groups with little common bond. Secondly, government unwillingness to devolve control of resources to Aborigines meant that priorities and projects were set by government, not by Yalata residents. This left Aboriginal people with little sense of ownership, little interest in projects and with little incentive to see the projects succeed. Thirdly, Yalata residents had no source of income independent of government - thus, all power for self-management was deposited with government funding agencies.

Key cross references

Beckett 1985; Bonner 1988; Coombs 1986; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1990.

PETERSON, N. 1985, 'Capitalism, culture and land rights: Aborigines and the State in the Northern Territory', *Social Analysis*, no. 18, pp. 85-101.

Key words

Government policy, land rights, mining royalty payments, social equity.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To consider the economic factors which shaped the provisions of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* that help to explain the current public opinion against land rights.

Research method

The rationale for land rights legislation in the NT is examined through an analysis of the extent of Aboriginal incorporation into the Australian nation-state. Quantitative and qualitative data are presented from secondary sources and from the author's earlier field work.

Research findings

The Federal Government granted land rights to Aborigines in the NT in the 1970s to provide Aborigines with an economic base, simple justice and compensation. Land title was provided on the basis of proven spiritual attachment to land, thus strengthening the notion that Aborigines had no economic interest in the land; the right to veto mining did not detract from this, as Aborigines would be seen to veto mining for spiritual rather than economic reasons. Public opinion at that time was supportive of land rights.

Provisions of the Act entailed collective ownership of unalienated Crown land. This concept proved acceptable to other Australians as it restricted individual gain and prevented Aborigines from selling land acquired through land claim. In other words, it mitigated a radically different form of land acquisition for Aborigines by diluting the nature of the rights conferred.

Policy relevance

This paper examines why land rights were granted to Aborigines in the NT and not nationally. According to the author, capital interests which wanted access to uranium forced the issue of land rights on to the political agenda. The provisions of the Act obscured the essence of land rights as a welfare measure and, instead, land rights were portrayed as meeting spiritual needs. The author suggests that the current economic recession explains public opposition to land rights in the 1980s, as land rights have resurfaced as an equity issue. The implications of this paper to current policy debate are the questions of whether land rights have been, or should be, granted on the basis of providing Aborigines with equity in income and resources and whether land should be considered a form of compensation.

Key cross references

Altman 1985d; Beckett 1985; Jennett 1987, 1990; Palmer 1988; Pollard 1988.

PHILLPOT, S. 1985, 'Aspects of labour usage in Aboriginal operated activities in central Australia', in *Economy and People in the North*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp.122-128.

Available from
NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$18.00.

Key words
Aboriginal labour, pastoral industry, structural change.

Geographic area
Central Australia.

Study aims
Labour trends on contemporary Aboriginal-operated cattle enterprises in central Australia are examined.

Research method
Utilised Institute for Aboriginal Development statistics and other secondary sources.

Research findings
Thirty three per cent of employees on NT cattle properties in 1983 are Aboriginal. They are mainly employed as station hands and stockmen. No data are given on Aboriginal incomes, the number of Aborigines employed in the industry or the number of Aboriginal-owned stations.

There is a general shortage of trained labour on cattle stations in central Australia. Aboriginal pastoral workers are of two types, either young and highly mobile, but lacking in formal education and training, or older and skilled but having diminished physical capacity.

The characteristics of Aboriginal-operated cattle enterprises are that they have only 36 per cent of the capital of white enterprises, have smaller herds and are smaller in size. Workers often have traditions incompatible with European work styles. There is often a lack of authority structure and, consequently, a lack of control of the productive process. There has been a marked improvement, though, in the leadership of many properties in recent years.

Aboriginal-owned cattle stations aim to fulfil social as well as economic needs; this differentiates them from European cattle stations which pursue commercial objectives. There are indications that sometimes Aboriginal people on cattle properties would rather harvest their resources for subsistence than market them.

Presently there is an adjustment between capital and labour in the pastoral industry in Australia. The trend is towards higher wages, reduced labour input and greater mechanisation. This trend adversely affects

Aboriginal stations because they are undercapitalised and because their aim is to maximise the use of Aboriginal labour. A list is given of the capital investment in Aboriginal cattle properties.

Policy relevance

The author sees a need for training Aboriginal people involved in the pastoral industry generally, and for an alternative operating model for Aboriginal-owned and operated cattle enterprises which have social objectives in addition to economic ones. As with other studies, the author questions the principle of commercial viability on which many employment development programs for Aborigines are predicated.

Key cross references

Dillon 1985; Hanlon 1985; Holmes 1985; Jennings 1985; Young 1988a, 1988b, 1988d, 1988e.

PHILLPOT, S. 1990, *Training Needs Analysis of Community Government Councils in the Northern Territory*, February 1990, The Northern Territory Local Government Industry Training Committee Incorporated, Darwin, pp. 232.

Available from

The Northern Territory Local Government Industry Training Committee Incorporated; \$25.00, plus postage.

Key words

Community government, government training programs.

Geographic area

Daguragu, Lajamanu, Nauiyu Nambiyu, Milikapiti, Yugal Mangi, NT.

Study aims

To provide an analysis of the role, skills, and training needs of local government community councils under the *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1985* (Community Government Section).

Research method

Five local government community councils in the NT were studied during the author's field experience of one year which commenced in August 1988.

Research findings

The community government structure for remote communities in the NT has provided an alternative management structure to councils since 1978. It has the policy objectives of providing community choice, accountability, management development and self-sufficiency. There is one community government in central Australia, nine in the Katherine

region, one on Groote Eylandt, three on the Tiwi Islands, and one in the Daly River region.

Phillpot suggests that an education program on community government should be available. Currently community governments lack adequately trained financial management, technical and support staff, which increases the influence of outsiders. To avoid cultural clash in the training process, the cross-cultural context of a community training must be recognised; Aborigines working for councils see themselves in a non-hierarchical, traditional way, as coordinators of the community activities. Once community government is introduced, the skills available in the community must dictate the design of training programs, as poor levels of literacy and numeracy can preclude local people from almost all community government work except labouring. Of the communities studied, only 10 per cent of their populations had a literacy level above grade seven, although there is much variation in skills between communities and each community requires a program formulated for its particular needs. The AEDP provides excellent policy guidelines for community development and training.

There are problems with that the level of training provided to staff by agencies dealing with community governments. Agency staff cannot always guide communities in addressing their problems. The book includes a history of administrative change in Aboriginal communities since 1967, a description of suitable training institutions and other educational resources, a comparison of community government schemes in the NT, and an outline of the training needs of elected members of local councils.

Policy relevance

The author concludes that local government for small communities has the capacity to provide mechanisms for community development. At present, this capacity is limited by administrative, management and training inadequacies. Remedial processes must occur within an overall policy framework and communities must be developed in terms of broad aims of self-management.

Key cross references

Mowbray 1986; Mowbray and Shain 1986; Rumley and Rumley 1988; Turner 1986; Wolfe 1989.

POLLARD, D. 1988, *Give and Take: The Losing Partnership in Aboriginal Poverty*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, pp. 159.

Available from

University Co-Operative Bookshop; \$17.95.

Key words

Assimilation policy, community organisation, economic policy, employment, land rights, poverty, racism, self-determination.

Geographic area

NSW.

Study aims

To analyse the persistence of Aboriginal poverty and to suggest alternative policies and programs.

Research method

The study uses only secondary sources from annual reports and other materials of the Aboriginal's Hostels Ltd, World Council of Churches, Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), Department of Child Welfare and Social Welfare (NSW), Department of Health (NSW), Department of Corrective Services, Aboriginal Training and Cultural Institute materials, Anti-Discrimination Board (NSW).

Research findings

Pollard looks at Aboriginal development mainly in NSW, seeing this State as a social laboratory since 1976 when a Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs was set up; State land rights legislation was enacted in 1983 and money allocated to purchase land for Aborigines.

The author points out that while the level of spending on programs for Aboriginal advancement has been maintained, standard indicators of well-being (health, housing, education, employment) are proving highly resistant to improvement and Aboriginal affairs policy has been a failure to date.

Aboriginal people advocate that more money be allocated to specific Aboriginal programs, with greater devolution of spending to Aboriginal community groups. The author feels though that the public has a right to know that funds are used to meet positive social ends. He argues that government policy should not be premised on Aboriginal differences but, rather, on the similarities between the aspirations of Aboriginal people and the rest of society.

The author sees the strengthening of community organisation as part of the solution to Aboriginal poverty. Focus should be shifted from high profile and politically expedient programs to programs that strengthen community organisations.

The author does not see land rights as a solution to the problems of Aboriginal poverty because land has not provided Aboriginal communities with economic independence, lessened the need for supplementary government support nor allowed Aboriginal communities to sufficiently restore their social and cultural autonomy. Without these,

Aborigines are unable to participate in society on equal terms with other Australians.

Policy relevance

The author considers high unemployment as the core problem in relation to Aboriginal poverty, and government should concentrate on Aboriginal employment as the main policy area. The author believes that policy to date has failed; Australia's almost total reliance on income transfers has ensured the spread of welfare dependency among Aborigines, contributing to an Aboriginal unemployment rate which is five times the national average. It is further argued that present policies which give preferential treatment to Aborigines as a group benefit mainly the relatively advantaged and contribute nothing to alleviate the economic conditions of the poorest Aborigines. The author recommends employment policies that provide for Aborigines through mainstream government departments and programs, which include training schemes, child care services and, most importantly, job creation schemes.

Pollard argues that while policy and political rhetoric have emphasised self-determination, the aspirations of the Aboriginal community appear to emphasise economic assimilation, such as in NSW, where Aborigines aspire to employment in the formal labour market. These arguments challenge the Aboriginal affairs policy framework of the Federal Government and its commitment to special Aboriginal programs.

Key cross references

Beckett 1985; Castle 1989; Choo 1990; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989, 1990; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990a, 1990b; Treadgold 1988; Tyler 1990.

PRIOR, J. and WUNUNG MURRA, W. 1989, *Aboriginal Employment in Homelands and Outstations*, Report prepared for The Australian Council for Employment and Training, The Northern Territory Open College of Education, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 44.

Available from

Out of print.

Key words

Employment, enterprises, government programs, income support, outstation (homeland) economies, training, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Kybrook Farm, Pine Creek, Canteen Creek, Gurrumuru, northeast

Arnhem Land, Utopia Homestead, NT.

Study aims

To examine the provision of a cash income supplement, such as Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP).

Research method

The authors examined programs devised for North American Indians. The views of Aborigines at homelands and outstation locations in the NT were obtained by questionnaires and interviews.

Research findings

Outstations lack resources, formal employment opportunities, skilled labour and managerial ability, and their land resource alone cannot improve their economic situation. The formal employment rate is 10 per cent, occurring mainly in the areas of education and health. Pastoral, clothing, and batik industries yield only moderate incomes. Social security payments are 90 per cent of cash income. The authors claim that these outstations require an income support program. The income support programs for the Dene, in Canada's sub-Arctic and the Cree of James Bay, Quebec are investigated by the authors. Both groups presently have mixed economies; a component of the cash income is derived from hunting. In the past, welfare payments had encouraged dependence and, today, commercial enterprises have proved incompatible with lifestyles. The authors perceive the Income Support Program for the Cree people as the most appropriate model for Australian Aboriginal income support, as it provides flexibility over use of traditional land and a guaranteed income.

At the four outstation/homeland locations - Kybrook Farm, (population 150), Canteen Creek (population 60), Gurrumuru (population 50) and Utopia Homestead and outstations (population 900) - social security is the major source of income. Gurrumuru has operated a CDEP scheme for two years; the scheme provides wages for a health worker, a community leader, a teacher and community workers. Canteen Creek people have shown an interest in CDEP and have identified potential jobs. They are, however, wary of losing unemployment benefits. Other minor sources of income at the communities are stock work, arts and crafts and community stores. Some formal employment is available at Pine Creek near Kybrook Farm but low levels of education and training prevent people from competing for these jobs. Gurrumuru people expressed interest in a seafood business, and Canteen Creek people expressed interest in a cattle project.

Policy relevance

The data are mainly qualitative. The authors conclude that the CDEP scheme is suitable for and can generate employment opportunities in

isolated settlements. They recommend that such communities be assisted to develop towards mixed economies where government funded positions are supplemented by income from small scale enterprises, although data are not provided to show how enterprises can be established under the CDEP scheme. Aboriginal enterprises in remote areas have not proven successful to date - locational and cultural factors intervene, and later research suggests that the CDEP scheme is unsuitable as a basis for enterprise development as it does not provide sufficient capital. The arts and crafts industry is seen by the authors as likely to succeed and they imply that a greater percentage of profits should be returned to artists; Altman's study (1989a), however, shows that returns to Aboriginal producers from arts and crafts are always likely to be low. On the question of classifying hunting and gathering as employment, the authors suggest that this be left to Aborigines to decide, as communities view subsistence activities differently. They recommend research into the viability of a scheme for long-term income support controlled by the outstations and communities. The authors suggest that training be given where mainstream employment is available, though people do not always want to take up this option.

The authors propose that the North American Indian situation has relevance for Australia but do not make sufficient allowance for the difference in the level and value of renewable resources available in Australia (kangaroo versus mink). The fact that North American Indians found commercial enterprises incompatible with their chosen lifestyles seems relevant to the Australian situation.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a, 1987c, 1989a; Altman and Taylor 1989; Arthur 1989; Bonner 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; Downing 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Young 1985a.

ROSS, H. 1987, *Just for Living: Aboriginal Perceptions of Housing in Northwest Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 204.

Available from

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; \$25.95.

Key words

Aboriginal control, consultation, housing policy.

Geographic area

The town camps of Halls Creek, WA.

Study aims

To discuss which aspects of housing Aboriginal people consider important.

Research method

Field research using a social psychology methodology.

Research findings

Since 1967, successive Federal Governments have seen housing as central to their Aboriginal affairs policies, while a large number of Aboriginal people remain unhoused or have inadequate housing. Many of the houses provided appear unsuitable for Aboriginal needs and, consequently, are rejected or damaged. Traditional camps are thought to be consistent with Aboriginal cultural values and diverse housing needs. The spatial arrangements of traditional camps allow for social and economic interactions as well as access to the surrounding country.

Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) housing policy requires that Aborigines be consulted, and that they should, where possible, make decisions on house design and location. At present, consultation is usually limited to choosing between designs that have been prepared without Aboriginal input; where Aborigines have been consulted, designs barely reflect this consultation.

Policy relevance

The author concludes that although detailed and well conducted consultation adds time and expense to an already expensive housing process, poor consultation leads to inappropriate housing, rental defaults (the circulation of cash according to kinship norms make it almost impossible for households to retain reserves of cash in order to pay rents even if housing meets requirements), excessive wear and tear on houses, and even massive rebuilding programs. The book proposes that one avenue for employment might be training for Aboriginal people in basic design principles, enabling them to act as 'consultants on housing' to help a community translate ideas into briefs for architects.

Key cross references

Loveday 1985, 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Rowse 1988.

ROSS, H. and JOHNSON, J. 1989, *Argyle Social Impact Group (ASIG): Issues for Review*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 32, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 24.

Available from

CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Good Neighbour Program, mining industry, mining royalty payments.

Geographic area

East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

Issues associated with the Argyle Social Impact Group (ASIG) and the Good Neighbour Program (GNP) are considered, especially whether the latter should continue, and in what form, after 1989.

Research method

This discussion paper is based on secondary sources of qualitative and quantitative material and on field work in the region.

Research findings

The ASIG was created by the WA Government in 1985. The scheme incorporated the GNP which was run by the Argyle Diamond Mines (ADM), in a new attempt to compensate Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley Region affected by the ADM. The ASIG was co-funded by the WA Government and the ADM, both making equal contributions to the value of \$1 million per year (inflated each year by the Consumer Prices Index) and both having three representatives on the Steering Committee which controlled the distribution of funds; there is no Aboriginal representation on the Steering Committee, and the Committee does not provide financial statements on the distribution of funds.

This paper claims ASIG funds have been used to finance essential services which should have been provided by State or Federal Governments. One reason for this is that access to funds for purchase and provision of capital items is relatively fast through the ASIG compared with support from Federal and State sources which are tied to the annual budgetary process and to administrative and bureaucratic delays.

Policy relevance

This paper raises some important issues. The Steering Committee's lack of financial accountability means that Aboriginal groups and the Commonwealth have no means of assessing levels and distribution of ASIG funds. This is of particular concern to Aborigines who have complained that funds from the ASIG simply replace Federal and State expenditure, with the result that Aborigines accrue little or no additional economic benefit from the impact of ADM operations. The paper, however, was unable to provide any quantitative financial data to substantiate these claims. In addition, some Aboriginal groups affected by mining are not receiving ASIG funds, whereas other unaffected groups are receiving ASIG funds. Although reference is made to systems based on payment to traditional owners, the paper does not address the fact that there is no statutory definition of traditional owners in WA nor any legal

requirement for compensation payments to Aboriginal groups.

This discussion of the ASIG also highlights wide differences between NT, WA and SA in the treatment of mining moneys. There is no legislation in WA to ensure that Aborigines receive any proportion of mining royalties, whether these be regarded as compensation or income.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Altman and Smith 1990; Christensen 1985; Cousins 1985; Dixon, Elderton, Irvine and Kirby 1985; Howitt 1990; McGill and Crough 1986; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988.

ROSS, R.T. 1988, 'The labour market position of Aboriginal people in non-metropolitan New South Wales', *Australian Bulletin of Labour*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 29-56.

Key words

Employment, government employment programs, training, unemployment.

Geographic area

The study divides NSW into several rural regions.

Study aims

To investigate the employment position of rural Aboriginal people in NSW.

Research method

Primary data were collected in 1986-87 by means of an interviewer-assisted questionnaire. Individuals were selected using the clustered statistical method. Ross focuses on the labour market position of 629 Aboriginal people living outside the Sydney metropolitan region.

Research findings

The Aborigines interviewed had a low employment status: females employed 12.3 per cent, unemployed 23.1 per cent, not in labour force 64.6 per cent; males employed 17.7 per cent, unemployed 55.8 per cent, not in labour force 26.5 per cent. Several factors disadvantage Aborigines, including residence in small country towns which are in economic decline; lack of access to traditional sources of subsistence; low levels of ownership of economic resources, and total reliance on the owners of those resources (such as farmers) for employment; and low educational status and low levels of job skills or previous job experience.

Ross also provides estimates of labour force status by age, gender, marital status and educational attainment. He analyses the unemployed in terms of length of unemployment and regional unemployment. Findings are that the substantial majority of labour force participants are

unemployed; that there is a complete absence of participation in the labour force after age fifty years for women and age sixty years for men; earnings are low, conditions of employment are poor and work is insecure. The author notes that people have had little access to labour market training programs designed to impart work skills, and that those who are the least disadvantaged or most likely to be employed are those who are better educated, have completed higher levels of formal education, and/or have had access to labour market programs such as Training for Aborigines Program or National Employment Strategy for Aborigines.

The author sees unemployment among Aborigines as a major problem and makes policy recommendations. These include greater support to Aboriginal organisations such as land councils to set up ventures which would provide an alternative to the formal labour market; programs to provide better access to, and participation, in higher levels of education with a curriculum oriented towards the labour market; programs to assist in the acquisition of useful job-related skills; and greater encouragement to the private sector to employ Aborigines in salaried positions.

Policy relevance

The study is carefully researched and provides important primary data on Aboriginal employment in NSW. The data were collected prior to the introduction of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy; a restudy is required to investigate whether the labour market position of NSW Aborigines has improved since the introduction of this policy. The paper is useful from a policy and planning perspective, as it provides some evidence that government labour market programs can be effective. The paper also shows, however, that those most in need frequently do not gain access to programs.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Castle and Hagan 1985; Ross 1990.

ROSS, R.T. 1990, 'Factors influencing the (lack of) labour market success of Aborigines', in *Social Policy in Australia: What Future for the Welfare State?*, Proceedings of National Social Policy Conference, Sydney, vol. 2, ed. P. Saunders, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney, pp. 73-86.

Available from
SPRC; \$8.00.

Key words

Aboriginal labour market, employment status, social policy, training.

Geographic area

Five geographic regions that correspond to regional land council boundaries of NSW - the far south coast, the far west, the north west, the inland south and the south-west region of Sydney, NSW.

Study aims

To gain an understanding of the economic and other processes underlying the labour market position of Aborigines in the 1980s.

Research method

Data is taken from both a questionnaire completed by working age Aborigines in 1986-87 and the 1986 Census. Campbelltown, in the south-west region of Sydney, is used as a reference region to compare with the rural regions.

Research findings

Aborigines have low employment rates in all States and nation-wide. The employment rates for Aboriginal males and females in the major urban areas of NSW were 54 per cent and 35 per cent, respectively, and in rural areas 32 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively. Ross uses a theoretical model (probit analysis) to determine the characteristics which differentiate employed from unemployed Aborigines in rural and metropolitan NSW. The results of the analysis showed that there is a regional factor in employment success, (all four rural regions had similar employment rates which were lower than the reference region); the strongest determinants of employment status are level of education, previous (but recent) work experience, and labour market program experience; people aged between 31 and 50 years are the most likely to be employed, and persons at either end of this range have an equally low probability of being employed; and Aborigines who are separated divorced or widowed have lower employment probabilities, possibly because of their easier access to social security payments as sole parents.

Policy relevance

This study used the same primary data as Ross 1988. The specific and very useful focus, however, is on the processes that cause the relatively low employment status of Aborigines.

Ross identifies policy implications from his analysis. If the labour market position of Aborigines is to be improved, more resources will need to be directed towards improving access to formal education and to the acquisition of job-related skills. Unless employment opportunities exist though, government expenditure will merely result in unemployed, educated Aborigines.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Castle and Hagan 1985; Miller, M. 1985; Miller, P. W. 1989; Ross 1988; Treadgold 1988.

ROSS, R. and WHITEFORD, P. 1990, *Income Poverty Among Aboriginal Families with Children: Estimates from the 1986 Census*, Discussion Paper No. 20, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney, pp. 40.

Available from
SPRC; free publication.

Key words
Aboriginal children, economic status, employment, income, poverty.

Geographic area
Australia.

Study aims
To assess the extent of Aboriginal poverty; to establish whether there has been a decline in Aboriginal poverty; and to determine whether changes in poverty Australia-wide correspond to changes in poverty in the Aboriginal community.

Research method
Research combines data from the 1986 Census and from the 1985 and 1986 Income Distribution Survey. The Henderson poverty line, based on income, calculated before housing costs, and with reference to the nuclear family, was used as a benchmark.

Research findings
Aboriginal families are only half as likely to have both parents in employment as non-Aboriginal families. Between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of Aboriginal couples with children had neither adult in employment, compared with between 8 per cent and 20 per cent for non-Aboriginal families. Eighty per cent of Aboriginal sole parents are unemployed compared with between 60 and 70 per cent for non-Aboriginal people.

Approximately 43 per cent of Aboriginal families had incomes below the Henderson poverty line compared with 15 per cent of non-Aboriginal families. The rate of poverty was between two and three times higher for Aborigines, and increased dramatically as the number of children in the family increased. Poverty rates were much higher for sole parents, with sole parenthood being a stronger explanatory variable of poverty than Aboriginality.

Policy relevance
This paper draws attention to the effects of unemployment on the incomes of Aboriginal families. Aboriginal families were shown to have higher rates of poverty than non-Aborigines, reflecting differences between full- and part-time work and wage rates. Sole parent families experienced the highest rate of poverty. Of policy relevance is the finding that Aboriginal poverty will not automatically disappear with employment; income status

will improve only alongside increases in occupational status.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990; Ball 1985; Beck 1985; Choo 1990; Daylight and Johnstone 1987; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990.

ROSS, R.T., WHITEFORD, P. and PAYNE, T. 1990, 'Poverty among Aboriginal families with children', in *Social Policy in Australia: What Future for the Welfare State?*, Proceedings of National Social Policy Conference, Sydney, vol. 2, ed. P. Saunders, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney, pp. 59-71.

Available from

SPRC; \$8.00, per volume.

Key words

Aboriginal children, economic impact of family structure, employment, poverty, unemployment.

Geographic area

NSW.

Study aims

To provide new estimates of the proportion of Aboriginal families with children with incomes below the Henderson poverty line.

Research method

The authors merge quantitative data from both the 1986 Census and the 1985-86 Income Distribution Survey.

Research findings

The analysis shows that poverty rates are much higher among Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal families with children. In 1986 more than 40 per cent of Aboriginal families with children had incomes on or below the Henderson poverty line, compared with 15 per cent of non-Aboriginal families with children. For couples with children, poverty rates were between two and three times as high for Aborigines as for non-Aborigines and poverty rates increased dramatically with family size. Nearly two in every three Aboriginal families with children are in circumstances of near poverty (120 per cent of the Henderson poverty line); these poverty rates are two or three times higher than for the non-Aboriginal population.

The findings suggest that vulnerability to poverty in Aboriginal families is associated with the higher proportion of children in the Aboriginal population compared with other Australians. Poverty among Aboriginal sole parents is between 10 and 25 per cent higher than for

non-Aboriginal sole parents. A key factor is the employment status of adults. Where there are no employed adults in the family, poverty rates are high in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal families. More than 50 per cent of Aboriginal families with children have no employed adult, compared with less than 20 per cent for non-Aboriginal families.

While unemployment would appear to be the most significant factor in Aboriginal poverty, poverty rates for Aboriginal families with children remain high even when there is an adult in employment. This could be explained by lower wages for employed Aborigines than for non-Aborigines.

The evidence suggests that poverty rates might have declined significantly for couples with children between 1973 and 1986, with 62 per cent and 31 per cent of Aboriginal families, respectively, being below the Henderson poverty line. Most Aboriginal sole parents, however, appear to have remained in poverty: 79 per cent were in poverty in 1973 compared with 65 per cent in 1986.

Policy relevance

The data provide the new estimates of the proportion of the Aboriginal population with children and with incomes below the Henderson poverty line since the Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty in Australia in the early 1970s. There have been policy changes in this period, including the Prime Minister's 1987 commitment to end child poverty by 1990 and the introduction of the 'family package' in December 1987. The authors expect that Aboriginal families, especially those with large numbers of children, will have benefited significantly from the increases in family payments. Of significance to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is the strong inverse correlation between levels of Aboriginal employment and occupational status and levels of child poverty.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990; Ball 1985; Beck 1985; Choo 1990; Daylight and Johnstone 1987; Ross and Whiteford Payne 1990.

ROWSE, T. 1988, 'From houses to households? The Aboriginal Development Commission and economic adaptation by Alice Springs town campers', *Social Analysis*, no. 24, pp. 50-65.

Key words

Aboriginal Development Commission, government funds, housing, self-management.

Geographic area

Alice Springs, NT.

Study aims

To study the dynamics of the relationship between Tangentyere Council, its Housing Associations, the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, ATSIC) and the town-campers of Alice Springs, in the light of the policy of Aboriginal self-management.

Research method

The study used data from Dr N. Khalidi's unpublished study, 'Demographic Survey of the Aboriginal Population of Alice Springs', and records of the Tangentyere Banking Service between 1986 and 1987.

Research findings

One aim of housing associations is Aboriginal self-management. Tangentyere Council is associated with 18 incorporated housing associations in Alice Springs town camps and, in 1987, held 16 leases, on which were housed a total of 1,100 people in 135 houses and 150 metal sheds. On behalf of the housing associations, Tangentyere Council arranges for rent to be deducted from residents' welfare cheques. It employs field officers to advise residents about their rent obligations, and encourages western methods of budgeting and financial management; 86 per cent of total rent due was collected in 1986-1987.

The household is defined as the basic socioeconomic unit. The elderly tend to be the core members of households, providing security with their income from social security payments. Up to 35 per cent of Aboriginal people have no income, and some are highly mobile and do not commit cash regularly. Cash circulates among adults through borrowing, lending and gambling; this pattern of exchange militates against meeting financial obligations such as rental payments.

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) provided housing grants to Tangentyere from 1978. In 1982, this responsibility was transferred to the ADC, creating tension between the ADC's potential enterprise and welfare goals. As a result, ADC rental subsidies have been gradually reduced. Tangentyere has an uncertain future, which discourages present households from functioning as self-managing units which plan their own rental payments.

Policy relevance

The paper highlights the tension which can arise when a bureaucracy with both enterprise and welfare goals is involved in the funding of services for tradition-oriented Aboriginal people in an urban setting. The Tangentyere Council acts as mediator between the bureaucracy and Aboriginal town camps. Rowse points out that to achieve self-management

of their housing, the town-campers will be required to withdraw some of their income from immediate circulation. This would signal a change of spending priorities more comparable with non-Aborigines of low socioeconomic status. Tangentyere's policies seek a manageable trade-off between town-campers' desire for cultural and political autonomy and their need to self-manage and to pay for their urban housing. The article has implications for other situations where government programs lack compatibility with clients' prerogatives.

Key cross references

Loveday 1985, 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Ross 1987.

RUMLEY, H. and RUMLEY, D. 1988, *Aborigines and Local Government in the East Kimberley*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 25, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 80.

Available from

CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Government service provision, local government.

Geographic area

Wyndham-East Kimberley, Halls Creek, WA.

Study aims

To describe relations between Aboriginal people in the local government context.

Research method

The data are based on direct observation and secondary sources, and include field work during 1986-87, in which interviews were conducted with members of Aboriginal communities and associations, and with shire councillors, employees and local residents; and notes were collected from shire minute books, meetings and correspondence.

Research findings

This working paper examines whether the poor socioeconomic standing of the Aboriginal population of northern Australia is linked to the poor performance of local governments. In the East Kimberley the social and economic impact of local government on Aborigines has been very limited.

Since 1983, shire councils have received government funds on the basis of need, although councils have not felt compelled to allocate resources this way. For example, Halls Creek's funding levels increased

from \$75,000 to \$322,000 in 1983-84. The Council spent little on health, welfare, housing and community amenities (23 per cent of its budget compared with 44 per cent for all of WA) accumulating surplus funds despite the urgent needs of Aborigines on camps and reserves. Wyndham-East Kimberley Council assigned greater priority to health, welfare, housing and community amenities expenditure - spending 42 per cent of its budget in 1982-85.

From 1982 to 1986 Halls Creek generated only 13 per cent of its revenue from rates, most revenue coming from the State Government. Although the *Acts Amendment (Local Government Electoral Provisions) Act 1984* enabled non-ratepayers to vote in Council elections, the view persists that full adult franchise ought not to be supported; rate-payers fear losing political control of councils.

Aboriginal political efficacy at the local government level has resulted mainly from the mediating role of community advisers, with the support of Aboriginal community leaders, rather than from Aboriginal members of shire councils. Since full adult franchise only a few Aboriginal people have stood as candidates for councils. A low but increasing number vote in council elections.

Policy relevance

The authors conclude that local government could be far more responsive to Aboriginal resource needs. This will require more effective Aboriginal organisation and involvement in local councils. Of particular relevance to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy are issues that the authors do not specifically address, including the extent to which local governments are able to provide jobs for Aboriginal residents of their jurisdictions.

Key cross references

Mowbray and Shain 1986; Phillpot 1990; Smith 1989; Turner 1986.

SANDERS, W. 1985, 'The politics of unemployment benefit for Aborigines: Some consequences of economic marginalisation', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 137-162.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Award wages, economic marginalisation, government employment programs, social security benefits.

Geographic area

NT, WA, Qld.

Study aims

This study examines the politics of Aboriginal eligibility for unemployment benefits in relation to the introduction of award wages for Aborigines.

Research method

The author examines data from secondary sources.

Research findings

The introduction of award wages for Aborigines in the NT pastoral industry in 1968 resulted in the dismissal of Aborigines, employed earlier at below award rates. This increased rates of Aboriginal unemployment, leading to a debate about Aboriginal eligibility for unemployment benefits that lasted through the 1970s.

One of the criterion for unemployment benefit entitlement was a person's availability for work. This 'work test' would have required many Aborigines to move to areas where there were greater employment prospects to qualify for unemployment benefits. Instead, the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme, which aimed to create work within remote communities, was introduced in the late 1970s. This alternative to unemployment benefits established eligibility for unemployment benefit equivalents according to the work test criteria, or availability for work, and removed the direct link with unemployment benefits through its administration by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) instead of the Department of Social Security.

From 1979, Aborigines at outstations gained access to unemployment benefits when the CDEP scheme was not expanded to outstations due to lack of funds. Aborigines at outstations were recognised as being at their normal place of residence and were not required to migrate in search of work.

Policy relevance

This paper provides a very detailed and thorough account of the history of Aboriginal entitlement to unemployment benefits in a policy context. It cites several examples where unemployment benefits or under-award wages were paid in order to keep people in work, showing that if award wages were paid fewer Aborigines would be employed. This paper is relevant for the AEDP which seeks to increase employment opportunities in remote areas, highlighting the economic marginality of many remote areas. The inference is that the economy of remote settlements and outstations is different to the larger economy, where the normal rules of unemployment benefits apply. The creation of full-time employment at

award rates for the Aboriginal labour force at these locations is unlikely unless government subvention to these areas is greatly increased.

Key cross references

Altman 1990a; Altman and Taylor 1989; Auditor-General 1990; Bonner 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Sanders 1988.

SANDERS, W. 1988, 'The CDEP scheme: Bureaucratic politics, remote community politics and the development of an Aboriginal 'workfare' program in times of rising unemployment', *Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 32-47.

Key words

Employment opportunities, government policies and programs, social security benefits.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To analyse the development of an Aboriginal 'workfare' program, or the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme, since 1976-77.

Research method

Utilised newspaper articles, government reports, and other secondary sources.

Research findings

Sanders traces the history of the CDEP scheme from 1970. At this time, the introduction of award rates to Aborigines in remote communities had created a great deal of unemployment and the work test for unemployment benefits was altered to recognise this. The CDEP scheme is designed to provide employment and community development as an alternative to unemployment benefits.

The CDEP scheme was supported by Aboriginal community councils, possibly, because it provided increased funding levels and control to councils; this was despite several problems in its pilot period in 1977, including budgetary constraints within the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), administrative problems, lack of expertise, and concern that it might be a breach of race discrimination law. In 1980, a review found CDEP a 'shambles'. This was partially a result of its incompatible objectives - as both a job creation and income support scheme. It remained in favour because it appealed to the Federal Government as a way of making

resources spread further and thinner through the Aboriginal constituency, and to the DAA because of its commitment to Aboriginal self-management. DAA regarded it as a preferable alternative to the payment of unemployment benefits. DAA set out to establish better administrative arrangements, including an unsuccessful attempt to transfer the administration of CDEP wages to the Department of Social Security. The scheme expanded in 1983 with the election of the Labor Government and its promise of 5,000 new jobs; endorsement by the Review of Aboriginal Employment and Training Programs (Miller 1985) again increased government funding levels. In 1986 a review, while critical, laid the framework for further expansion.

Policy relevance

The author uses secondary sources to provide a carefully documented history of the CDEP scheme. The article does not cover the AEDP, launched in 1986-87, which provides further financial support for the expansion of the scheme.

The scheme has remained popular with Federal Government, community councils and DAA for reasons which do not always include the welfare of the target groups. Sanders sees this popularity as resulting from bureaucratic politics, Aboriginal community politics, and the meeting of government employment targets in times of rising levels of unemployment. Many problems remain, including lack of an award wage, funding of services which are the legitimate responsibility of other agencies, and CDEP payments displacing award wage employment. More recently, the suitability of the CDEP scheme as a basis for enterprise development has been questioned.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a; Altman and Taylor 1989; Miller 1985; Moizo 1990; Smith 1990; Smith, Adams and Burgen 1990b.

SCOTT, A.K. 1985, 'Two new training initiatives within the NTPS relating to Aboriginals', in *Economy and People in the North*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 194-201.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$18.00.

Key words

Education, government training programs, recruitment.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To describe two new training initiatives for Aborigines under consideration by the NT Public Service (NTPS) under the NTPS Aboriginal Work Based Development program.

Research method

Utilised secondary sources.

Research findings

The NT Government aims at a 20 per cent Aboriginal participation rate in the NTPS by 1990. The 1981 Aboriginal participation rate was 8.3 per cent and in 1983 it was 10.5 per cent. This makes the NTPS participation rates the highest in Australia (1983 public service participation rates: NSW 1.6 per cent, Vic. 0.25 per cent, SA 0.3 per cent, Australian Public Service 0.47 per cent). These figures indicate the effect of the NT's positive recruitment program. The main NT Departments employing Aborigines are Transport and Works, Health, Education, Police, Fire Brigade, Community Development, and the Conservation Commission. Various NTPS departments and organisations run programs for Aboriginal training and development.

Two new programs, 'Aboriginal Work Based Development' and 'Cross Cultural Communication', are under review by the NTPS. The programs take into account NT government objectives for training Aboriginal public servants, recommendations from the 1981 Conference of Aboriginal Organisations, training programs from other institutions, and the recommendations of a NT public service working party.

The 'Aboriginal Work Base Development' program aims to enable Aboriginal public servants to upgrade their skills and education, as the majority of Aborigines enter the NTPS at lower levels and their advancement is slow. The course aims at flexibility, and at shaping programs to meet individual needs. It also aims to allow participants to identify their preferred career path, and gives specific learning contracts to each participant, drawn up with their employer.

The planned 'Cross Cultural Communication' program follows the recommendations of the Conference of Aboriginal Organisations, which identified the need for such a course if Aborigines are to succeed in the workplace. Nungalinga College, Darwin and the Institute of Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs offer the courses.

Policy relevance

The article provides a useful description of proposed training programs for Aboriginal public servants in the NT. Considerable planning was invested in attempting to ensure that these programs could succeed. Assuming that the training programs were put in place by the NT Government around 1985, a follow-up study would be useful.

Key cross references

Castle and Hagan 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989, 1990; Manuel 1985; Miller 1985.

SMITH, B. 1989, *The Concept of 'Community' in Aboriginal Policy and Service Delivery*, Occasional Paper No.1, North Australia Development Unit, Department of Social Security, Darwin, pp. 24.

Available from

NADU; free publication.

Key words

Community, government service provision, self-determination, self-management.

Geographic area

Remote Australia.

Study aims

To explore the reasons for the adoption of the term 'community' as it applies to Australian Aboriginal people and to assess some implications of its use.

Research method

The study utilises Commonwealth Department files from the 1960s and 1970s, and other secondary sources.

Research findings

For the 24.5 per cent of Aboriginal people living on outstations and settlements in 1981, services, funding levels, administration and decision-making processes appear to be linked to the notion of 'community'. The concept is embedded in legislation adopted in the early 1970s concerning Aboriginal groups and in current employment programs like the Community Development Employment Projects scheme.

Smith raises problems with the concept of 'community'. This term suggests a cohesive group working collectively towards improving its access to services and resources. However, in reality, Aboriginal communities are not cohesive but are often collections of families or clans competing for resources.

The author quotes researchers who suggest that government can utilise the 'community' model for political purposes, as a means of being seen to provide for the impoverished. However, given the inadequacy of resources and lack of community-based administrative-planning skills and the lack of legislative freedom to implement decisions, community development can occur only within the parameters set by government authorities. For example, although councils were supposedly self-

determining, they could make no decisions which were in conflict with prevailing Federal, state and local government legislation. Councils were forced to accept participation-consultation mechanisms that were based on western notions of representation - government departments emphasise self-determination and community development only as long as they are able to maintain control.

The concept of 'community' might have been chosen because it could provide Aboriginal people with the opportunity of self-determination; the author found little evidence though of the increased control by remote area Aborigines that should have occurred with the introduction of the 'community' model. Smith suggests that the political pressures of the 1970s, the popular appeal of the 'community' concept, the lack of an alternative, bureaucratic inertia and the multiple definitions of the concept all contributed to government acceptance of this model.

Policy relevance

The author concludes that it cannot be assumed that the 'community' model is a true representation of a democratic social organisation which ensures equitable access to Federal, state and local government policies, programs and/or services. It would seem that, in a physical sense, many Aboriginal communities are not self-governing social units but, rather, collections of familial, lingual or other groups competing for resources. If the term 'community' were to continue to be used as a fundamental tenet of Aboriginal affairs policy and service delivery, unresolved issues about the term must be addressed.

Key cross references

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989, 1990; Mowbray 1986; Palmer 1990; Rumley and Rumley 1988.

SMITH, B. 1990, *Aboriginal Income Maintenance: Policy and Legislation*, Occasional Paper No. 4, North Australia Development Unit, Department of Social Security, Darwin, pp.29.

Available from

NADU; free publication.

Key words

Government policy, income support, social security benefits.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To assess whether policy legislation guarantees Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people equal access to social security benefits and services.

Research method

Utilises secondary data; field visits were made.

Research findings

The study provides a historical overview of some State and Federal Aboriginal policies and social security legislation. Aboriginal people became entitled to direct social security payments, after other Australians, in 1973. In 1983-84, the Social Security Monitoring Branch carried out a national review of Aboriginal peoples' access to social security and concluded that Aboriginal people, particularly in remote areas, had severe problems of access to appropriate Commonwealth welfare services. As late as 1986, Aborigines in remote areas still did not fully participate in the social security system.

From 1977, equal access and rights to income maintenance had been affected through the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme. In some ways, this scheme is a return to the former 'training allowance' which was available in the NT in the early 1970s. Smith claims that, just when equal rights to social security were gained, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), which was set up to coordinate national Aboriginal policy, appeared to take a step back into the practices (and policies) of protection and tuition. In this regard, the CDEP scheme is interpreted by Smith as a retrograde step.

Policy relevance

The document does not provide any data after 1986 to indicate the current situation of social security entitlements for Aborigines. The author concludes that Aborigines do not have, and never have had, equal access to the social security system. The system has been, and in some sense remains, a paternalistic one in which Aboriginal people are regarded as less than full citizens.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1989; Auditor-General 1990; Cass 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1988, 1989, 1990; Sanders 1985, 1988.

SMITH, B., ADAMS, M. and BURGEN, D. 1990a, *Department of Social Security Payments and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities: A Review of Literature*, Occasional Paper No. 6, North Australia Development Unit, Department of Social Security, Darwin, pp. 52.

Available from

NADU; free publication.

Key words

Employment opportunities, government employment programs, government service provision.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To provide an overview of issues associated with the provision of services and programs provided for Aborigines by the Department of Social Security (DSS), to identify the extent of research in the area to date and to note Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perceptions of DSS programs and services.

Research method

The literature review is limited to the most pertinent studies undertaken since 1960, including DSS review reports, correspondence from communities, independent academic research and minutes from meetings. It is divided into four parts: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders; the DSS; other government departments and committees; and researchers and social commentators. Each part contains a short statement of the most important points from the relevant items of literature and includes a summary of key issues. The review ends with a composite summary.

Research findings

Some regional variation of programs is needed. The limited employment opportunities in remote areas have implications for the planning of labour force and social security programs. Research is necessary on the 'work test' (related to eligibility for unemployment benefits), the Community Development Employment Projects scheme and economic enterprises, to clarify legal rights, civil rights and policy goals. The delivery and adequacy of social security payments needs to be considered, recognising that such payments are the major and continuing source of income for Aboriginal people. Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders do not have the same access to DSS programs and services as other Australians.

Policy relevance

The review outlines a range of policy issues that were raised in the literature. Numerous recommendations for the streamlining of income support to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities that have been made in the past are reiterated in the literature survey. It identifies problems in program implementation and administration that will undermine the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy's quest for economic equity.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1989; Bolger 1987b; Cass 1988; House of

Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1988, 1989, 1990; Smith 1990.

SMITH, B., ADAMS, M. and BURGEN, D. 1990b, *Where to Now? Department of Social Security Payments and Aboriginal And Torres Strait Islander Communities in North Australia*, Research Paper, North Australia Development Unit, Department of Social Security, Darwin, pp. 118.

Available from
NADU; free publication.

Key words

Government policy and employment programs, income support, social security benefits.

Geographic area

NT, Qld, WA.

Study aims

To assess the impact of social security benefits and Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme on communities in northern Australia.

Research method

A questionnaire was drawn up and semi-structured interviews were carried out with small groups from 43 communities. Communities were chosen to provide a cross-section of community types based on such criteria as traditional culture, population, percentage of children, and sources of income.

Research findings

The document provides a historical overview of income maintenance for Aboriginal Australians. Responses to the questionnaire indicated that the ability of the Department of Social Security to adequately provide social security programs to Aboriginal communities varied greatly, depending on the availability of key community services and communications infrastructure.

Aborigines stated that in the 1960s and 1970s the number of jobs in their communities decreased. An analysis of issues concerning the payment of unemployment benefits and the CDEP scheme indicates that residents believe that current work, training, wage and income support arrangements do not offer the same opportunities for personal development or the same life-chances as those available to non-Aboriginal residents in remote areas or to most Australians in the broader community. People complained that they can look forward to a life with

only a limited income. Sixty seven per cent of the sample stated that they felt trapped in poverty.

It seems clear that both unemployment benefits and the CDEP scheme experience delivery problems in remote areas and do not have clear long-term goals for clients. Aboriginal people in communities do not see these programs as acceptable alternatives to 'real jobs, real training, and real wages'. Sixty-three per cent of the sample saw CDEP as a better income support option than unemployment benefits. Sixty-five per cent of the sample said that each adult should be seen as an independent recipient of welfare payments. Seven of the twenty-five CDEP communities said that Aboriginal people should be paid unemployment benefits, the same as other Australians.

Policy relevance

The report provides information on Aboriginal perceptions of current employment and income status but does not make recommendations which could be the basis for action.

The findings suggest that Aboriginal people in these remote communities want an option to take up 'real jobs' in the formal labour force and to be paid 'real wages'. The study, however, does not highlight the fact that government faces a considerable challenge in this area if equity goals were to be met. Technological and other changes mean that employment opportunities in rural areas are declining, and establishing viable industries and enterprises in Aboriginal communities through the CDEP scheme and other means is difficult. Furthermore, it is difficult to identify options which can satisfy cultural prerogatives as well as increase employment and incomes.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a; Altman and Taylor 1989; Miller 1985; Moizo 1990; Sanders 1985, 1988.

SNOWDON, W. and ALEXANDER, L. 1986, 'Tourism at Uluru', in *Science and Technology for Aboriginal Development*, Proceedings of a workshop held in Alice Springs from the 8th to the 10th October 1985, eds B. Foran and B. Walker, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, Melbourne, Session 2.14.

Available from

CSIRO; free publication.

Key words

Employment, tourism.

Geographic area

Uluru, NT.

Study aims

This paper provides preliminary results of an unpublished socioeconomic study of the impacts of tourism on the Aboriginal people of the Uluru region.

Research method

The authors were involved in the collection of quantitative data for a study commissioned by the Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service for the Mutitjulu community (Central Land Council, Pitjantjatjara Council and Mutitjulu community 1987, *Sharing the Park: Anangu Initiatives in Ayers Rock Tourism: A Tourism Impact Study*, unpublished).

Research findings

Aborigines accepted and understood the potential value of tourism to the local economy, although they were unclear about what their future involvement in the industry might be. Sixty-four per cent of those interviewed have worked in the tourist industry. Seventy-seven per cent wanted further employment in tourism. The largest percentage of Aborigines were employed in indirect tourism, 35 per cent in the production of craft items and 11 per cent as domestics and gardeners at motels.

Aborigines indicated a willingness to participate in selective tourist activities, and expressed a strong desire that tourists should learn about Aboriginal people and their country. Eight per cent of tourists wanted direct contact with Aboriginal people and 71 per cent expressed a desire for more information about Aboriginal people and culture.

Policy relevance

This paper is a preliminary account of the more detailed and comprehensive findings in the Uluru study. The research is valuable as tourism is one of the few industries in remote Australia with the potential to provide Aborigines with formal employment.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Kesteven 1987; Lawrence 1985; White 1986; Williams 1989.

SPRING, J. 1990, *International Visitors and Aboriginal Arts*, Research Paper No. 4, Policy and Research, Strategic Development Unit, The Australia Council, Sydney, pp. 8.

Available from

The Australia Council; free publication.

Key words

Arts and crafts industry, tourism.

Geographic area

Australia.

Study aims

To measure the level of interest shown by international visitors in Aboriginal art and culture, and to determine their level of spending on Aboriginal art, crafts and culture.

Research method

A sample of international tourists were surveyed at all international Australian airports in February 1990. This sample was weighted using Australian Bureau of Statistics estimates of all annual international visitors to Australia.

Research findings

Forty-nine per cent of international visitors were interested in seeing and learning about Aboriginal arts and culture. Greatest interest was shown by visitors from the USA, Canada and Continental Europe.

Of the 600,000 visitors who went to Australian museums and art galleries, 70 per cent had hoped to see Aboriginal art and 20 per cent had made the visit especially to see Aboriginal art. Seven per cent of visitors went to Aboriginal cultural performances. Nineteen per cent either were unaware of or could not find information about performances.

The most frequently bought Aboriginal cultural items were souvenirs with Aboriginal designs. It was estimated that 30 per cent of visitors purchased Aboriginal art or cultural items, at an estimated value of \$30 million per annum, at a median expenditure of \$42 per visitor. It was not verified though if items were manufactured by Aboriginal people.

The greatest interest in Aboriginal art and culture was shown in the NT; this could be important for its future economic growth. Seventeen per cent of the NT workforce is directly employed as a result of tourism. An estimated \$7.2 million is spent on Aboriginal art in the NT, of which, \$3 million (42 per cent) is paid to Aboriginal artists.

Policy relevance

The author argues that there is potential to increase purchases of Aboriginal art by international visitors who indicated that they had not thought of buying Aboriginal art. The author also expects that more visitors would probably attend Aboriginal performances, given increased opportunities. The paper identifies an important area for increased Aboriginal employment, with associated economic returns.

Key cross references

Altman 1989b, 1990b; Finlayson 1990.

STANLEY, O. 1985a, 'Economic development problems in remote Aboriginal communities', in *Economy and People in the North*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 108-141.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$18.00.

Key words

Economic development, remote communities, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Nguiu (Bathurst Island), Daly River Mission, Peppimenarti, Kakadu National Park, NT; Mornington Island, Qld.

Study aims

To examine prospects for long-term development of large Aboriginal communities in remote Australia.

Research method

Field work was undertaken to collect data.

Research findings

The Gagudju Association receive mining royalties and its members live on outstations in Kakadu National Park. Nguiu and Mornington Island are ex-missions and Daly River is still a mission. People at Peppimenarti pursue a more traditional lifestyle on the cattle station. Apart from the Daly River mission, the communities own substantial areas of land. Most productive activities, however, receive government subsidies.

All case study communities have characteristics typical of communities in less developed countries. For example, they have high levels of unemployment and low per capita incomes. Daly River Mission had an unemployment rate of 10 per cent, Peppimenarti 40 per cent and Nguiu 20 per cent. At Mornington Island, 64 per cent of the population was on the Community Development Employment Projects scheme. Population growth rates are high.

Few goods are locally produced, and so almost all of the multiplier effects of expenditure occur elsewhere in Australia or overseas. Personal or household accumulation is seen as un-Aboriginal and incomes are shared by larger groupings; such practices inhibit capital accumulation.

Non-Aboriginal outsiders have a significant influence in communities because of their administrative and technical skills. Their attitudes are important in determining community actions and policies, in spite of the fact that political control of communities is formally in the hands of Aboriginal people.

Policy relevance

Stanley utilises his primary data to conclude that there are strong similarities between Aboriginal communities and third world countries; and that apart from those communities which can benefit from mining or tourism on Aboriginal land, they do not have a sufficient resource base to allow economic development and thereby reduce dependence on government. Stimulating the development of industries will not solve these problems because of the inability of Aboriginal communities to compete. Work on infrastructure in these communities is limited, and Aboriginal people will remain dependent on the subsistence sector to supplement their incomes.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a, 1987a, 1987b; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989, 1990; Stanley 1985b, 1985c, 1989.

STANLEY, O. 1985b, *The Mission and Peppimenarti: An Economic Study of Two Daly River Aboriginal communities*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 130.

Available from
NARU; \$10.00.

Key words

Economic policy, economic status, employment, incomes, remote communities, social accounts, unemployment.

Geographic area

Daly River Mission, Peppimenarti, Daly River area, NT.

Study aims

To provide an historical and contemporary account of economic circumstances at two remote Aboriginal communities in the NT, and to predict their economic prospects.

Research method

Quantitative data are drawn from field work in the two communities, from other unpublished studies and from Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) files to provide historical information on the economic development of the two communities and to establish the economic status of community members in 1982. Comparisons are made with Nguju township and Bathurst Island, where the author also worked, and the general population of Australia.

Research findings

While still under the control of the missionaries, the Daly River Mission achieved full Aboriginal employment based on labour intensive activities (the manufacture of food and clothing, and house construction) but predicated on the payment of under-award wages. The introduction of award wages in the late 1960s and early 1970s caused an increase in Aboriginal unemployment.

Peppimenarti, first established as a pastoral enterprise, is an outstation from the Mission. There has been some revival of hunting, fishing and gathering activities to supplement cash incomes. Attempts at economic development have been partly undermined by the ready availability of unemployment benefits.

By 1982, different government agencies had invested heavily in infrastructure development, resulting in their domination of the community's economic relations. These are more significant at the Mission than at Peppimenarti, so per capita incomes at the Mission are higher. Commercial projects have been subsidised to a much lesser extent. Almost all of the multiplier effects, which result from an increase in government spending in Aboriginal communities or from an increase in exports out of the communities, take place outside these communities.

Imports exceed exports for the Mission, Peppimenarti and Nguiu. Meanwhile, service exports are dominated by government contracts performed by the communities. The balance of payments deficits of the communities are financed by transfers from the public sector and, in this regard, mirror the structure of the NT economy which is dependent on transfers from the Commonwealth Grants Commission to meet its balance of payments deficit.

Per capita cash incomes are estimated to be about one third of the national average, while unemployment levels at the Mission and at Peppimenarti are high and rising.

Policy relevance

Stanley's research utilises a social accounting framework, which identifies barriers to economic growth in Aboriginal communities, to argue that government policies that emphasise infrastructure development and funds for services at remote communities will not alleviate levels of poverty and external dependence. He proposes a reallocation of resources to productive, export-generating activities which will result in greater internalisation of the multiplier effects of government subvention. The author makes general recommendations for several industries, including mining and tourism, where Aboriginal people either own the land or have a comparative advantage.

Key cross references

Altman 1987c, 1987d, 1990a; Cane and Stanley 1985; Coombs, McCann,

Ross and Williams 1989; Cousins 1985; Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Dillon 1986; Fisk 1985; Henderson 1985; Young 1988a, 1988b.

STANLEY, O. 1985c, 'Prospects for development and employment in rural Aboriginal communities', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 175-198.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words
Employment, funding structures, industries.

Geographic area
NT.

Study aims
To assess industries which are likely to provide long-term employment prospects for rural Aboriginal communities.

Research method
The study uses primary, quantitative data previously collected by the author from several Aboriginal communities. Some data are used from the 1981 Census for 35 communities.

Research findings
Aboriginal communities are characterised by a poor natural resource base, low incomes and savings, high population growth rates, locational disadvantage and a lack of entrepreneurship. Employment is concentrated in infrastructure institutions, with 45 per cent of all workers in the 35 Aboriginal communities employed in the category 'community services'. The communities are highly dependent on government subsidies, mostly for local government services. Twenty-one communities employed Aborigines in the construction industry. Total funds and employment might decrease in the future as the backlog in housing and other municipal facilities declines.

Disbursement of funds by government departments led to a misallocation of resources; more emphasis was placed on accountability than on the appropriateness of projects. The author argues that Aboriginal communities should have greater control over the allocation of resources. The Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme has not provided such autonomy, as it is organised externally and is administered by outsiders. The CDEP scheme also has failed to generate new projects; it has funded the same types of projects as were undertaken

in the pre-CDEP period.

Policy relevance

This article provides a useful introduction and overview of Stanley's other, more detailed studies. The author concludes that low wages and high unemployment will continue to be serious problems for Aboriginal communities and that they will always need government subsidisation. Stanley argues, however, that changes to funding methods would lead to considerable improvements. This would involve a shift in current funding priorities, away from infrastructure, where unemployment might increase as a result of an overall reduction in funds for the construction industry, towards enterprise development. Arts and crafts production, tourism and mining on Aboriginal land offer the best economic options. Cypress pine plantations, fishing enterprises and cattle or buffalo operations also could offer some economic returns but should be limited to small-scale enterprises. The author recommends that communities receive funds as block grants for three year periods.

Key cross references

Byrnes 1988; Cane and Stanley 1985; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1989; Stanley 1985b; Young 1985a.

STANLEY, O. 1989, 'The changing roles for Aboriginal bush towns', in *Small Towns in Northern Australia*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and A. Webb, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 156-164.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$26.00.

Key words

Aboriginal town economies, labour migration, unemployment.

Geographic area

Barunga, Wugularr, NT.

Study aims

To determine the economic structure of Aboriginal towns.

Research method

Employment figures are taken from the 1976, 1981 and 1986 Censuses.

Research findings

The contemporary economies of larger Aboriginal towns have been structured by the introduction of award wages and Aboriginal entitlement to social security payments from the late 1960s to early 1970s. The

economic structure of these towns is now characterised by very little production of goods for domestic consumption, by high dependence on government funds, by employment primarily in community services and by high rates of unemployment.

The adoption of community government has expanded the possible roles for community councils, especially in enterprise management and development. Other organisations, such as those concerned with housing, trading and production, and tourism, generally have profit as a minor goal. The few private organisations that do exist in Aboriginal towns and which are run in conventional European ways, like stores, employ relatively few Aborigines.

The lack of employment opportunities in Aboriginal towns has contributed to recent population decentralisation and migration; the population today is only 50 per cent of previous peaks. Poor employment prospects are attributed to surrounding areas being denuded of materials for subsistence and artefact production, few employment options, and the concentration of available jobs and housing in the hands of a few.

Policy relevance

Stanley makes two broad conclusions. The NT Government and the Federal Government need to recognise Aboriginal towns and their outlying outstations as interrelated populations. More government funds will not reverse the trend of migration from Aboriginal towns to outstations. The issue in relation to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is that regional program support must recognise the diversity of community forms in remote regions.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a, 1987d; Cane and Stanley 1985; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Stanley 1985a, 1985b, Wolfe 1987; Young 1990.

SULLIVAN, P. 1987, *Aboriginal Community Representative Organisations: Intermediate Cultural Processes in the Kimberley Region, Western Australia*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 22, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 61.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Aboriginal land councils, Aboriginal representative organisations, Aboriginal resource agencies, health agencies.

Geographic area

Kimberley Region, WA.

Study aims

To analyse the intercultural dynamic of Aboriginal representative organisations and how this element affects the operation of these organisations.

Research method

The author conducted field work during his employment at an Aboriginal resource agency, Ngoonjuwah, between March 1983 and August 1985. The data used are mainly qualitative. The Aboriginal organisations in the region are classified into four groups: community councils, single service agencies, resource agencies and political organisations.

Research findings

Community councils are assumed to conform to Aboriginal traditional practice while, at the same time, they are required to follow European administrative and management practices. Community councils are rarely formed without European intervention, and they rarely meet without a European/s in attendance. Because traditional cultural responsibilities are organised on a different basis, individual Aboriginal councillors find it difficult to function within this type of bureaucratic structure.

While single service Aboriginal agencies, such as health services, present themselves as distinctly Aboriginal, they operate under considerable constraints which results in them acting as adjuncts to the European administration. Furthermore, some of the Kimberleys' European population resent the provision of special services for Aborigines, regarding them as 'special privileges'.

The six Aboriginal resource agencies in the Kimberley carry out a wide range of practical activities on behalf of Aboriginal communities. These are controlled by Aboriginal councils, which have the difficult task of reconciling financial accountability requirements with the need to provide services to Aboriginal clients. As the reason for the existence of resource agencies stems from the need for communities to acquire resources, agencies are in the ambivalent position of balancing government aid against their own requirement to be self-supporting.

The Kimberley Land Council has no legal standing in relation to either government or Aboriginal communities. Its prime function is to represent Aboriginal land interests which gives it a high cultural profile. As it is perceived as the organisation with the potential to affect political and economic status, much of the organisation's activities are directed towards European forums. Its effectiveness, however, would be undermined if it were to become an unambiguously European institution. On the other hand, there is no traditional organisation for the Kimberley Land Council to emulate.

Policy relevance

This paper discusses Aboriginal representative organisations as cultural manifestations which have to meet the formal European demands of accountability. The author has outlined the ambiguity of this position, suggesting that it has led to their overall ineffectiveness and concludes that it is an illusion that these organisations appear to foster Aboriginal self-management. In practice, their contribution towards self-management is constrained considerably by structural and cultural factors. This research has implications for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy goal of reduced dependency on the state.

Key cross references

Bolger 1987a, 1987b; Bonner 1988; Coombs 1986; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1990.

TAYLOR, J. 1988, 'Aboriginal population mobility and urban development in the Katherine region', in *Northern Australia: Progress and Prospects, Volume 1, Contemporary Issues in Development*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 201-223.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH; \$24.00.

Key words

Aboriginal labour force, employment, government employment policies and programs, labour migration, unemployment.

Geographic area

Katherine, NT.

Study aims

The paper considers the degree to which prevailing patterns of northern economic development, and accompanying government policies, are instrumental in the migration of the Aboriginal population to an area where employment opportunities exist at the Tindal air force base, Katherine.

Research method

A household survey was taken of the Aboriginal population in Katherine and surrounding town camps in 1987. This data was supplemented with 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986 Census data, and other secondary data.

Research findings

Since 1983, the air force base at Tindal, near Katherine, has been upgraded, resulting in the rapid population growth of Katherine. The

Federal Government has given 'national priority' status to the task of ensuring Aboriginal involvement in employment and training at the air base and in other activities associated with the growth of the town. Aborigines comprise 70 per cent of those seeking work through the Commonwealth Employment Service in the Katherine region.

Using his survey data and Census materials, the author compares present with past numbers of Aboriginal people resident in Katherine. The data indicate that the Aboriginal population living in and around Katherine increased from 250 Aboriginal residents in 1971 to around 1,000 in 1987 and that there was a considerable population movement in and out of the town. The household survey revealed that the majority of the recent migrants to Katherine were from urban areas outside the region (37 per cent came from NT areas distant from Katherine and 35 per cent were from interstate); only 27 per cent came from the Katherine region.

The author concludes that government strategies to involve local Aborigines in employment at Tindal have failed because they are predicated on the belief that such labour is mobile and responsive to market signals. Furthermore, Aboriginal people are not passive receptors of external forces and many in remote areas have actively chosen not to seek employment in the mainstream economy.

Policy relevance

This is a carefully researched study using primary data. It reveals problems with government policy assumptions regarding Aboriginal employment and mobility in remote areas surrounding Katherine. It has important implications for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, and gives new emphasis to the notion of 'active employment strategies' predicated on mobile labour.

Key cross references

Gray 1989; Loveday 1985, 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Taylor 1990a; Young 1990; Young and Doohan 1989.

TAYLOR, J. 1990, 'The estimation of small town Aboriginal population change', *Journal of the Australian Population Association*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 40-56.

Key words

Aboriginal labour market, employment, industries, labour mobility.

Geographic area

Katherine region, NT.

Study aims

To outline some issues associated with estimating the size of the Aboriginal population in the rapidly growing town of Katherine and to report on some economic and social impacts of recent in-migration.

Research method

A household survey was conducted of the Aboriginal population in Katherine, and surrounding town camps, over three months in 1987. The study also used secondary sources.

Research findings

Large development projects with high labour requirements attract migrants, causing changes in the employment structure and population size of the surrounding areas. Taylor studied the impact of Aboriginal migration into Katherine, by comparing those who had moved to Katherine since the construction of Tindal air force base commenced with those who were residents of the town already.

The author found that migration appears to have lowered dependency ratios by increasing the proportion of adults of working age in the population. Dependency ratios amongst the Katherine-born population, the pre-Tindal migrants and the recent migrants to Katherine were 2.0 per cent, 1.3 per cent, and 0.8 per cent, respectively; the dependency ratio is the ratio of the number of children under 15 years and people aged 65 years and over to the working age population aged 15-64 years of age.

The assertion that recent migrants to Katherine have commandeered jobs at the expense of the local population is investigated. The data demonstrate that this is not the case: unemployment is lowest among the permanent population (25 per cent) and it is highest for recent migrants (37 per cent).

Seventy two Aborigines were employed at Tindal in 1987; this was more than at any other time during the project. The construction phase was nearing completion, however, and the Katherine Commonwealth Employment Service predicted that only 26 full-time civilian jobs would be available for Aboriginal workers during the post-construction phase, and only 112 in the town as a whole. Twenty-one per cent of household heads indicated that they did not envisage staying in Katherine and cited the likelihood of reduced employment opportunities as the stimulus for moving. The likely population outcome for Katherine, the author suggests, is a net migration balance of people moving in and out of Katherine and an Aboriginal population of between 1,200 and 1,600 by 1993.

Migrants have diverse origins; a further consequence of migration is the transformation of the Aboriginal population (and workforce) from a small, tradition-oriented and locally-based group to a larger polyglot community of diverse cultures and backgrounds.

Policy relevance

This is a useful paper utilising primary data collected by the author; it complements Taylor (1988). The paper concentrates mainly on predictions for Katherine's Aboriginal population. It also attempts to establish the economic and social impacts (including labour force participation) of Aboriginal migration since the construction of Tindal began. It is of key policy relevance, demonstrating that the establishment of new employment opportunities do not necessarily attract local Aboriginal people to the formal labour market.

Key cross references

Altman and Smith 1990; Howitt 1990; Loveday 1985, 1987; O'Faircheallaigh 1986; Taylor 1988; Young 1990; Young and Doohan 1989.

TREADGOLD, M.L. 1988, 'Intercensal change in Aboriginal incomes, 1976-1986', *Australian Bulletin of Labour*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 593-609.

Key words

Economic status, employment status, incomes.

Geographical area

Australia.

Study aims

To investigate change in the incomes of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders compared with the Australian population, between 1976 and 1986.

Research method

1976, 1981 and 1986 Census provided data on Aboriginal and total Australian incomes, population and labour force status.

Research findings

Statistics indicate that the median income of Aboriginal individuals fell from 60 per cent of that for all persons in 1976 to 56 per cent in 1981, and then rose to 65 per cent in 1986. Thus, a net improvement in Aboriginal relative incomes is indicated by the data. However, the author contends that in absolute terms, the level of real median income actually fell by about 4 per cent between 1976 and 1986.

The apparent seven per cent growth in real income per capita of Aboriginal population between 1976 and 1986 can be largely attributed to factors which distort the findings, including: an increase in the ratio of the number of Aborigines aged 15 and over compared with the total Aboriginal population; the number of well-off people who chose to

change their identity from non-Aboriginal to Aboriginal, thereby raising the Aboriginal median income; and the probable inadequacy of Aboriginal population counts on which estimates of income are based.

The author also outlines structural changes in Aboriginal incomes, pointing out that the real median income of males aged 15 and over fell by 10 per cent between 1976 and 1986, while that of females increased by 25 per cent - but female median income, despite its rapid growth, remained below male income.

The decline in the real median income of Aboriginal males can be attributed to increased unemployment; the Aboriginal unemployment rate rose from 18 to 35 per cent between 1976 and 1986. The increase in income for Aboriginal females can be attributed to their greater labour force participation, with more Aboriginal females having registered as unemployed with the Commonwealth Employment Service.

Policy relevance

Treadgold concludes that over a ten year period there has been little improvement in real incomes and Aboriginal incomes remained a little more than half of that of Australians as a whole at the end of the decade.

The paper highlights the care that must be taken in the use of Census statistics. In this case, the statistics appear to indicate an improvement in Aboriginal economic well-being. Closer analysis reveals, however, that these 'improvements' are illusory, with most change being accounted for by factors other than actual changes in Aboriginal economic status.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990; Tyler 1990; Young 1985b.

TURNER, D. 1986, *Transformation and Tradition: A Report on Aboriginal Development in/on the Northern Territory of Australia*, Report to the NT Government, Government Printer of the Northern Territory, Darwin, pp. 167, plus appendixes.

Available from

NT Government Printer; \$10.

Key words

Community government councils, economic development, government service provision, land rights, local government.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To advise the NT Government on the setting up of Community

Government Councils in the NT.

Research method

Anthropological methods were used, and several Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities were visited. Research was 'action' oriented in that the research process positively influenced the establishment of community governments. The author looked for economic and political connections between Aborigines and mainstream Australia.

Research findings

Community Government Councils are being set up in the NT under Part VIII of the recent *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1985* for selected Aboriginal communities outside urban centres. The only other local government structures in the NT are municipal councils in the larger towns and cities.

Turner argues that, given Aborigines' minority status, there is no alternative but for their integration into mainstream structures of the NT at a jurisdictional level where they could exert both self-management over their own communities and influence over the NT's broader political structures. He suggests that Aboriginal culture can be connected with Australian institutions like community governments through the concept of 'bounded jurisdictions', because Aboriginal structures such as clans are like European local government-type jurisdictions. He also proposed that community government jurisdictions be broad. Presently, land councils possess a broader jurisdictional base than community governments.

Turner suggests that employment of non-Aborigines by Aboriginal organisations is acceptable, but this requires the need for safeguards to prevent exploitation; he sees this as another reason for community government, based on 'strict audit requirements'.

Economic development issues, the author argues, should not be addressed in western style 'profit-oriented' terms. Development should be encouraged to be compatible with Aboriginal lifestyle.

It is suggested that, as an impetus to development, first preference should be given to local Aboriginal companies and individuals either alone or in partnership with outside interests; more powers should be given to Community government councils to award local contracts; and local economies should diversify and include subsistence, market-oriented and service occupations and cattle and tourist projects. An economic enterprise training program and other training programs are recommended.

Policy relevance

The author suggests that community government is a means to the economic advancement of Aboriginal people, and that it is the appropriate structure to provide essential services. It also provides a way of mitigating much of the disruption Aboriginal people experience in their traditional

culture as a result of European contact.

Key cross references

Mowbray 1986; Mowbray and Shain 1986; Rumley and Rumley 1988; Smith 1989; Wolfe 1989; Young 1988e.

TYLER, W. 1990, 'Aboriginality and socioeconomic attainment in Australia's Northern Territory', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 68-85.

Key words

Aboriginality, employment, labour force status, racism, social stratification, socioeconomic status.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To examine the ways in which Aboriginality influences the 'life chances' of individuals in the areas of income and occupation levels; and to study the influence rural-urban residence has on their socioeconomic attainment.

Research method

The author utilises multivariate analysis of 1986 Census data and sociological stratification theory.

Research findings

Tyler is interested in the processes which position Aboriginal people within the stratification system of Australian society. He challenges the assumption that Aborigines are a separate case, insulated from wider systems of stratification in Australia. Instead, he argues that complex processes, particularly those related to education and employment, position Aborigines in the mainstream social structure.

The author asks whether Aboriginality constitutes a significant causal component of Aborigines' 'life chances', whether there are differences in socioeconomic attainment between urbanised and non-urbanised Aborigines, and whether empirical investigation can throw light on the pattern of 'closure' around market capacities and opportunities.

A multivariate linear regression utilising the variables occupation, employment status, qualifications, Aboriginality, age, sex, residence, income, and qualifications showed that Aboriginality does have an effect on Aborigines' labour market position. Tyler locates the most powerful (but only moderate) effect of Aboriginality at 'points of entry into the labour market', particularly access to qualifications. Aboriginality, however, affects later socioeconomic attainment somewhat less. Thus, the

negative effects of racial origin are much weaker for Aborigines who have found employment.

A regression model run on each of four sub-populations (Darwin non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal, outer Darwin non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal) showed that the social status of the total population is differentiated as much by place of residence as by race. This, according to Tyler, suggests that among the general population socioeconomic attainment is mediated primarily through formal occupational and labour force processes, and that variation in an urban-rural context is at least as important as racial origin.

Policy relevance

Tyler has revealed the structural issues involved in connecting race with the wider issues of social stratification. Tyler's study has enormous policy relevance. Using statistical analysis, he demonstrates that, in an urban context like Darwin, patterns of socioeconomic attainment are not sufficiently different for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to distinguish Aborigines as a 'class' in their own right. On the other hand, the attainment chances of Aborigines living outside Darwin are distinctly different and more circumscribed. Tyler notes that this is partly due to locational factors and, also, to rural Aborigines living traditional lifestyles. Tyler's questioning of the implicit homogeneity in the concept of Aboriginality suggests a need for policy diversity to match Aboriginal cultural heterogeneity.

Key cross references

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990; Beckett 1985; Ross and Whiteford 1990; Ross, Whiteford and Payne 1990.

WHITE, I. 1986, *Annotated Bibliography on Tourism and Aborigines Prepared for the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project and the Central Land Council*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 13, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 48.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words
Tourism.

Geographic area
Central Australia; northern Australia.

Study aims
To provide an annotated bibliography of material that deals with the

social, cultural and economic impacts of tourism on Aborigines.

Research method

The earliest entries date from the 1960s, with an emphasis on material from 1975 to 1985. The entries were mainly of case studies and reports.

Research findings

The bibliography is divided into two parts: section I concerns tourism and Australian Aborigines; section II includes comparative material from studies of other indigenous populations in the third and fourth worlds. Within the two sections the entries are listed alphabetically, according to authorship. Each entry includes a brief description of the content of each entry.

Policy relevance

This work was intended as a guide for the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project in the area of Aborigines in tourism. It is, however, composed primarily of case studies from outside the East Kimberley. Of the 84 entries in Section I, about 17 are concerned directly with the economic impact of tourism on Aborigines in the last five years. Few are based on quantitative data from primary research. Furthermore, there is no critical analysis of these case studies, nor discussion about the current role of tourism and its potential to provide an economic base for Aborigines.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Byrnes 1988; Dillon 1987; Finlayson 1990; Gillespie 1988; Lawrence 1985; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; Williams 1989.

WILKIE, M. 1985, *Aboriginal Land Rights in N.S.W.*, Alternative Publishing Co-operative in association with Black Books, Sydney, pp. 193.

Available from

Out of print.

Key words

Aboriginal economy, hunting and gathering, land councils, land rights.

Geographic area

NSW.

Study aims

To study the present and future prospects for the Aboriginal people of NSW under the *New South Wales Land Rights Act 1983*.

Research Method

The study utilises secondary sources of data.

Research findings

This is an early analysis of the impact of land rights legislation, focussing on the economic aspects of the legislation. The *NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* transferred all remaining reserves to inalienable freehold title. However, by the time this legislation was passed, less than 50 square kilometres of reserves remained to be transferred to Aboriginal people. Consequently, this Act contains a strong compensatory element that provides 7.5 per cent of the NSW Land Tax revenue to the NSW Land Council Account. These payments began in 1984 and will continue to 1998. Wilkie provides several estimates of the value of these payments, assuming that 50 per cent of receipts are accumulated in a capital account to provide funds after 1998. Current account receipts that would be used to fund the administration of the NSW Aboriginal Land Council, regional land councils and local land councils, and to purchase land and businesses, could total \$108 million (in 1980-81 dollars) and the capital account could total \$200 million by 1998. Alternatively, with an adjustment for inflation, Wilkie estimates that current account receipts could total \$57 million (in 1982-83 dollars) and the capital account would accumulate \$131 million by 1998.

The NSW land rights legislation also provides Aboriginal people with some limited mineral rights and rights to royalties, although ownership of the major minerals gold, silver, oil, gas and coal remain vested with the Crown in the right of the NSW Government. The Act does not recognise indigenous hunting, gathering and fishing rights but does introduce a mechanism whereby rights of harvest can be negotiated.

Policy relevance

While Wilkie's study was undertaken at too early a date to gauge the economic impact of limited land rights in NSW, it is the only thorough analysis of this issue. While the focus is more on cultural rather than economic aspects of the legislation, some important policy-relevant issues are raised. For example, do compensation payments have the potential to establish an economic base for Aboriginal communities through the purchase of land and enterprises. An important issue not specifically raised is that the establishment of a structure to administer the Act (via State, regional and local land councils) has, in itself, generated numerous jobs for Aboriginal people. Of special relevance to the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is whether the transfer of resources to Aboriginal people in settled regions of Australia will assist in the quest for economic equity.

Key cross references

Altman 1985d; Altman and Dillon 1988; Coombs, McCann, Ross and

Williams 1989; Jennett 1987; Palmer 1988; Peterson 1985; Pollard 1988; Young 1988f, 1988g.

WILLIAMS, N.M. 1989, *Aboriginal Involvement in the Development of National Parks and Associated Tourist Enterprises*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 34, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 19.

Available from
CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Feasibility studies, national parks, tourism.

Geographic area

Purnululu (Bungle Bungle) National Park, East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To provide a guide for the conduct of feasibility studies which aim to include the aspirations of Aborigines in the development of national parks and associated tourist enterprises.

Research method

The researchers were involved in extensive discussions held between Aborigines and government authorities over a three year period from 1985 to 1988.

Research findings

Part I provides an account of the role adopted by the researchers. They were available throughout the period to discuss issues with local Aborigines, including: the concept of a national park; political, legal and administrative procedures; and socioeconomic and management experiences of other Aboriginal groups within national parks. The researchers assisted local Aborigines to articulate their needs and concerns in a manner that would be understood by non-Aboriginal Australians, and devised strategies for Aborigines to be included in the lease-back arrangements of the park.

Parts II and III recommend a process for feasibility studies, to include: the establishment of a data base on the physical setting and Aboriginal demography; a profile of the social and political setting; an outline of existing, or proposed, regional development; and Aboriginal attitudes and expectations regarding their involvement in the development and the management of a national park.

Policy relevance

The paper outlines a research approach which could help Aboriginal communities realise potential economic benefits arising from their land. The author believes that this could best be achieved by an approach which assisted Aboriginal communities to gain effective stewardship of their land. The author recommends that Aborigines talk to other Aboriginal people with experience in national parks and tourist enterprises. The author does not provide specific details of how ownership of national parks might boost Aboriginal employment and income.

Key cross references

Altman 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1989b; Dillon 1987; Gillespie 1988; Howitt, Crough and Pritchard 1990; Lawrence 1985; Ross and Johnson 1989; Snowdon and Alexander 1986; White 1986.

WOLFE, J.S. 1987, *Pine Creek Aborigines and Town Camps*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Darwin, pp. 102.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$10.00.

Key words

Aboriginal town economies, education, employment status, government training programs.

Geographic area

Pine Creek, NT.

Study aims

To describe the employment and economic status of the Aboriginal population of Pine Creek.

Research method

A sample of 43 Aborigines were interviewed over a three day period in December 1986. The survey design correlates with another carried out under the auspices of the North Australia Research Unit (NARU), to facilitate comparison with the Aboriginal population of Katherine (see Loveday 1987).

Research findings

The core population of Aborigines in Pine Creek is approximately 100 people, another 50 from surrounding areas view Pine Creek as their place of residence. Of the 42 Aborigines surveyed, 21 have always lived in Pine Creek; the remainder have moved there over several years. For those who had previously moved, an average of ten years was spent in each place. They moved for a variety of personal reasons, with very few moving for

reasons associated with employment.

Five of those sampled were employed by the Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association as trainees, unskilled labourers or handymen, earning less than \$200 per week. The remaining 90 per cent of Pine Creek's Aborigines were unemployed. Over the past five years, 28 Aborigines were employed in seasonal work. The remaining 14 Aborigines had held jobs for two years or more. Of the nine people actively looking for work during this period, seven had been employed by the Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association and only two had been employed by the newly established gold mine.

Only four people had completed year ten, and two had stayed at school and completed year 11. Most of the women had little education, and only one woman had completed year ten. The reason most cited for leaving school was that attendance necessitated living away from one's family.

Unemployment benefits are the major source of financial support. All eligible adults receive some sort of government support but, for a variety of reasons, their receipt of unemployment benefits is under-reported.

Policy relevance

The type of data collected in this study enables it to be readily compared with NARU's study of Aborigines in Katherine (Loveday 1987). While it is a very small survey, conducted over a short period, it provides useful baseline data on education levels, training opportunities, employment histories and the seasonal nature of Aboriginal employment with which to assess employment opportunities at a remote urban locations and to plan both economic and community development.

The study reveals that Pine Creek Aborigines have few opportunities and employment prospects for gaining skills and experience in the open labour market, despite the establishment of a gold mine in Pine Creek (1985) which created 100 jobs; the author notes that the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the mine provides no proposals for either Aboriginal employment or Aboriginal training. The data also confirm a finding of the Katherine survey, viz., the town's Aborigines form a permanent rather than a transient population.

Key cross references

Castle 1989; Dillon 1986; Howitt 1989; Lane, Dale, Ross, Hill and Rickerson 1990; Loveday 1985, 1987; Ross 1988; Stanley 1989.

WOLFE, J.S. 1989, 'That Community Government Mob': Local Government in Small Northern Territory Communities, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 214.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$19.00.

Key words

Aboriginal land councils, community government councils, funding levels, local government, self-determination.

Geographic area

Pine Creek, Mataranka, Batchelor, Adelaide River, NT.

Study aims

To study the effects of community government schemes on different types of NT communities.

Research method

The author conducted field research and used secondary sources of data, including reports of the Aboriginal Development Commission (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), the Constitutional Commission, the Law Reform Commission and the NT Government.

Research findings

The NT Government introduced community government to meet the needs of small towns with predominantly non-Aboriginal populations, adjacent Aboriginal town camps and Aboriginal settlements with satellite outstations. It offers communities some choice over their electoral structure and functions. Controversy has centred on the possibility that the NT Government will prescribe the structure and functions of local governments. The community government provision was enacted as Part XX of the *Northern Territory Local Government Act 1979*.

Topics covered include local government in Aboriginal communities; the development and the implications of the community government provision; and case studies of communities which have accepted this form of local government.

Community government can provide greater access to government departments, and a means to express community needs. Under community government, services are administered locally and communities funded directly, though it does not always benefit Aborigines in small towns with predominantly non-Aboriginal populations. Australia-wide studies report the disadvantaged economic and political status of Aboriginal resident in small towns under local government systems.

Town camp Aborigines are being included in community governments but have not had the option of their own community government. There may be future tensions about the responsibility of councils for upgrading the infrastructure of camps and about jurisdictional boundaries between community government councils and Aboriginal organisations. In Pine Creek and in Elliot, Aborigines have been elected to councils that are working to further both black and white needs. However, the author gives

a poor long-term prognosis for the equitable treatment of town camp Aborigines by community councils.

In the case of the Aboriginal settlements in this report, nine had opted for community government by 1988. These were categorised as 'progressive' communities with histories of white contact, such as those on Bathurst and Melville Islands. For these settlements, the community government model seems a positive choice. Aboriginal land councils are concerned that the Territory's form of community government might restrict long-term options for more autonomous government.

For complex Aboriginal communities with outstations, such as Yuendumu, community government might not be a viable option. These communities suffer from centre-periphery and multi-clan competing interests. Yuendumu runs its affairs through several types of organisations which offer more power, prestige and autonomy than the community government option, which is subject to NT Government regulation. There is little incentive for these communities to opt for community government unless they lose access to NT Government funds.

Policy relevance

The outstation movement from Kardu Numida (Port Keats) dates from the establishment of a community government, and the author sees this as a timely warning. She suggests that minority clans might choose to move away from a central settlement to form new outstations outside the jurisdiction of community governments, and that if existing outstations were brought under community government then some groups might choose to relocate to more distant parts. In its haste to see community government established in Aboriginal communities, the NT Government might be ignoring the legal requirement that a majority of the people support the proposal. Community government might contribute to, rather than reduce, the proliferation of tiny dispersed settlements.

Although not noted in this volume, an issue of relevance for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy is that any relocation of people to smaller, more dispersed settlements will exacerbate the problems associated with stimulating economic development, creating jobs and administering programs.

Key cross references

Bonner 1988; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Mowbray 1986; Mowbray and Shain 1986; Turner 1986.

YOUNG, E.A. 1985a, 'Aboriginal employment - to what purpose?', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 23-33.

Available from
NARU; \$18.00.

Key words

Employment, government employment programs, income support, labour migration.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

To present issues relating to Aborigines and employment.

Research method

A qualitative analysis is undertaken of data from 15 Aboriginal communities which was collected by the author during field work in 1983.

Research findings

Government and/or other external funds have a far greater impact on Aboriginal employment than local resources. For example, 80 per cent of wage employment is publicly funded. The mining industry has little impact. Many local Aboriginal enterprises maintain a policy of higher rates of Aboriginal employment but this can undermine their commercial viability. Furthermore, Aborigines are not as likely as non-Aborigines to benefit from employment opportunities evolving from the introduction of new technology, as non-Aborigines are more likely to have the required skills.

The two groups of Aborigines that are most disadvantaged in employment are the young and those living on non-Aboriginal-owned pastoral properties. The former have to compete for jobs with older Aborigines with dependents, who are often perceived by employers as having a greater sense of responsibility. Those living on non-Aboriginal-owned pastoral properties rarely participate in assistance programs.

Aboriginal mobility occurs for social rather than economic reasons; neither lack of jobs nor the belief that prospects are good elsewhere provides sufficient incentive for migration.

Policy relevance

The author suggests that the dominant migration pattern of Aborigines in remote locations in recent years is to outstations, although there is some movement of young Aborigines to urban centres in search of work and entertainment. Because residence at remote locations locks Aborigines

into unemployment, the author proposes that unemployment be reduced at communities by encouraging Aboriginal employment over non-Aborigines. To facilitate this, the author recommends that the skills of Aborigines be recognised, despite their lack of formal qualifications.

The author also proposes that employment schemes should aim to create long-term employment independent of government support. This would add to the occupational status of Aborigines, as well as increasing employment.

The author proposes that income support schemes are more appropriate than unemployment benefits for Aborigines, as these do not have the stigma of non-productivity, provide a guaranteed cash income and recognise subsistence and ceremonial activities as legitimate work. This is in contrast to the Community Development Employment Projects scheme which, the author argues, locks people into a situation of dependence. As an example, the author notes the income support scheme of the Cree Indians in the James Bay region of Canada, introduced as part of a land settlement. In this case, the funds provided are administered independently of government, allowing the Cree to influence financial decisions. Although not noted by the author here, the vast difference between the subsistence base of the Cree and Australian Aborigines should not be overlooked in making comparisons with the Canadian scheme.

Key cross references

Altman and Taylor 1989; Cane and Stanley 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Prior and Wunungmurra 1989; Taylor 1988; Young and Doohan 1989.

YOUNG, E.A. 1985b, 'Aboriginal socio-economic characteristics: Issues affecting the interpretation of statistics', *Australian Population Association*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 19-30.

Key words

Aboriginal statistics, economic status, employment, government program design, income status, unemployment.

Geographic area

NT.

Study aims

The study demonstrates the limits of Census data, and shows that more detailed case studies are needed to test the accuracy of Census data.

Research method

The study uses the 1981 Census for a general analysis of Aboriginal economic status compared with other Australians. A refined analysis is

provided from secondary sources that includes the author's own field work, and from detailed studies of local situations.

Research findings

The 1981 Census indicated a national unemployment rate of 26 per cent for Aborigines as compared with 6 per cent for other Australians. These figures corresponded with unemployment rates in the NT, of 11 per cent and to 4 per cent, respectively. It would be incorrect, however, to conclude from these figures that the NT has a higher rate of Aboriginal employment. Remote Aboriginal communities have had difficulty in maintaining monthly registration of unemployment because of their limited access to the Commonwealth Employment Service. Fisk's (1985) regional study revealed the extent of under-registration. As accessibility improved, the number of Aborigines registered as unemployed in the NT almost doubled between 1978 and 1981.

The Census data showed wide per capita income discrepancies between Aborigines and non-Aborigines, both in the NT and nationally. Nationally, non-Aborigines had per capita incomes almost twice that of Aborigines, and almost three times that of Aborigines in the NT. Regional variations in the NT exacerbate these income differences: the NT has high living costs such as food, clothing and fuel which cost at least 30 per cent more in remote areas compared with Alice Springs and Darwin, which are not offset by cost savings, such as subsidised housing for Aborigines.

Policy relevance

The author has demonstrated that caution is needed when interpreting Census data on Aborigines at the national level. Because the Census does not include data on social characteristics and on regional variations, its usefulness is largely limited to establishing national trends of the relative economic status of Aborigines compared with non-Aborigines. To enhance interpretation, it is important that any analysis using Census data at the national level is verified and qualified from case studies. Census data might not be suitable for program design and resource allocation at a local level, and more detailed data collection is needed. This finding has implications for the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy which is largely based on 1986 Census data.

Key cross references

Altman 1988b; Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990; Fisk 1985; Ross 1988; Treadgold 1988; Tyler 1990.

YOUNG, E.A. 1985c, 'Aboriginal wage employment: An indicator of participation in the Northern Territory economy', in *Economy and People in the North*, Monograph, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National

University, Darwin, pp. 159-177.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$18.00.

Key words

Aborigines in the Australian economy, education, employment, government training programs, labour force participation, unemployment.

Geographic area

Elliot, Finke, Yirrkala, Angurugu, Numbulwar, Maningrida, Yuendumu, Bamyili, Umbakumba, Willowra, Utopia, Galiwin'ku, Croker Island, Ngukurr, Santa Teresa, NT.

Study aims

To examine Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participation in the NT economy. The author attempts to investigate what jobs Aboriginal people want, how appropriate training and education can be provided, and the contribution Aborigines might make to the social and economic development of north Australia.

Research method

Data are utilised from field research and secondary sources including 1981 Census data.

Research findings

Employment is the main way to increase Aboriginal participation in the NT economy. The data show that Aborigines in the NT have low levels of employment, income and qualifications. In 1981, Aboriginal labour force participation was 45 per cent, whereas the non-Aboriginal figure was 75 per cent. Eighty eight per cent of Aborigines were employed compared with 96 per cent of non-Aborigines. Aborigines were more often employed in unskilled work: 42 per cent were tradesmen/labourers compared with 9 per cent for non-Aborigines. Only 5.6 per cent of Aborigines had recognised qualifications compared with 39.6 per cent for non-Aborigines.

These problems were evident particularly at remote communities, where there were few employment opportunities. For example, employment rates in 1983 were: Elliot 7.2 per cent; Finke 21.6 per cent; Yirrkala 11 per cent, Angurugu 8.8 per cent, Numbulwar 11.6 per cent, Maningrida 14.8 per cent, Yuendumu 9.3 per cent, Bamyili 20.2 per cent, Umbakumba 12 per cent, Willowra 6.9 per cent, Utopia 2.9 per cent, Galiwin'ku 19.2 per cent, Croker Island (Minjilang) 18.6 per cent, Ngukurr 10 per cent, and Santa Teresa 16 per cent. To improve their employment status, especially as teachers and health workers, Aborigines at these communities need training and formal qualifications.

Policy relevance

The author concludes that those involved in the formation of development policies should recognise the importance of the views of the resident Aboriginal population and their potential for employment. Aborigines are interested in a wide variety of jobs and in acquiring the relevant skills. Also Aborigines' unique skills and local and regional knowledge should be taken into account by planners. This study provides quantitative data on employment and related issues in small NT communities. A useful addition, however, would have been an estimate of the levels of economic development and employment which could be generated at such locations.

Key cross references

Crough, Howitt and Pritchard 1989; Fisk 1985; Miller 1985; Stanley 1985c, 1989.

YOUNG, E.A. 1987, 'Commerce in the bush: Aboriginal and Inuit experiences in the commercial world', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, pp. 46-53.

Key words

Aboriginal Development Commission, community enterprises, self management.

Geographic area

Central Australia.

Study aims

To identify conflicts between the theory and the practical application of the policy of self-management, with specific reference to retail stores.

Research method

The data were taken from a previous study by the author and the records of the former Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (now, Department of Employment, Education and Training), Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Native Economic Development Program (Canada) and other research. Retail stores were chosen for comparison because they are a form of enterprise common to Aboriginal communities in both northern Australia and Canada.

Research findings

Over 50 per cent of cash income at isolated Aboriginal communities is spent in community stores, most of which have a virtual monopoly on trade. A variety of factors, add to the operational costs of Aboriginal stores: air, rail and refrigeration expenses add between 20 and 25 per cent to the wholesale price of goods; store management has frequently been

unprofessional; and the principle that individual effort brings reward to store managers is often undermined by community ownership. These factors contribute to the lack of profitability of many Aboriginal stores.

Theoretically, when the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) provides low interest loans for Aboriginal stores, it considers the particular operational problems of these stores. These loans, however, are accompanied by stringent guidelines, which frequently result in the ADC assuming control of store management.

Policy relevance

The author outlines problems experienced by stores in Australian Aboriginal communities, which outweigh the potential financial benefits that should result from their operation as commercial monopolies. The stores, more often than not, require government subvention for them to survive. The author claims that the ADC assesses loans for Aboriginal stores according to their prospects of commercial viability, which accommodates neither the operating difficulties experienced at these remote locations nor Aboriginal socio-cultural needs. As a case for more flexible forms of financial support for Aboriginal enterprises, the author notes that third world countries receive Australian aid with less stringent requirements of accountability. This paper has relevance to enterprise programs, like Enterprise Employment Assistance and the Small Business Loans scheme in the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy.

Key cross references

Byrnes 1988; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; Jennings 1985; Stanley 1985c; Young 1988b, 1988c, 1988e.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988a, *Aboriginal Cattle Stations in the East Kimberley: Communities or Enterprises*, East Kimberley Working Paper no 21, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 79.

Available from

CRES; \$5.00.

Key words

Aboriginal Development Commission, Aboriginal pastoral leases, community development.

Geographic area

Doon Doon, Glen Hill, Bow River, Baula-Wah (Violet Valley), East Kimberley, WA.

Study aims

To examine the possible contradiction between the social aims of Aboriginal communities on pastoral properties and the economic imperatives of the pastoral industry.

Research method

Field work was undertaken and quantitative data are included. Data for the communities are grouped under physical environment, history, community and enterprise development.

Research findings

The four pastoral properties were not commercially viable enterprises at their time of purchase for Aborigines. The land was badly eroded, invaded by spinifex grass and overrun with feral donkeys, while the stock had not been properly managed. For example, Bow River had 4,000 head of cattle, which was only half the number required to make the enterprise viable, but there were estimated to be an equal number of feral donkeys.

The Aboriginal communities had neither the experience nor the resources to effectively manage the properties. For example, the communities lacked manpower: Doon Doon had a population of 26 people, Glen Hill between 25 and 30 and Bow River 39. Nor were the communities committed to the commercial success of the pastoral enterprises.

Funds were insufficient to meet development needs. The Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) provided Doon Doon with a total of \$333,250 in enterprise support between 1980-81 and 1986-87, and spent \$200,000 on the construction of houses between 1980 and 1984; the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) retained responsibility for essential services, including \$31,000 for diesel and \$130,000 for the installation of power; the Argyle Diamond Mines provided \$150,000 each year from 1985 to 1989 through the Good Neighbour Program. The station earned no more than \$120,000 between 1976-77 and 1986-87.

As an alternative to pastoral enterprises, Aborigines can buy land with freehold title with grants from the ADC. The ADC, however, has spent only 4 per cent of its total expenditure on land purchases between 1980 and 1986, with no land purchased between 1985 and 1987; this compares with 17 per cent spent on Aboriginal enterprises.

Policy relevance

Young's study proposes that there is a dilemma facing Aboriginal communities. The WA Government has already earmarked poor lands for grazing licences, and it will not grant Aborigines freehold title to land. According to the author, this leaves Aborigines with the only option of purchasing land through the ADC; however, ADC and Aboriginal

interests are not always compatible. In accordance with the Federal Government objective that communities become financially independent, the ADC has increasingly placed emphasis on the economic performance of enterprises, despite problems such as lack of capital and land degradation, and at the expense of the socio-cultural priorities of Aboriginal communities. The author recommends that land degradation on these properties be assessed and monitored, that current lease covenants be varied and that funding agencies improve coordination of their financial support. This research emphasises that Aboriginal pastoral stations have real limits for generating employment and income independent of government subsidy.

Key cross references

Bolger 1987a; Dillon 1986; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; Holmes 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Jennings 1985; Phillpot 1985; Stanley 1985a; Young 1988b.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988b, 'Aboriginal economic enterprises: Problems and prospects', in *Northern Australia: Progress and Prospects, Volume 1, Contemporary Issues in Development*, Monograph, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 182-200.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$24.00.

Key words

Enterprises, government employment policy, income generation, self-determination.

Geographic area

Yuendumu, central Australia, WA; Doon Doon, East Kimberley Region, WA.

Study aims

To investigate issues of commercial viability for enterprises in remote areas.

Research method

Data are both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The author undertook field research, collecting data from Aboriginal community stores and cattle station financial accounts.

Research findings

Commercial enterprises undertaken by Aboriginal people in remote areas

are rarely successful.

Narliyikirlangu Cattle Company, at Yuendumu in the NT, was established on marginal land as a training project. Since 1979, it has received over \$400,000 in government funds. Between 1983 and 1986, it grossed only \$138,000. Although the Company has made important contributions to the socioeconomic life of the Yuendumu people, it is a commercial failure.

Yuendumu Social Club Store made a loss of \$230,000 in 1981 and was threatened with liquidation. The Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) agreed to provide security for a bank loan and appointed a manager. By 1986, it showed profits of \$150,000.

Doon Doon Pastoral Company in WA, purchased in the early 1980s, has faced land degradation, management, funding and infrastructure problems. It has received over \$500,000 from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) and the ADC since 1976 and \$600,000 from the Good Neighbour Program through the Argyle Diamond Mines. Earnings have been only \$120,000. The ADC, concerned about lack of financial viability, withdrew its funds. Although it has important social and cultural relevance to its Aboriginal owners, this station also is a financial failure.

Policy relevance

Young doubts that Aboriginal enterprises will provide economic self-sufficiency in remote communities because of their financial, cultural, locational, managerial and other resource problems. The author suggests, however, that some enterprises will have better prospects than others and that enterprises should be more diversified, offering a wider range of goods and services. Enterprises should focus on activities in which Aborigines have a comparative advantage, such as the production of arts and crafts. It should be noted, however, that other research shows that the sale of arts and crafts cannot bring sufficient funds into communities to ensure economic self-sufficiency.

Key cross references

Altman 1988a, 1989a; Byrnes 1988; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; Stanley 1985a, 1985c; Young 1988a.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988c, 'Aboriginal economic support in remote arid land settlements', in *Resource Communities: Settlement and Workforce Issues*, eds T. Brealey, C. Neil and P. Newton, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, Melbourne, pp. 113-124.

Available from

University Co-Operative Bookshop Ltd; \$40.00.

Key words

Employment status, income, resources, self-sufficiency, subsistence.

Geographic area

Yuendumu, central Australia, NT.

Study aims

To outline the sources of income for Aboriginal communities, and to speculate on the degree to which mining, tourism, the arts and crafts industry, and pastoralism might contribute to economic self-sufficiency.

Research method

There is very little quantitative data in this paper. Aboriginal communities are divided into four types: Aboriginal towns, homeland centres or outstations, Aboriginal cattle station communities, and small groups on cattle stations under non-Aboriginal control.

Research findings

The service sector accounts for most wage employment at Aboriginal towns. At Yuendumu for instance, it accounted for 88 per cent of jobs in 1978 and 75 per cent of jobs in 1983. Unemployment levels are generally high in Aboriginal towns, and social security is the main source of cash income. For example, Yuendumu had an employment rate of 63 per cent in 1978, which dropped to 54 per cent in 1983. At the same time, wage earners accounted for only 11 per cent of Yuendumu's population in 1978 and 9 per cent in 1983. Subsistence activities are estimated to contribute only 5 per cent to the income of Aboriginal towns (Fisk 1985).

Homeland centres rely heavily, up to 100 per cent in some cases, on social security payments for cash income. Wage employment is rare because of a limited service provision; wages are significant only where the Community Development Employment Projects scheme is operating. Artefact production is common, and is compatible with other economic and cultural activities like hunting and gathering. Using data from other studies, the author estimates that subsistence contributes 50 per cent of the diet in some Pintupi camps, and between 10 and 30 per cent elsewhere.

Aboriginal-owned cattle stations provide few wage jobs, and station communities are dependent on social security benefits as a source of income; social security accounts for 55 per cent of income in the mustering season and grows 82 per cent at other times of the year.

Aborigines living on non-Aboriginal owned pastoral stations have limited employment opportunities. Hunting and gathering make only a small contribution to their livelihood. These communities are the most impoverished, lacking in services and, in some cases, basic housing.

Policy relevance

The author briefly compares the potential of mining, tourism, pastoralism and subsistence activities to increase economic self-sufficiency. None of

these appear to have contributed greatly to date, although it is implied that the greatest benefits accrue when Aborigines have control of the land on which these industries occur. The author concludes that dependence on government funds is likely to continue, and notes that this need not be viewed as exceptional, as remote Australian communities in general are subsidised by the Federal Government.

With reference to artefact production, which depends heavily on the existence of efficient marketing organisations, the author recommends an extension of an approach taken by the Pitjantjatjara people. This involves art centre staff travelling to distant communities to buy artefacts for sale in Alice Springs. For pastoral properties, the author recommends that cattle production be downgraded to meet only the subsistence needs of the communities, rather than being aimed at commercial success.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1989a; Cane and Stanley 1985; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; Fisk 1985; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; Stanley 1985b.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988d, 'Aborigines and land in northern Australian development', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 105-116.

Key words

Alternative land uses, enterprises, land rights, mining, pastoral industry, tourism.

Geographic area

NT, WA, Qld.

Study aims

To demonstrate the legitimacy of non-commercial land use by Aborigines.

Research method

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal development priorities for pastoral properties are compared.

Research findings

Development in northern Australia is predicated on the commercial use of land. Aborigines, especially those owning pastoral land, experience difficulties in operating commercially. This is due to poor management skills, land degradation, lack of capital and, in some cases, the size of resident communities that stations are expected to support. These problems continue for Aboriginal pastoral owners because grants and loans from government agencies, primarily the Aboriginal Development

Commission (now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), invariably emphasise commercial success.

Policy relevance

The paper notes that, in some areas, non-Aboriginal stations wish to employ Aborigines but do not because Aborigines are perceived as unskilled and unreliable workers. It also notes that Aborigines are poorly represented in the mining industry workforce. These findings suggest that there is a requirement for Aboriginal training in pastoralism and in mining.

The author claims that some Aborigines prefer to use their land for ceremonial and hunting activities, or that land can be of social rather than an economic value. The author proposes that such forms of land use might present a different but valid form of development for the north because of the severe constraints facing the commercial success of Aboriginal enterprises. The recognition of Aboriginal priorities like subsistence, artefact production and cultural autonomy might further legitimate purchase of land for Aboriginal groups. However, apart from noting that NT Aborigines might generate development income from royalties and, possibly, from tourism, the paper does not indicate how alternative forms of land use will generate development income. No quantitative data are given for the economic potential of any parcel of land.

Key cross references

Coombs 1986; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Coombs, McCann, Ross and Williams 1989; Jennings 1985; Peterson 1985; Young 1988c, 1988f, 1988g.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988e, 'Land use and resources: A black and white dichotomy', in *Land, Water and People: Geographical Essays in Australian Resource Management*, eds R.L. Heathcote and J.A. Mabbutt, for the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 102-122.

Available from

University Co-operative Bookshop Ltd; \$27.95.

Key words

Alternative land uses, pastoral industry.

Geographic area

Willowra, Ti Tree, Mount Allan, Mount Barkly, NT.

Study aims

To study Aboriginal use of natural resources in four Aboriginal-owned pastoral stations.

Research method

This study summarises other research which involved primary data collection by the author between 1984 and 1988.

Research findings

Aboriginal employment figures in 1984 for Willowra, Mount Barkly, Mount Allan and Ti Tree were 21, 1, 12 and 21, from total populations of 260, 50, 120 and 310, respectively.

Both Ti Tree and Mount Barkly were described as run-down and underdeveloped at their time of purchase for Aborigines. Both Willowra and Ti Tree have since been forced to de-stock, as part of the Brucellosis and Tuberculosis Eradication Campaign.

Earnings from cattle sales amounted to \$600,000 for Willowra and over \$1 million for Mount Allan between 1978 and 1980. Government officials and stock agents in Alice Springs fear that the commercial success of Mount Allen will be undermined, as they expect a change in management emphasis from commercial profit to non-commercial community gain; under Aboriginal control, outstations have been developed and non-Aboriginal staff dismissed.

Policy relevance

The author proposes that Aborigines give land use a priority of 'community gain' over commercial, or cash, gain. The author argues that these are legitimate priorities, their successful reintroduction proven by, for instance, the development of outstations on Aboriginal pastoral properties and the use of mosaic burning as a sound land management practice. The author also claims that the low rate of Aboriginal employment on these properties is misrepresents the real situation. Low employment should be seen in the context of growing populations, limited employment opportunities and the seasonal nature of employment in the cattle industry. Given these constraints and the social priorities of Aborigines, the author suggests that these alternative land uses might, in the long run, provide an alternative or better land management regime than commercial pastoralism.

Key cross references

Altman 1985a; Byrnes 1988; Coombs 1986; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Coombs, McCann, Ross and Williams 1989; Dillon 1985; Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young 1988; Jennings 1985; Peterson 1985; Young 1988c, 1988d, 1988g.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988f, 'Striving for equity: Aboriginal socio-economic transformation and development in the 1980s', *Geoforum*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 295-306.

Key words

Economic equity, land ownership, land rights, resources.

Geographic area

Remote Australia.

Study aims

To argue that land ownership has a role in raising Aboriginal socioeconomic status.

Research method

Secondary sources were utilised, including the 1986 Census.

Research findings

A provision in the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* enabled the Northern Land Council to negotiate with Ranger Uranium Mine for compensation for mining on Aboriginal land; the land involved was held in freehold title by traditional owners. The Gagudju Association has controlled the compensation payments, which have been used for community development.

The granting of 15 special purpose leases to Aboriginal corporations in Alice Springs, under the land rights Act, has allowed town-campers to form permanent communities and to carry out significant community development, including a building program to house over 1,000 people.

In contrast, because there is no land rights legislation in WA, East Kimberley Aborigines cannot gain title to their traditional lands, and they have no mechanism to negotiate mining royalties. For example, the Argyle Diamond Mines would have been able to proceed without Aboriginal consent. The \$1 million per annum paid to Aborigines through the Good Neighbour Program and the Argyle Social Impact Group are not linked to mine turnover nor to mine profits. Furthermore, these funds can be used for capital infrastructure only within Aboriginal townships; they cannot be used for employment, for service provision or for the purchase of land and other assets outside the immediate community.

Policy relevance

The author argues that Aboriginal socioeconomic equity with other Australians could best be advanced through land acquisition, in both rural and urban areas. The author uses the NT land rights legislation as a model, to show that freehold title has provided NT Aborigines with the control necessary for community development, or the opportunity to use their land for economic or social purposes. The case studies present evidence that the ability of Aborigines to secure assets and investments

that provide a source of future revenue largely depends on their capacity to gain title to land. It is also argued that land acquisition by Aborigines has facilitated outstation development to meet social needs but this option will be restricted to only a small proportion of Australia's Aboriginal population.

Key cross references

Altman 1985b, 1985c, 1985d; Altman and Dillon 1988; Altman and Smith 1990; Christensen 1985; Coombs, McCann, Ross and Williams 1989; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987; O'Faircheallaigh 1986, 1988; Peterson 1985.

YOUNG, E.A. 1988g, 'Theory and practice in Australia', in *Self Determination in the Commonwealth*, ed. W. Macartney, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, pp. 78-90.

Available from
Out of print.

Key words

Government policy, pastoral enterprises, self-determination, welfare dependence.

Geographic area

Yuendumu, Alice Springs, central Australia, NT.

Study aims

To examine some of the practical realities for Aborigines of the current policy of self-determination.

Research method

The study uses the author's field studies of pastoral enterprises and council records.

Research findings

Rights over land are the basic element of Aboriginal self-determination. Land rights, however, are not equally available to most Aboriginal groups.

The survival of Aboriginal groups today depends at least partially on cash income, largely derived from social security benefits. This dependence undermines the process of self-determination. Community enterprises, established in an attempt to reduce this dependence, have been unsuccessful due to lack of capital, limited entrepreneurial and management skills, and locational disadvantages. The Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC, now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), and other bodies, has provided financial support

for community enterprises but programs have not facilitated self-determination because of its requirement of strict accountability and proof of commercial viability.

Young outlines the experiences of Aboriginal people on three cattle stations (Willowra, Ti Tree and Mount Allen) purchased with funds from the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission between 1973 and 1976. Problems encountered were associated with the form of government support, the need for white management owing to lack of Aboriginal managerial skills, and pressures from government agencies to manage stations in a 'European way' - in other words, commercial viability. Financial self-sufficiency has not been achieved and most residents remain dependent on social security for cash incomes. In a social sense, however, the stations have given these groups a secure land and residential base.

The Tangentyere Council provides another example of problems associated with the application of programs aimed at supporting self-determination. Tangentyere is the coordinating council of the Alice Springs Aboriginal housing associations. The aims of Tangentyere were to strive for Aboriginal self-determination for town-campers, and to implement a housing program with an emphasis on acquiring land leases, construction of dwellings and provision of social support services. Tangentyere depends entirely on government grants from the ADC. However, these grants are being reduced year-by-year, partly as a response to the ADC's priority to fund new dwellings.

Policy relevance

This article makes it clear that the practical expression of self-determination in economic and social terms might not be furthered by existing government programs. Progress has been made to date in Aboriginal self-determination in a social sense. Economic self-management is proving more difficult to accomplish.

The article does not clarify whether the use of self-determination applies to the social, economic or political facets of Aboriginal life - nor does it provide suggestions on how economic development and a reduction of government dependence might be achieved in the central Australian context. The article possibly over-emphasises the negative effects of financial accountability. The value of this paper is that it draws attention to the fact that economic development is extremely difficult to achieve in remote areas.

Key cross references

Bonner 1988; Collmann 1988; Coombs 1986; Coombs, Dargavel, Kesteven, Ross, Smith and Young 1990; Ross 1987; Rowse 1988.

YOUNG, E.A. 1990, 'Aboriginal population mobility and service provision: A framework for analysis', in *Hunter-Gatherer Demography, Past and Present*, Oceania Monograph No. 39, eds B. Meehan and N. White, University of Sydney, Sydney, pp. 186-196.

Available from

Oceania Publications, University of Sydney; \$29.00.

Key words

Government service provision, labour migration.

Geographic area

Mount Allen, Ti Tree, NT.

Study aims

To argue for the incorporation of a behavioural interpretation of Aboriginal population movement in the collection of statistical data used for planning the future needs of Aboriginal groups.

Research method

Data are from secondary sources. The paper compares factors influencing Aboriginal mobility with those influencing mobility amongst third world indigenous populations. Mobility is categorised into traditional and non-traditional movement, with movement on traditional lands being typical of the former category and access to cash typical of the latter.

Research findings

Attachment to land and the location of family and friends are the dominant factors influencing Aboriginal mobility. Movement occurs primarily for traditional reasons, such as hunting and gathering. Non-traditional reasons for mobility include better employment prospects and improved accessibility to welfare payments.

Policy relevance

The paper demonstrates the high mobility of Aborigines which occurs within regional limitations based on affiliation to land. The author argues that the region should therefore be the basis for the provision of resources and services and employment programs for Aborigines. She argues that planning would be enhanced by a behavioural approach to data collection, with data including more detail about the size and the structure of small Aboriginal groups. From the perspective of the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy, the paper suggests that employment programs might need to be targetted to regions, rather than to communities.

Key cross references

Gray 1989; Loveday 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Taylor 1988, 1990; Young and Doohan 1989.

YOUNG, E.A. and DOOHAN, K. 1989, *Mobility for Survival: A Process Analysis of Aboriginal Population Movement in Central Australia*, Monograph, North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, pp. 233.

Available from

NARU, ANUTECH Pty Ltd; \$24.00.

Key words

Employment, government service provision, migration.

Geographic area

Central Australia.

Study aims

The study is primarily concerned with the nature of Aboriginal population mobility, with a focus on the implications for service delivery.

Research method

The study utilised primary data of case studies, collected between May 1984 Aboriginal places of residence were classified into non-Aboriginal towns, Aboriginal towns, outstation and pastoral properties.

Research findings

There has been a decrease in the number of publicly-funded jobs in rural Aboriginal communities. In Yuendumu in 1983, for instance, the number of wage jobs available for Aborigines was only half that of 1978; private enterprise accounted for only 24 per cent of Yuendumu's wage jobs in 1986. Employment, however, has increased in some publicly funded sectors, primarily, through special job creation schemes like the now defunct Community Employment Program.

Aboriginal mobility creates problems for the administration of Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP). People are often left without cash income for extended periods, when they return to a community to find that they can neither immediately join the new CDEP nor go back on unemployment benefits.

The populations of Aboriginal-owned pastoral stations have grown through in-migration. There has been a general improvement in service provisions, although these are strained. Pastoral station populations are characterised by heavy participation in subsistence activities, low levels of wage employment and heavy dependence on social security. They provide greater opportunities for wage employment than non-Aboriginal cattle stations.

Outstations vary in their isolation. On-site facilities at outstations are poor, and they depend on Aboriginal towns for many services. Employment opportunities at outstations are few and, consequently, cash incomes are low. However, people who move to outstations do not place a

high value on obtaining formal employment, and do not consider access to facilities as important.

Policy relevance

This study highlights the practical problems of administering services to a mobile population. The authors conclude that, as mobility is likely to persist in the future, both Aborigines and administrators will be required to compromise on the provision of services. On the one hand, Aborigines must become aware that services cannot be indefinitely relocated, and that this might limit the proliferation of small isolated settlements. On the other, service agencies should change the emphasis for population assessments and service provision from communities to regions.

The study also provides a good comparison of employment opportunities at different types of Aboriginal communities. While the results showed that employment opportunities were limited at all communities, the fewest opportunities for wage employment were at non-Aboriginal owned pastoral stations and at outstations. The implications for employment, including the CDEP scheme, are noted but ways of increasing employment and economic activity are not canvassed in this study.

Key cross references

Gray 1989; Loveday 1987; Loveday and Lea 1985; Taylor 1988, 1990; Young 1990.

APPENDIX 1 COMPREHENSIVE LISTING OF POLICY-RELEVANT RESEARCH

1. ALTMAN, J.C. 1985, 'Aboriginal employment in the informal sector: The outstation case', in *Employment and Unemployment: A Collection of Papers*, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Darwin.
2. ALTMAN, J.C. 1985, 'Gambling as a mode of redistributing and accumulating cash among Aborigines: A case study from Arnhem Land', in *Gambling in Australia*, eds G. Caldwell, B. Haig, M. Dickerson and C. Sylvan, Croom Helm, Sydney.
3. ALTMAN, J.C. 1985, 'The impact of mining royalties on Aboriginal economic development in the Northern Territory', in *Economy and People in the North*, eds P. Loveday and D. Wade-Marshall, North Australia Research Unit, Darwin.
4. ALTMAN, J.C. 1985, 'The payment of mining royalties to Aborigines: Compensation or revenue?', *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 475-88.
5. ALTMAN, J.C. 1985 (Reprint), *Report on the Review of the Aborigines Benefit Trust Account (and Related Financial Matters) in the Northern Territory Land Rights Legislation*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
6. ALTMAN, J.C. 1987, *The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Mutitjulu Community, Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park*, Working Paper No. 7, Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.
7. ALTMAN, J.C. 1987, *The Economic Impact of Tourism on the Warmun (Turkey Creek) Community, East Kimberley*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 19, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

8. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1987, *Hunter-Gatherers Today: An Aboriginal Economy in North Australia*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.**
9. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1987, *The Potential for Reduced Dependency at Aboriginal Communities in the East Kimberley Region*, East Kimberley Working Paper No. 18, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.**
10. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1988, *Aborigines, Tourism and Development: The Northern Territory Experience*, North Australia Research Unit, Darwin.**
11. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1988, 'Economic Status', in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, general ed. J. Jupp, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.**
12. **ALTMAN, J.C. (Chairman) 1989, *The Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Industry: Report of the Review Committee*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.**
13. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1989, 'Tourism dilemmas for Aboriginal Australians', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 456-76.**
14. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1990, 'The economic future of remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, pp. 48-51.**
15. **ALTMAN, J.C. 1990, 'Selling Aboriginal art', in *Marketing Aboriginal Art in the 1990s*, eds J.C. Altman and L. Taylor, Institute Report Series, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.**
16. **ALTMAN, J.C. AND DILLON, M.C. 1986, 'Funding Aboriginal development in central Australia', in *Science and Technology for Aboriginal Development*, eds B. Foran and B. Walker, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, Melbourne.**
17. **ALTMAN, J.C. AND DILLON, M.C. 1988, 'Aboriginal land rights, land councils and the development of the Northern Territory', in *Northern Australia: Progress and Prospects, Volume 1, Contemporary Issues in Development*, eds D. Wade-Marshall and P. Loveday, North Australia Research Unit, Darwin.**

18. ALTMAN, J.C. AND PETERSON, N. 1988, 'Rights to game and rights to cash among contemporary Australian hunter-gatherers', in *Hunters and Gatherers 2: Property, Power and Ideology*, eds T. Ingold, D. Riches and J. Woodburn, Berg Publishers, Oxford.
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Note: Items selected for annotation are highlighted in bold in this listing

APPENDIX 2 PURCHASING OUTLETS

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COMMONWEALTH SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH ORGANISATION, Division of Wildlife and Ecology, Divisional Headquarters, PO Box 84, Lyneham, ACT, 2602.

DEPARTMENT OF DEMOGRAPHY, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT, 2601.

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING, University of Sydney, NSW, 2006.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY, Director, Research and Evaluation, Social Policy Division, 7th Floor, Juliana House, PO Box 1, Woden, ACT, 2606.

ECONOMIC AND REGIONAL RESTRUCTURING UNIT, Department of Geography, University of Sydney, NSW, 2006.

IAD SUPPLIES, Institute for Aboriginal Development Inc., PO Box 2531, Alice Springs, NT, 5750.

NORTH AUSTRALIA DEVELOPMENT UNIT, GPO Box 2436, Darwin, NT, 0801.

NORTH AUSTRALIA RESEARCH UNIT, Casuarina, NT, 5792.

NORTHERN LAND COUNCIL, PO Box 39843, Winnellie, NT, 0821.

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY LOCAL GOVERNMENT INDUSTRY TRAINING COMMITTEE INCORPORATED, First Floor, Civic Centre, Harry Chan Avenue, Darwin, NT, 0800.

OCEANIA PUBLICATIONS (The Secretary), University of Sydney, NSW, 2006.

POLICY AND RESEARCH, STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT UNIT, The Australia Council, Redfern, NSW, 2016.

RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT, 2601.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE, University of New England, Armidale, 2351.

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