A Community-based Review of the Northern Territory Emergency Response

Claire Smith and Gary Jackson
Institute of Advanced Study for Humanity
University of Newcastle
A Community-Based Review
of
The Northern Territory Emergency Response

AUGUST 2008
Enquiries to:

Claire Smith and Gary Jackson
Institute of Advanced Study for Humanity
University of Newcastle
Callaghan. NSW. 2308.

Email:
claire.smith@flinders.edu.au
gary.jackson@flinders.edu.au

Mobile:
0424 388 925 (Smith)
0420 697 388 (Jackson)

Phone:
02 4959 3107
Fax:
02 4921 7818

Cover photo of Simon Ashley and his young daughter by Claire Smith
Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the traditional owners of Baunga, Eva Valley and Wugularr for their ongoing support, and for permission to conduct this research. We thank Sybil Ranch and Nell Brown, Beverley Bulumbara, Ester Bulumbara and Crystal Bulumbara.

We also thank Wes Miller, CEO of the Jawoyn Association; Lisa Mumbin, President of the Jawoyn Association; and Irene Fisher, CEO of Sunrise Health Service, for their assistance with project design and implementation.

We thank members of the research communities for their friendship and support, particularly Rachel Willika, Wendy Willika, Margaret Katherine, David Oenpelli, Guy Rankin, Jeff Lowmeyer, Nurse Peter, Sam Ashley, Paul Amarant, Anita Painter, Christine Camfoo, Anna Bolgai, Mavis Jumberi, Glen Wesan and Jimmy Wesan.

Photographs in this report are of residents or of the communities themselves. Photos were taken by Claire Smith, Gary Jackson or James Bateman.

We thank Pauline Meehan, for providing information on Jobfind; Tara Venn, English as a Second Language Co-ordinator for Katherine Group School, for discussions on Indigenous education and literacy; and Werner Sarney, who provided support in the form of a reduced charge for accommodation at Travel North motels.

Finally, we are grateful to all of the participants in this study, who gave us their time, and shared their views frankly.
Executive Summary

This is a quantitative and qualitative study of the impact of the Northern Territory Emergency Response on the Aboriginal communities of Barunga, Wugularr, Eva Valley, Kalano, and associated outstations, within the Katherine East region of the Northern Territory. This research presents a range of findings and recommendations, geared towards assisting in delivery of the aims of the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) as stated in the Terms of Reference for the NTER Review Board.

OVERALL ASSESSMENT

The results of this study show that Aboriginal people are not confident that the NTER is benefiting them. Even after 12 months, 73% of Aboriginal people are either unsure if the NTER is benefiting them, or reject it outright. Only 27% of the people surveyed felt sure it was a good thing. These figures call into question the legal basis for the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act, that the NTER measures were of benefit to the affected people.

The NTER measures that have worked for this region include those structured around community safety; the provision of real jobs, as long as they are not at the expense of CDEP workers; increased community infrastructure; increased work on houses; and community clean ups.

The NTER measures that have not worked for this region include government communication strategies, pornography bans (because they were not needed); five year leases (people do not know they exist); and those measures which have been implemented in a racially discriminatory way (including store cards).

Some measures, such as the building of new houses and provision of additional teaching staff, have not yet impacted upon communities.

Income management has meant more money spent on children’s needs, though this is impacted upon by high taxi fares into Katherine, high food costs at community stores, and a decrease in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items at some community stores.

Alcohol restrictions have led to less alcohol consumption in communities, but more alcohol consumption in Katherine. The increased alcohol consumption in Katherine has produced an increase in violence, and is having a negative effect on Aboriginal family cohesion and on race relations in this region. Restrictions on the sale of wine in cardboard boxes have influenced people to buy bottled wines and spirits. The use of bottles as weapons has contributed to the increased levels of violence. Some Aboriginal people are drinking in unsafe places, and alcohol restrictions have not been matched by suitably increased drug and alcohol rehabilitation services.

The unintended consequences of the NTER include threats to the integrity of families, damage to Aboriginal self-esteem, a loss of trust in the government, increased racial tension, and an increase in youth suicides.
COORDINATION

Key Findings

1. The communication strategies for the NTER are seriously deficient. Even now, Aboriginal people do not have an understanding of some of the basic tenets of the NTER, such as the role of the Community Employment Broker and the existence of five year leases over their lands.

Unintended Consequences

1. The dysfunctional communication strategies of the NTER have produced undue hardship as well as confusion, fear and frustration in Aboriginal communities. In some cases this has resulted in a lack of cooperation, where cooperation might have been a viable option.

Recommendations

1. The government should make the development of effective communication systems a top priority. Effective policy outcomes require effective communication systems.

LAW AND ORDER

Key Findings

1. While Aboriginal people have welcomed the increased police presence at Bulman, the recent suicide of a young man who escaped from custody has impacted on the level of trust between police and the community.

2. Aboriginal people are evenly divided about whether alcohol use has increased, decreased or remained the same. This variation in views is due to whether they are referring to consumption in their communities, or to consumption by community people in Katherine.

3. Alcohol consumption has decreased in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley.

4. Alcohol consumption has increased in Katherine and in the Kalano area.

5. Many Aboriginal people are not drinking in safe places.

6. Though much needed, interpreter services have not been made available to implement NTER measures within the research communities.
7. Police need community specific training, and the support of ACPOs and community advisors with local knowledge.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. Restrictions on the sale of cask wine have led to an increase in the consumption of spirits, and to increased violence through the use of broken wine and spirit bottles.

2. Abolition of the sale of beer at the Barunga community store has produced an increase in marijuana use.

3. The movement of the signboard from close to Maranboy Police Station to beside the Roper River, and close to Stuart Highway has placed Aboriginal people at very serious risk.

4. The lack of interpreter services is part of the dysfunctional communication strategies of the NTER, and the subsequent confusion, fear and frustration in Aboriginal communities.

5. The unwarranted pornography bans have deeply offended Aboriginal people from this region.

**Recommendations**

1. A licensed club should be established at Barunga. This would bring some people back from town, and decrease their alcohol intake, and allow others to drink responsibly at the Club, rather than at the signboard, which is highly unsafe.

2. The signboard should be moved close to Maranboy Police Station, and toilet facilities, a water tank and a proper shelter built, one with walls to protect people from rain in the wet season.

3. The government should engage interpreter services and cultural advisors for all aspects of the NTER. The provision of these services by community members would be consistent with the government’s new employment services system.

4. Signs banning pornography on entrance roads to communities in this region should be removed.

5. Northern Territory pornography laws should be reviewed in relation to such laws in Australian States.

6. Police deployed as part of the NTER should receive community specific training, and be supported by local cultural advisors and ACPOs. This is especially important in the case of Federal Police, who less likely than Northern Territory Police to have experience with Aboriginal community people,
**SUPPORTING FAMILIES**

**Key Findings**

1. The communities in this region have widely diverse experiences in terms of youth diversionary activities.

2. Kalano and the outstations feel overlooked in terms of youth diversionary activities.

3. The communities involved in this study are extremely supportive of additional youth diversionary activities. Their suggestions include bush trips, culture camps and sports competitions.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. People at Kalano have been overlooked in terms of the provision of youth diversionary activities. Combined with their experiences of the punitive aspects of the NTER, this may have produced resistance to the NTER, which, in turn, may have translated into a decrease in school attendance.

**Recommendations**

1. Youth diversionary activities should be expanded at Kalano and, where possible, outstations.

2. Youth diversionary activities should be expanded to include a focus on activities such as bush trips, culture camps and sports competitions.

**WELFARE REFORM AND EMPLOYMENT**

**Key Findings**

1. Income management has meant that more money is being spent on children’s overall needs.

2. While there is more food for kids in communities with functioning shops, there is less food for kids in communities where the store is under stress from NTER measures.

3. Aboriginal people clearly identify income management as racially discriminating.

4. There is a disparity between the number of people who feel that income management has been good for them and those who would continue with it.

5. There is great disparity in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items that are available at community stores in this region.
6. The NTER has produced a dramatic decrease in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in the Wugularr and Kalano community stores.

7. After an initial decrease, there is has been a remarkable increase in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in the community store at Barunga.

8. The price of food at community stores is significantly higher than it is in Katherine.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. The discriminatory nature of income management has caused humiliation for many Aboriginal people.

2. Income management reinforces a perception in the white community that all Aboriginal people live on welfare. This translates into the picture that Aboriginal people are not capable of working, which has the potential to impact upon potential employment opportunities for Aboriginal people.

3. People come to town to collect and spend their store cards, and some stay on to drink. Once they are in Katherine, alcohol is readily available, so they drink more than they would if they had stayed on the communities.

4. Aboriginal people have to spend much more time in Katherine in order to comply with various NTER measures. Given that few community people have cars and that there is no regional transportation system, this has caused undue hardship, and the diversion of income management funds from food to taxis.

5. The introduction of income management, combined in some cases with the removal of a license to sell alcohol, is directly responsible for a dramatic decrease in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in some community stores.

6. Despite a certain increase in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items, Aboriginal people are resisting having their stores taken over by an outside organization, as they fear they will lose autonomy and jobs for Aboriginal people.

**Recommendations**

1. We support the recommendations of the NTER Taskforce in relation to Community Employment Brokers, especially in terms of expanding this role so that the CEB identifies and facilitates economic development opportunities in new and emerging industries.
2. Effective transport systems should be established throughout this region. The government may need to subsidise this, as it does for other sectors of the Australian community. Minibus operations could form the basis of small business enterprises in some communities.

3. Centrelink offices in communities should be allowed to issue store cards.

4. We support the recommendation of the NTER Taskforce that an ongoing operational subsidy be provided for stores in those communities which are too small to enable the store to be profitable.

5. There is a need to address community concerns that jobs for Aboriginal people will be lost if outside operators take over currently highly stressed stores.

6. There should be an audit on the costs of food at community stores and at Woolworths in Katherine, and this information factored into nutritional planning.

7. Given the likely health outcomes and savings in medical costs, healthy foods at community stores should be subsidized.

8. A community store needs to be established at Eva Valley.

**IMPROVING CHILD AND FAMILY HEALTH**

**Key Findings**

1. Children’s health checks were undertaken by Sunrise Health Service, and are up to date for the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley.

2. The communities in this region have not received additional specialist support for abused children, and only one additional bed at Katherine Hospital has been provided for drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services.

**Unintended Consequences**

We did not identify any unintended consequences for this NTER measure.

**Recommendations**

1. There is a need to fast track additional drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services for this region.

2. For substantive and sustainable outcomes, there is a need to investigate options for locating drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment centres on Aboriginal lands. We note that the Jawoyn
Association has already developed such a proposal for Banatjarl.

**ENHANCING EDUCATION**

**Key Findings**

1. Changes in school attendance vary according to community, some increasing and some decreasing.

2. The 20% increase in school attendance at Wugularr School can be attributed to the new facilities at this school.

3. The Principal of Barunga School is focusing on attendance, but is concerned about achieving a good outcome, as attendance has deceased in the immediate past.

4. A possible decrease in school attendance by children from Kalano may be resistance in response to Kalano people experiencing only the punitive aspects of the NTER and/or a response to a loss of control over some parts of their lives, due to the NTER.

5. The Principal of Barunga School wishes to develop a Vision and Attendance Plan for this school, worded in terms of mutual obligations between parents, children and the school.

6. There are serious problems with teacher retention at community schools.

**Unintended Consequences**

We did not identify any unintended consequences for this NTER measure.

**Recommendations**

1. A Vision and Attendance Plan should be undertaken for Barunga School and, if requested, for other schools in this region. If Barunga gets a Social Club, this could include a ‘No School for Kids, No Club for Parents’ rule

2. An anti-teasing (bullying) program needs to be developed for these schools.

3. Teachers need culturally appropriate training, from community people, before they start teaching children in the community.

4. Universities should establish nationally accredited teaching program for teaching at Indigenous schools. This should include teaching experience in remote communities.

5. Culturally appropriate curricula should be developed, with the aim of increasing Aboriginal pride and student retention.
6. The establishment of school boarding facilities for children of high school age in this region should be considered, especially given that the Jawoyn Association has commissioned research on this in the past.

**HOUSING AND LAND REFORM**

**Key Findings**

1. No new houses for Aboriginal people have been built in the research communities as a result of the NTER.

2. Repair inventories and minor repairs have been undertaken in Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley.

3. Five asbestos-containing houses at Barunga have been demolished.

4. The exterior walls of houses at Barunga and Wugularr have been painted.

5. Significant community infrastructure has been established at Barunga, Wugularr, and Eva Valley. This has been partly funded by the NTER.

6. The outstations and Kalano have been overlooked.

7. Aboriginal people were not aware that the Government had taken compulsory five year leases over community lands.

8. Aboriginal people were overwhelmingly against the Government having compulsory five year leases over community lands.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. The failure to include Kalano and outstations in the clearly beneficial aspects of the NTER has made people from these locations particularly negative about the NTER.

2. A lack of communication about the five year leases means that when people find out about them they are indignant, angry and/or worried.

**Recommendations**

1. Housing repairs and the construction of new houses should be fast tracked throughout this region.

2. There needs to be a cultural appropriate and concerted effort to inform people about five year leases, and any potential benefits for them.
FURTHER UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES

1. Dislocation of Families.
2. Income Managed Funds Spent on Taxis, not Food.
3. Urban Drift.
4. Increased Alcohol Consumption in Katherine.
5. Increased Violence in Katherine.
6. Higher Youth Suicide Rates.
8. Increased Racial Tension.

CRITICAL PROBLEMS

1. Dysfunctional Communication Strategies.
2. Threats to the Integrity of Families.
3. Damage to Aboriginal Self-esteem.
4. Increased Racial Tension.

WIDER RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Community Interpreters and Cultural Advisors.
2. In-Country Cultural Awareness Training.
3. Regional Transportation System.

FUTURE POLICY

1. The development of policies that directly affect Australian Aboriginal people must be made so that Aboriginal people have ownership of the solutions, if these policies are to have any chance of success.
Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 3
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 4
ACRONYMS 16
FIGURES 17
TABLES 18
1. INTRODUCTION 19
   1.1. The Northern Territory Emergency Response 19
   1.2. NTER Measures 20
   1.3. NTER Review Board Terms of Reference 22
   1.4. Geographic Focus 23
   1.5. Research Team 23
   1.6. Definitions 23
   1.7. Report Structure 24
2. METHODS 25
   2.1. Introduction 25
   2.2. Research Communities 25
   2.3. Participant Profile 27
   2.4. Evidenced Based Research 28
   2.5. Survey Design 29
      Survey Forms 29
      Interviews 30
   2.6. Field Recording 31
   2.7. Reports to Government 32
   2.8. Protection of Personal and Cultural Information 33
   2.9. Analytical and Statistical Methods 33
   2.10. Limitations of Study 34
3. RESULTS 35
   3.1. Introduction 35
   3.2. Initial Impact of the NTER 35
   3.3. Government Business Manager 36
      Community Comments 38
      Discussion 38
   3.4. Community Employment Broker 39
      Community Comments 41
      Discussion 41
   3.5. Employment 42
      Community Comments 43
      Discussion 44
   3.6. Community Development Employment Program 46
      Community Comments 47
      Discussion 48
   3.7. Income Management 48
      Community Comments 52
      Discussion 54
   3.8. Budgeting 55
      Community Comments 57
      Discussion 58
   3.9. Community Store 58
## Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACPO</td>
<td>Aboriginal Community Police Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDEP</td>
<td>Community Development Employment Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRACS</td>
<td>Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEB</td>
<td>Community Employment Broker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLC</td>
<td>Central Land Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEET</td>
<td>Northern Territory Department of Employment, Education and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaHCSIA</td>
<td>Federal Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FHF</td>
<td>Fred Hollows Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBM</td>
<td>Government Business Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGANT</td>
<td>Local Government Association of the Northern Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTER</td>
<td>Northern Territory Emergency Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTERT</td>
<td>Northern Territory Emergency Response Taskforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDA</td>
<td>Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO’s</td>
<td>Traditional Owners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures

Figure 1.1  Sunrise Health Service Communities  23
Figure 2.1  Eva Valley Community  26
Figure 2.2  Claire Smith interviewing a participant, Eva Valley  31
Figure 3.1  Understanding of the Role of the Government Business Manager  37
Figure 3.2  Understanding of the Role of the Community Employment Broker  40
Figure 3.3  More Jobs?  43
Figure 3.4  Support for CDEP  46
Figure 3.5  Impact of Income Management  49
Figure 3.6  Voluntary Income Management  50
Figure 3.7  Availability of Budget Skills Training  56
Figure 3.8  Take Up of Budget Skills Training  57
Figure 3.9  Availability of Good Food  60
Figure 3.10  Food Prices  61
Figure 3.11  Police Presence  65
Figure 3.12  Personal Safety  66
Figure 3.13  Alcohol Consumption  69
Figure 3.14  Do People Drink in a Safe Place Now?  70
Figure 3.15  Marijuana Use  74
Figure 3.16  More Houses  78
Figure 3.17  Better Houses  79
Figure 3.18  Perceptions of School Attendance  82
Figure 3.19  Youth Diversionary Activities  87
Figure 3.20  Family Wellbeing  89
Figure 3.21  Personal Wellbeing  90
Figure 3.22  Concerned about Racial Discrimination  93
Figure 3.23  Support for Five Year Leases  95
Figure 3.24  Is the NTER a Good Thing?  99
Figure 4.1  An Unsafe Place to Drink: the Signboard at Roper Creek  110
**Tables**

Table 1.1  Major Measures of the Northern Territory Emergency Response  21
Table 2.1  Age, Gender and Community of Survey Participants  27
Table 2.2  Survey Participants, Percentages According to Age and Gender  27
Table 2.3  Survey Participants, Percentages According to Community  28
Table 3.1  Community Comments: Government Business Manager  38
Table 3.2  Community Comments: Community Employment Broker  41
Table 3.3  Community Comments: Employment Opportunities  44
Table 3.4  Community Comments: CDEP  47
Table 3.5  Barunga: 'Has income management been good for you?'  51
Table 3.6  Wugularr: 'Has income management been good for you?'  51
Table 3.7  Eva Valley: 'Has income management been good for you? '  51
Table 3.8  Kalano: 'Has income management been good for you?'  52
Table 3.9  Outstations: 'Has income management been good for you?'  52
Table 3.10  Community Comments: Income Management  54
Table 3.11  Community Comments: Budgeting  58
Table 3.12  Community Comments: Community Store  62
Table 3.13  Community Comments: Police Presence and Community Safety  67
Table 3.14  Community Comments: Alcohol Consumption  72
Table 3.15  Community Comments: Marijuana Use  75
Table 3.16  Community Comments: Pornography  77
Table 3.17  Community Comments: Housing  80
Table 3.18  Actual Figures for School Attendance  82
Table 3.19  Community Comments: Schooling  84
Table 3.20  Community Comments: Youth Diversionary Activities  88
Table 3.21  Community Comments: Family and Personal Wellbeing  91
Table 3.22  Community Comments: Racial Discrimination  94
Table 3.23  Community Comments: Five Year Leases  97
Table 3.24  Community Comments: Is the NTER a Good Thing?  101
Table 3.25  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.26  Community Comments: Income Management  103
Table 3.27  Community Comments: Schooling  103
Table 3.28  Community Comments: Police Presence and Community Safety  103
Table 3.29  Community Comments: Alcohol Consumption  103
Table 3.30  Community Comments: Marijuana Use  103
Table 3.31  Community Comments: Youth Diversionary Activities  103
Table 3.32  Community Comments: Family and Personal Wellbeing  103
Table 3.33  Community Comments: Racial Discrimination  103
Table 3.34  Community Comments: Five Year Leases  103
Table 3.35  Community Comments: Is the NTER a Good Thing?  103
Table 3.36  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.37  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.38  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.39  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.40  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.41  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.42  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.43  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.44  Community Comments: General  103
Table 3.45  Community Comments: General  103
Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 THE NORTHERN TERRITORY EMERGENCY RESPONSE

On 21st June 2007 by the Prime Minister, John Howard and the Minister for Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, Mal Brough announced a set of ‘national emergency’ measures in response to a report on child sexual abuse in remote Aboriginal communities by Anderson and Wild (2007). These measures were originally known as ‘The Intervention’ and later as the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER).

Australia’s current Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd and the Minister for Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, Jenny Macklin, supported the emergency response while in opposition, but moved amendments to retain the permit system; expand the categories of people who would not require a permit in the townships to Government agents, such as doctors, and for journalists; to remove the blanket exemption to Part II of the Racial Discrimination Act; and for a 12 month review on the operation of income management and other measures.

When in opposition, Federal Labor were particularly concerned about the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act and in an email response to those who contacted him about the NTER prior to him being elected as Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd stated the following:

The importance of this intervention also requires community confidence in Parliament’s belief these are in fact special measures to benefit Aboriginal people. We believe that a blanket exemption from part II of the Racial Discrimination Act is unhelpful and unnecessary (Rudd 2007).

Following its election as the government of Australia in November 2007, Federal Labor reaffirmed its overall commitment to the NTER, subject to a 12 month review in mid 2008.

The objectives of the NTER were to protect children and make communities safe as well as creating a better future for Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory (NTERT 2008:9). This goal was to be pursued by:

- Improving community safety and access to health services.
- Ensuring better education and employment outcomes.
- Extending the mutual obligation framework to include responsibility for the care, education and development of children.

Implementation of NTER measures was subject to oversight by a Taskforce, which submitted its final report to the Federal Government in June, 2008.
1.2 NTER MEASURES

The Australian Government (2008b:5) states that major measures undertaken as part of the Northern Territory Emergency Response have been:

- Coordination.
- Welfare Reform and Employment.
- Law and Order.
- Enhancing Education.
- Supporting Families.
- Improving Child and Family Health.
- Housing and Land Reform.
Coordination
• Northern Territory Emergency Response Taskforce.
• Government Business Managers to live in and work with communities.
• Logistical support from Defence.
• Community engagement.
• Ombudsman support to the NTER.

Law and Order
• More police in remote communities.
• Bans on alcohol and pornography in prescribed areas
• Expanded night patrol services.
• Additional legal services and interpreter services.
• Child abuse intelligence desk.

Supporting Families
• Children’s services and family support.
• New and improved safe houses for families experiencing violence.
• Additional child-protection workers and Aboriginal family and community workers.
• Diversionary activities for young people.

Welfare Reform and Employment
• Income management of half of people’s welfare payments to ensure children’s needs are met.
• Licensing of community stores.
• Creating real jobs in communities outside.
• Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP).
• Increased participation in remote areas including Work for the Dole activities.
• Community Employment Brokers in communities.

Improving Child and Family Health
• Health checks and follow-up treatment for children.
• Specialist support for children who have been abused.
• Extra drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services.

Enhancing Education
• Extra teachers.
• Extra classrooms.
• Expansion of literacy programs.
• Quality Teaching Package.
• School breakfast and lunch program.
• School boarding facilities (outside the NTER framework).

Housing and Land Reform
• Fixing up existing houses and cleaning up communities.
• Five-year leases on Aboriginal townships.
• Building new houses, upgrading houses and new arrangements for the management of public housing in communities (outside the NTER).

Table 1.1
Major Measures of the Northern Territory Emergency Response
(after Australian Government 2008b:5)
1.3. NTER REVIEW BOARD TERMS OF REFERENCE

In line with a commitment to an evidence-based approach to Indigenous policy, in June, 2008 the Federal Government established a Northern Territory Emergency Response Review Board, with a mandate to conduct an independent and transparent review of the Northern Territory Emergency Response. The NTER Review Board was commissioned to:

1. Examine evidence and assess the overall progress of the NTER in improving the safety and wellbeing of children and laying the basis for a sustainable and better future for residents of remote communities in the NT, and in particular, in improving the education, health, community safety and employment outcomes for citizens, and particularly women and children, resident in remote communities and town camps in the NT.

2. Consider what is and isn’t working and whether the current suite of NTER measures will deliver the intended results, whether any unintended consequences have emerged and whether other measures should be developed or ways of working applied to better address circumstances facing remote communities in the NT; and

3. In relation to each NTER measure, make an assessment of its effects to date, and recommend any required changes to improve each measure and monitor performance.

In making these assessments and recommendations, the Review Board should give particular regard to the Government’s intention that Indigenous interests be engaged to ensure effective policy development and implementation processes, and that policy and program measures to be adopted or endorsed by the Government give primacy to the interests of families and children and have regard to the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Australian Government 2008a).

The full terms of reference for the Northern Territory Emergency Response Review Board are in Appendix 1.

1.4 GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS

This research was undertaken with the Katherine East communities of the Northern Territory. The communities included in this study are Barunga, Wugularr (Beswick), Eva Valley (Manyallaluk) and the outstations of Weemol, Rockhole, Emu Springs, Gorge Camp and Werrenbun. Language groups include Jawoyn, Ngalkpon, Mielli, Nalakan and Rembarrnga.

These communities are in the region served by the Aboriginal organization, Sunrise Health Service (Figure 1.1). They are of varying sizes, ranging in population size from around 20-30 to 600 people, and have different local governance structures, community profiles, and intra-community dynamics. Taken together, they encompass a range of responses to the NTER.
1.5 RESEARCH TEAM

Claire Smith and Gary Jackson have conducted fieldwork with the Barunga, Eva Valley, Wugularr, Bulman and Weemol communities since 1990. They have published extensively on their research in this region, including the book Country, Kin and Culture. Survival of an Australian Aboriginal Community (Smith, Wakefield Press, 2004), which addresses some of the issues being targeted by the intervention. Smith and Jackson have undertaken consultancies for Wugularr Council and for the Jawoyn Association, in policy, community management and education planning (see Smith and Jackson 2001; Smith and Jackson 2002; Jackson and Smith 2003), and have been involved in monitoring the impact of the intervention in the Katherine East communities since late June, 2007.

1.6 DEFINITIONS

An understanding of the manner in which language has been used to underwrite colonial stereotypes and power relations is fundamental to the decolonization process. As Said (1978:5) says in terms of “Orientalism”, words are ideas, emerging from a history and tradition of thought, shaped by associated imagery and, in turn, shaping the realities of these concepts, and the worldviews of the people who use them. This point is well understood by Indigenous Australians, and the politics of language has been a focus of their scholarship (e.g. Rigney 1997; L. Smith 1999).
There is some debate about use of the terms ‘Indigenous’ or ‘Aboriginal’ (see L. Smith 1999). As this is a community-based study we use the terms by which people refer to themselves. In this region it is ‘Aboriginal’. However, when we are referring to government policy or to pan-Australian identity we use the term Indigenous. This is used with a capital ‘I’ and with a plural for people to indicate Indigenous sovereignty and cultural diversity, in a similar way to how we refer to Greeks, Italians, Americans (L. Smith 1999).

Our definition of ‘real jobs is that used by the Local Government Association of the Northern Territory (2006:7): ‘a position either full-time or part-time that was funded through government and other grant monies, self generated income, private enterprise or other means.’

1.7 REPORT STRUCTURE

Following this introduction, the report contains the following chapters:

- Chapter 2 presents the research methods and limitations of this study.
- Chapter 3 presents the results of this research.
- Chapter 4 presents the results in terms of specific NTER measures.
- Chapter 5 presents our wider findings and recommendations.
Chapter Two

Methods

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to provide the hard data on the impact of the Northern Territory Emergency Response that can inform policy making at community, regional, state and federal levels. This chapter describes the methods used in data collection and analysis. Research methods are the procedures or tools used to collect and analyze data, as shaped by a theoretical framework (Walter 2006:35).

This research gathers both quantitative information (collected through a survey instrument) and qualitative data (collected through interviews). This combination of quantitative and qualitative data is part of what Gorard (2004) identifies as a mixed-methods approach. Gorard (2004:7) argues that mixed method research requires a greater level of skill than reliance on purely quantitative or qualitative data and is able to makes fuller use of the information available. In a mixed-methods approach the quantitative data can identify patterning, while the qualitative data can explain some of the reasons behind this patterning.

For this research, qualitative data was collected over the full period of the implementation of the NTER. At the 12 month review point this data was augmented by quantitative data, which establishing patterning. The latter also provides baseline data for a more long-term study and the ability to measure change.

This research identifies those aspects of the intervention that strengthen family and community wellbeing, and those that diminish it. Considered as a whole, the data from the research communities provides a co-ordinated approach to the collection of qualitative data, and a solid basis for statistical analyses, deepened by qualitative interpretation.

2.2. RESEARCH COMMUNITIES

The research for this study was undertaken with four main communities and five outstations in the Katherine East region (see Figure 1.1). These communities have a range of governance structures, populations, economic profiles, and distances from major service centres. The people interviewed for this study speak Kriol as a first language and come from the Jawoyn, Ngalkpon, Nalakan, Rembarrnga, and Mielli language groups.

Barunga is a community of around 350 people, located approximately 80 kilometres south-east of Katherine in Jawoyn country. This community has a store, an award-winning clinic, a sport and recreation building, a social club which sells light beer, a school, a Community Council office, and a Centrelink office. The Barunga clinic recently received the Primary
Eva Valley is a community of approximately 100 people, located approximately 90 kilometres south-east of Katherine on Jawoyn country. This community has a clinic and a school. Eva Valley is also known as Manyallaluk.

Kalano is a community of approximately 450 people, located on the northern outskirts of Katherine in Jawoyn country. This community has a store, offices for community patrol, a training centre known as Kalano Farms, and a Community Council office.

Wugularr is a community of approximately 500-600 people, located approximately 120 kilometres south-east of Katherine on Jawoyn country. Barunga is on Jawoyn country. This community has a store, a clinic, a school, a Community Council office, and a Centrelink office. Wugularr is also known as Beswick.

Outstations included in this study are Weemol, in Central Arnhem Land, 240 kilometres north-east of Katherine, and 3 kilometres from Bulman (also known as Gulin Gulin), on Ngalkpon land; Emu Springs, in Central Arnhem Land, approximately 300 kilometres north of Katherine and 70 kilometres from Bulman, on Ngalkpon land; Werrenbun, 42 kilometres north-east of Katherine at the entrance to Leilyn (Edith Falls) on Jawoyn land; Gorge Camp, 24 kilometres east of Katherine, near the entrance to Nitmiluk (Katherine Gorge), on Jawyon land; and Rockhole, 15 kilometers west of Katherine, on Jawoyn land. Aboriginal people in these communities speak Kriol as a first language.

Figure 2.1
Eva Valley Community
2.3. PARTICIPANT PROFILE

A total of 118 people were interviewed for the survey instrument used in this study. Of these, 69 were women and 49 were men. Twenty-one people were classified as youth, with 85 adults, and 13 pensioners.

Tables 2.1—2.3 show a basic profile of the people who participated in the survey component of this study. Table 2.1 contains the raw data, while Table 2.2 presents this data in percentages according to the age and gender of participants, and Table 2.3 presents the data in percentages in terms the participant’s residential community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensioner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensioner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.1**
Age, Gender and Community of Survey Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barung</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensioner</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensioner</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.2**
Survey Participants, Percentages According to Age and Gender
### Table 2.3
Survey Participants, Percentages According to Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male youth</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult male</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female pensioner</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male pensioner</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4. EVIDENCED BASED RESEARCH

The Australian Government is committed to evidence-based research. It instructed the Northern Territory Emergency Response Review Board to look at what's working, what's not working and to advise on the way forward. On 19th June, Jenny Macklin was interviewed by Eleanor Hall on *The World Today*. This interview included the following exchange:

ELEANOR HALL: If you're in for the long haul, if you're going to continue with the intervention anyway, why bother with a review? Why not just allocate funding and give people already working there some certainty?

JENNY MACKLIN: Because I'm sure you would agree and everyone else would agree, you've got to get it right. You've got to look at the evidence, look at what's working.

Where it is working of course we'll continue those measures; where it's not working or where there are improvements that need to be made, we should make them. I think we should always work on the basis of evidence and that's the purpose of the review.

The research project outlined in this report has been structured to provide the evidence base the government requires in order to fully review the various NTER measures. In the to obtain a full picture of the impact of the NTER it is important to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data establishes patterning that moves beyond anecdotal reports, while the qualitative data gives quality information with which to interpret that patterning.
2.5. SURVEY DESIGN

The research project was designed to understand the impact of various NTER measures on a range of Aboriginal communities in the Katherine East region. Most of the questions in the survey form were about people’s perceptions of various phenomena. Perceptions are about understanding and wellbeing—how people feel about things—and are not necessarily the facts. The government has access to the facts concerning number of houses built, school attendance and so forth, so the aim of our research was to provide data which would complement these facts, in terms of how people feel about various NTER measures.

The communities in this study range include some from remote areas (Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley), an Aboriginal community in a township area (Kalano) and outstations at distances from Katherine ranging from 15 kilometres to around 300 kilometres. These case study communities were selected on the basis of the following characteristics:

- Land Tenure System.
- Governance System.
- Social and Cultural Affiliations.
- Population Number.
- Economic Profile.
- Distance from the Major Service Centre of Katherine.

Taken together, these communities form a diverse database. Given that they are closely linked socially and culturally, they allow assessment of continuities across the region and of how change in one community affects, or is affected by, change in other communities.

This research was designed to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data was collected in the form of a survey questionnaire and the qualitative data was collected in interviews.

Survey Forms
The survey form used in this study is in Appendix 5. Design of this form was undertaken with the assistance of Wes Miller, Chief Executive Officer of the Jawoyn Association. This form was shaped to assess the impact on Aboriginal people of the following NTER measures:

- Coordination.
- Welfare Reform and Employment.
- Law and Order.
- Enhancing Education.
- Supporting Families.
- Improving Child and Family Health.
- Housing and Land Reform.
Other than in a general sense of activity and wellbeing, health was not included in this study, as Sunrise Health Service and the Jawoyn Association dealt with this issue in a joint submission to the Review Board.

The survey form was designed to gather detailed information on Aboriginal people’s understanding of the NTER measures, their views on these measures and the impact of these measures on individuals and their families. In addition, we wished to get some sense of the solutions that Aboriginal have themselves for the challenges they face, not only in terms of the implementation of the NTER, but also more generally. Therefore, there were a number of question along the lines of ‘What would you do to improve this?’ The survey form included open-ended questions to obtain qualitative information on a range of subjects.

The survey form assessed the NTER measures under the following categories:

- Coordination.
- Employment.
- Income Management and Budgeting.
- Community Stores.
- Law and Order.
- Alcohol.
- Drugs.
- Housing.
- Education.
- Youth Diversionary Activities.
- Family and Individual Wellbeing.
- Racial Discrimination Act.
- Five year Leases.
- Overall Assessment.
- Community Feedback.

The survey form was designed to address the impact of the NTER according to the age and gender of participants. As Table 2.1 shows, the 118 people who were interviewed for the survey form consisted of 69 women and 49 men. Age was classified into three groups: youth (25 years old and younger), adult (26 years to 65 years), and pensioner (65 years or older). The survey participants included 21 youths, 84 adults, and 13 pensioners.

### Interviews

Interviews on the impact of the Northern Territory Emergency Response were undertaken with Aboriginal people at Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley over the entire period of the Northern Territory Emergency Response. Some of these interviews resulted in opinion articles in national
media, and these are included in Appendix 2.

Interviews for the survey component of this study were undertaken over a three week period in August, 2008. These interviews took between 30 minutes and one hour.

As part of this research, we also conducted interviews with a range of non-Aboriginal people employed on communities, and with various townspeople in Katherine.

In order to obtain a detailed understanding of how the NTER has impacted upon non-Aboriginal people in Katherine, we conduct interviews with a focus group of five townswomen, ranging in age from 41 to 75 years.

Figure 2.2
Claire Smith Interviewing a Participant, Eva Valley Community

2.6. FIELD RECORDING

During this research we undertook both structured and unstructured interviews. These were carried out with three different groups of people: Aboriginal people from the research communities, non-Aboriginal people from the research communities and non-Aboriginal people from the town of Katherine.

Interviews were undertaken with Aboriginal people from the case study communities to ascertain the impact of the NTER on individuals, their families and their communities. Field research was conducted in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr, Eva Valley, Kalano and at the outstation of Werrenbun. People from other outstations were interviewed opportunistically, when they were visiting family in other communities, or if we met them in Katherine.
Interviews were undertaken with non-Aboriginal people from the research communities to gain a broader knowledge of the impact of NTER measures. People interviewed include community managers, store managers, nurses, teachers, sports and recreation officers, and visiting program officers.

In addition, interviews were undertaken with non-Aboriginal people from the town of Katherine, to determine the impact of the NTER on the township, with a view to establishing the viability of government aims for the integration of Aboriginal people into the town’s economic system. These interviews were unstructured and wide-ranging. People interviewed include tourist operators, hotel staff, local doctors and nurses, teachers, police, a counter assistant at the Love Shop, reception staff at motels and owners of a range of small businesses.

An intensive study of local attitudes was undertaken with a focus group of five Katherine women, ranging in age from 41 years to 75 years. The discussions here were unstructured, but encompassed nearly all of the NTER measures (see Appendix 3).

Some of the interviews conducted during the year were taped. Others were undertaken verbally, and recorded with a pen and paper, and read back to the interviewee to make certain the quotations were correct.

There were no taped interviews undertaken as part of the formal survey. Our method here was to give people a copy of the survey form and write their answers on our own copy. This meant that we could effectively record the views of people who were not literate, and not embarrass people who may not be literate. However, the majority of the participants was literate and went through their copy of the survey form as we were going through the questions.

The comments that people gave were written down by the researchers and read back to participants for verification.

Claire Smith and Gary Jackson conducted all interviews. Generally, though not invariably, Smith would talk with women and Jackson would talk with men. Interviews were conducted in a mix of Kriol and English.

### 2.7 REPORTS TO GOVERNMENT

In order to assist the government with mitigating the negative aspects of the NTER, field reports have been sent regularly to the Hon. Marion Scrymgour, Deputy Chief Minister of the Northern Territory and Minister for Indigenous Affairs, and The Hon. Jenny Macklin, Minister for Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs. Field reports were sent on the following dates:

- 5th December (Macklin), 10th December (Scrymgour), 17th December (Macklin), 28th January (Scrymgour and Macklin), 18th March (Scrymgour and Macklin), 30th June (Scrymgour and Macklin).
These field reports were usually copied to the Major-General Dave Chalmers of the NTER Taskforce and to Tom Calma, Social Justice and Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commissioner.

In addition, the researchers also made a submission to the Northern Territory Government’s Review of the Community Employment Development Program (see Smith and Jackson 2008).

2.8. PROTECTION OF PERSONAL AND CULTURAL INFORMATION

Any project that deals with relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people has to be handled sensitively. The two non-Aboriginal researchers who undertook this project have almost twenty years field experience with the communities from which they are collecting data. During this period, they have developed robust privacy arrangement for privacy and the protection of Aboriginal and intellectual property.

This research did not attempt to delve into issues regarding culturally restricted information. The cultural and intellectual property and knowledge of this project remains with the Aboriginal people concerned. The researchers adhered to the protocols outlined in ‘Your Law, Our Law: Protocols for Visiting the Jawoyn and NMNRC Communities’ (Appendix 4), a document initially drafted immediately after the Federal Government announced the Northern Territory Emergency Response.

Interviews undertaken over the entire period of the NTER were done under the normal protocols of the researchers’ fieldwork. People’s names were recorded for these interviews, but specific permission was sought if their names were to be used publicly.

A different approach was taken with the survey component of this research. When the survey was undertaken the personal privacy of interviewees was protected through the researchers not recording the names of the people who were interviewed. Knowing that their names were not being recorded also meant that people could be more frank than they might have been otherwise.

2.9. ANALYTICAL AND STATISTICAL METHODS

The quantitative data collection for this research was based on the use of a survey form. The most effective way of establishing patterning in responses to the survey questions was through the use of cross-tabulations. This makes it possible to ascertain the exact manifestation of data field in terms of overall categories.

The raw data was collated and put into a table (Appendix 6) and transformed into another table as percentages (Appendix 7). The figures in the latter table were transferred into Excel program and cross-tabulated according to the various data fields.
The data was presented in terms of community, in order to determine both commonalities and differences in the responses of the research communities to the NTER measures. This data was aggregated to determine overall patterning within the research communities. In the case of income management, this data was analysed at the more fine-grained level of the age and gender of respondents, according to community.

The percentage figures were calculated as whole numbers and were rounded down, or up. This meant that these figures did not always round off into 100% tallies. In these cases, the largest figure was rounded down.

2.10. LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

This study is limited by biases in the representation of people in the database. These relate to the representation of communities, and to the age and gender of survey participants.

As shown in Table 2.1, the data is unequal in terms of the age and gender of participants. Of the 118 people interviewed for the survey component of this research, 69 were women and 49 were men. There were 21 young people, 85 adults, and 13 pensioners. While these figures provide a generally fair representation of the aged population profiles within of these communities, they under-represent the number of youth, classified as aged 25 years or younger. Nevertheless, these figures are sufficient to give a reliable understanding of the views of each participant group.

The communities with the highest numerical representation are Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley, while the outstations have the lowest representation. However, these figures also need to be considered in terms of the proportion of the community that have been included in the study. While the numbers at Eva Valley are lower than those at Wugularr, representation in terms of the proportion of residents is higher. At Wugularr, we surveyed the views of 34 people from a population of around 500 whilst at Eva Valley we surveyed the views of 16 people from a population of around 100 people.

The low representation of people from the majority of outstations is due to the data collection methods, which relied on opportunistic encounters in other communities (with the exception of Werrenbun). The outstation data was amalgamated to give a sense of general trends (as well as internal variability), but any extrapolation of this data would need to be undertaken with caution.

The focus group of people in Katherine consisted of women only.
Chapter Three

Results

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the results of the survey instrument used for this review. The figures referred to in this chapter are based on the percentages contained in Appendix 7, with discussion referring to numerical values, when issues such as statistical significance and data bias are raised. The survey form is in Appendix 5, with the raw data in Appendix 6, and percentages in Appendix 7.

3.2. INITIAL IMPACT OF THE NTER

The initial impact of the NTER in the Katherine East region was quite devastating. The NTER was undertaken without consultation or proper systems of communication and people were confused, bewildered and frightened. This is apparent in the following opinion piece published by Rachel Willika in the Sydney Morning Herald:

I was living at Barunga when I first heard about that intervention. I found out on a mobile phone. It was on the news. When we found out, everyone was worried. The girls wanted to go and hide in the bush. When we saw the army on TV, I felt frightened. Some people thought they might come with guns. Not just kids, adults, too. My daughter was crying. She had tears in eyes. She couldn’t let go of her little daughter. She held her daughter really tight. Some of us were laughing at something on TV and she said ‘This is not funny.’ And I realised what she was feeling and I turned around and told her ‘We’ve got to be strong. We’ve got to stand up. We have rights, too’.

(Rachel Willika, 2007)

As the year progressed, Aboriginal people were particularly concerned about inadequate consultation and the possibility that CDEP would be removed. Their frustration is apparent in the following comment:

My challenge is for John Howard to have Aboriginal people from the Northern Territory meet with him before the election.

John, why don't you visit our communities? Don't just send administrators. Why don't you come yourself and look at our community? It is a decent community and you’re going to take away CDEP (Community Development Employment Projects scheme). Do you think this community is going to look like this then? With CDEP gone, it is not going to look like this - nice, green grass, everything clean.

(Anne-Marie Lee, Barunga, 23rd October, 2007)

Anne-Marie Lee was right. The removal of CDEP had negative outcomes in three principal ways. Firstly, it adversely affected the right of Aboriginal people in this region to an adequate standard of living, supported by an acceptable level of
income. This diminished financial status was accompanied by shame, withdrawal from social activities, poor health, disruption within families, and, in some cases, marriage breakdowns. Secondly, it caused a serious diminishment of services in the Katherine East communities, including the removal of Aged Care and Child Care services. Thirdly, the abolition of CDEP combined with a lack of alternative employment options and new restrictions on alcohol prompted a significant number of community people to move into Katherine.

At the time of writing, CDEP is being reinstated in the research communities, but there is still a legacy of government dysfunction that needs to be addressed.

### 3.3. GOVERNMENT BUSINESS MANAGER

The Government Business Managers are an essential component of the whole-of-government coordination of the NTER. These GBMs live in and work with communities, and are ‘the local face of the Emergency Response’. Their role is ‘coordinating government programs and services and ensuring that local issues and concerns inform government action’ (Australian Government 2008b:9).

Given that the GBM’s role is one of conduit between the government and the community, our assessment was aimed at determining how well Aboriginal people understood this role. The specific question was augmented by a comment section, in which we recorded people’s views of the GBM’s role.
Question 1: Do you know what your Government Business Manager does?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1
Understanding of the Role of the Government Business Manager

Figure 3.1 shows that there is great variation between communities in terms of people’s understanding the role of the GBM. The community which has the highest level of understanding is that of Barunga, where the GBM is resident. People in Eva Valley also have a fairly good understanding of this role. The relatively low figure for Wugularr may be because the Shire Services Manager is very active in Wugularr (though he, too, lives at Barunga). He and the GBM have an excellent working relationship, so it may be that she depends on him for aspects of community feedback regarding the NTER. The low figures for outstations and Kalano are to be expected, given that they are not under the direct supervision of a GBM.

That only one youth who was surveyed understood the role of the GBM probably indicates that the GBM is monitoring youth needs via the views of older people.
This would be consistent with an early stage of operation, but is something that should be redressed in the long term.

**Community comments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Her job is to help us’, adult female, Barunga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘To look after people and find out what their needs are’, adult female, Barunga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Asks people if they need anything in their homes’, adult female, Barunga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Working for government’, adult female, Barunga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bit like you. Like we talk to her. We take our complaints there about what needs to be done. The she talks to her boss’, female pensioner, Barunga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘She’s supposed to get concerns for community and ideas, but sometimes things don’t happen’, adult female, Barunga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Looks after intervention’, adult male, Wugularr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Works for government, comes for meeting, and talks about tucker side, what that shop need’, female youth, Wugularr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Helps us with our funding, with other organizations, for educating, youth’, adult female, Wugularr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Make sure intervention running good. Check for government doing good thing in the community’, adult female, Eva Valley.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘To see that the money for government … goes to the community. Also, she can be a channel to government, directly’, adult female, Eva Valley.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Help us with our fundings, to seek [funds from] other organizations, for educating, youth. She never came around and sat with us women’, adult female, Wugularr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.1**

**Community Comments:**

**Government Business Manager**

**Discussion**

Aboriginal people’s understanding of the role of the GBM is in accord with the role outlined by the government. While there are some reservations, their reaction to the GBM is overwhelming positive. This may be a response to the current GBM, as a person. Aboriginal people are reluctant to criticize someone’s
role if they like that individual. While the current GBM has been very successful in explaining her role to the community, there are some people who feel they have not been informed sufficiently. One matter of concern is that the community is unaware of any strategic planning in this role, and there is no transparency for the community in terms of the reports that are submitted by the GBM to the government.

It should be noted that this response is to the role as embodied by one individual. At the time of writing, the GBM at Barunga was being replaced, and a new GBM was planned for Wugularr. While the acceptance of the first GBM will facilitate community acceptance of others in these roles, it does not ensure it. The success of these roles is highly dependent on the individuals that occupy them.

3.4. COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT BROKER

The position of Community Employment Broker (CEB) was established as part of the government’s welfare reform and employment measures. A key priority of the NTER is the creation and funding of jobs in government service delivery, moving people from CDEP positions into paid employment with superannuation and other benefits.

Articulating with the removal of all Remote Area Exemptions in the welfare system by the end of 2007, the CBM’s role is to ‘help community people understand their participation requirements and to connect them to employment service providers’ (Australian Government 2008b:19).

Given that the CEB’s role is one of conduit between the community and employment and welfare services our assessment was aimed at determining how well Aboriginal people understood this role. The specific question was augmented by a comment section, in which we recorded people’s views of the CBE’s role.
Question 2: Do you know what your Community Employment Broker does?

Figure 3.2 shows that few people understand the role of the CEB. Only two people at Barunga and three at Eva Valley (see Appendix 2) claimed to understand this role. Amongst these, at least one person construed the role of the CEB as that of taking away community jobs (see comment below).
Community comments

‘They took away Aged Care [work]. They took away poultry and piggery and fruit farm and child care’, adult female, Barunga.

‘He gets jobs in, doesn’t he?’ Like that ITech mob’, adult female, Barunga.

‘My son is looking for a job, but that man doesn’t identify himself to help’, adult male, Barunga.

‘No contact, communication. Only few people know [about him] ... maybe them at the office, or [those who are] working now’, adult female, Barunga.

‘That’s a good thing, but he should be more flexible with Indigenous people, not just give them the paper and leave them. So kids say ‘I’m not doing this, I’m going here, and leave work and not get paid for a couple of months because of mistake’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Him take care of business things’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘Community development—but we don’t know really how he is supposed to help us’, adult female, Eva Valley.

Table 3.2
Community Comments: Community Employment Broker

Discussion
While the negative view of the CEB may be partly due to the negative impact that the removal of CDEP had on these communities, it is also clear that few community people have met the CEB, or if they have met him, he has not identified his role clearly enough for them to remember. Given that so few people have met this person, it is impossible to conclude otherwise than that the position of CEB has not been useful for these communities.

The position of Community Employment Broker is failing from an employer point of view, as well. This is apparent in the following statement by the manager of Barunga Community Store:

We don’t want to put white people here. We want Indigenous people. I’d like to get around three or four people on my books. We’ve had network people come here. We’ve had unemployment people [the Community Employment Broker] come here. They all promise to send me some names, but none of them have.

1 It should be noted that this person is taking a long term view. The poultry and piggery and fruit farm were abandoned long before the NTER. This person is one of two people in this community who indicated that they understood the role of the CEB.
The comments from community people indicate that they are looking for help with getting themselves and their families into work, so while the specific instance has been a failure, there is still a community need and desire for such a position, especially if it were expanded to include the identification of business opportunities.

The difficulties of this position, as currently construed, are apparent in extraordinarily high staff turnover. Over the last 12 months, the Barunga region has had four people in the post of Community Employment Broker.

3.5. EMPLOYMENT

The Australian Government plans to facilitate employment and economic development as part of the NTER. The creation and funding of paid employment in government service delivery is a key component of the Government’s Indigenous Economic Development Strategy.

The early stages of the NTER involved the abolition of CDEP, the forced removal of Aboriginal people to Work for the Dole programs, and a limited number of ‘real’ jobs. While it is in the process of reinstating CDEP, the current Government has also committed to creating real jobs in communities outside CDEP. It also is seeking increased participation in remote areas including Work for the Dole activities (Australian Government 2008b:15).

Aboriginal people’s perceptions of the job market was assessed through the following question:
Question 3: Are there more jobs for Aboriginal people now?

Table 3.3 shows that the majority of community people feel that the NTER has not produced more jobs for Aboriginal people. This is broadly consistent with community figures, in which the abolition of CDEP jobs was accompanied by around 30-35% take-up into full-time employment (Jake Quinlivan, Barunga, pers. comm., June, 2008). A number of part-time employment positions have also been created.

Community Comments

‘Not really. They should be like equal, equal [with white people]’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Not really. Some boys on CDEP before are on contract now, so they’re getting really good money, more pay’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Not really. We are looking for jobs’, adult male, Barunga.

‘We need more things to be happening at Wugularr’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘More jobs for people in town, but not here’, adult male, Barunga.
‘Things are getting done slowly’, adult female, Barunga.

‘[It’s] good to work on the community’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Yes, and good wages!’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘We need more things to be happening at Wugularr’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘They should have more jobs, with the same money as whitefellas’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘That Job Find come down here, but young people don’t understand. Run away, lose their job, got to wait three or four weeks for another job’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘There should be a big trainee workshop in the community, like at Booraloola’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Everyone wants to learn. There is a lot of people have certificates at Wugularr, but they want to move on and learn more. At Beluen, they used to learn on high rise houses in Darwin. They need challenges’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Less at the moment’, adult male, Wugularr.


‘Not really, because CDEP [is] not on any more. Makes it harder for young people to get in the workforce,’ adult female, Werrenbun.

‘There should be more Park Ranger jobs’, adult male, Werrenbun.

‘We don’t want to go and live in Melbourne over a job. We’re bush people’, adult female, Barunga.

‘I got no family in Melbourne. Why would I want to go there [to get a job]. If you go to Melbourne and you die, you’ve got no junggayi (traditional custodian) to send your spirit back to country. You’ll be a lost soul’, adult female, Wugularr.

Table 3.3
Community Comments:
Employment Opportunities

Discussion
The results of this study show that the majority of Aboriginal people feel that the NTER has not produced more jobs for Aboriginal people. The removal of CDEP employment meant a substantial number of jobs losses, though it is in the process of being reinstated.
Though it has occurred unevenly across communities, the effect of employment of those who have real jobs has been fantastic:

Before the intervention, we had around four full-time Council positions. Now, we have about 35-40, and that is just at Barunga. And other NT government jobs have come on, such as Parole Office and the safe house jobs at Wugular will come up soon.

(Jake Quinlivan, Shire Services Manager, Barunga and Wugular)

There have been a number of new jobs in community safety: two women and two men at Barunga, three men and one woman at Wugular and two positions, yet to be filled, at Eva Valley. The positions at Barunga and Wugular are ‘shadowed’ by CDEP trainees. These jobs encompass community safety in its broadest sense, including support for sport and recreation, the provision of emergency services and identifying problems at an early stage.

Employment also involves people being job ready, and the Jobfind Budda-Jitja (Brother-Sister) program being instituted in this region is having a positive impact. The program is culturally aware, and includes computer exercises on topics around a work culture, such as ‘Dealing with the Other Mob’, ‘Maths for Work’ and ‘Looking Good and Feeling Deadly’, (see Jobfind 2008), made available to people in a way that they are not ‘shamed’ if they get a question wrong:

It’s a program where they do a lot of listening and reading on the computer. If they get stuck they can go back to listen again.

We try to accommodate cultural practices, like poison cousin, sister-brother [avoidance relationships] in the seating.

They benefit from it. You can see they get more confident in using the computer. It makes a big difference. You can see people open up. They keep coming back, so they enjoy it. And it teaches them how to deal with new situations.

[There is] more communicating with us, as well. They get to feel comfortable with us. The word gets around and they tell their family members.

(Jobfind Customised Assistant, Barunga)

While there has been significant improvement in some areas, the net outcome of the NTER has been a loss of jobs, from a community viewpoint, due to the removal of CDEP. However, there has also been a vast increase in real jobs, and an increase in training in job readiness. The reinstatement of CDEP will be an important factor in creating positive views of the government’s programs in this area.
3.6. Community Development Employment Program

The abolition of CDEP in the Katherine East communities had a devastating impact upon community employment. For example, at Eva Valley twenty-seven CDEP positions were reduced to four. There were negative outcomes in three principal ways. Firstly, it diminished people’s standard of living. Secondly, it caused a serious diminishment of services. Thirdly, it contributed to a number of people moving into Katherine.

CDEP was being reinstated in the Katherine East communities at the time this survey was conducted. Given that the Work-for-the Dole program had been operation for some time, the aim of our questioning here was to assess community support for the reinstatement of CDEP *vis a vis* the then current status quo of Work for the Dole. This was done through the following question:

**Question 4: Do you want CDEP to come back?**

![Barunga Wugularr Eva Valley Kalano Outstations Aggregate](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.4**

Support for CDEP

Figure 3.4 demonstrates that support for the reinstatement of CDEP was overwhelming, ranging between 92% and 100% support, irrespective of community. The strength of this response shows not only that Aboriginal people want to work, but that they are not happy with the replacement Work for the Dole program.
Community Comments

'CDEP helps us to find money. Better than sitting down and doing nothing’, adult female, Wugularr.

'It’s good for young people, giving them an opportunity to learn something. Get good work habits’, male adult, Barunga.

'But fortnightly pay’, female adult, Barunga.

'I hope it will be different. Fortnightly pay good, better than weekly. You can do a big shop and put [money] aside in the bank’, female adult, Barunga.

'[That CDEP makes] more work for old people, that CDEP, [and] young people’, adult female, Rockhole.

'[They put up notice for work, but nobody volunteers for work’, adult male, Rockhole.

'They should make the money better. Look at it. If a person got work, they should give you a real job’, adult female, Eva Valley.

'Loss of CDEP meant loss of jobs’, adult male, Wugularr.

'If CDEP come back, young people can get jobs. Right now, not much’, female youth, Wugularr.

'It will do the community good’, adult female, Barunga.

'Yes – but we want proper jobs’, adult male, Barunga.

'Yes, but not enough money from CDEP’, adult male, Barunga.

'It hasn’t done anything for us’, adult male, Wugularr.

'They should bring in some more jobs—carpenter, builder, mechanic, aged care. They should have more skilled jobs in the community. Not enough at the moment. More trainees’, adult male, Wugularr.

'People need to keep working all the time’, adult female, Barunga.

'What we would like to see is jobs’, adult female, Wugularr.

Table 3.4
Community Comments: CDEP

Discussion
An average of 95% of Aboriginal people supported the reinstatement of CDEP. This brings into question community support for the Work for the Dole program which replaced CDEP and which has been operating in these communities for around six to eight months. The main issues here are Aboriginal dignity and life aspirations, as indicated in the following statement given by a Barunga man immediately prior to the change from CDEP:
They want to do something that’s a job. That has the word, ‘job’. They’re Aboriginal, but they’re not dumb! They’re not going to work for the dole, because it is not described as a job. That’s an embarrassment. They’re not stupid. They want to move a level up, not down.

(Alan Trindal, Barunga, 5th November, 2007)

It should be noted that the movement of people from CDEP on to Work for the Dole was traumatic for Aboriginal people in this region. For example, CDEP payments at Barunga stopped on 9th November, and for many people the new Centrelink payments had not started by 5th December. These kinds of glitches in the administration of the NTER cause havoc in families, and temper the view that people have of the NTER.

It is clear that community people welcomed the reinstatement of CDEP. However, the comments recorded in this study show that Aboriginal people feel that CDEP needs to be revitalized. The changes people are calling for include more money, greater challenges in employment and more real jobs. The reinstatement of CDEP has been used to shape the program, so that it is not geared towards the delivery of basic services:

The way we do CDEP here is as traineeships, or specific projects. Some positions are set aside for people under 21 so they can get some mentoring from people who have full-time jobs. That’s about young people learning about the responsibilities of work, and getting a taste for what it is. We don’t use CDEP to prop up basic service delivery at all. Council obligations are met by real jobs.

(Jake Quinlivan, Shire Services Manager, Barunga and Wugularr)

3.7. INCOME MANAGEMENT

Income management of half of people’s welfare payments were introduced under the welfare reform and employment measure of the NTER ‘to ensure children’s needs are met’ (Australian Government 2008:5). This has been a controversial measure. Our question here aimed to assess whether the NTER measure of income management has been for the benefit of the people affected.
Question 5: Has income management been good for you?

Figure 3.5 shows that 54% of the people surveyed felt that income management had not been good for them, with 34% feeling that it had been good and 12% unsure. The breakdown according to community shows that the most positive assessment of income management is 55%, at Barunga, and the least positive is 14%, at Kalano. At the outstations only 25% of people felt that income management has been a good thing for them, while Wugularr and Eva Valley recorded figures of 38% and 37% respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.5**

Income Management
Question 6: If income management were voluntary would you keep going with it?

![Barunga Wugularr Eva Valley Kalano Outstations Aggregate](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.6 Voluntary Income Management**

Figure 3.6 shows that only 24% of the people surveyed would continue with income management if it became voluntary. Of the people surveyed, 57% would not continue with it if they had a choice and 17% were unsure. The most positive response to income management as a voluntary option was at Eva Valley and the most negative at Wugularr.

Given the focus of the NTER on child welfare and that not everyone takes responsibility for making sure children are fed and clothed, we subjected these results to analysis according to the age, gender and community of those surveyed.

The results, shown in Tables 3.5 to 3.9 (raw data in Appendix 6), indicate that more women than men had found that income management was good for them. Similarly, more older people than younger people had found that income management was good for them. It is notable that 100% of male pensioners found that income management has been a good thing for them, though the sample size for this category is small (only three individuals), so the figure should be treated with some caution.
## Table 3.5
Barunga: ‘Has income management been good for you?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female youth</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female pensioner</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male pensioner</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Table 3.6
Wugularr: ‘Has income management been good for you?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female youth</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult female</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Table 3.7
Answer to the question
Eva Valley: ‘Has income management been good for you?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult female</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female pensioner</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8

Kalano: ‘Has income management been good for you?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male youth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male pensioner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9

Outstations: ‘Has income management been good for you?’

Community Comments

‘It was good at first, but I started deducting $20 to BP, Katherine for powercard. I though I had $100 [in that BP account] but only $20. I’m not sure if the rest was deducted, and I can’t check this’, adult female, Barunga.

‘It helped me, helped us to pay our bills. Centrelink take money out and pay direct’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Money stays in the bank. And people get a lot of food. It helps the young ones to be an independent person. So they can see they can budget their money’, female pensioner, Barunga.
'That long grass mob got no fixed address so they aren't managed (quarantined)’, adult female, Kalano.

‘I reckon it’s unfair. You can only use the money in certain stores, not where you want to buy stuff. And sometimes you might have enough food but you want to buy house ware things, or [put down] furniture deposits, but you can’t’, adult female, Barunga.

‘It makes people buy tucker. Now they have to be responsible for themselves with the store card. Young fellow [have got to] shape up and get their own food’, adult female, Barunga.

‘It’s not equal between community. If an Aboriginal person is living in community, that baby bonus is quarantined. If you live in Katherine, you get the cash’, adult male, Barunga.

‘We spend with that card. [When] there’s leftover money, say only a couple of dollars or a few cents, we end up throwing that card. Some shops we can’t use that card, like the family shop or the Christian book shop in Katherine’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Them store cards come in handy. What we need is for the store card to be working in the community store’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Not too much humbug for money now’, adult male, Barunga.

‘I see a lot of people in town, they buy three of four trolleys of tucker or the kids’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘I reckon they should take it out. You’ve got to go into town to get that, but sometimes it’s hard in a community to get a car’, adult female, Barunga.

‘As long as people know ½ goes to store and ½ goes in income. You can get [a] bike and things, if you tell Centrelink what you want, and price. Even if it’s a humbugging thing, it still helps’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘People keep shopping in the same area. You should be able to shop any place … one card for every [all] shop, like a keycard’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘That store card, you can’t check how much is left in it. Only at Woolies, you can check on the EPTPOS modem’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘Lot of people have been complaining about it’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘When it comes to baby bonus, the mother and father can buy good toys for kids, so they stay at home, not walk around. Other kids visit. [Some other people] don’t buy things to keep kids at home. [You can get] access to nearly everything, Toyworld, Target. [For] baby bonus, that money management is okay’, adult female, Werrenbun.
‘Standing in a line is hard for them. And they get money in the income management, but they don’t know. I had about $1,800 built up, but I didn’t know how to get it’, adult female, Barunga.

‘There has been a problem with the bus run for us people at Rockhole. It has been making a few old people walk a far way just to get their store cards and then they have to walk back and do shopping’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘We want all of our money [in cash] for ourselves’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘For shopping people should have cash money, or a key card [not a store card]’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘I see problems for my people’, adult female, Kalano.

‘When I see people lining up with that store card, I feel ashamed. It makes me feel sad. White people think that black people don’t work. But we do work. We have a lot of Indigenous people who are well educated. But that store card gives white people a picture of Aboriginal people on welfare all the time. That’s not fair. We’re all human beings’, adult female, Barunga

Table 3.10
Community Comments: Income Management

Discussion
One notable result is the disparity between those people who feel that income management has been good for them and those who would continue with it. Eva Valley is the only community with comparable responses to both questions (37% for both). While 50% of people interviewed from the Barunga community felt that income management had been good for them, only 28% would continue with it, if they had a choice.

While it is clear that income management means that more money is being spent on food and clothes for kids, there are still many problems with its implementation. Though some of the problems that originally occurred when income management was introduced have been mitigated, or solved, there are still many difficulties with the day to day operation of this system. The major problems include:

- Unequal treatment with non-Aboriginal people. Income management makes some people feel like they are second-class citizens.
- People not being able to get a balance on how much is left on a store card.
- People having to travel hundreds of kilometers in order to shop for food, when there is no public transport and taxis cost $160 to $220 one way.
- Limitations on where people are able to shop, with consequent difficulties in bargain shopping (especially at second hand clothing stores).
- Unequal treatment between Aboriginal people in prescribed communities and those living in town.
• The lack of external review or right of appeal.

However, the worst aspect of income management is that it is clearly racially discriminating. The unintended consequence is that its use is humiliating for many Aboriginal people. This is demonstrated in the following quote:

I was in Woolies with all the Aboriginal people lined up. “All day shopping with that store card from Centrelink,” I heard a tourist say. Like, running people down. I was behind that tourist. I had a store card, too ... It was a bad thing for me to hear what white people say. It made me feel bad, hurt inside. Shame.

(Female youth, Wugularr)

3.8. BUDGETING

One outcome of income management has been the Government identifying a need for training in money management and family budgeting (Australian Government 2008:14).

Given the Government’s focus on how income is spent we were interested to find out how many members of the community had been exposed to budget skills training, and whether this had been taken up. We were also interested in identifying the service provider to identify who had taken responsibility for providing such training. This was addressed through the following group of questions:

Question 7: Have you been offered any budget skills training?

Question 8: If you were offered budgeting skills training, did you take it?

Question 9: If you were offered budgeting skills training, who offered it?
Figure 3.7
Availability of Budget Skills Training

Figure 3.7 shows that budget skills training was offered to only 12% of people at Barunga and 13% of people at Wugularr. These percentages represent five people in the former community and two people in the latter (see Appendix 6).
Figure 3.8 shows that budget skills training was taken up by every person who identified that it was made available to them. However, this does not mean that budget skills training has a 100% take-up rate—the budget skills training was implemented early in 2008, and it is possible that some people who did not take up the training forgot that it was ever offered to them.

In regards to our question concerning the provider of budget skills training, the responses that came back are that this training was offered by only one provider, the Nyirranggulung-Mudruk-Ngadberre Regional Council. Our understanding is that this was funded by the NTER.

**Community Comments**

'I do it on my own', male pensioner, Barunga.

'I’m going to save that up until December and get myself a car’, male pensioner, Barunga.

'I’ve never heard [about this]’, adult male, Barunga.
‘Nothing whatsoever. No notice for meeting, or anything’, adult female Wugularr.

‘That’s the sort of thing we need. They should teach us, for money side. We pay the school for the nutrition program—$70 per child, every week. During the holidays, what happens to that money? They still take it out, but the kids aren’t at school to get that food ... you could [keep taking it out and] save up that money for Christmas presents’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Maybe Centrelink can help build up that money with savings for emergency or hospital’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We need budget help with paying the rent if working for private company’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘Maybe help those people who need help, not the people who can budget [on] their own’, adult female, Eva Valley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community Comments: Budgeting</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion**
It is clear that community people wish to take advantage of budget skills training when it is available. However, many community people are already very skilled in this respect and do not need this training.

When we discussed budget skills with them, some people referred back to our earlier question about income management, describing that as a good way of budgeting.

Some people indicated that they would be uncomfortable discussing their finances with a stranger, as this would make them ‘shamed’. Any sustainable plan for such training would be well served by training a community person to be the trainer.

The Government should note that Aboriginal people budget in different ways to non-Aboriginal Australians, and this will need to be taken into account in the development of budget skills training programs.

It should be noted that in some respects many Aboriginal people have greater budgeting skills than many non-Aboriginal Australians, who have become dependent on credit card debt for day-to-day living.

### 3.9. COMMUNITY STORE

The licensing of community stores articulates with several major measures of the NTER, particularly those relating to income management and nutrition. According to Jenny Macklin, the Minister for Families, Housing, Community Services and
Indigenous Affairs, this licensing is increasing the quality and availability of foods, especially fresh, and establishing ‘a platform for assessing and ensuring long term food security’ (Australian Government 2008b:3).

Only three of the communities included in this study have community stores. These are Barunga, Wugularr and Kalano. The Wuduluk store at Wugularr was part of a nutrition program which was part of a partnership between the community, the Fred Hollows Foundation, and Woolworths. This program included the provision of a manager by Woolworths and the training of local people. It was successful for a number of years (see image below, taken in 2005). However, it’s success was dependent on the commitment of particular individuals from outside the community (one manager, in particular) and when these people moved on, the program proved to be not sustainable.

The store at Eva Valley closed about four ago. It’s closure is much lamented by community people (see Table 3.12), as the nearest stores are at Katherine, and at Barunga.

The availability of nutritious food in community stores was assessed through the following questions:

**Question 10: Is there more good food in the community store since the NTER?**

**Question 11: Is food in the community store cheaper than before?**

**Question 12: How can we make the community store better?**
Figure 3.9 demonstrates the enormous disparity between the experiences of individual communities. While 95% of people at Barunga felt that there is more good food in the store, 100% of people at Wugularr and Kalano answered that there was no increase in good food in the store. The outstations do not have a community store, so were excluded from this.
Figure 3.10 shows community people’s perceptions of the prices in community stores. At Barunga, people are evenly divided about whether the store has cheaper prices than before the NTER, while prices at Wugularr store are assessed as unchanged, and in Kalano store are assessed as being higher than before the NTER.

**Community Comments**

‘We need a store, so we don’t have to drive into Katherine’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘We want to get good food here, so people can shop here, not Barunga or Katherine’, female pensioner, Wugularr.

‘They [Outback Stores] don’t employ Aboriginal people. That’s why we don’t want them’, adult male, Wugularr.
‘We want [hot] chicken, or seafood, or different meat’, adult female, Barunga.

‘And the meat you get out here, you only get two little chops, but too expensive. Meat’s cheaper in Katherine’, adult female, Barunga.

‘The shop used to have five jobs but only got two now’, adult female, Kalano.

‘Food is more expensive than in Woolies’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘Bring down price. [Get in} takeaway chicken, fish and chips, and pies’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘Kids are not hungry now’, adult male, Barunga.

‘It’s gone up a little bit. It’s still a bit more than Katherine. They should do a survey of prices’, adult male, Barunga.

‘That Outback mob [at Barunga store], when you order things, they get them straight away’ female youth, Wugularr.

‘They are doing a good job’, adult male, Barunga.

‘We want different kind of meat. Assorted meat. Rump steak. T-Bone steak. All sorts of meats’, female pensioner, Barunga.

Table 3.12
Community Comments: Community Store

Discussion
The results show enormous disparity in community experiences. In the Wugularr and Kalano stores the quality of food has decreased dramatically as a result of the NTER, and this happened at the Barunga store in the early stages of the NTER. The Barunga store had been supported by the sale of beer over a limited period of one hour every day. The abolition of this source of income, combined with the store’s inability to administer income management, made this store unviable. The Vice-President of Barunga Council predicted this:

Those stores haven't got enough food for when quarantining comes in. That mununga [white people] mob are going to say 'Not enough food. We're going to take it over.'

(Anne-Marie Lee, Barunga, 23rd October, 2007)

Recently, the Barunga store was taken over by Outback Stores, and the increased availability of good food can be directly attributed to this. There is also a wider range of consumer items, and prices do not appear to have increased significantly, if at all.
While they do not appear to have risen significantly since the introduction of the NTER, the prices in this store are very high. Bringing down the price of food in this store is the major response of community people to the question on how the store could be improved. Barunga people have clear ideas about the improvements they would like in the store. These include stocking different meats at lower prices, and in larger quantities, to the installation of a cappuccino machine.

Despite the increase in the quality and range of food and other consumer items, there is a serious negative outcome from Outback Stores taking over the store of Barunga. This is a loss of jobs. When it was under community control, the store employed around eight Aboriginal people, but it now employs only two Aboriginal people (with a third person on leave) and three non-Aboriginal people, who have come in from outside of the community. It is ironic that the success of one of a major outcome of the NTER, the provision of nutritious food, is being achieved at the expense of another important aim, that of providing jobs for Aboriginal people. That this is partly due to the failure of the Community Employment Broker, as is apparent in the comments by the manager of Barunga Community Store in section 3.4.

There have been some problems with staff reliability, and the managers of Barunga Community Store are planning to introduce more flexible staffing practices:

"I need a pool of workers to draw on. Less stressful. It’s too much, sometimes. For them, and us. We’re working flat out, all day. Sometimes it’s too stressful for the girls that are working five days a week. We’re going to try and get people on permanent part-time, four hours a day. And if someone doesn’t come to work, we can call in someone else."

(Liz Rawkins, manager Barunga Community Store)

The impact of the NTER means that the stores at Wugularr and at Kalano are both struggling. Both have a very limited range of stock and at Kalano, prices have increased. This can be attributed to the impact of income management, as neither of these stores are in a position to accept income managed funds. At Kalano, turnover has decreased from $16,000 a week to $4,000.

At the time of writing, Wugularr community is considering signing with Outback Stores, but people are concerned that this will mean that the Aboriginal people who currently work in the store will lose their jobs.

We note that people at Eva Valley are very concerned that they do not have a community store. One did exist in this community for several years, but closed prior to the introduction of the NTER. Few people in this community have cars and at the moment most of them have to catch a taxi into Katherine to shop for food. This costs $220 one way. This can be paid using income managed funds, but it means that funds are being diverted from family needs to transportation. This community has a desperate need for a bus service to the stores at Katherine and/or Barunga.
3.10. LAW AND ORDER

Community safety has been a priority concern within the NTER. In its terms of reference to the NTER Review Board, the Federal Government directed that the Review Board ‘examine evidence and assess the overall progress of the NTER in improving the safety and wellbeing of children’ (Australian Government 2008a). Under the NTER measure of law and order the Federal Government (2008b:5) has been implementing the following measures:

- More police in remote communities.
- Bans on alcohol and pornography in prescribed areas.
- Expanded night patrol services.
- Additional legal services and interpreter services.
- Child abuse intelligence desk.

In this study, the analysis of law and order and community safety is assessed in terms of the police presence in communities and peoples perception of their personal safety. These issues were addressed through the following questions:

**Question 13:** Do you think there are more, less or the same police patrols now?

**Question 14:** Do you feel safer, less safe or the same since the NTER started?

**Question 15:** How can we make the community more safe?
Figure 3.11 shows significant variation in each community’s experience in terms of police presence. Whilst 67% of people living in outstations record greater police presence, at Barunga, Wugularr and Kalano people record a lessened police presence. It is particularly notable that 57% of people at Kalano feel that they have less police patrols than 12 months ago.
Figure 3.12 shows that 23% of community people feel more safe now than they did prior to the NTER. Only 1% feel less safe, 1% is unsure and 75% feel that the same as before the NTER. The community that records the least improvement in safety is Kalano (7%), whilst the highest level of increased safety is at the outstations (42%).
Community Comments

‘They [police staff] change all the time. We can’t know one policeman from another. Last year, all right, but this year, they change’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘I live in Katherine and my family drink too much. Still the same here, too. You can’t feel safe if your family drunk, or your cousin brothers. I feel nervous when my family drink … I feel nervous and frightened of seeing what they do’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘They only come out if there’s serious trouble. ACPO [is] all right. We got night patrol, but they only patrol in communities. What about them poor countrymen at the signboard? At Hodgson Downs, their night patrol go all the way down to the signboard’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘We don’t have night patrol, only them girls, and only for kids. We’ve been talking about adults, when they’ve been drinking, bring them back safely’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘We should train community dogs to be sniffer dogs’, adult female, Barunga.

‘[They only come] when there’s fighting or trouble. Safe already. People in this community know what they are doing’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘The police at Maranboy depend on night patrol and police aid. Police aids [are] all right, but they should get more power. They can’t arrest at the moment’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘When no drunks come home, it’s more safe for the kids. Drunks don’t come back and give humbug’, female adult, Eva Valley.

‘If everything all right, you don’t need them police hanging around’, adult male, Barunga.

‘[At] Roper, they haven’t got any shelter. They need [a] concrete slab. If they want to change that place, they need toilet, too’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Keep police [at Bulman], for safety. Not too much trouble there. Police are getting killer [cattle] and fish for us’ adult male, Emu Springs.

‘No can play cards [any more] … [the police are] really strict! They got sniffer dog for gunja and grog’, adult male, Weemol.

‘Everyone supports the police. We need police for a long time there but every six months, they change. They’re getting different police from different states. The first ones were from New South Wales. They have no understanding of Aboriginal people. They don’t even have community
background. They should have cross-cultural awareness training, from the community,’ adult female, Bulman.

‘I suppose they are doing their job. Do you know what them cops are really good at? When they are meeting with Aboriginal people? They have their hand on their gun. They walked in with a gun into one person’s house, and that one man said ‘Get that gun off! We’re not criminals!’, adult male, Bulman.

Table 3.13
Community Comments: Police Presence and Community Safety

Discussion
While 75% of people feel no more or less safe than they did before the NTRE, a significant 23% feel more safe. The highest level of increased safety is 42%, recorded at the outstations. This figure can be directly attributed to an increased police presence at Bulman. A police station has been established there as part of the NTER, staffed by two policemen and one police woman. Prior to this the Bulman area was the responsibility of the police at Maranboy, 250 kilometres away. The comments from people at outstations in this region show that community people welcome having a police presence in their region.

While 57% of people at Kalano feel that they have less police patrols than 12 months ago, only 7% feel they are more safe, with another 7% feeling they are less safe.

Barunga and Wugularr record the same or a lower police presence than 12 months ago, along with a feeling of safety that is either the same or slightly increased. Eva Valley records a 25% increase in perceptions of safety, along with an 88% perception of police presence being the same as before the NTER. These figures show that perceptions of safety can increase even when the police presence does not increase. While some community members wanted a slightly higher police presence, or for ACPOs to have more power, others felt that there was no need for a police presence if everything was all right in the community.

The important point here is that people want the police to be available to help when needed, not patrolling the community unnecessarily.

Night patrol services have been expanded in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley. In each of these communities, numerous people asked that these services be extended to pick up sober people from the drinking area at Roper Creek (see section 3.10, below).

During the period we were collected data for this study, a young man shot himself, after escaping police custody. The circumstances around this highlight a desperate need to have interstate police who are deployed as part of the NTER properly trained in community policing, and supported by local ACPOs. In this case, failures in the system have led to a fatality, a decrease in the community’s trust in the police, and a level of defensiveness in the police force.
3.11. ALCOHOL

Question 16: Are people drinking more, less or the same than before the NTER?

Question 17: Do the drinkers drink in a safe place now?

Question 18: What can be done to help with alcohol problems?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drinking more</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking less</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.13: Alcohol Consumption

Figure 3.13 shows that 28% of people interviewed for this study feel that people are drinking more, 39% feel that they are drinking less, 32% think they are drinking at around the same levels and 1% are unsure. The community breakdown of figures according to community show that 75% of people in Eva
Valley feel there is less drinking in Eva Valley, whilst 50% of people at Barunga have this view and 32% at Wugularr. At Kalano 86% of people feel that people are drinking more, and 50% of people from the outstations think that people are drinking more.

A more fine grained analysis of the data shows that the perception of people drinking more lies with outstations close to Katherine, and those far from Katherine feel that people are drinking less (see Appendix 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.14**

**Safety of Drinkers**

Figure 3.13 shows that 69% of people feel that the drinkers do not drink in a safe place. This varies greatly according to community. It is notable that 100% of interviewees at Barunga and Eva Valley feel that people do not drink in a safe place. At Wugularr 35% of people feel that people drink in a safe place, while the figures for Kalano and the outstations are 50% and 8 % respectively.
Community Comments

‘Still too much drinking. They sneak it in ... wait until the policemen finish work, and then bring them in. They call the community [from Katherine] to see if roadblock finished now. They let each other know by mobile phone’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘Close the pub! Put the price up’, adult male, Rockhole.

‘Because the drinkers in our country, they still drink [in town] and come back drunk’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘And if they sober, why can’t this night patrol here pick up sober ones and bring them back? There might be some people on medication [who have to get back to take their medicine] or old people ... too far to walk. And a lot of buffalo’ adult female, Barunga.

‘Those drunken people at Little Roper, sometimes they lie down in the middle of the road. And a lot of road train going to Bulman’ adult female, Barunga.

‘Not in the community, but along the river’, adult female, Kalano.

‘Grog from town. Some people they sneak the grog in. People when drunk, blast [music] tape, you can’t sleep. Some people hide that grog and go back at midnight when [there is] no road bock. They know that time that policeman sleeps’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘They don’t drink in a safe place. They wander off. They might get killed by a truck on the road. [We should] put them in a dry out [centre] for a while’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘When they go to town, they drink there and they still come back drunk and they still go to that club and drink more’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘They are all coming to town. Everybody’s ending up in town ... drinking in different places that are not safe’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Some people drink a long way from town and camp, so not safe’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘[We need] more sniffer dogs’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Roper Creek is not safe [for drinkers]’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘Since income management starts, you get a lot of new faces come to town. They stay in town for that store card, for food. They drink because they are in town’, adult female, Rockhole.
We’re worried that someone will drown at Roper Creek in the wet season. And where will the blame go? To the Council … They should look after people at the signboard’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Some people mix mouthwash with Coke. They killing themselves. If they [Woolies staff] see Aboriginal people buying mouthwash, they should ask the question ‘Why are you buying this?’ , adult female, Barunga.

‘Bring in people from drug and alcohol [unit], Katherine, and hold workshops’, adult female, Wugularr.


‘Only the one with a liquor permit drinks in a safe place’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We don’t know who has permit, or who hasn’t. Sometimes they bring back grog for their friend’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘When people are in town, the policeman take their grog off them. They spent their own money, and they’re taking it to where they can sit down and enjoy their grog. That is racial discrimination’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘That intervention buggered everything up, especially for Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘Too much hot stuff [spirits] being drunk now, more than before’, adult female, Kalano.

‘More rehab. That Barnatjarl was meant to be for rehab. At King Valley, for families to go. That husband don’t want to go by himself, can take his wife and family [ to visit him]. We’ve been talking about that for four or five years’, adult female, Barunga.

| Table 3.14 |
| Community Comments: Alcohol Consumption |

**Discussion**

The results of this study show that 28% of people feel that people are drinking more, 39% feel that they are drinking less, 32% think they are drinking at around the same levels and 1% are unsure. Those that feel that people are drinking less were invariably referring to drinking levels within their community. It is a general consensus that there are more people in town, and that these people are drinking more than before the NTER. As one respondent noted, people come to town to collect and spend their store cards, and stay on to drink. Once they are in Katherine, alcohol is readily available.

This research shows that the incidence of alcohol consumption has moved from communities into Katherine and the Kalano area. The 75% and 50% perceived
reductions in drinking at Eva Valley and Barunga is matched by 86% of people at Kalano feeling that drinking has increased. If the figures are broken down further, the increased incidence of drinking at outstations can be identified with communities within driving distance of Katherine, with people from communities in the Bulman area recording a decrease in drinking levels. People are not drinking less, overall. They are just drinking in different places.

The club at Wugularr has been allowed to continue operating, though the days of operation have been cut back from six days a week to four days. These were Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. At the time of writing the Club was closed for a minimum of three weeks, as part of a change in management of the affiliated community store.

Aboriginal people in communities can apply for a personal permit to drink alcohol in their homes. Existing permits were unaffected by the NTER, and there has been a significant increase in people asking for personal permits. Given the removal of alcohol sales from the Barunga store, and that there are a limited number of personal permits, the existence of these permits can put a lot of pressure on the people who hold them. This is an unintended consequence of the NTER.

This study shows that 69% of people feel that the drinkers do not drink in a safe place. This varies greatly according to community. It is notable that while the figures for Kalano and the outstations are 50% and 8% respectively.

There is a major concern with the position of the current ‘signboard’ at Roper Creek, 25 kilometres from the nearest community of Barunga, and 15 kilometres from the police station at Maranboy. Interviewees from the alcohol-free communities of Barunga and Eva Valley are particularly concerned, and 100% of people interviewed from these communities felt that people do not drink in a safe place.

The result that 35% of people at Wugularr feel that people drink in a safe place is due to the presence of a licenced club. People interviewed from this community uniformly stated that those who were drinking at Roper Creek were drinking in an unsafe place.

### 3.12. DRUGS

While alcohol abuse has been a focus of NTER measures, the use and abuse of other drugs also affects child and family health. The Australian Government has established a new Substance Abuse Intelligence Desk (SAID), based in Katherine, with the aim of improving community safety and law enforcement (NTER Taskforce 2008:9).

Key activities introduced to support child and family health include the expansion of drug and alcohol treatment and rehabilitation services across the Northern Territory to support individuals and communities affected by the new alcohol legislation.

Our question here aimed to assess the impact of new alcohol laws on the availability and consumption of other forms of drugs in communities.
Question 19: is there more, less or the same amount of marijuana in the community than before the NTER?

Question 20: Are there any other drugs in your community? If so, is there more less or the same amount as before the NTER?

Question 21: What can we do to keep out drugs?

The aggregate figures in Figure 3.15 show that opinions on the incidence of marijuana use are fairly evenly distributed. The majority of people in each community recorded a view that marijuana use was either the same as before the NTER (28%), or were not sure (25%).

The majority of people at Eva Valley and Wugularr feel that marijuana use is about the same (31% and 35% respectively), or less (25% and 26% respectively).
respectively). However, 50% of people at outstations feel it is less. At Kalano, 58% of people feel it is the same, whilst 21% feel it is more, and 21% unsure.

The only community that has a fairly clear opinion that the use of marijuana has increased is that of Barunga, the community which had the most radical change in alcohol regimes.

**Community Comments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘[Pills are] not in Katherine. People go to Darwin if they want that’, adult male, Rockhole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Sometimes dealer comes and waits at the drinking place, then that [community] person brings it in’, female pensioner, Barunga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Some people drink and smoke [marijuana] and they go off their mind, sort of bump each other. When people put smoke straight, and they don’t drink they don’t go silly’, adult female, Wugularr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘These young people—high school and primary—they smoke that gunja. Not sniffing [petrol], but gunja. They need dry out centre for kids, CAPS. Like [for sniffing [program]. They might learn something different there. Like Jeff’s Youth Centre, keeps kids occupied’ female youth, Wugularr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘We need to keep this out of community, for kids [sake]’, adult female, Eva Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘More people are selling gunja’, adult female, Werrenbun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘They don’t sniff or use pills’, adult female, Kalano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘There is a lot of gunja around. You can try [ to keep it out], but it won’t work’, adult male, Werrenbun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘They always get it [marijuana] here. It’s better than grog, quietens the drinkers down’, adult female, Kalano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It’s everywhere ... maybe teach them at school’, adult male, Barunga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Only gunja, not pills’, adult female, Barunga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Why can’t we get the police to get them sniffer dogs to sniff it out”, adult female, Barunga.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.15**  
Community Comments: Marijuana Use
Discussion
This study shows a clear perceived increase in marijuana use in only one community, that of Barunga. This can be attributed to the fact that the NTER abolished the sale of beer at the community store at Barunga. Other communities, other than Kalano, lean towards a decrease in marijuana use. This can be attributed to the associated effects of greater police vigilance on the transportation of alcohol to community and the fact that a number of people moved to Katherine following the changes in alcohol laws, and that many of these people also would have smoked marijuana. This movement of people into town would be a factor in the perceived increase in marijuana use at Kalano.

It is notable that all communities, including Kalano, which is on the outskirts of Katherine, recorded that there are no drugs other than alcohol and marijuana in their communities. Moreover, petrol sniffing is now non-existent in these communities, though there has been a problem with this in the past, at Wugularr. These figures here are almost certainly attributable to the youth program run by Sunrise Health Service for the Wugularr community, rather than the NTER.

3.13. PORNOGRAPHY

One of the most heavily published measures of the NTER was a banning of the possession and supply of pornographic material within prescribed areas. Pornographic material includes:

- Publications that are classified restricted category 1 or 2 or films that are classified X18+ (which generally contain real depictions of sexual activity).
- Publications, films or computer games which have been refused classification (which generally contain sex, cruelty, or violence that offends against acceptable standards of morality and decency).

This material is freely available in adult shops in Katherine.

As part of the blanket approach taken by the NTER, signs were erected along the road to Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley about the banning of pornographic material.

The questionnaire for this study did enquire about the availability of pornography in the research communities, as we felt that it would be insulting to ask this question. In twenty years of research with these communities neither of the researchers for this study have seen evidence of pornographic material in any of the research communities.

Nevertheless, the subject of pornography did come up occasionally in discussions with Aboriginal people, and these comments are recorded below.
Community Comments

‘I never bin see that at Barunga, not Eva Valley nowhere in Aboriginal community. Nothing. That white fella, him make that, eh? Blackfella don’t do that. [That] signboard—Aboriginal people when they look they don’t know that word. Why for they put up that sign and Aboriginal people don’t understand?’ adult female, Werrenbun.

“They reckon [the shop] Sound Track is selling dirty movies. I just wanted to buy a DVD for my kids and myself. The intervention got [white] people thinking that way’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘People don’t know what that word means, pornography … might be they think it means some kind of grog’, adult female, Werrenbun.

‘We don’t have that kind of thing here’, female pensioner, Barunga.

Table 3.16
Community Comments: Pornography

Discussion
Aboriginal people in this region have been offended by the accusation that their communities have pornography. People in this region are very modest. They almost never discuss the act of sex, even in male-male or female-female conversations, and they dress modestly. Both younger and older women wear clothing that covers the shape of their body, either baggy shorts for young girls or long dresses for older women. Both men and women swim in their dress or shorts. Given the modesty of people in these communities, the accusations about pornography are viewed with some bitterness.

In order to obtain an independent view of Aboriginal behaviours in terms of pornography, and whether people were buying material that could be taken back to communities, we interviewed the counter assistant at the Love Shop in Katherine. She stated:

Aboriginal people don’t come in here much. When they do, they are lookers, not buyers. If they are in here spending money they are in the booth, looking, not taking stuff away … The people we mostly get here are young white men and older white couples.

(Counter Assistant, Love Shop, Katherine, 30th August, 2008)

3.14. HOUSING

Addressing the severe shortage of housing in remote Indigenous communities is an essential component of the government’s aim to achieve cleaner, healthier communities. This housing shortage has led to unacceptable overcrowding and unhealthy environments for children and adults. The measures being undertaken by the Government to achieve this include community clean-ups, the removal of asbestos-containing materials and the repair and renovation of houses.

Additional funding for remote housing has been provided in this year’s budget for
the period 2007/08 to 2011/12, through the Australian Remote Indigenous Accommodation (ARIA) program. This is complemented by the Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program (SIHIP), announced jointly by the Federal and Territory governments in April, 2008. The Federal Government has stated that it will ensure this additional funding for housing is delivered so that it builds the construction and maintenance skills of Aboriginal people and that construction firms engaged to undertake this work will be required to meet targets for local Aboriginal employment (Australian Government 2008:27). In the Federal Government’s one year review of the NTER, it was stated that:

Community clean up teams have been visiting communities to go through each house and work out what needs to be done. Tradespeople are doing any immediate repairs that can be done, ‘locking down’ or ‘tagging’ repairs that cannot be done, and returning with the required materials to complete these repairs at a later date. The tradespeople are only doing the special work they are qualified to do, such as electrical work and plumbing. Simpler repairs are being done by community members, under the guidance of the tradespeople (Australian Government 2008:25).

This aspect of the NTER was assessed in terms of whether community people felt that the standard of housing in the communities had increased in terms of either quantity or quality. This was addressed through the following questions:

**Question 22: Have any new houses been built since the NTER started?**

**Question 23: Are the houses getting fixed up more than before?**
Figure 3.16
More Houses

Figure 3.16 shows that Wugularr is the only community that has had new houses built in the last 12 months. However, the six houses that were built in this community over the last year were scheduled to be built before the NTER, and are not a result of the NTER. The fact that new houses have not been built yet is consistent with the overall strategy of the NTER, so this is not a surprise.
Figure 3.17 speaks to measures the Government has been actively implementing. This figure shows that people in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley all feel that there housing is being improved, though the qualitative data shows that the improvements have been little so far. This figure also shows that Aboriginal people feel that the outstations have received little, if any, additional assistance, and that people at Kalano are adamant that they have received any additional support at all.

**Community Comments**

‘No new houses. They should do renovation in all community houses. [They are] just painting [the] outside [of the house], but houses need to be renovated. My house hasn’t got tiles on the floor, just cement’ adult male, Barunga.

‘Some fella been knocked down, some fixed up. Little bit’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Nothing. They took all the windows out and it’s been sitting here to this day’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘We want flats for young people. Two [flats] together. Two bedrooms, lounge and kitchen—like at Bottom Camp’ female youth, Wugularr.

‘Some people get new house. They move from one good house to another one. They don’t give the other mob a chance’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘[They] only paint them on the outside, that’s all’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘That house I’ve got to move into, it’s got to be fixed up. I’m waiting’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘More houses, that’s the number one thing,’ adult female, Barunga.

‘Overcrowding here. [It] causes arguments for powercard, cleaning up, buying food … old lady staying in a condemned house’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘Only normal maintenance’, adult male, Rockhole.

**Table 3.17**

**Community Comments: Housing**

**Discussion**

Housing was regularly identified as the ‘number one problem’ for Aboriginal people. During data collection for this study we were informed of 27 people living in one three bedroom house.
Aboriginal people in this region have a strong expectation that new houses are ‘coming up’. The fact that new houses have not been built yet is disappointing for these communities. People who are on waiting lists are especially concerned about this. While community people not aware of the additional funding committed to Indigenous housing through the Australian Remote Indigenous Accommodation program. A number of people were disappointed that houses had been painted on the outside, but were unchanged on the inside, or that repair inventories had been taken, but nothing substantial had been done to renovate the houses. So far, only very minor repairs have been completed. More substantive repairs have been ‘tagged’, to be done at a later date.

The painting of house exteriors has been conducted as part of Work for the Dole and the STEP program. Funding for the renovation of interiors has been earmarked and the Community Manager expects this work to begin early in 2009.

Five houses with asbestos-containing material have been removed from the Barunga community, and six houses have been built at Wugularr. While the former is under the auspices of the NTER, the latter was not, being funded prior to the introduction of the NTER. A number of new fences have been built: sixteen at Barunga, eleven at Wugularr and eleven at Eva Valley.

There has been substantial infrastructural development at Barunga and Wugularr, in form of roads, drainage and signage. The Roper Shire has funded some of this has been funded and some has come from the NTER.

The unequal treatment of communities in respect to housing upgrades is due, at least in part, to the absence of a GBM for the outstation communities and Kalano. The fact that they have received no material gain from the NTER, not even in the form of minor housing improvements or being included in a housing survey, has direct outcomes in terms of the people’s perception of the value of the NTER. Many of the people at Kalano are angry and upset about the NTER, to a degree not found in other communities in this region. They have been overlooked in the implementation of this positive measure of the NTER, but are subject to the punitive measures.

3.15. EDUCATION

In general, Aboriginal students achieve lower literacy and numeracy levels than other students. The enhancing education measure measure of the NTER aims to increase school enrollment and attendance and to support this through ensuring sufficient school capacity, an increase in the number of teachers, and an increase in the quality of teaching in Indigenous schools. This program is being implemented through the following measures:

- More teachers.
- Additional classrooms.
- The Accelerating Literacy program.
- Quality Teaching Package.
- Breakfast and lunch programs in schools.
Since actually going to school is the first step in gaining an education, the survey question in regards to this measure focused on perceptions of attendance, and associated reasons for non-attendance, and community views on how to make the school more attractive to children. We asked the following questions:

**Question 24:** Do you see more kids going to school more than before the NTER?

**Question 25:** How can we make the school better?

### Table 3.18
Actual School Attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>% Change</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barunga</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clyde Fenton</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>-54</td>
<td>-17%</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>-39</td>
<td>-16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva Valley</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wugularr</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Source: DEET 2008
Figure 3.18 shows that people in all communities feel that school attendance has either stayed the same or increased. It should be noted that those who stated that attendance has not increased, indicated that it had stayed the same, rather than decreased. There was no indication that people felt that school attendance had decreased in any community.

**Community Comments**

‘They still go to school every day’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘Sometimes when our kids don’t go to school, they put that letter on the shop board. It should be updated every week, and not a week behind’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Teachers should make kids that tease write 100 times on the blackboard ‘Teasing is bad’, adult female, Barunga.

‘My wife teaches the kids … but we need a teacher’, adult male, Werrenbun.

‘I teach the kids by school of the air. We have no school’, adult female, Werrenbun.

‘Kids don’t like school. [Other kids] say my son is dumb. [We need] more Aboriginal helpers’, adult female, Kalano.

‘To make kids go to school, maybe put … for lunch. Give it to the school, so they know the school is going to give them lunch’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘I have a big son who goes to high school but sometimes he doesn’t have any money for lunch. He doesn’t want to go because he’s shamed … they should take that lunch money from income management, but they only do that for primary school’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘Hardly any kids go to school. They tease each other. That’s why I didn’t send my two boys this morning. I told them to stay home’, adult male, Barunga.

‘They should have good activities [at the school], and take something for recess, smoko time’ adult male, Barunga.

‘With that attendance, we push them to go to school but they come back and say ‘I’m not going to school because somebody teasing me’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Nothing [is] happening with the canteen … more parents [should be] involved with the school. Parents and Teachers Night —BBQ’, adult female, Wugularr.
Some parents pay for tucker, but some kids don’t get tucker. Next day, don’t go to school’ female youth, Wugularr.

When I was working at school [there was] nearly 100 kids. Only 20 or something now’ female youth, Wugularr.

‘Breakfast at school. Little kid say to mummy ‘No tucker. I want to go to school for tucker’. Reg and Martha did breakfast every day. Get Reg and Martha back’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘More discipline’, adult male, Barunga.

‘Get family involved in the school activities and learn culture, too’ adult female, Eva Valley.


‘More Aboriginal teachers, but white teachers, too. Working together, as one … More kids [to go] down south, if they attend school a lot’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Teach culture and history story, for mother’s tribe and father’s tribe’, adult female, Wugularr.

Table 3.19
Community Comments: Schooling

Discussion
The data show diversity in school enrolment and attendance patterns across the region. At Wugularr, there has been a significant increase in school attendance, and we attribute this to the new school, which has just been built in the new suburb. The school also participates in the School Nutrition Program, and community comments show that this was an incentive for children to go to school.

The decrease in attendance at Eva Valley is puzzling, given that the community has such a strong perception that school attendance has increased. We attribute this disparity to two factors: 1) people giving an answer about how they wish things to be, rather than how they are; 2) the small database, which means movements or actions of individual families can have a significant impact on overall percentage outcomes.

At Kalano, the perception that school attendance has not increased is matched by a decrease in enrolments and attendance at Clyde Fenton School. This may be due to some passive resistance against the government due to the fact that the community has been overlooked in terms of the clearly beneficial measures of the NTER. It could be that the loss of control over some parts of their lives means that people choose to exert more control over those parts that they are able to control.
Though community people feel that there has been little change, or that children are going to school more, enrolments are slightly down at Barunga. Since there are no major changes in the school, we attribute the drop in attendance to changes in other aspects of people’s lives (possibly the NTER).

The following passage indicates the concerns held by the Principal at Barunga School concerning attendance rates:

Today, I wanted to chase up the parents of kids not going to school, but one teacher was sick, so I had to take his classes. I can’t work in the office and do admin when I have to do relief teaching.

I’m really worried about kids not coming to school. That’s my biggest worry, now. I need more support from the parents. It’s got to go back to parents. They’ve got to push their kids, to help us.

Teasing is a problem. When teasing happens in the school, the kids don’t want to go and the parents support them. But it’s the law that those kids go to school.

I’m worried about secondary school, as well. We have boys and girls sitting next to each other, and that’s not culturally appropriate. We need to have a boys class and a girls class. If the government is sending teachers, they should send me a female teacher for the secondary girls. Sometimes, when the boys come back from ceremony and they see their cousins and sisters there, actually in the same room as them, they feel embarrassed and uncomfortable, and this makes them take off. According to traditional law, they are not supposed to be talking in front of their cousin sisters. They’re not even supposed to be in the same room. Sometimes, the teacher will ask “Why don’t you talk?”, but they are not even supposed to be in the same room! That’s why I really, really think that all secondary classes should have separate classes for boys and girls.

We’ve got a three strike agreement with the community. First strike is a letter of warning. Second strike, the police go to people’s houses to talk to them. Third strike is a meeting with the Katherine Group School Principal. We’re having that third strike meeting next week, on Wednesday. To tell you the truth, I’m worried. What do we do if that third strike meeting doesn’t work? Where do we go from there?

I don’t think the answer is to stop payments. That will get the parents attention, but it is too harsh. If you stop payments, who will suffer? The kids themselves! They won’t have clothing. They won’t have good food. They won’t have things for their birthday. How would those people feel if somebody took their money off them? They’d probably feel the same!

(Anita Painter, Principal, Barunga School)

At Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley, the School Nutrition Program has provided breakfast and lunch to school-aged children. This has been provided to all children, irrespective of whether their parents have opted to pay for this through income management. However, the Government plans to withdraw support for children whose parents do not contribute financially to the plan. Given that the
cost of participating in the program is $70 per child per week, this is certain to impact negatively on school attendance.

The comments by community members show that people are very keen to help with improving the quality of schooling in the region, and are frank about the impediments to school attendance (such as teasing).

3.16. YOUTH DIVERSIONARY ACTIVITIES

The expansion of youth diversionary activities has been one facet of the supporting families measure of the NTER. Sport and recreational programs are being implemented with the aim of promoting physical activity and increasing the health of Indigenous youth and of engaging young people in healthy behaviour and organised activity. It is hoped that this will curb alcohol and drug abuse and anti-social behaviour in communities (Australian Government 2008b:13).

The implementation of this measure was assessed through the following questions:

**Question 26: Are there more things for kids to do now?**

**Question 27: What should we be doing to help kids outside of school?**
Figure 3.19
Youth Diversionary Activities

Figure 3.19 shows that communities in the Katherine East region have diverse experiences in relation to youth diversionary activities. At 72%, Kalano has the largest percentage of people who feel that nothing has changed in this respect. The big contrast to this is Eva Valley, where 88% of people feel that there are more things for kids to do. Little, if anything, has changed at the outstations, but 47% of people at Wugularr feel that there has been an increase in youth diversionary activities in their community, and at Barunga people feel that things are either the same (50%), or better (38%).

Community Comments

‘Culture camp in holidays. Learning their culture, language study [in country]’ adult female, Wugularr.

‘[We need] swimming pool. One big one for big people, one little one for little kids, like [at] Roper River and Port Keats. We’ll have that rule for kids, don’t go to school, they can’t go swimming’ female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Field trips and stuff. Take them to local sports’ adult male, Rockhole.
‘Little kids all right, but we need something for youth in community’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘They seem to have a lot to do now’, adult male, Barunga.


‘More playing football’, adult female Rockhole.

‘Paul needs someone [female] to work with him. They got that playground equipment [basketball court]’, female adult, Barunga.

‘Bush trips’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘We need someone that can work with him [the Sport and Rec Officer], that can do bush trips for old people and learn culture’, male pensioner, Barunga.

‘We need more training and more job experience, for kids in the holidays, something to do during the holidays. Or work at the clinic, or shop, or office’ adult female, Barunga.

Table 3.20
Community Comments: Youth Diversionary Activities

Discussion
The provision of youth diversionary activities speaks directly to the NTER goal of improving family and community wellbeing. Developing youth support services is an effective strategy for addressing drug and alcohol abuse in Indigenous communities, and in January, 2008, the Federal Government committed $2.6 million for thirty youth activity projects for young people living in Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory. A new basketball court has been built at Barunga, from funding identified before the NTER, and another has been built at Eva Valley. These are highly useful facilities that have the potential to divert youth energy into sport and away from drinking.

However, there has been only one full-time Sports and Recreation Officer for the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley. These communities are spread out over a distance of some 80 kilometres. The Sports and Recreation Officer lives at Barunga and does a truly incredible job, including running a highly successful football program over the last five or six years. It is a physical impossibility for him to provide comparable programs for the two communities in which he does not live. Part time sport and recreation officer trainee positions were recently established for Aboriginal people in each community, and they are being overseen by the Barunga Sports and Recreation Officer.

It should be noted that the communities in this region have received private support for some years, from the Fred Hollows Foundation and the Ian Thorpe
Foundation. These foundations have made a material difference to the lives of children in a number of the research communities.

3.17. FAMILY AND PERSONAL WELLBEING

The safety and wellbeing of children has been a priority concern within the NTER. In its terms of reference to the NTER Review Board, the Federal Government directed that the Review Board ‘examine evidence and assess the overall progress of the NTER in improving the safety and wellbeing of children’ (Australian Government 2008b).

Question 28: Do you think families are better off since the NTER?

Question 29: In what ways do you think the NTER has supported families?

Question 30: What effect has the NTER had on your life?

Figure 3.20
Family Wellbeing
Figure 3.20 shows that there is great disparity between communities in regards to whether they feel that families are better off since the NTER. The extremes are represented by Kalano and the outstations, where not one individual recorded that they felt that families were better off since the NTER, and Eva Valley, where 38% of people felt that families were better off.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life better</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More humbug</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.21 shows that there is great disparity between communities in regards to whether individuals feel they are better off since the NTER. The extremes are represented by Kalano and the outstations, where 29% and 42% respectively feel that the result for their own lives is simply more humbug, and Eva Valley, where 38% of interviewees feel that the NTER has made their life better.
Community Comments

‘[The NTER] hasn’t helped. Making people go line up at Centrelink. People that aren’t fit have to sit down and wait across the road under the shade’, adult male, Rockhole.

‘Income management [has supported families]. Sometimes put money through the shop, clothes and food. Really good’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘It’s coming good now. Blackfella still need that understanding of how people can live in that [European] way. Not living myall way. We’ve got to learn to live civilized way, not uncivilized’, female pensioner Barunga.

‘I’d like to say ‘yes’ [families are better off], but some want to go back to that old way. Sometimes you want to have that cash money. [The NTER has supported families for] food, clothes, for help with bills’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘For some, it’s better, if there is a problem with alcohol. Foodwise [it’s better], for drinking families. But other families, like us, we shouldn’t have been involved because we look after our kids. We shouldn’t be under that one umbrella’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘It really changed my life around’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Good thing in a way, because we are saving money for other things’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Rubbish’, male adult, Rockhole.

‘No humbug now. Having police is good’, adult male, Emu Springs.

‘To me, it’s helped me. Food side and [to] come home. If you are stuck in Katherine, they give you taxi voucher. It’s really easy to cope with your kids for food, clothing’ adult female, Wugularr.

‘Made it worse, everything’, adult female, Werrenbun.

‘It sucks. If they put CDEP back, we’ll be all right, so a lot of older people, young people can go to work’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘We’re worse off. When it came in everyone was confused. I think they are still confused’, adult female, Barunga.

‘More activities, different activities. Basketball, more sports’, adult female, Barunga.

Table 3.21
Community Comments: Family and Personal Wellbeing

A Community-based Review of the Northern Territory Emergency Response 91
Discussion
The data show enormous disparity in perceptions of whether the NTER has enhanced the wellbeing of families and individuals. The most negative experiences have been at Kalano and the outstations, and the most positive have been at Eva Valley, followed by Barunga and Wugularr.

The reasons for this can be understood in terms of the impact of the other measures of the NTER. It is clear that people at Kalano and in the outstations have only experienced the negative aspects of the NTER. They have received no additional support for children, the shop at Kalano has run down as a consequence of income management, and the alcohol restrictions have moved the drunks from communities to town, with no additional support services, in a situation where support services are already woefully inadequate.

The experiences of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley have been more positive.

3.18. HEALTH CHECKS

This study did not deal with health issues, other than in the very general sense of self-esteem and wellbeing, since a comprehensive report on this was submitted to the NTER Review Board by Sunrise Health Service and the Jawoyn Association.

3.19. RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ACT

In order to implement the measures of the NTER the Howard Government suspended the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (the RDA). This Act protects Australians against discrimination on the basis of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin.

In its terms of reference to the NTER Review Board, the Federal Government directed that the Review Board ‘give particular regard to ... that policy and program measures to be adopted or endorsed by the Government give primacy to the interests of families and children and have regard to the Racial Discrimination Act 1975’ (Australian Government 2008b).

Our question here aimed to assess whether Aboriginal people were concerned that the NTER only applies to Aboriginal communities. While this had the potential to lead to discussions of racial discrimination, the question was worded so that this was not a deliberate focus. This was done so that there was equal opportunity for Aboriginal people to state an opinion that they viewed the NTER as positive discrimination.
Question 31: The NTER only applies to Aboriginal communities. Is this something that worries you?

![Barunga, Wugularr, Eva Valley, Kalano, Outstations, Aggregate]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
<th>Kalano</th>
<th>Outstations</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not sure</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.22 shows that 95% of people interviewed for this study was concerned about the fact that the NTER only applies to Aboriginal communities. In fact only five people out of a database of 118 stated that they were either unsure or were not concerned about this (see Appendix 2).

Community Comments

‘[We should be treated] the same. Good and bad. Aboriginal and European’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘I don’t see why black people are getting this and white people not. The intervention made me think that black people are targeted in Australia. At Centrelink, only black people in line. There were no white people in line … I’m sure I heard Kevin Rudd say ‘if anything should happen, it
should happen to all Australians’. That’s how it should be, white and black, together’, adult male, Rockhole.

‘Racial discrimination. [We are] the same. You see domestic violence in white family. Good Aboriginal mother gets intervention but bad white mother gets off’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘It should be the same, to help mununga [white people]’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Black and white equally’, adult male, Barunga.

‘It’s racist. I’ve never seen a white person yet with an income management store card’, adult female, Werrenbun.

‘Should be everybody’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Should apply to the whole race of Australia’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘It’s racist’, adult female, Barunga.

‘The white ... should be in with us, too. The whole lot. The whole of Australia should be in as one. We are all one. If it was our country, we would have kicked out those white people, from Australia. They do that in PNG ... they get kicked out’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Now we are lining up at Centrelink. You never see white people lining up for store card. Only Aboriginal people’, adult female, Wugularr.

Table 3.22
Community Comments: Racial Discrimination

Discussion
Virtually every person interviewed in this study felt that the NTER was racially discriminating. As the comments above demonstrate, many people were upset or angry about this, or felt shamed. These figures do not support the view that Aboriginal people view the NTER as positive discrimination. This has implications for the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act on the grounds that the NTER measures was for the good of the affected people (discussed further in Section 3.20).

3.20. FIVE YEAR LEASES

One of the major measures of the NTER was the Federal Government’s compulsory acquirement of five year leases over Aboriginal communities. The Government states that these ‘leases will help to underpin major investments in remote Indigenous housing, including housing upgrades’ (Australian Government 2008:27).

While this measure has been highly contentious in the mainstream reviews and discussions of the NTER, this has not been a focus of community discussion. Our...
question here aimed to assess whether people were aware of the implementation of this measure, and whether they supported it.

**Question 32:** As part of the NTER, the government now leases (is boss for) the land around the community. Do you agree with this?

![Figure 3.23](image)

**Support for Five Year Leases**

Figure 3.23 shows that 95% of the people interviewed in this research disagreed with the Government having a compulsory lease of land around their community. Not one person who we interviewed agreed with these leases, though a few people stated that they were unsure about this. There were only three people at Barunga (two of them traditional owners) who were aware that the Government now had the power to make the final decisions about developments on land around their community.
Community Comments

‘They didn’t tell us about that’, adult female, Kalano.

‘White man law changes but not blackfellow law. Even if the government comes in, it is still our law. It is from one generation to the next, until the land is destroyed!’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We could lose our law, go whitefella way’, adult male, Barunga.

‘Should consult with people’, adult female, Kalano.

‘They should ask people first’, adult male, Kalano.

‘Traditional owners should be boss. Custodians have always been the boss in our communities, not the government’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘Didn’t know about that’, adult male, Kalano.

‘This is our land’, adult male, Barunga.

‘Mununga [white people] can come to work here, to help. Focus on the shop, it was going down and then we talked to Trish [the Government Business Manager] and she brought in that Outback Store. Mununga can come, start up business. That’s the kind of place they can go, not outside. But if they want to go fishing—fishing, [look around the] country, anything—they got to take Aboriginal person. They might get lost. That Mimi will hit their ears and that’s it, they’ll be lost. And no private houses’, adult female, Barunga.

‘You got to think for the [longterm] future. We want to control this ourselves. We don’t want government controls on this country’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We understand that the government own the houses now. Territory Housing comes in now, not Nyirranggulung’, adult female, Barunga.

‘This is blackfella country’, male pensioner, Wugularr.

‘That Jawoyn mob have to stop that. Government taking all our freedom’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘Traditional owner should be in control’, adult female, Barunga.

‘The government might send pig shooters. They don’t know money side. What if they build a house on ceremony ground? What shall we do? Confiscate that?’, adult female, Barunga.

‘If they want to lease the land for another five years, they’ve got to talk to us’, adult female, Barunga.
‘They wouldn’t know what this place looks like!’, adult male, Barunga.

‘TOs should be in control’, adult male, Barunga.

‘They [the government] don’t even know this place! They’d be lost in this area. They don’t know sacred sites, or anything. They don’t know blackfella way or culture’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘Traditional owner should be boss, the ones who say. They have the right to say for the land’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘They should give the land back because we have sacred sites, ceremony ground, all around’, adult male, Wugularr.

‘We want TOs and government to work together’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘It’s wrong for mununga [white people in the government] to say something for that land’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Racial discrimination. They are just targeting Aboriginal people. They should target behaviour, not colour’, adult female, Barunga.

‘They didn’t touch Kalano country’, female pensioner, Kalano.

‘Traditional owner should be the ones who say. They have the right to say for the land’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘We want TOs and government to work together. Government and TOs’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘We’re the First Australians! That person in Canberra, him just some Johnny-come-lately. Him savvy [understand] country?! You go back and ask him, why he belong to that land … does he belong to the land in any way?’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘Canberra belong to that land? Know the Dreaming for that land? Him got skin [Aboriginal kinship]? Him got dawaro [clan/land ownership]?’, adult female, Barunga.

**Table 3.23**

**Community Comments: Five Year Leases**

**Discussion**

The majority of people interviewed for this research were not aware that the government had taken a compulsory five year lease over the land around their community. Many were incredulous when they were informed of this, and their responses ranged from puzzlement, to indignation and outrage. Of the people interviewed, 95% disagreed with the Government having such a lease. Their concerns included the following:
- The government has not got the permission of traditional owners.
- Aboriginal people are losing control of their land.
- The government might allow the country to be used in incorrect ways.
- Sacred sites might be violated.
- People in Canberra have no knowledge of the country.

Despite the government having a lease, there is still proper consultation in this region:

Every new thing that has been developed here, has been decided by the traditional owners, key stake-holders and board members. All the decisions about the shop, where new houses will go, new infrastructure, even the colours of the houses. There was a wide range of colours to choose from, and people choose four light and four dark colours.

So, we are consulting here. The government has those leases, but we are consulting, and they are not getting the benefit of having this acknowledged. They need to do a proper communication plan for this.

(Jake Quinlivan, Shire Services Manager, Barunga and Wugularr)

**3.21. IS THE NTER A GOOD THING?**

In order to implement the measures of the NTER the Howard Government suspended the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth) (the RDA, which puts into effect Australia’s international obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). The RDA was suspended on the grounds that the NTER measures were for the good of the affected people.

Our question here was aimed at assessing whether the affected people felt that the NTER had been to their benefit.
Question 33: Is the NTER a good thing?

Figure 3.24 shows that 73% of people surveyed feel that the NTER is either not a good thing, or they are unsure. Only 27% of interviewees felt confident that it was a good thing.

There is great disparity between communities. The most negative views come from Kalano, where 71% of people feel that it is not a good thing and 29% are unsure, and at the outstations, where 75% of people feel it is not a good thing, 8% think it is a good thing, and 17% of people are unsure. The most positive response comes from Barunga, where there are more people who think it is a good thing than a bad thing (31% versus 26%), but where the largest number of people is still unsure (43%). At Eva Valley, the overwhelming response is that of being not sure (74%).
Community Comments

‘It makes people feel shame’, adult male, Kalano.

‘It’s a good thing, but sometimes they make mistakes’, adult female, Barunga.

‘To me, I’ve gone backwards. It’s like me living back in the sixties, when I grew up. It’s like taking my rights back. It reminded me of waiting in the line for flour, rice, sugar, tea rations. We’re heading backwards, not forwards’ adult female, Wugularr.

‘It’s a good thing, but they can’t control our land. We’ll never give up the land. It’s from generation to generation’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We can look after ourselves’, adult male, Werrenbun.

‘Not good. It’s ½ and ½. One side is best and the other is no good. That income management good, but that lease, no good’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘Intervention bin working good. Specially for tucker side, and clothing for kids’, female pensioner, Wugularr.

‘We didn’t have bank accounts back then. They’ve taken my rights away’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘They should leave our money alone’, adult female, Werrenbun.

‘Good, but I’m worried about the land’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Leave us alone’, adult male, Barunga.

‘Don’t like store card’, adult male, Kalano.

‘We should be responsible for ourselves’, adult male, Kalano.

‘It turned our people around. They didn’t feel good inside’, adult female, Kalano.

‘No, not at all’, adult female, Barunga.

‘There’s nothing good about this intervention’, adult female, Baunga.

‘People complain’, adult male, Kalano.

‘Don’t like income management’, adult male, Kalano.

‘Community is better’, adult male, Barunga.

‘Bad. Really, really bad’, adult male, Barunga.
‘Some good, some bad’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Good thing. A bit of both’, adult female, Barunga.


Table 3.24
Community Comments: Is the NTER a Good Thing?

Discussion
At the time of writing it is impossible to say that Aboriginal people feel that the NTER is a good thing. Even after 12 months, 73% of Aboriginal people are either unsure about the benefits of the NTER, or reject it outright. While people’s views in this respect correlate with the varying experiences of their communities in some respects, this is not a perfect match. The responses to many of the questions in this survey show that Kalano and the outstations have been received little, or no, benefit from the NTER, and this is reflected in this community’s overall assessment of the NTER. While the responses of people from Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley are much more positive in relation to specific measures, their overall assessment is, at best, cautious.

The interesting point here is that a significant number of people who support some measures, such as income management, do not assess the NTER as being a good thing, overall.

3.22. GENERAL FEEDBACK

While our survey had been designed to be comprehensive, as with any study there was a potential that there were issues that Aboriginal people wished to be addressed, which had not been covered.

In its terms of reference to the NTER Review Board, the Federal Government directed that the Review Board ‘give particular regard to the Government’s intention that Indigenous interests be engaged to ensure effective policy development and implementation processes’ (Australian Government 2008b).

One way of engaging Indigenous interests is through listening to community voices, and this opportunity was affected through the following question:

Question 34: Is there anything you want to us to say to the government about the NTER?

Community Comments

‘They should have a Births, Deaths and Marriage office in Katherine, for ID, birth certificate, to service eastern area. Maybe a TCU (Territory Credit Union) bank can be based in Katherine’, adult female, Barunga.
‘They turning Aboriginal people like mununga [white people]. ID for everything, driver’s license’, adult female, Barunga.

‘Long grass mob got no fixed address, so they aren’t managed’, adult female, Kalano.

‘It’s right for the support, but not to take decisions for community and community members’, adult female, Baunga.


‘Canberra mob should come and visit and talk to countrymen,’ adult male, Wugularr.

‘This like alcohol, drugs [problem], they don’t have to do this through the intervention’, adult male, Barunga.

‘We need a bus to Katherine’, female pensioner, Wugularr.

‘It’s common sense to consult with people’, adult female, Kalano.

‘Tell Kevin Rudd to stop interfering with our culture and our lifestyle,’ adult female, Wugularr.

‘Aboriginal law should go into the constitution. We need a Treaty’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘Drop it!’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We need more houses. Community bus’, adult male, Barunga.

‘How long this intervention going for? We want better communication’, adult female, Barunga.

‘They should look after pensioners better. Should have respite care place. In the bush, where old people can keep their mind alive talking language with other old people’, adult male, Barunga.

‘We’re still struggling. We need more help. More jobs’, female pensioner, Barunga.

‘They should make more jobs for Aboriginal people’, adult female, Werrenbun.

‘It is too hard. You can go without food for weeks’, adult male, Barunga.

‘We should have a bank on community’, adult male, Barunga.

‘Make some changes to Wugularr community. Make it better’, female youth, Wugularr.

‘We just want to see more houses in the community, more training, more jobs’, adult female, Eva Valley.
‘Income management good for family, but not for youth mob, young people’, adult female, Eva Valley.

‘I’d say to Kevin Rudd ‘Help us. We need more jobs. Good jobs’, male youth, Eva Valley.

‘Should have a delivery truck for big items [to bring them from town to the community]’, male youth, Eva Valley.

‘Change some things’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘They made life more difficult’, female pensioner, Kalano.

‘I picked up store cards, $50, off the ground outside Woolies’, adult female, Kalano.

‘The baby bonus, it should go ½ cash and ½ income management. All in income [management] makes it hard. Even if you want to buy furniture’, adult female, Rockhole.

‘We should be allowed to have a house in Katherine. Only other communities get houses in town’, adult male, Kalano.

‘Should talk to the old people first’, male pensioner, Wugularr.

‘Centrelink only has one toilet, for male and female. We need more male and female toilets at Centrelink office. And more staff. Long lines’, adult female, Barunga.

‘The main thing is more housing—[overcrowding] that’s how people get sick’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We need more training and more job experience for kids, in the holidays. Something to do during the holidays. Or work at clinic or shop or office’, adult female, Barunga.

‘To me, it’s helped me, food side and to come home. If you’re stuck in Katherine, they give you a voucher. It’s really easy to cope with your kids for food, clothing’, adult female, Wugularr.

‘We really need that background check on the mununga [white people], if they want to come and work here. We need that’, adult female, Barunga.

‘We need government mob to listen to all Aboriginal people, what they got to say. Not us listen to them, telling us what to do. We all have the right to say for ourselves and our people’, female pensioner, Barunga.

Table 3.25
Community Comments: General
Discussion
The comments in this section give an indication of the wider views and major concerns of Aboriginal people from the research communities. When asked to what message they would like to send to Canberra Aboriginal people’s concerns include the following: both the implementation difficulties and benefits of income management; the need to address the root causes of illness through the provision of more houses; the need for a regional transportation system; the inadequacy of current NTER communication systems; that the government listen to Aboriginal people; more training and job experience for young people; the need to look after old people better; that the government is trying to turn Aboriginal people into white people; and a call for the recognition of Aboriginal people in the constitution in the form of a Treaty.

3.23. DISCUSSION

This chapter has discussed the results of this research in terms of the questions on the survey form. A broader discussion of these results in terms of the specific measures of the Northern Territory Emergency Response is presented in Chapter Four.
Chapter Four

Findings in Relation to Specific NTER Measures

This Chapter presents the results of this research in relation to specific Northern Territory Emergency Response measures.

4.1. COORDINATION

NTER Measures
The Australian Government’s major measures for the coordination aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- Northern Territory Emergency Response Taskforce.
- Government Business Managers to live in and work with communities.
- Logistical support from Defence.
- Community engagement.
- Ombudsman support to the NTER.

Findings in Relation to NTER Measures

*Northern Territory Emergency Response Taskforce*
The Northern Territory Emergency Response Taskforce visited the communities of Eva Valley and Barunga on 12\textsuperscript{th} March, 2008. This meeting was subject to considerable media attention, including ABC coverage on the current affairs program, *The 7.30 Report*. The Taskforce also had a meeting with Wugularr women on 6\textsuperscript{th} June and attended the Barunga Festival on 6\textsuperscript{th} and 7\textsuperscript{th}, June, 2008.

Community responses to the March visit of the Taskforce to the Eva Valley and Barunga communities include the following exchange:

*BARUNGA WOMAN*: People couldn’t understand, especially using that big words … I wanted to talk about that shop now. We need a new shop, where our people are able to get good tucker. We need a Social Club, so our people can drink in the club and they don’t have to drink out there on the road, six cans for men, might be, four cans for the woman … I were just listening to what the people had to say. People talking about our concerns, they bin talk too fast and too many big words.

*CLAIRE*: Dave Chalmers, you savvy him?

*BARUNGA WOMAN*: Who?
CLAIRE: Dave Chalmers.

BARUNGA WOMAN: Oh, that munanga [white person], we no more savvy him. People couldn’t understand because of, no-one there to explain to the people what they were saying.

Though members of the Taskforce attended the Barunga Festival, they were not requested to speak. One Aboriginal person pointed this out to us, indicating that this omission was due to community disapproval of the NTER, and of the Taskforce members in its implementation.

Government Business Managers
The establishment of Government Business Managers was an essential component of the whole-of-government approach to coordination of the NTER. The results of this study show that Aboriginal people’s understanding of the role of the GBM is in accord with the role outlined by the government, but that some people feel they have not been informed sufficiently.

We note that while this study shows positive community responses to this individual person, this may not be the case with subsequent GBMs. The success of this role is highly dependent on the individual that occupies it.

Logistical support from Defence
This NTER measure was not applied to the communities included in this study.

Community engagement
We interpret community engagement primarily as communication. In our view, communication for the NTER has been dysfunctional. This was most acute at the beginning, when the majority of community people were informed only by what was on television, but it has not improved as much as it needs to. This is apparent in the community response to visits by the NTER Taskforce.

In some cases, people in communication positions have been rude to Aboriginal people. This is apparent in the following interview, undertaken on 18th December, 2007, which describes someone trying to get information about income management from a government call centre:

EVA VALLEY WOMAN: I’ve got to go to town to get that voucher, my cousin calling that 136380 number, that call centre to find out about income management and that person in [a] little time said to her: “If you have children you have to go and see the doctors kids got get checked up first and then you can get vouchers.” All the kids, every one of them.

That was yesterday, when I called and asked questions he didn’t want to answer and he “hung up”. He didn’t want to talk to me when I’m asking questions.

This exchange with the call operator indicates the emergence of bullying
behaviour in sections of the public service and a resistance to answering legitimate questions from Aboriginal people.

**Ombudsman support to the NTER**
This NTER measure only came into effect around six months after the instigation of the NTER. If it had been in place at the time, it is something that community people could have called on during the dysfunctional and traumatic transition from CDEP to the Work for the Dole program. There was a period of great stress after CDEP payments at Barunga stopped on 9th November, as for many people the new Centrelink payments had not started by 5\textsuperscript{th} December.

**Key Findings**

1. The communication strategies for the NTER are seriously deficient. Even now, Aboriginal people do not have an understanding of some of the basic tenets of the NTER, such as the role of the Community Employment Broker and the existence of five year leases over their lands.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. The dysfunctional communication strategies of the NTER have produced undue hardship as well as confusion, fear and frustration in Aboriginal communities. In some cases this has resulted in a lack of cooperation, where cooperation might have been a viable option.

**Recommendations**

1. The government should make the development of effective communication systems a top priority.

**4.2. LAW AND ORDER**

**NTER Measures**

The Australian Government’s major measures for the law and order aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- More police in remote communities.
- Bans on alcohol and pornography in prescribed areas.
- Expanded night patrol services.
- Additional legal services and interpreter services.
- Child abuse intelligence desk.

**Findings in Relation to NTER Measures**

*More police in remote communities*
This research found that there was significant variation in each community’s experience of police presence. Whilst 67% of people living
in outstations recorded a greater police presence, they recorded the
same, or a lesser police presence at Barunga, Wugularr and Kalano. At
Eva Vally, the perception is that police presence is unchanged.

Though there is no increase in police staff at Maranboy Station, there has
been an increase for the Maranboy region, which includes Bulman (250
kilometres from Maranboy). Aboriginal people have welcomed the
increased police presence at Bulman. Our initial feedback was that the
police at this station were successful in establishing congenial and trusting
relationships with local people. However, during the time we were
collecting data for this study, a young man committed suicide after
escaping from police custody. There was no alcohol or drug use involved
in this suicide, and this event has caused serious tension between the
police and community members.

*Bans on alcohol and pornography in prescribed areas*
The bans on alcohol in the communities included in this study have had
varying effects. This research shows that the overall response is fairly
evening divided between whether there is a perception that people
drinking the same, drinking less or drinking more (Figure 3.13).

The community breakdown of figures shows enormous diversity in the
impact of alcohol restrictions. The greatest perceived diminishment of
drinking is at Eva Valley, which was already a dry community, and at
Barunga, where the sale of alcohol at the community store was banned.

There is a general consensus that there are more people in Katherine,
and that these people are drinking more than before the NTER. At Kalano,
86% of people felt that there is more drinking happening, along the river.
The data also show that people in outstations that are located relatively
close to Katherine also perceive an increase in drinking in the township.

We assessed whether the alcohol bans had translated into a high level of
drug use. We found a zero incidence of pill use and petrol sniffing, but a
perceived increase in marijuana use at Barunga, after the removal of beer
sales at the community store.

The ban on pornography in this region was unnecessary and insulting.

*Expanded night patrol services*
Night patrol services have been expanded in the communities of Barunga,
Wugularr and Eva Valley. However, people in each of these communities,
feel that this service needs to be expanded to allow the night patrol
officers to pick up sober people from the drinking area at Roper Creek.

*Additional legal services and interpreter services*
We are unaware of any additional legal services or interpreter services
that have been made available within the communities included in this
study. It is possible that additional services have been established within
the legal system, but determining this was beyond the scope of this
study.
The communities included in this research certainly had a need for interpreter services. This is apparent in the following passage, from an interview undertaken on 12th March, the day the NTER Taskforce visited Eva Valley and Barunga:

BARUNGA WOMAN: They should get someone to explain what they were talking about ... They should get someone like you, to listen, to explain.

Child abuse intelligence desk
The Australian Government established a Child Abuse Intelligence Desk to help improve child safety and law enforcement. This NTER measure has not been relevant to the communities included in this study.

Key Findings

1. While Aboriginal people have welcomed the increased police presence at Bulman, the recent suicide of a young man who escaped from custody has impacted on the level of trust between police and the community.

2. Aboriginal people are evenly divided about whether alcohol use has increased, decreased or remained the same. This variation in views is due to whether they are referring to consumption in their communities, or to consumption by community people in Katherine.

3. Alcohol consumption has decreased in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley.

4. Alcohol consumption has increased in Katherine and in the Kalano area.

5. Many Aboriginal people are not drinking in safe places.

6. Though much needed, interpreter services have not been made available to implement NTER measures within the research communities.

7. Police need community specific training, and the support of ACPOs and community advisors with local knowledge.

Unintended Consequences

1. Restrictions on the sale of cask wine have led to an increase in the consumption of spirits, and to increased violence through the use of broken wine and spirit bottles.

2. Abolition of the sale of beer at the Barunga community store has produced an increase in marijuana use.

3. The movement of the signboard from close to Maranboy Police Station to beside the Roper River, and close to Stuart Highway has
placed Aboriginal people at very serious risk. **We have mentioned this in a number of submissions to the government, and should a fatality occur at this place in the future, it would have been preventable.**

4. The lack of interpreter services is part of the dysfunctional communication strategies of the NTER, and the subsequent confusion, fear and frustration in Aboriginal communities.

5. The unwarranted pornography bans have deeply offended Aboriginal people from this region.

---

**Figure 4.1**

An Unsafe Place to Drink: the Signboard at Roper Creek

**Recommendations**

1. A licensed club should be established at Barunga. This would bring some people back from town, and decrease their alcohol intake, and allow others to drink responsibly at the Club, rather than at the signboard, which is highly unsafe.

2. The signboard should be moved close to Maranboy Police Station, and toilet facilities, a water tank and a proper shelter built, with walls to protect people from rain in the wet season.
3. The government should engage interpreter or community advisor services for all aspects of the NTER. Community members would be able to provide these services, and this would fit with the Government’s new employment services system.

4. Signs banning pornography on entrance roads to communities in this region should be removed.

5. Northern Territory pornography laws should be reviewed in relation to such laws in Australian States.

6. Federal police deployed by the NTER should receive community specific training, and be supported by local cultural advisors and ACPOs.

4.3. SUPPORTING FAMILIES

NTER Measures

The Australian Government’s major measures for the supporting families aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- Children’s services and family support.
- New and improved safe houses for families experiencing violence.
- Additional child-protection workers and Aboriginal family and community workers.
- Diversionary activities for young people.

Findings in Relation to NTER Measures

Children’s services and family support
We are unaware of any additional children’s services and family support services that have been made available to the communities in this study as part of the NTER.

New and improved safe houses for families experiencing violence
A new safe house for males has been built at Wugularr, but is not operational yet.

Additional child-protection workers and Aboriginal family and community workers
We are unaware of any additional child-protection workers and Aboriginal family and community workers that have been made available to the communities in this study as part of the NTER.

Diversionary activities for young people
The data shows diverse experiences in relation to youth diversionary activities. The extremes are Eva Valley, where 88% of people feel there are more things for children to do, and Kalano, where 72% feel that nothing has changed.
We note that new basketball courts have been built at Barunga (outside of the NTER framework) and at Eva Valley and at Wugularr (as part of the new school).

We note that Barunga and Wugularr had strong programs of youth diversionary activities prior to the NTER, organized by Sunrise Health (at Wugularr) and the NMNRD Council.

**Key Findings**

1. The communities in this region have widely diverse experiences in terms of youth diversionary activities.

2. Kalano and the outstations feel overlooked in terms of youth diversionary activities.

3. The communities involved in this study are extremely supportive of additional youth diversionary activities. Their suggestions include bush trips, culture camps and sports competitions.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. People at Kalano have been overlooked in terms of the provision of youth diversionary activities. Combined with their experiences of the punitive aspects of the NTER, this may have produced resistance to the NTER, which, in turn, may have translated into a decrease in school attendance.
**Recommendations**

1. Youth diversionary activities should be expanded at Kalano and, where possible, outstations.

2. Youth diversionary activities should be expanded to include a focus on activities such as bush trips, culture camps and sports competitions.

**4.4. WELFARE REFORM AND EMPLOYMENT**

**NTER Measures**

The Australian Government’s major measures for the welfare reform and employment aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- Income management of half of people’s welfare payments to ensure children’s needs are met.
- Licensing of community stores.
- Creating real jobs in communities outside Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP).
- Increased participation in remote areas including Work for the Dole activities.
- Community Employment Brokers in communities.

**Findings in Relation to NTER Measures**

*Income management of half of people’s welfare payments to ensure children’s needs are met*

Income management has resulted in more money being spent on children’s needs. While it has decreased Aboriginal agency, it has increased the agency of food buyers, through giving them a capacity to make more spending decisions, and with a larger proportion of household funds.

The implementation of income management has been both discriminatory and fraught, and this has produced negative assessments from many Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people are highly aware of the discriminatory nature of income management.

Support for income management varies according to community, with the greatest support at Barunga and the least at Kalano. The people who feel that are most supportive of income management are mothers and pensioners (both male and female). The people who are most opposed to income management are young people and drinkers, who had to make minimal contributions to household budgets in the past, and people who are politically aware.

There is a notable disparity between the number of people who feel that
income management has been good for them and those who would continue with it.

**Licensing of community stores**
The government’s licensing of community stores is aimed at improving Aboriginal people’s lives through increasing the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items, and making certain that stores are able to meet the requirements of income management.

The NTER had a dramatically negative effect on the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in the stores at Barunga, Wugularr and Kalano. All three have had their viability tested, as a result of their incapacity to sell food through the income management system and, in the case of Barunga, the removal of alcohol sales.

Recently, Outback Stores have taken over the Barunga store, and this has produced a dramatic increase in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items. Some 95% of people interviewed feel that the amount of good food at this store has improved. This store now holds a license.

The stores at Wugularr and at Kalano are both struggling. Wugularr community has just signed with Outback Stores, but people are concerned that this will mean that the Aboriginal people who currently work in the store will lose their jobs.

Eva Valley community has no community store, and needs one desperately, as there is no regional transportation system. The one-way taxi fare to Katherine is $220.

**Creating real jobs in communities outside Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP)**
The removal of CDEP was accompanied by an increase in real jobs of around 30-35%. Around 65-70% of people who were in CDEP employment had to move to Unemployment Benefits or Work for the Dole.

**Increased participation in remote areas including Work for the Dole activities**
After the removal of CDEP, there has been an increase in participation in Work for the Dole activities at Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley. However, people are shamed by the name ‘Work for the Dole’, and there is overwhelming support for the introduction of a revitalized CDEP.

**Community Employment Brokers**
So far, the position of Community Employment Broker has been a dismal failure. This study shows that 84% of Aboriginal people in the research communities state that they do not understand the role of the Community Employment Broker. Only three people claimed to understand this person’s role and one of these construed it as that of taking away community jobs.
If it is to be at all successful, this position needs to be radically re-shaped.

**Key Findings**

1. Income management has meant that more money is being spent on children’s overall needs.

2. While there is more food for kids in communities with functioning shops, there is less food for kids in communities where the store is under stress from NTER measures.

3. Aboriginal people clearly identify income management as racially discriminating.

4. There is a disparity between the number of people who feel that income management has been good for them and those who would continue with it.

5. There is great disparity in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items that are available at community stores in this region.

6. The NTER has produced a dramatic decrease in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in the Wugularr and Kalano community stores.

7. After an initial decrease, there has been a remarkable increase in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in the community store at Barunga.

8. The price of food at community stores is significantly higher than it is in Katherine.

**Unintended Consequences**

1. The discriminatory nature of income management has caused humiliation for many Aboriginal people.

2. Income management reinforces a perception in the white community that all Aboriginal people live on welfare. This translates into the picture that Aboriginal people are not capable of working, which has the potential to impact upon potential employment opportunities for Aboriginal people.

3. People come to town to collect and spend their store cards, and some stay on to drink. Once they are in Katherine, alcohol is readily available, so they drink more than they would if they had stayed on the communities.

4. Aboriginal people have to spend much more time in Katherine in order to comply with various NTER measures. Given that few
Community people have cars and that there is no regional transportation system, this has caused undue hardship, and the diversion of income management funds from food to taxis.

5. The introduction of income management, combined in some cases with the removal of a license to sell alcohol, is directly responsible for a dramatic decrease in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items in some community stores.

6. Despite a certain increase in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items, Aboriginal people are resisting having their stores taken over by an outside organization, as they fear they will lose autonomy and jobs for Aboriginal people.

Recommendations

1. We support the recommendations of the NTER Taskforce in relation to Community Employment Brokers, especially in terms of expanding this role so that the CEB identifies and facilitates economic development opportunities in new and emerging industries.

2. Effective transport systems should be established throughout this region. The government may need to subsidise this, as it does for other sectors of the Australian community. Minibus operations could form the basis of small business enterprises in some communities.

3. Centrelink offices in communities should be allowed to issue store cards.

4. We support the recommendation of the NTER Taskforce that an ongoing operational subsidy be provided for stores in those communities which are too small to enable the store to be profitable.

5. There is a need to address community concerns that jobs for Aboriginal people will be lost if outside operators take over currently highly stressed stores.

6. There should be an audit on the costs of food at community stores and at Woolworths in Katherine, and this information factored into nutritional planning.

7. Given the likely health outcomes and savings in medical costs, healthy foods at community stores should be subsidized.

8. A community store needs to be established at Eva Valley.
4.5. IMPROVING CHILD AND FAMILY HEALTH

NTER Measures

The Australian Government’s major measures for the improving child and family health aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- Health checks and follow-up treatment for children.
- Specialist support for children who have been abused.
- Extra drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services.

Findings in Relation to NTER Measures

Health checks and follow-up treatment for children
The Aboriginal organization, Sunrise Health, has undertaken health checks and follow-up treatment for children in this region. Sunrise Health did not receive additional funding to do this.

Specialist support for children who have been abused
We are unaware of any specialist support for abused children that have been made available to the communities in this study through the NTER.

Extra drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services
The only additional drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services that have been made available to the communities in this study through the NTER is one de-tox bed at Katherine Hospital.

Key Findings

1. Children’s health checks were undertaken by Sunrise Health Service, and are up to date for the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley.

2. The communities in this region have not received additional specialist support for abused children, and only one additional bed at Katherine Hospital has been provided for drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services.

Unintended Consequences

We did not identify any unintended consequences for this NTER measure.

Recommendations

1. There is a need to fast track additional drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment services for this region.

2. For substantive and sustainable outcomes, there is a need to investigate options for locating drug and alcohol rehabilitation and treatment centres on Aboriginal lands. We note that the Jawoyn Association has already developed such a proposal for Banatjarl.
4.6. ENHANCING EDUCATION

NTER Measures

The Australian Government’s major measures for the enhancing education aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- Extra teachers.
- Extra classrooms.
- Expansion of literacy programs.
- Quality Teaching Package.
- School breakfast and lunch program.
- School boarding facilities (outside the NTER framework).

Findings in Relation to NTER Measures

Extra teachers

No additional teachers have been made available to the communities of Barunga and Wugularr, as part of the NTER.

Extra classrooms

New schools have been constructed at Wugularr and Eva Valley. These buildings were under construction prior to the NTER.

Expansion of literacy programs

The Accelerated Literacy Initiative has made regionally based specialist teams available to 45 Aboriginal communities in remote areas, as part of the NTER. At Barunga, this has been available since 2005. The Barunga School Principal reports that this program is producing successful outcomes for her students, as long as teachers do ‘explicit teaching’.

We note that there are only two staff employed in the Northern Territory education system as Indigenous language and cultural officers. One position encompasses Central Australia and the other the Top End.

Quality Teaching Package

The Quality Teaching Package has not been made available to the communities included in this study. The teaching staff are looking forward to the assistance this may provide.

School breakfast and lunch program

School nutrition programs have been made available to the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley, as part of the NTER.

School boarding facilities (outside the NTER framework)

School boarding facilities have not been made available to the communities included in this study. However, previous research with the Katherine East communities has shown that there is a real desire for such a facility in this region (see Jackson and Smith 2002).
Key Findings

1. Changes in school attendance vary according to community, some increasing and some decreasing.

2. The 20% increase in school attendance at Wugular School can be attributed to the new facilities at this school.

3. The Principal of Barunga School is focusing on attendance, but is concerned about achieving a good outcome, as attendance has deceased in the immediate past.

4. A possible decrease in school attendance by children from Kalano may be resistance in response to Kalano people experiencing only the punitive aspects of the NTER and/or a response to a loss of control over some parts of their lives, due to the NTER.

5. The Principal of Barunga School wishes to develop a Vision and Attendance Plan for this school, worded in terms of mutual obligations between parents, children and the school.

6. There are serious problems with teacher retention at community schools.

Unintended Consequences

We did not identify any unintended consequences for this NTER measure.

Recommendations

1. A Vision and Attendance Plan should be undertaken for Barunga School and, if requested, for other schools in this region. If
Barunga gets a Social Club, this could include a ‘No School for Kids, No Club for Parents’ rule

2. An anti-teasing (bullying) program needs to be developed for these schools.

3. Teachers need culturally appropriate training, from community people, before they start teaching children in the community.

4. Universities should establish nationally accredited teaching program for teaching at Indigenous schools. This should include teaching experience in remote communities.

5. Culturally appropriate curricula should be developed, with the aim of increasing Aboriginal pride and student retention.

6. The establishment of school boarding facilities for children of high school age in this region should be considered, especially given that the Jawoyn Association has commissioned research on this in the past.

4.7. HOUSING AND LAND REFORM

NTER Measures

The Australian Government’s major measures for the housing and land reform aspect of the Northern Territory Emergency Response are:

- Fixing up existing houses and cleaning up communities.
- Five-year leases on Aboriginal townships.
- Building new houses, upgrading houses and new arrangements for the management of public housing in communities (outside the NTER framework).

Findings in Relation to NTER Measures

Fixing up existing houses and cleaning up communities

While a lot of work has been done to the exteriors of houses, the NTER gave people high expectations that houses would be fixed up quickly. Aboriginal people are disappointed with the level of house maintenance that has been conducted in their communities. Survey teams have undertaken repair inventories in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley and ‘make safe’ repairs have been done. The exterior of houses has been painted but no more than normal interior renovations have been done. Aboriginal people in the outstations and at Kalano feel that maintenance on their houses has decreased, rather than increased.

Community clean ups have been conducted in the communities of Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley, and five asbestos-containing houses at Barunga have been demolished.
Five-year leases on Aboriginal townships
The majority of people interviewed for this research were not aware that the Government had taken a compulsory five year lease over the land around communities. Once they were aware of this, 95% of the people interviewed disagreed with the Government having such a lease.

Aboriginal people’s concerns about the five year leases included the fact that the Government has not obtained the permission of traditional owners, that Aboriginal people are losing control over their land, that the Government might allow the country to be used in wrong ways, and that sacred sites might be violated. Their basic point is that people in Canberra have no rights over, or knowledge of, their country.

Building new houses, upgrading houses and new arrangements for the management of public housing in communities (outside the NTER framework)
We are unaware of any new houses or significant housing upgrades, or new arrangements for the management of public housing in the research communities that are a result of the NTER.

Key Findings

1. No new houses for Aboriginal people have been built in the research communities as a result of the NTER.

2. Repair inventories and minor repairs have been undertaken in Barunga, Wugularr and Eva Valley.

3. Five asbestos-containing houses at Barunga have been demolished.

4. The exterior walls of houses at Barunga and Wugularr have been painted.

5. Significant community infrastructure has been established at Barunga, Wugularr, and Eva Valley. This has been partly funded by the NTER.

6. The outstations and Kalano have been overlooked.

7. Aboriginal people were not aware that the Government had taken compulsory five year leases over community lands.

8. Aboriginal people were overwhelmingly against the Government having compulsory five year leases over community lands.

Unintended Consequences

1. The failure to include Kalano and outstations in the clearly beneficial aspects of the NTER has made people from these locations particularly negative about the NTER.

2. A lack of communication about the five year leases means that
when people find out about them they are indignant, angry and/or worried.

**Recommendations**

1. Housing repairs and the construction of new houses should be fast tracked throughout this region.

2. There needs to be a cultural appropriate and concerted effort to inform people about five year leases, and any potential benefits for them.

**4.8. DISCUSSION**

While this chapter has focused on the impact of the NTER measures in terms of specific measures, the NTER has also had impact as a whole. Our wider findings in this respect are presented in the following chapter.
Chapter Five

Wider Findings

This chapter contains the wider results of this research in terms of the Northern Territory Emergency Response as a whole. It identifies critical problems and presents broad recommendations.

5.1. FURTHER UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES

Chapter Four outlines unintended consequences in terms of specific Northern Territory Emergency Response measures. In this section of our report we outline some of the unintended consequences of the NTER as a whole.

Dislocation of Families
The dislocation of some families has occurred through people moving to Katherine or Darwin to use their store cards, and to buy alcohol. In these circumstances, children generally stay on communities with the remaining parent, or with extended families. While these children are well cared for, they have less access to their parent/s than they did in the past.

They don’t penalise the person who’s drinking. They penalise the families, because they don’t see them anymore. He’s still drinking, but he’s in town, with his family at the community.

(John, KAMN Taxis, Katherine)

The other consequence of people moving to town has been increased pressure on grandmothers to take on the care of grandchildren, and pressure on them to do this in the capacity of full-time parents, rather than as safety net or extended family support.

Being separated from their parents—even if those parents are drinking people—is unlikely to enhance the long term well being of children.

Disempowerment, Confusion and Shame
For many Aboriginal people in the research communities, the Northern Territory Emergency Response has caused disempowerment, confusion and shame.

The disempowerment that affects the communities as a whole is apparent at even the smallest level, such as knowing how much money you have to spend on food:

That store card, you can’t check how much is left in it. Only at Woolies, you can check on the EPTPOS modem.

(Female youth, Wugularr)

Many Aboriginal people feel that the government has attacked Aboriginal culture, or that it is not supportive of Aboriginal culture:
They turning Aboriginal people like mununga [white people]. ID for everything, driver’s license.  

(Adult female, Barunga)

The intervention has put traditional culture under threat. It has damaged the cultural health and wellbeing of communities.  

(Irene Fisher, CEO, Sunrise Health Service)

The implementation of the NTER shames good Aboriginal people. The most pernicious aspects in this respect are the pornography signs on roads going to communities and income management store cards:

When I see people lining up with that store card, I feel ashamed. It makes me feel sad. White people think that black people don’t work. But we do work. We have a lot of Indigenous people who are well educated. But that store card gives white people a picture of Aboriginal people on welfare all the time. That’s not fair. We’re all human beings.  

(Adult female, Barunga)

I was in Woolies with all the Aboriginal people lined up. “All day shopping with that store card from Centrelink,” I heard a tourist say. Like, running people down. I was behind that tourist. I had a store card, too … It was a bad thing for me to hear what white people say. It made me feel bad, hurt inside. Shame.  

(Female youth, Wugularr)

Income Managed Funds Spent on Taxis, not Food
A high proportion of income-managed funds (as well as available cash) are being spent on taxi fares to Katherine. This is either due to the lack of a community store, as at Eva Valley, or the dramatic decease in the quality and quantity and range of food at community stores after the NTER, as at Wugularr and, until recently, Barunga. The one way taxi fare to Katherine is shown in Table 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One Way Taxi Fare to Katherine ($)</th>
<th>Barunga</th>
<th>Wugularr</th>
<th>Eva Valley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1
One Way Taxi Fare to Katherine

There is an urgent need for a transportation system in this region.

Urban Drift
The NTER has prompted a drift of Aboriginal people from communities to town. While some people from this region have moved to Darwin, the majority of people with this inclination have moved to Katherine. The drift into town has been prompted by alcohol restrictions and income management, which has not allowed people to buy food in their
community stores.

When people come to town, they look for relatives to support them. This puts pressure on families in town who live in already overcrowded housing.

**Increased Alcohol Consumption in Katherine**
There is a strong view that people who have moved to Katherine are drinking more than they did before the NTER. This is because they have greater access to alcohol.

Some people go to town to spend their income managed funds, and stay on to spend their cash funds on alcohol.

**Increased Violence in Katherine**
There appears to be an increased level of violence in Katherine. This is supported by the findings of the North Australian Justice Agency, which found that murder cases involving Aboriginal legal aid have nearly doubled in the last year (see Bourshier 2007:4). When Aboriginal people move to town, they leave behind their normal family support networks. In new situations, people can begin to feel isolated and stressed, making them more likely to become involved in a violent incident.

The restrictions on the sale of wine in cardboard boxes have meant that people have turned to bottled wines and spirits. When they are drunk, these bottles can become weapons in the way wine bladder cannot, and there have been a number of 'glassings' due to this. This is a matter of concern for non-Aboriginal people, as well as Aboriginal people, as is clear in the following statement:

> I can’t understand why the powers to be would allow bottles to go out? That’s the very worse thing that can happen. Even in Darwin, the other night, people are going around glassing people. Not only Aboriginal people.

(Katherine townswoman)

**Higher Youth Suicide Rates**
There has been a higher incidence of youth suicide in this region. Over the last year there has been three youth suicides and at least one attempted suicide—in a population of no more than 1,500 people. This has been a matter of on-going concern for Sunrise Health Services (see Chandler 2007), as is clear in the following passage:

> An unintended consequence of the intervention has been an alarming increase in youth suicides, and attempted suicides. We’d had serious problems after the Katherine floods, but then it settled down. We tried a lot of things until we found what worked. Since the intervention, it’s gone up again.

(Irene Fisher, CEO, Sunrise Health Service)
Distrust of Government
The Northern Territory Emergency Response has caused a palpable change in Aboriginal people’s attitudes towards the government. Even though some aspects of the NTER have benefited Aboriginal communities, there is still confusion and there is a greater distrust of government. In some cases, this has translated into a fear of, and anger towards, government.

Aboriginal people of all ages and both genders have a very clear understanding that they are at the receiving end of racially discriminating policies. This is apparent in people’s views on income management, on the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act and on five year leases:

I don’t see why black people are getting this and white people not. The intervention made me think that black people are targeted in Australia. At Centrelink, only black people in line. There were no white people in line … I’m sure I heard Kevin Rudd say ‘if anything should happen, it should happen to all Australians’. That’s how it should be, white and black, together.

    (Adult male, Rockhole)

It’s racist. I’ve never seen a white person yet with an income management store card.

    (Adult female, Werrenbun)

Racial discrimination. They are just targeting Aboriginal people. They should target behaviour, not colour.

    (Adult female, Barunga)

They [the government] don’t even know this place! They’d be lost in this area. They don’t know sacred sites, or anything. They don’t know blackfella way or culture.

    (Female youth, Wugularr)

It’s wrong for mununga [white people in the government] to say something for that land.

    (Adult female, Barunga)

Canberra belong to that land? Know the Dreaming for that land? Him got skin [Aboriginal kinship]? Him got dawaro [clan/land ownership]?,

    (Adult female, Barunga)

We’re the First Australians! That person in Canberra, him just some Johnny-come-lately. Him savvy [understand] country?! You go back and ask him, why he belong to that land … does he belong to the land in any way?

    (Adult female, Wugularr)
Increased Racial Tension
There are increased levels of racial tension between Aboriginal people and the townspeople of Katherine. From an Aboriginal side, this increased tension is apparent in people’s views on white people in relation to income management, the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act, and five year leases. Moreover, the influx of Aboriginal drinking people into the township of Katherine, without the support of additional resources or housing, has increased racial tension, as is apparent in comments of our focus group (see Appendix 3), which includes the following:

It might be working for some Aboriginal communities, but it is certainly not working for the Katherine community.

People are just camping everywhere around the edges of town. They’re everywhere. Everywhere. Everywhere.

There’s not enough toilet facilities. And the facilities that are there are not cleaned. There are toilets are Ryan Park, but you wouldn’t want to go in there if you are a tourist.

People don’t feel safe in their houses any more. Lyn has put security mesh all around her house. That cost $3,000.

My husband woke up with an Aboriginal male there with a knife, threatening him, after his car keys.

They just come into town, and town is not equipped to deal with it. It’s getting worse. If there was someone else to go that had a good lifestyle, I’d be there … but it is a good place to live here. When you don’t have to deal with the crime element.

Crime has gone up in town. There were several break-ins just last night.

Why spoil our town? We’ve lived here all our lives and we’ve put our money into the town, and I don’t think it’s fair that we should have to put up with this. It’s actually wrecked the town. People are leaving Katherine because of these behaviours. And they don’t want to leave. It’s a good little town.

Broken windows, rubbish all over the street. Violence and humbugging for money. And drinking just outside Woolworths still. And Paddy and them pick up rubbish under the bridge and it is full of green cans.

He works so hard, that little fellow who cleans up Katherine, and it must be really depressing for him.

One person said that he’s leaving because before long Katherine will self-destruct. And he’s been here for years.

We sound racist, don’t we? But we’re not really. It is frustration.
The range of concerns expressed by Katherine townspeople include Aboriginal people in town drinking without accommodation; higher incidents of violence and crime; that small businesses are being damaged by the income management system, which only allows Aboriginal people to spend in particular stores.

The authors of this report have noticed an increase in racial tension themselves. During the writing up of this report, we stayed in a family park, accompanied by an Aboriginal family from one of the communities. When we went to extend our stay we were told they we could stay on but that the Aboriginal children were not welcome back.

5.2. CRITICAL PROBLEMS

At this point, we wish to focus on the critical problems that have arisen, which need to be addressed over and above all others. These are:

1. Dysfunctional communication strategies.
2. Threats to the integrity of families.
3. Damage to the self-esteem of good people.
4. Increased racial tension.

Dysfunctional Communication Strategies
Twelve months after the introduction of the NTER, communication strategies are still dysfunctional. This dysfunction on the part of government translates into confusion, fear and anger for many Aboriginal people. Even now, most Aboriginal people still don’t know what is going on, unless it affects them personally (and even then many are confused). Much information about the NTER is conveyed through rumour and people are still unaware of the extent of many of the NTER measures.

Effective policies need effective communication strategies. If the government is going to implement effective policies, it is going to have to make major changes to its communication strategies.

Threats to the Integrity of Families
A major threat to the integrity of some families arises from the spending constraints on income management and alcohol restrictions in communities, which have lured some people into town. When in town, these people are drinking more, putting pressure on family members who live in Katherine, and earning the ire of non-Aboriginal people.

Grandparents who may be able to cope in the short term, but may have trouble in the long term, especially given that the number of children they are being asked to look after has increased, are increasingly bringing up children.
**Damage to Aboriginal Self-esteem**
The NTER has damaged the self-esteem of good people, and has not recognized past achievements. The best of parents have been subjected to measures aimed at the worst of parents, and Aboriginal people are very conscious of the fact that they are subject to racially based government policies. The damage to Aboriginal self-esteem has resulted in increased alcohol consumption, increased violence and an increase in youth suicide rates.

The blanket approach to the NTER means that the good work that has been done in the past has not been recognized, or built on. This has meant an unnecessary duplication of services in critical areas, such as childhood health, and in some individuals losing heart.

There were many excellent programs running in this area prior to the NTER, and they have not received recognition for their efforts and success. For example, the Barunga clinic has just won the Primary Health Care Team Medal at the inaugural Administrator’s Awards for the Northern Territory (see www.sunrise.org.au/).

**Increased Racial Tension**
The increase in racial tension will make it harder for Aboriginal people to fit into the economic systems of townships in the Northern Territory. At the cultural interface of Katherine many Aboriginal people feel ashamed and many non-Aboriginal people feel frustrated and angry. This situation is unlikely to generate a happy cultural mix in the workplace, or sustainable employment opportunities for Aboriginal people.

**5.3. WIDER RECOMMENDATIONS**
This section of our report includes our wider recommendations, some of which target the unintended consequences listed above.

**Community Interpreters and Cultural Advisors**
The communication strategies used for the implementation of the NTER have been abysmal and, at times, dysfunctional. Even today, many Aboriginal people are unaware of key issues, such as the role of the Government Business Manager and the Community Employment Broker, or the existence of five year leases.

All intervention staff should work with interpreters and cultural advisors. In most cases Aboriginal community members are able to fulfil interpreter needs. Having community people as interpreters would not only empower the community as a whole (the interpreters would become fully conversant with the issues, and would be able to inform other people), but would provide much needed jobs in communities.

**In-Country Cultural Awareness Training**
Cultural awareness training, held on community lands, should be established. These will provide Aboriginal employment in a service delivery essential to the effective implementation of government
programs—improved communication and an increase in trust in government.

This cultural awareness training should be used to instruct new residents about specific social structures as well as local histories and protocols, providing a basis for relationships of mutual respect and a safer and potentially more co-operative working environment.

**Regional Transportation**

Given that people have to go to Katherine to comply with many of the administrative requirements of the NTER (including accessing their store cards), and the high cost of taxis (see Table 5.1), there is an urgent need for a regional transportation system. A local taxi driver made the following suggestion:

They should make a charter agreement with a 21 seater bus, or so. The bus could take two trips on busy days and one trip on other days. It would probably cost $20-$25 per person, oneway. To make it viable we’d need to make $500 per [round] trip.

That way, the bus would be stored in town, and it wouldn’t get damaged. There would be no arguments about who gets to use it. You could get a list of people at the office, and they could be charged from their welfare or wages, so you’d be sure you’d get paid.

(John, KAMN Taxis, Katherine)

**School Vision and Attendance Plans**

Anita Painter, the Principal of Barunga School, has suggested that schools should be encouraged to develop a School Vision and Attendance Plan.

These plans should be geared to the current and projected profiles of their students, and tailored to the specific education needs of each community, in terms of mutual obligation agreements between parents and the school (for example, no school for kids, no club for parents).

**Community Management Plans**

The blanket approach taken by the NTER has clearly failed. Aboriginal communities are diverse, and they have diverse needs.

Community management plans should be established so that communities can determine their own priorities and needs. These community plans can be used to identify the needs and aspirations of each community. This will assist the government to identify what will work in each particular community. These plans will allow an alignment of government and community priorities, and a more effective targeting of government funding. They will make it possible to shape government policies so that they articulate with the needs and aspirations of the people affected.

These plans should be co-ordinated so the data can be fed into regional plans, where required, and an overall plan for the Territory.
5.4 OVERALL ASSESSMENT

The results of this study show that Aboriginal people are not confident that the NTER is benefiting them. Even after 12 months, 73% of Aboriginal people are either unsure if the NTER is benefiting them, or reject it outright. Only 27% of the people surveyed felt sure it was a good thing. These figures call into question the legal basis for the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act, that the NTER measures were of benefit to the affected people.

The NTER measures that have worked for this region include those structured around community safety; the provision of real jobs, as long as they are not at the expense of CDEP workers; increased community infrastructure; increased work on houses; and community clean ups.

The NTER measures that have not worked for this region include government communication strategies, pornography bans (because they were not needed); five year leases (people do not know they exist); and those measures which have been implemented in a racially discriminatory way (including store cards).

Some measures, such as the building of new houses and provision of additional teaching staff, have not yet impacted upon communities.

Income management has meant more money spent on children’s needs, though this is impacted upon by high taxi fares into Katherine, high food costs at community stores, and a decrease in the quality, quantity and range of food and consumer items at some community stores.

Alcohol restrictions have led to less alcohol consumption in communities, but more alcohol consumption in Katherine. The increased alcohol consumption in Katherine has produced an increase in violence, and is having a negative effect on Aboriginal family cohesion and on race relations in this region. Restrictions on the sale of wine in cardboard boxes have influenced people to buy bottled wines and spirits. The use of bottles as weapons has contributed to the increased levels of violence. Some Aboriginal people are drinking in unsafe places, and alcohol restrictions have not been matched by suitably increased drug and alcohol rehabilitation services.

The unintended consequences of the NTER include threats to the integrity of families, damage to Aboriginal self-esteem, a loss of trust in the government, increased racial tension, and an increase in youth suicides.

5.5. FUTURE POLICY

The fundamental flaw in the Northern Territory Emergency Response has been the top-down approach taken by government. While the Rudd government made some changes to the approach taken by the Howard government, these are not enough to ensure long-term, sustainable success. The development of policies that directly affect Australian Aboriginal people must be made so that Aboriginal people have ownership of the solutions, if they are to have any chance of success.
The reasons for government failure in aspects of the Northern Territory Emergency Response can be linked to the more general difficulties in service delivery by governments, and to the costs of excessive and poorly conceived regulation. Geoff Hogbin’s (2008) reappraisal of Freidrich von Hayek’s economic policies emphasizes why top-down planning doesn’t work:

The fundamental weakness of bureaucracies is that they lack the capacity to discover and mobilize precise information about the quantities and qualities of services that people need according to their individual circumstances. Moreover, they fail to create effective opportunities and incentives for public-sector service suppliers to use their skills and knowledge in ever more effective and efficient ways to better fulfil the needs of those they ostensibly serve.

... Far from passing into irrelevance, Hayek’s insights should be regarded as essential analytical tools for all senior public-sector managers. 

(Hogbin 2008:27)

The current situation arises from long term failures in government service delivery in key areas, such as employment, health, education and community safety. The answers lie with Aboriginal people taking ownership of the solutions, and this will only happen if the government allows communities to find the solutions themselves:

The communities must have ownership of the solutions to our problems. These are our problems, and we need to deal with it our way.

(Irene Fisher, CEO, Sunrise Health Service)

When Aboriginal people take ownership of the problems, and are an active part of the solutions, there is a greater chance of sustainable success. This is apparent in the experiences of the Barunga community:

Especially here at Barunga, it has been proved that if you put the money in, you can actually see the results. And if things are funded, they improve quickly. And funding one thing can help out so many other areas. Like, funding some new jobs, which we’ve been able to get young people involved in, the graffiti and damage is almost non-existent now. It’s things like that, because it’s them doing it, there’s respect for it. They are part of the change process, and they’ve got pride in it. When they put the sign up, they’ve got pride in that sign. And the guys mowing the lawns are doing them in straight lines. When you drive in it looks like a cricket pitch. It’s people taking pride in the work, and enjoying it. And then people don’t litter on it, because their family has done the work.
The thing we’ve achieved here at Barunga. We reached the target ... at least 51% of the population are looking after their houses, or working, or taking responsibility. Once you get over the magical number of 51% it becomes the norm. It becomes normal to have a job, or keep your house clean, or not litter, or to contribute to your community.

(Jake Quinlivan, Shire Services Manager, Barunga and Wugularr)
References


Appendices
Appendix 1

Terms of Reference
NTER Review Board
Introduction
An NTER Review Board convened by the Australian Government will undertake a review of the NTER. The members of the NTER Review Board will consist of persons with strong expertise in public policy and knowledge of the issues facing remote communities.

The Review will take into account both the original measures of the NTER announced in June 2007 and those adjustments made during the first 12 months. The original objectives stated that in the short term the NTER aimed to ensure the safety and wellbeing of Indigenous children and in the longer-term the measures implemented would focus on ways to normalise arrangements within prescribed areas of the NT.

This goal was to be pursued by:

* improving community safety and access to health services
* ensuring better education and employment outcomes
* extending the mutual obligation framework to include responsibility for the care, education and development of children.

The objectives of the NTER were to be pursued through a combination of measures, designed to address the multifaceted nature of the response.

The review will invite public submissions and undertake consultations with Indigenous people. In undertaking this consultation the review will consider oral evidence and engage interpreters where appropriate. The Review Board will be assisted by an Expert Reference Group. The Review will analyse existing monitoring data and also commission its own data collection and research as appropriate.

Terms of Reference
The NTER Review Board will:

1. examine evidence and assess the overall progress of the NTER in improving the safety and wellbeing of children and laying the basis for a sustainable and better future for residents of remote communities in the NT, and in particular, in improving the education, health, community safety and employment outcomes for citizens, and particularly women and children, resident in remote communities and town camps in the NT;
2. consider what is and isn’t working and whether the current suite of NTER measures will deliver the intended results, whether any unintended consequences have emerged and whether other measures should be developed or ways of working applied to better address circumstances facing remote communities in the NT; and
3. in relation to each NTER measure, make an assessment of its effects to date, and recommend any required changes to improve each measure and monitor performance.
In making these assessments and recommendations, the Review Board should give particular regard to the Government’s intention that Indigenous interests be engaged to ensure effective policy development and implementation processes, and that policy and program measures to be adopted or endorsed by the Government give primacy to the interests of families and children and have regard to the Racial Discrimination Act 1975.

The Review Board should also have regard to any relevant evaluation and review processes that may have already undertaken in relation to the NTER.

**Reporting**

The NTER Review Board will provide the Australian Government with a final report by 30 September 2008.

**Expert Reference Group**

An Expert Reference Group will be established as a source of expert advice for the NTER Review Board. The Expert Reference Group will include representatives of the Northern Territory Indigenous constituency (both male and female representatives) and independent experts in various fields such as policy evaluation, social policy, health, child welfare, legal arrangements and economic development.

**Secretariat support**

The NTER Review Board and the Expert Reference Group will be supported by a secretariat which will provide project management support. The secretariat will provide administrative services, assist with contract management for any supporting research and manage this website to provide a contact point for communities and interest groups on the progress of the review.
Appendix 2

Opinion Articles by Community Members & Selected Media Coverage
Indigenous Nutrition Plan Proves a Winner

*ABC News On-line*: 30th July, 2003


In the Top End, a successful Indigenous community nutrition program has drawn the attention of retailer Woolworths, with the company’s chief executive Roger Corbett to visit participating communities today.

The Fred Hollows Foundation says the nutrition of people living in the Barunga and Beswick area, east of Katherine, has improved thanks to the involvement of the food retail chain.

The chain provided an experienced store manager for 12 months to work with local communities on a nutritional program.

The foundation says the manager has helped train local people and has ensured the community has the food it needs.
Go Back. You are Intruding on our Lives and our Safety

*Sydney Morning Herald*: 2nd October, 2007

Rachel Willika

I live at Eva Valley in the Northern Territory. It is one of the communities affected by the Federal Government's intervention. I am a single mother. I look after my family, and I support my family. I have six children, some grown up, but we still live together in the community.

I was living at Barunga when I first heard about the intervention. I was told by mobile phone. It was on the news. When we found out, everyone was worried. The girls wanted to go to hide in the bush. When we saw the army on TV, I felt frightened. Some people, not just children, but adults, too, thought they might come with guns.

I have been thinking about those words "Little children are sacred". Who are the little children? Are they talking about all the children? Black children and white children? That's what it says to me. We should be protecting all the children. Aren't white children sacred, too?

I work at the local school, tutoring. I love the children, and teaching them to write and how to sound the alphabet and how to read books. After school, I prepare for church. Our church is a little shed on a cement slab. No power, no water. We use an extension cord from a nearby house so we can have lights and play music. We pay for our electricity with power cards. We try to make sure that there is enough money on those cards so we have electricity all the time, but when it runs out we go outside and make a fire.

When I was a young woman I used to drink. I'm a Christian person now. Christianity helps people to fight bad things, like alcohol. My belief in God gives me courage.

Eva Valley is a dry community. Before the intervention the drinking people would sit at a community place, along the road to Barunga. All the drinking people sat there together, and it was a safe place. Now, they are drinking along the highway. The roads are dangerous and I'm worried there might be an accident.

We don't know what the Government is planning to do. At Eva Valley, we have got no email, no internet, no newspapers. Most people don't have a TV or a radio, so we can't keep track of what's going on. You need a big outside antenna to get TV reception. Only four or five houses have this. We don't have mobile coverage and we have to use a pay phone - but to use the pay phone we have to drive 100 kilometres into Katherine to buy a phone card. We haven't got a bus. Our bus is too old now, so we have no transport to go into town to get food. We all put in whatever money we've got to pay for a taxi. That costs $190, one way.
The permit system made me feel safe. People could only enter the community with the permission of the traditional owners, so we knew who was coming in. Anybody can come in now. We don't like to have strangers come in. They might bring in drugs and alcohol, and we don't want that.

This Government intervention is making life harder for Aboriginal people. I am worried we might lose our land, our rights. I feel like the Government is attacking our culture, and that it wants to change everything. The Government should be helping to make families strong, but what is happening now is hurting us.

These are really serious matters, and we need to deal with them seriously. We are talking about the future of Aboriginal children. Everything needs to come out in the open. We need to be honest if we are to make better lives for our children. I want to work with Aboriginal organisations, because I feel comfortable with them. The Federal Government has lost our trust.

I am writing this because I want to stand up and protect Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory. We don't want to go back to the days when we got paid in rations, and every community had a white superintendent. We want to move ahead. We want to live and work on our own land. We're not going to let them come and run the show. We're going to stand up. We have rights.

Rachel Willika is a Jawoyn woman. She writes about her views on the intervention on the website www.womenforwik.org.

CONFUSION and distress in remote Northern Territory communities arising from the Federal Government's emergency intervention is damaging the health of Aboriginal people, a health executive told a meeting in Melbourne last night.

Irene Fisher, chief executive of Sunrise Health, a network of 10 health centres in remote communities east of Katherine, said anxiety was feeding despair in already fragile communities. Two recent youth suicides in the area — the first in several years — had galvanised her involvement in an increasingly vocal campaign against the Government takeover of 70 remote communities.

"I've never known a mortality rate like what is happening at the moment," Ms Fisher told The Age before last night's meeting. A Jawoyn woman, she has worked in the area as a nurse and health executive for 17 years.

"I know cynics will say, 'Oh, you can't blame it on the intervention' — and say this is why we need the intervention. People are forgetting the fragile state of the communities and the people living in them. To me it is almost like some are dying of broken hearts."

Along with Aboriginal leaders Olga Havnen and Lowitja O'Donoghue, Ms Fisher was in Melbourne this week as part of an effort to revive a 10-year-old lobby group of black and white women concerned about Aboriginal policy. The Women for Wik movement, which monitors the effects of the intervention, has gained endorsement from about 3000 women, including Tamie Fraser, Lady Deane, Justice Elizabeth Evatt and Gabi Hollows.

The most tangible effect of the intervention so far was "absolute shock and cynicism", said Ms Havnen, an outspoken critic of the intervention. "The only thing people have seen on the ground has been an increased number of bureaucrats, and new housing and vehicles for bureaucrats, and constant convening of meetings by the public sector," she said.

"The $1.3 billion is not being spent on child protection — there are no additional child protection workers, there are no services or programs expanded in the areas of children or family services."

Ms Fisher said she was already calling on aid groups to help communities facing a grim Christmas.
Under the intervention, 50 per cent of family welfare payments will be withheld to ensure it is spent on food and other essentials. But many remote townships still did not have functional town stores equipped to cater for those needs, she said.

My NT Community Faces Quarantined Christmas

ABC News Opinion on-line: 17th December, 2008

Rachel Willika

I live in the Aboriginal community of Eva Valley, in the Northern Territory.

I've got no television, but when my friend sister Olga told me we had a new Prime Minister, I was crying.

When she told me what Kevin Rudd had said, I was crying and she was crying. He said "I'm going to be Prime Minister for all Australians."

That Kevin Rudd, you can trust him. We trust him because he said he's going to be Prime Minister for all Australians.

We need the government and other organisations to help us. Now he is Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd can do something.

The first thing we need is work. We need jobs with proper pay. We want the power to help ourselves. We want to help ourselves.

Christmas is coming up. We don't know if they are going to quarantine our money and we're worried about that.

We spend money on a whole lot of things to make our kids happy. Toys. Little toys. Not big toys, but little toys.

At Christmas, we want to get bigger toys for our kids, but with that quarantining, I think they won't let us.

We won't have a right to buy those bigger things for our kids. We want the freedom to buy what we choose ourselves, not only those things they say we can buy. I'm worried about this.

We need a community vehicle to go to town to buy food, and sealed roads. Our community bus is finished, broken down. It's too old now.

We live 110 kilometres from town but we've got no vehicle to go shopping. We have to get a taxi. The price has gone up and now it's $220 in and $220 back.

We need a store in the community, to sell power cards, food, and clothes, so we don't have to go to town to shop.

Now that Kevin Rudd is Prime Minister we want him to help us. We've got things that worry us.

We're worried about quarantining, and buying presents for kids at Christmas, and we're worried that we don't have a store, or a community vehicle to go to town to buy food.
If it goes on like this, that we have none of these things, there will be trouble around the community. Husbands will get upset. Wives will get upset. Kids won't go to school on time. Everything will go wrong.

We want the government to help us, so we can help our children. We need to work together to help our children.

I dreamt a story, about that ship.

From the election, Kevin Rudd has got to be the Captain of that great big ship.

We are in his ship now and he has to take us forward. We don't look left, or right. We've got to look forward, for the future of our children.

Kevin Rudd is our Captain. That Captain has to make sure that everything is going all right on that ship. He has to look ahead for any danger. He has to be alert.

We are in his ship now and he has to take us forward, together with those other organisations. That Marion Scrymgour and Jenny Macklin, they're in that boat, too.

They're the crew, and they have to help the Captain make a safe journey.

We need a fresh start, new leadership, new everything.

Big ships are made to go forward. They don't go backwards, do they? That's what we want now, to go forward.

Rachel Willika is a Jawoyn woman. She lives at Eva Valley, one of the communities prescribed by the intervention in the Northern Territory. Her views are recorded regularly on the website Women for Wik.

Christmas Spirit in the Northern Territory

*ABC News Opinion On-line: 15th January, 2008*

Rachel Willika

The children at Eva Valley community had no Christmas presents this year. No Santa Claus, no decorations, no Christmas spirit, nothing.

Christmas Day, we had lunch at the Women's Centre. The Jawoyn Association provided and paid for all the food. We had salad, ham, turkey, prawns, Christmas cake, chips, lollies for the children. We all helped with getting that food ready.

It was a quick lunch because a family member had passed away.

I don't know why there were no presents this year. In other years, we've had presents. Someone helps us-a local organisation, or someone. But we had no presents this year.

We couldn't buy presents ourselves because that quarantining has come in. We got that store card just before Christmas. That store card is just for Woolworths, Big W, and Caltex. There is no Big W in Katherine, only Target, so we couldn't buy toys. Only little toys that are in Woolworths.

We could only buy food with that store card. What about presents, and Christmas decorations and streamers, and stuff like that? Those things are important, too.

You can't choose where to spend your store card. You can only spend it at those places that they say. Woolworths, Big W, Caltex. There's pictures showing on the card. Woolworths, Big W, Caltex.

I got my Target card on January 3.

My friend and I were walking around Eva Valley yesterday and we said 'No-one's been listening to us. Nothing has changed'.

We've told those intervention people about our worries, but nothing has changed.

We want our voices to be heard. We want a store up and running at Eva Valley, so we don't have to get a taxi to Katherine to buy food. The community bus is broken down and the taxi costs $220 in and $220 back. When we go to town some of us share the cost of that taxi, but it is a lot of money, even when you share the cost.

Last Thursday I went to town to get my store card, to buy food. When I went to that Centrelink there was a sign 'There are no store cards in the Katherine office until 1pm today.' Centrelink was running out of store cards.
They could only give me a store card for $50 to buy food, and one for $200 for clothing. I've still got $94 that they have to give me for food.

Now, I'll have to pay another taxi ride to get back to Katherine to buy food. I think they won't give me a taxi voucher. I'm a bit worried, because they might not have enough store cards again.

There were a lot of people lined up at Centrelink, and some of them were getting upset. They said 'This is no good' and 'I don't like standing in line all day.' Some people had come in from a long way.

One old lady from Beswick said: 'Oh, hurry up. I've got to get my voucher so I can go back and the water might be up over the bridge. I might not be able to get in, if I go back too late.'

There were over 500 or 600 people at Centrelink. They were from Barunga, Beswick, Eva Valley, Walpi Camp, Gorge Camp, Binjari, Long Grass, some from Hudson's Downs, some from Roper. Some were inside, and some were waiting outside.

There was a big, long waiting line. Everyone was complaining about the time. There were only six or seven workers. I counted them.

A lot of people only got a store voucher for a little bit of money, like me. I think maybe some of them didn't get anything. That Centrelink was running out of store cards.

One woman had a problem getting her ID card. You have to have your ID card with you all the time. We got our ID cards from legal aid. We paid $5 to get that card.

Centrelink said we had to get our ID card. It has our photo on it. We had to go right back, walk over to legal aid, walk back to Centrelink, wait in line again.

At Katherine Centrelink, there is a toilet but it is not in use. Some people have to wander off to find a toilet and they miss out when their names are called. They have to wait in line again.

One young girl from Barunga said: 'I live at Barunga and we don't have access to store cards at our community, even though we've got a store. I have to come all the way to Katherine to get my store card.'

Just before Christmas we were stranded in Katherine. That mini bus driver said 'Wait. I can't travel at night. I'm going to have to take you mob in the morning now.'

We were stranded, and we had bought all our food. We didn't know where to sleep.
I know that Christian Brother from church, and I saw him, so I asked him 'Can you help us out? Do you have a vehicle that can take us to Eva Valley?'

He went to ask his friend and his friend wasn't there. He was on holiday. He said to me 'This is not fair on you. You have to travel a long way. You should talk to your local government, write a letter.'

He said 'When you come into town next time, you and me can sit down and write a letter. We can go to that local government together and talk to them.'

This has been a hard Christmas for us at Eva Valley.

If people want to help Aboriginal communities have a good Christmas spirit next year they should make a donation through the Fred Hollows Foundation.

Next Christmas I hope we have presents and Santa Claus and a real Christmas spirit.

Rachel Willika lives at Eva Valley, one of the Aboriginal communities prescribed by the Federal Government’s intervention in the Northern Territory. She would like to thank the Jawoyn Association and the Ian Thorpe Fountain of Youth for the support they give Aboriginal communities in this region. (January 19 2008).

Intervention Policy Does Not Wash

*Sydney Morning Herald: 3rd March, 2008*

*Stephanie Peatling*

A little while ago Rachel Willika's washing machine broke down. That was followed quickly by the refrigerator. Rachel and her two daughters worked out that if they split their various bills between them they could save up and buy the new washing machine the family needed. They would worry about the fridge later.

Then came the real problem.

Rachel Willika is a Jawoyn woman who lives in the tiny community of Eva Valley in the Northern Territory.

Because of this Rachel's money is not her own to spend; her welfare payments have been quarantined by the Federal Government as part of the radical intervention into the lives of the Territory's Aborigines.

When Rachel's daughter asked Centrelink if she could spend her money on a new washing machine the welfare agency first said yes, but then changed its mind.

What Rachel told her friend Claire Smith - a member of Women for Wik, an organisation monitoring the intervention - earlier this week was a statement of the obvious. "We can't wash clothes now. All our clothes, kids' clothes, are piled up ... The kids can't go to school because the clothes are not washed," Rachel said.

"Everything's stopped now. How would you feel? They are the main things you need to run a house properly."

Welfare quarantining applies to all indigenous people living in one of a list of remote communities and towns across the Territory. It means at least half of their government payments are managed on their behalf by Centrelink.

Rent, medical expenses and utility bills are paid and a set amount of money is held at the local store for people to use only on food and non-alcoholic drinks.

Regardless of whether the person is suspected of child neglect or has asked for help with managing their money, their payments are spent for them.

People's normal right of appeal to the Social Security Appeals Tribunal has also been abolished because, the Howard government argued, the situation was so dire there was no time for the process.
The Rudd Government is continuing with this part of the Territory intervention and will also go ahead with plans to give child protection officers the power to recommend withholding government payments from all parents suspected of child neglect or abuse.

The idea is that children should not have to suffer lack of food or a trip to the doctor or worry about the electricity being cut off because their parents have mismanaged their money.

Welfare quarantining outside the Territory is starting in Western Australia’s Kimberley region and Queensland’s Cape York. In those areas it will proceed on a case-by-case basis and only after parents have been warned.

Fatal Katherine Stabbing 'lacked murderous intent'

ABC News On-line: 23rd April, 2008

A man who stabbed his partner to death in broad daylight on Katherine's main street in front of an off-duty police officer has been found not guilty of murder.

After deliberating for five hours, the jury instead convicted the man of the lesser charge of manslaughter.

The 53-year-old woman died after she was stabbed nine times in the head and upper body in May last year.

Her 45-year-old partner Billy King pleaded not guilty to murder.

During his week-long trial, a school-based policewoman and other witnesses said they saw King stab the heavily intoxicated woman. Senior constable Daniella Mattiuzzo, who later won a bravery award for her role in the incident, said King was angry and agitated and she tried to calm him down.

She thought he was about to comply when somebody shouted something in an Aboriginal language and King reacted.

She said he took two or three deliberate steps towards the woman, who was sitting on the ground, and stabbed her in the chest.

In his closing address, prosecutor Jack Karczewski said the wound was nine centimetres deep and was likely to have caused the woman to collapse and die within minutes.

"The knife entered the body precisely where he meant it to go. This was not some fluke or unlucky happening. He couldn't miss her ... she was literally a sitting duck," he told the court.

But the defence lawyer Anthony Cook said King's ability to develop an intention to kill was diminished by the fact he was drunk at the time.

Mr Cook added that forensic evidence showed the stab wound that killed the woman was inflicted with less force than the others.

"There was a death, it was caused by him, but without the necessary murderous intent. The proper verdict in this case is not guilty of murder but guilty of manslaughter."

In the end, that's exactly how the jury saw it, unanimously acquitting King of murder but convicting him of manslaughter.

He'll be sentenced in June.

Indigenous Leaders Call for Constitutional Recognition

ABC News On-line: 8th June, 2008

Aboriginal leaders at the Barunga Festival in the Northern Territory have urged the Federal Government to have Indigenous people recognised in the constitution.

During the 1988 Barunga Festival, former prime minister Bob Hawke promised there would be a treaty between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within two years.

Twenty years on, Indigenous leaders say there is still a need for a treaty.

Indigenous advocate Pat Dodson says the rights of Indigenous people needs to be strengthened in the constitution, a position supported by Northern Land Council chairman Wally Wangamurra.

Mr Dodson says in the 20 years since the promise and the signing of the statement calling for greater respect for Aboriginal identity, more could have been done to improve the grassroots issues of poor education, housing and health.

Mr Dodson says a discussion is needed now on how Indigenous rights could be secured in the constitution.

"The preamble is not the only place where that ought to be done, there ought to be a serious look at the race power which was achieved some time ago in 1967," he said.

"[We need to] have a look at how effective that power is and if it's sufficient, then what else do we need to do to recognise Indigenous peoples' rights."

The head of the Northern Territory Statehood Steering Committee says the Territory could lead the way in greater recognition of Aboriginal rights if it was to become Australia's seventh state.

Speaking at the Barunga Festival, committee chairwoman Malarndirri McCarthy says Indigenous leaders in the Northern Territory should be urging their communities to start discussing what they want in a new constitution.

"The people of the Northern Territory can really lead the way in terms of all Australians. Here we are, a group of people who can be black and white, men and women, come together to enshrine those rights within a constitution of the Northern Territory."

The cultural festival continues today with sporting events and the battle of the bands, which has lured entries from communities throughout the territory.
Organisers estimate about 3,000 people were at the festival.

Barunga Festival Attendees Call for Indigenous Rights

*ABC News On-line*: 9th June, 2008

The Barunga Festival is a celebration of Indigenous culture, drawing thousands from across the Northern Territory for sport, music and art.

The festival's also a platform for Indigenous politics.

In 1988, several Indigenous leaders presented the then prime minister Bob Hawke with the Barunga statement, calling for a national system of land rights and respect for Aboriginal identity.

It prompted a commitment from Mr Hawke for a treaty between Aboriginal people and the Government within two years.

Twenty years on, there's no treaty and little change.

Lisa Mumbin, from the local Jawoyn Association, told AM the reality has not lived up to the euphoria and optimism felt in 1988.

"Governments have come and gone, programs have come and gone, there have been gains made but there is still much more to be done," she said.

But Indigenous leaders are looking at ways to reignite the enthusiasm generated in 1988.

For the Northern Land Council chairman Wali Wunungmurra, one way is securing Indigenous rights in the constitution.

"We must make sure that our rights cannot be undermined," he said. "That's the only place that I think would be safe for Aboriginal rights, the human basic rights."

Indigenous advocate Pat Dodson argues debate is now needed on how it will happen.

"There ought to be a serious look at the race power which was achieved some years ago in 1967, and have a look at how effective that power is and if it's sufficient," he said.

Northern Territory Labor politician Malarndirri McCarthy co-chairs the committee exploring the option of the Territory becoming the seventh state. She says it's time for Aboriginal people to start planning for a new constitution.

"Calling your families together, calling clan groups together, thinking politically now, what do you want enshrined?" she said.

She says greater recognition in the constitution would give Indigenous people a sense of empowerment.
"A sense of being able to speak on your own behalf and that of your family and your people within a governance structure where you can advocate with some sense of equality," she said.

While there's a great vibe on the sporting field at Barunga, there's also the reality that it's one of many communities dealing the federally enforced intervention.

There have been improvements but there's also the difficulty in dealing issues like welfare quarantining.

Traditional owner Preston Lee welcomes debate on constitutional change.

"What I've heard yesterday was very positive and I think it will work for my people," he said. "It'll be a long-term process."

*Based on a report by Sarah Hawke for AM*

Rethinking Training for Remote Teachers

*ABC News Opinion On-line: 7th July, 2008*

Anita Painter

At the 12-month review point for the federal intervention, it is time to rethink how we approach teaching Aboriginal children in remote areas. We need to develop a program that is designed for our kids, not only in curricula but also in how we train our teachers.

The Commonwealth and Northern Territory governments are putting a lot of funding into education and hopes for the future. However, a lot of programs and curricula have been developed over the years. Some have worked and some haven't. If we are going to get better educational outcomes for Aboriginal children we need to make sure we do not make the mistakes of the past.

I have seen a lot of new teachers come in over the years, and when they come to a remote community, it is like they are thrown in the deep end. They don't know what to do and they get confused. Before coming to communities teachers need to learn how to act and behave, culture way. Because they are not trained in appropriate behaviour or in how communities work, sometimes teachers make mistakes.

This can occur even in the way they dress. Western people dress with half of their body shown. If you work in a remote Aboriginal community you've got to be properly covered. If a woman shows her body she is thought of as disrespectful. Aboriginal people have different rules that we must abide by, especially in terms of traditional culture. For example, you could not wear a bikini in front of your cousin, brother, or any man, not even your husband. This wasn't made for us.

This is the kind of information that needs to be given to new teachers in remote communities. Teachers need to understand and learn the Aboriginal worldview if they are going to be successful in teaching Aboriginal children.

Remote community teaching skills should be a part of university teacher training. This should be formal training, so that people become qualified and get a certificate. To do this properly, it would take four years or more, but if we can't do this, community training should be incorporated into current teaching programs.

This training needs to be done in remote communities - the skills and knowledge that teachers need to get cannot be obtained in a university environment.

When teachers come to a remote community they have to live in that community, and they need to learn the rules of that place. They need to learn things as simple as where you can walk. In town you can walk in any public places, but in communities private places such as ceremony...
grounds often won’t have signs, but some will and it will cause a lot of trouble for a teacher if they don’t follow the rules.

Teacher training should include doing studies on what community life is all about, so that when teachers arrive they have some idea of how communities operate. They need hands-on experience in communities, not looking at pictures or slides in a classroom. We need to give our teachers intensive training in communities.

They need to get an understanding of what is happening around them, to have some knowledge of what is expected of them. Making mistakes can end up with serious consequences. Even a report card needs to be written in such a way with words that are appropriate and simple for our parents to understand.

A long established relationship with non-Indigenous teachers is a very important issue. We are able to facilitate the development of the students learning together and the community relations as well if this happens.

Teachers who have not taught in a remote community previously should have an Indigenous mentor. This should not only apply to university graduates, but also to teachers who have taught in mainstream schools, but have not taught in remote communities. The Indigenous mentors are the ones to correct them and teach them about culture, and guide them in how the community works. It is also important that the teachers learn about families, whether a student comes from a family with problems, or one that moves around a lot, and the Indigenous mentor can help with that.

Being mentors can be a source of employment for community people. At Barunga, we have a whole heap of people who could help. Some of these are elders, other are past assistant teachers. These people play important roles in the community as a whole and they have the skills to train university trainee teachers, and qualified teachers as well.

It is crucial for us to have assistant teachers in all classes. They know both Western and Aboriginal culture, and have a wider and broader knowledge of our students in the school, and outside of the community. They know if there is a problem with the kids, for example, if they are behaving in a silly way in the classroom. They understand how a family problem might affect their work, and they can help the teachers to deal with that problem.

Seating arrangements are important, and assistant teachers can make sure that the students are sitting in their appropriate places. For example, a brother and sister should not sit together. Ideally, boys and girls would have separate classrooms.

We need to make sure of the kind of teachers the government is sending us. We already have criminal checks, but also need to know how many years experience people have had in Indigenous schools. We need experienced teachers, and if the government does send teachers without
remote community teaching experience, they should make sure they come and spend some time living in the community, getting community training, before they come here as a teacher.

We need teachers that listen, that respect both ways. We need incentives so that teachers stay a long time.

The thing we need most of all are Aboriginal people teaching in our own communities. If we train our assistant teachers so that they become fully qualified, we solve the problem of having culturally appropriate teaching, and of keeping good teachers for the long term.

The appropriate training of teachers is one of the most important tools for helping our kids get the educational outcomes that we want. If we want different outcomes, we need different methods for training our teachers to be successful.

Remember: Learning is teaching, teaching is learning.

*Anita Painter is the teaching principal at Barunga school, 90 kilometres south-east of Katherine in the Northern Territory.*

Outback Stores May Save Beswick Shop


The future of the community store in the Aboriginal community of Beswick, east of Katherine, is in doubt, with reports suggesting it's insolvent.

The vice-chairwoman of the store committee, Miliwanga Sandy, says the shop has been deemed insolvent, and that means quarantined welfare payments can't be spent there.

One hope is that the retailer Outback Stores can step in and run the shop.

But Ms Sandy says the shop is linked with the local club, and Outback Stores won't get involved in businesses that sell alcohol.

"The club has always been with the store over many years and has always helped to pay bills."

She says the store can't be separated from the club while its insolvent, and residents are now taking their business to the Barunga store or into Katherine.

But Outback Stores says it is now prepared to run the store and social club, despite alcohol being sold at the club.

The company's John Kop says the company usually doesn't get involved in businesses that sell alcohol, and he hopes it'll be a short-term measure.

"Outback Stores has a very good expertise in being able to provide food, pricing and nutrition, but alcohol management is not something that we see as part of the Outback Stores portfolio."

Appendix 3

Views of Non-Aboriginal Focus Group, Katherine
Views around the Question:
Is the Northern Territory Emergency Response Working?

It’s not working for us in town.

To me, the intervention was about the molestation of children. I can’t tell what’s going on in communities.

They are drinking just down the river bank. The police have given up. They just drive around. How come they don’t just get in that car and go straight to the spot.

I can’t understand why the powers to be would allow bottles to go out? That’s the very worse thing that can happen. Even in Darwin, the other night, people are going around glassing people. Not only Aboriginal people.

A lot of the intervention people are making a lot of money out of this.

It’s not only them. It’s lawyers and doctors and all sorts of people into that stuff (pornography). It’s an epidemic. I can’t see what’s wrong with people.

They should do a review of pornography, books, videos, DVDs.

I’m not at all racist, but it’s the other side of it. I like a decent fellow, whether they’re black or white.

The other thing is. They say Aboriginal people now own 50% of the Northern Territory, and yet we are still paying to look after them. They’re supposed to be self-sufficient.

The intervention here is very wrong. They can only spend their other 50% at Woolworths. That’s really bad for the town. They should be able to spend their money where they like.

How could they devise a system that is so biased? The butchers and the bakers are all missing out because the people don’t have any money.

I reckon that the worse thing is that they abduct them to make them vote. They bring them in and give them a BBQ. I saw one woman saying ‘I don’t want to vote’, but they practically dragged her up there.

The schools in Katherine can’t cope with all the kids. They haven’t been to school before, so they’re disruptive in class, and they get all the attention. It takes the teachers half their time to get the Aboriginal kids under control, and the other kids are missing out.

At school they’re trying to teach them to cook.
It might be working for some Aboriginal communities, but it is certainly not working for the Katherine community.

He works so hard, that little fellow who cleans up Katherine, and it must be really depressing for him.

It not fair. Why can’t they teach people to drink responsibly in their own communities?

They have to take some responsibility for themselves. They come to town and we wear all the abuse that comes with alcohol.

Broken windows, rubbish all over the street. Violence and humbugging for money. And drinking just outside Woolworths still. And Paddy and them pick up rubbish under the bridge and it is full of green cans.

It’s not working. The casts may not be as many but the broken bottles are everywhere. We walk along the riverbank side, the glass is disgusting. In Ryan Park, it’s disgusting.

They really need to reduce the amount of glass sold.

People are just camping everywhere around the edges of town. They’re everywhere. Everywhere. Everywhere.

The other morning when I was going to work I was confronted by a man urinating.

People are using Katherine as a toilet. Defecating, fornicating and every other ‘cating you can think of!

There’s not enough toilet facilities. And the facilities that are there are not cleaned. There are toilets are Ryan Park, but you wouldn’t want to go in there if you are a tourist.

People don’t feel safe in their houses any more. Lyn has put security mesh all around her house. That cost $3,000.

My husband woke up with an Aboriginal male there with a knife, threatening him, after his car keys.

They just come into town, and town is not equipped to deal with it. It’s getting worse. If there was someone else to go that had a good lifestyle, I’d be there ... but it is a good place to live here. When you don’t have to deal with the crime element.

Crime has gone up in town. There were several break-ins just last night.

A house got burnt down in Shepherd St. If he hadn’t been on drugs and alcohol, it wouldn’t have been burnt down.
It’s not only white people. I don’t want to go into the colour side of it. It impacts on the whole town. If you could get all those drunks and put them outside of town, Katherine would be a nice town.

Why spoil our town? We’ve lived here all our lives and we’ve put our money into the town, and I don’t think it’s fair that we should have to put up with this. It’s actually wrecked the town. People are leaving Katherine because of these behaviours. And they don’t want to leave. It’s a good little town.

One person said that he’s leaving because before long Katherine will self-destruct. And he’s been here for years.

How can you fix the kids if you can’t fix the parents?

Those store cards are just spent at the big stores – that money doesn’t stay in town. It is damaging the economy.

We sound racist, don’t we? But we’re not really. It is frustration.
Appendix 4

Your Law, Our Law: Protocols for Visiting Jawoyn & NMNRC Communities
YOUR LAW, OUR LAW:
PROTOCOLS FOR VISITING JAWOYN AND NMNRC COMMUNITIES

Australian law has changed so that non-Aboriginal people no longer need a permit to visit Aboriginal township areas. This means there will be more visitors to our communities. We ask these visitors to work with the structures and principles that we have in place, and to abide by our protocols concerning country, kin and culture:

‘You can change your law. We don’t change our law. Our law is one law—one law, unchanging.’ Nell Brown, traditional owner, Bagala clan lands.

Arrival
1. On arrival in our community, you should proceed directly to the council office and introduce yourself to the Community Manager who will then introduce you to the President of the community and, if relevant, the senior traditional owner. This means that the people who are responsible for the day-to-day running of the community are aware that you are visiting, and can tell you about anything specific that you will need to know (such as no go areas and whether there is “Sorry Business” going on).

Appropriate Behaviours
2. Always be modest in your behaviour. You should speak quietly, walk at a moderate pace, and try not to be intrusive in your general behaviour. Women, in particular, should dress modestly, as Aboriginal women do.

Visiting the Surrounding Country
3. While the permit system has changed to allow access to the public areas of communities, please remember that this does not entitle you to enter without permission into the private and residential parts of the communities and you still need a permit to apply to enter Aboriginal land outside of the community areas. In order to do this, you should go through the normal processes implemented by the Northern Land Council.
4. Once you have received a permit, you are not to approach any Jawoyn rock art or archaeological sites without the permission and guidance of Aboriginal Elders. This is because there are many sacred sites, which cannot be visited by everyone, and some of these sites contain important things that should not be disturbed. Old people know the location of the best sites, and they will guide you to the places that it is appropriate for you to visit, and will protect you from going to places that could hurt you. Old people have to be paid for this service. If you only visit country with old people, we know that you are serious about learning about Aboriginal culture, and that you have not disturbed sites that are sacred to us.
5. Some places are family places, and you should only visit these areas accompanied by relevant clan members endorsed by the Elders.

---

1 Subject to final amendment and ratification by the Executive Boards of the Jawoyn Association and Nyirranggulung Mardrulk Ngadberre Regional Council (NMNRC).
Taking Photos
6. You should ask for permission before you take photos. If they are photos of the community as a whole, you should ask at the Council office. If they are photos of people, you should ask the individuals involved.
7. Copies of photos should be given to the people involved.
8. You should ask for permission before you publish any photos.

Publishing
9. Permission to publish a photograph is given for one time only. Permission should be re-sought for any further publications.
10. If you are given permission to publish photos, you should pay a small sum to the appropriate people. The idea here is that people publish photographs in order to further their careers, and that they get monetary benefit from this, so Aboriginal people should get a small monetary benefit as well.
11. If you wish to publish about a sensitive area you should get permission from the people involved.
12. Copies of publications should be given to the community people involved, as well as to the Jawoyn Association and the NMNRC

Sales and Services
13. We ask people who have goods or services to sell to register with the local council on their arrival in the community. They should also give advance warning of their visit to the Jawoyn Association and to the NMNRC.

Visiting People’s Homes
14. It is not polite to enter people’s houses unless you have a very clear invitation. Mostly, people will want to talk with you outside. If you visit someone’s house, you should call out from the front yard, or knock on the door, but stand away from the door, so they have privacy.

Other Visitors
15. If you have your friends visit you in our communities, or conduct research with us, we ask that you make sure these people act according to the protocols outlined in this document.

Always Ask
16. If you have any doubt about how you should act, just ask. Sometimes you might have to wait a little while for an answer, to give family time to agree, but we will always be willing to guide you. We want to look after Non-Aboriginal people, too.

PLEASE.
RESPECT OUR CULTURE, RESPECT OUR LAND, RESPECT US.

Drafted by Claire Smith and Gary Jackson, under instruction from Phyllis Wiyunjoroc, Peter Manabaru, Jimmy Wesan, Nell Brown, Sybil Ranch, Wes Miller and Michael Berto.

Contacts: Wes Miller, wes.miller@jawoyn.org
Claire Smith, Claire.smith@flinders.edu.au
Appendix 5

Survey Form
NOTHERN TERRITORY EMERGENCY RESPONSE

KATHERINE EAST REGION

Data collection by Claire Smith and Gary Jackson
for submission to the NTER Review Board

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pensioner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coordination
1) Do you know what your Government Business Manager does?

Yes
No
Not Sure

Comment:

2) Do you know what your Community Employment Broker does?

Yes
No
Not Sure

Comment:

Employment
3) Are there more jobs for Aboriginal people now?

Yes
No
Not Sure

Comment:
4) Do you want CDEP to come back?

   Yes       No       Not Sure

Comment:

**Income Management and Budgeting**

5) Has income management been good for you?

   Yes       No       Not Sure

Comment:

6) If income management was voluntary would you keep going with it?

   Yes       No       Not Sure

Why?:

7) Have you been offered any budgeting skills training?

   Yes       No

8) If you were offered budgeting skills training, did you take it?

   Yes       No

Comment:

9) If you were offered budgeting skills training, who offered it?

   ICC       Centrelink       Other
Community Store

10) Is there more good food in the community store since the NTER?

   Yes       No       The Same       Not Sure

Comment:

11) Is food in the community store cheaper than before?

   Yes       No       The Same       Not Sure

12) How can we make the community store better?

Law and Order

13) Do you think there are more, less or the same police patrols now?

   More       Less       The Same       Not Sure

14) Do you feel safer, less safe or the same since the NTER started?

   More Safe       Less Safe       The Same       Not Sure

Comment:

15) How can we make the community more safe?
**Alcohol**

16) Are people drinking more, less or the same than before the NTER?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>The Same</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comment:

17) Do the drinkers drink in a safe place now?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>The Same</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comment:

18) What can be done to help with alcohol problems?

**Drugs**

19) Is there more, less or the same amount of marijuana in the community than before the NTER?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>The Same</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comment:

20) Are there any other drugs in your community? If so, if there more less or the same amount as before the NTER?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comment:

21) What can we do to keep out drugs?
Housing
22) Have any new houses been built since the NTER started?

Yes  No  Not Sure

Comment:

23) Are the houses getting fixed up more than before?

More  Less  The Same  Not Sure

Comment:

Education
24) Do you see more kids going to school more than before the NTER?

Yes  No  Not Sure

Comment:

25) How can we make the school better?

Youth Activities
26) Are there more things for kids to do now?

Yes  No  Not Sure

Comment:
27) What should we be doing to help kids outside of school?

**Family and Individual Wellbeing**

28) Do you think families are better off since the NTER?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>The Same</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comment:

29) In what ways do you think the NTER has supported families?

Comment:

30) What effect has the NTER had on your life?

Made life better  More humbug  Both  Same

Comment:

**Racial Discrimination Act**

31) The NTER only applies to Aboriginal communities. Is this something that worries you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Comment:
Five Year Leases
32) As part of the NTER, the government now leases (is boss for) the land around the community. Do you agree with this?

Yes  No  Not Sure

Comment:

Overall Assessment
33) Is the NTER a good thing?

Yes  No  Not Sure

Comment:

Community Feedback

34) Is there anything you want to say to the government about the NTER?
Appendix 6

Raw Data
A Community-based Review of the Northern Territory Emergency Response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>BARUNGA</th>
<th>WUGULARR</th>
<th>EVA VALLEY</th>
<th>KALANO</th>
<th>OUTSTATIONS</th>
<th>AGGREGATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Business Manager (understanding)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Employment Broker (understanding)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More jobs for Aboriginal people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDEP (want back)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income management (good)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income management, if voluntary</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget skills training offered</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget skills training taken</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget skills training provider</td>
<td>Centrelink</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 10</td>
<td>BARUNGA</td>
<td>WUGULARR</td>
<td>EVA VALLEY</td>
<td>KALANO</td>
<td>OUTSTATIONS</td>
<td>AGGREGATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community store (good food)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 11</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community store (food cheaper)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 12</td>
<td>Ideas for community store</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 13</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order (police patrols)</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 14</td>
<td>More safe</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order (personal safety)</td>
<td>Less safe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 15</td>
<td>Ideas for law and order</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 16</td>
<td>Drinking more</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol consumption</td>
<td>Drinking less</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 17</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol (drinker place)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>BARUNGA</td>
<td>WUGULARR</td>
<td>EVA VALLEY</td>
<td>KALANO</td>
<td>OUTSTATIONS</td>
<td>AGGREGATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 18</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas for alcohol problems</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 19</strong></td>
<td>More</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana use</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 20</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other drugs available (availability)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 21</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas for drug control</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 22</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More new houses</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 23</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House renovations</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 24</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School attendance higher</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 25</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas for better schools</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 26</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More youth activities</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question 27</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas for kids outside school</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 28</td>
<td>BARUNGA</td>
<td>WUGULARR</td>
<td>EVA VALLEY</td>
<td>KALANO</td>
<td>OUTSTATIONS</td>
<td>AGGREGATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 29</th>
<th>NTER support for families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 30</th>
<th>Life better</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More humbug</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 31</th>
<th>Worried about racial discrimination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 32</th>
<th>Agree with five year leases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 33</th>
<th>Is the NTER a good thing?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 34</th>
<th>Your ideas for the government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 7

Raw Data as Percentages
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>BARUNGA</th>
<th>WUGULARR</th>
<th>EVA VALLEY</th>
<th>KALARNO</th>
<th>OUTSTATIONS</th>
<th>AGGREGATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt Business Manager</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Broker</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More jobs for Aboriginal people</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDEP (want reinstated)</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income management (good)</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income management, if voluntary</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget skills training offered</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget skills training taken</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget skills training provider</td>
<td></td>
<td>Centrelink</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do you understand their role)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 10</td>
<td>BARUNGA</td>
<td>WUGULARR</td>
<td>EVA VALLEY</td>
<td>KALARNO</td>
<td>OUTSTATIONS</td>
<td>AGGREGATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community store (more good food)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Question 11                              | Yes     | 40       | 0          | 0       | 19          |           |
| Community store (food cheaper)           | No      | 38       | 85         | 86      | 64          |           |
|                                         | The same| 17       | 15         | 7       | 14          |           |
|                                         | Not sure| 5        | 0          | 7       | 3           |           |
| **Totals**                              | 100     | 100      | 100        | 100     | 100         | 100       |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 12</th>
<th>Ideas for community store</th>
<th>N/A - qualitative question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Question 13                              | More | 7        | 12        | 6        | 7            | 67        | 14        |
| Law and order (police)                   | Less | 33       | 18        | 6        | 57           | 0         | 25        |
|                                         | The same | 60       | 58        | 88       | 36           | 25        | 57        |
|                                         | Not sure | 0        | 12        | 0        | 0            | 8         | 4         |
| **Totals**                              | 100     | 100      | 100        | 100     | 100         | 100       | 100       |

| Question 14                              | More safe | 29       | 15        | 25       | 7            | 42        | 23        |
| Law and order (personal safety)          | Less safe | 0        | 0         | 0        | 7            | 0         | 1         |
|                                         | The same | 71       | 85        | 75       | 79           | 58        | 75        |
|                                         | Not sure | 0        | 0         | 0        | 7            | 0         | 1         |
| **Totals**                              | 100     | 100      | 100        | 100     | 100         | 100       | 100       |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 15</th>
<th>Ideas for law and order</th>
<th>N/A - qualitative question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Question 16                              | Drinking more | 17        | 21        | 6        | 86           | 50        | 28        |
| Alcohol consumption                      | Drinking less | 50        | 32        | 75       | 0            | 17        | 39        |
|                                         | The same | 31        | 47        | 19       | 14           | 33        | 32        |
|                                         | Not sure | 2        | 0         | 0        | 0            | 0         | 1         |
| **Totals**                              | 100     | 100      | 100        | 100     | 100         | 100       | 100       |

| Question 17                              | Yes | 0        | 35        | 0        | 50           | 8         | 17        |
| Alcohol (drinkers in safe place)         | No | 100      | 56        | 100      | 22           | 17        | 69        |
|                                         | The same | 0        | 9         | 0        | 14           | 33        | 8         |
|                                         | Not sure | 0        | 0         | 0        | 14           | 42        | 6         |
| **Totals**                              | 100     | 100      | 100        | 100     | 100         | 100       | 100       |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 18</th>
<th>Ideas for alcohol problems</th>
<th>N/A - qualitative question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>BARUNGA</td>
<td>WUGULARR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 19</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijuana use</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 20</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other drugs</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>available (availability)</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 21</td>
<td>Ideas for drug control</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 22</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More new houses</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 23</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House renovations</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 24</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School attendance higher</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 25</td>
<td>Ideas for better schools</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 26</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More youth activities</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 27</td>
<td>Ideas for kids outside school</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 28</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhanced family wellbeing</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 29</td>
<td>NTER support for families</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 30</td>
<td>Life better</td>
<td>29 21 38 7 17 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTER effect on personal wellbeing</td>
<td>More humbug</td>
<td>10 29 25 29 42 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>54 47 12 0 33 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The same</td>
<td>7 3 25 64 8 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 31</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>95 100 94 100 83 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worried about racial discrimination</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0 0 6 0 17 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>5 0 0 0 0 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 32</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree with five year leases</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>95 100 100 79 92 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>5 0 0 21 8 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 33</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>31 18 13 0 8 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the NTER a good thing?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>26 44 13 71 75 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>43 38 74 29 17 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 34</td>
<td>Your ideas for the government</td>
<td>N/A - qualitative question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>