INDEPENDENT EVALUATION
OF THE CENTRAL LAND COUNCIL'S COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAMMES

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LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

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Executive Summary

This evaluation was carried out by a team led by Associate Professor Chris Roche of La Trobe University and James Ensor of the People and Planet Group. It was conducted in the second half of 2013. The overall purpose of the evaluation was to assist the Central Land Council (CLC) to 'explore and improve its development work in order to maximise the benefits for Aboriginal people' with a particular focus on its community development (CD) and governance programs. The evaluation was focused on assessing the contribution of these programs to the achievement of positive social, cultural and economic outcomes, and to increasing the capacity of people and groups within the communities supported by the CLC.

Methods

The evaluation used a 'mixed method' approach with a particular emphasis on eliciting the views of Aboriginal people, as well as service providers working with these communities. This involved:

- 126 interviews conducted in three different communities: Imanpa, Willowra and Lajamanu;

- Participant observation of certain Community Development Unit (CDU) sub-projects, of the Governance Project activities and processes, and of a full CLC Council meeting;

- A Feedback session with Kurdiji group in Lajamanu, a workshop with CLC CDU staff and a session with the full CLC Council;

- Secondary data analysis of relevant data, project documents, reports, and relevant policy documents and academic literature; and

- Social Network Analysis of data collected in Lajamanu on the membership of the various committee and governance structures.

Findings

The CLC has made significant financial and human resource commitments in the establishment of its Community Development function over the last eight years. Total Community Development expenditure from 2005/6 to 2012/13, (excluding staff costs) is $25.2m, growing from about $0.5m per annum in the first two years of operation to nearly $5m per annum in the last four years. This indicates a growing commitment from Aboriginal people to choose to spend their money in a collective manner. It is also significant to note that funds leveraged through other grants take this total to $33.2m.

The establishment of the CLC Community Development Program and Governance Project has occurred during a period of rapid policy change affecting the lives of Traditional Owners and residents of the communities in which the CLC Community Development Unit and Governance project have operated over the last eight years. Many of these broader policy changes – such as those associated with the Northern Territory Intervention and the Northern Territory 'Growth Towns' model, have generated considerable challenges and complexity for these CLC programs.

Despite this, projects supported by CDU and the CLC Governance Project have clearly produced outcomes valued by Aboriginal people. These have included: the generation of employment opportunities, enhanced training and education outcomes, skills development, improved child care, youth engagement, cultural strengthening and maintenance; and enhanced health and overall well-being for kidney patients.

It is clear to the Review Team that the CDU Program and CLC Governance Project have also played a critical role in empowering Traditional Owners and community residents across central Australia within a context of broader disempowerment. The fact that the CDU is located within a statutory agency that is governed by Aboriginal people provides the unit with an important degree of legitimacy and authority, which it uses to good effect.

These CLC programs are providing multiple forums and processes through which a critical mass of Aboriginal people across central Australia are able to analyse, identify and address their self-determined needs and priorities. These programs occur in a context where a range of other forums serving similar purposes have been disbanded over the last decade.

The CLC programs have produced longer term collective benefits for people than individual royalty payments. There are a number of less powerful or influential people who have benefitted from these programs who would have otherwise missed out in their absence. We also observed that, in some cases, the community development supported processes seemed to be somewhat insulated from community conflicts. On the other hand, decisions about individual payments often exacerbated tensions. There is also some evidence to suggest that individual and collective use of royalties and other income should be seen as complementary rather than an 'either-or' option.

The majority of interviewees take great pride in the fact that Aboriginal people are utilising their own money to address their own priority needs in a manner which maximises their control. There is clear evidence of good development practice by the CLC. Almost universally interviewees were also of the view that a huge range of services initially instigated and funded through Community Development projects and now benefiting Aboriginal people would simply not have happened without the impetus of CLC CD funding.

The subcontracting processes managed by CDU can be time consuming, difficult and challenging. CDU should try and use the leverage that comes with spending several million dollars per annum to improve quality by establishing minimum standards for all subcontractors and engaging in capacity development of subcontractors to meet these standards. The review team concludes that the potential for greater outcomes is constrained by other factors outside the control of the CLC which include the broader social determinants of health, the resourcing of health, education and housing services and associated policies, and the policies and practices of other service providers, subcontractors and government departments.

It is clear that many of the activities supported through the CLC's CD Program are used to help fund health and education services and activities. Such services and activities are funded by Federal and State governments in much of mainstream Australia. It is also the case that communities are using their own resources through CDU to fund programs and services that government has been reluctant to support (i.e. cultural activities and outstation upgrades and access).

At least within the communities sampled through this Review, positive Aboriginal led change - outside of the CDU and Governance Project sphere – seems to be largely ad hoc and often attributable to determined Aboriginal leadership supported by the coincidence of likeminded non-Aboriginal actors in communities. The unique characteristics associated with each community in which the CD Program operates demands a highly tailored and context specific response, as well as excellent local knowledge and relationships. The ability of CDU staff to work effectively to facilitate these networks of collaboration, elevate Aboriginal voice within them and broker relationships between diverse actors is a skill-set that is highly effective in this context.

There was a widely held view - from both Aboriginal respondents and service providers - that non-Aboriginal staff working as service providers at a community level need a better understanding of Aboriginal ways of working, community histories and local context and culture. CLC could be playing an important role in developing this understanding.

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CLC has amassed an impressive range of data, reports and interviews on both the community development and governance programs. It has also made strong efforts to share its lessons with others. The review team believe that CLC could make more of this data and experience by further investment in research to accompany its Monitoring and Evaluation processes . For example, the CLC could undertake more in depth analysis of the interview material it has, or explore social network analysis more fully. There is potential to be strengthening community efforts to generate and share data and information, as part of exploring forms of social accountability or community feedback which have been tested elsewhere.

Although Aboriginal people and most service providers emphasise similar positive elements of the CLC's Community Development and Governance work, it is also clear that there are also dimensions which are valued – and weighted – differently. This is particularly the case for what in broad terms might be called cultural dimensions and, to a lesser extent, issues of voice and control. Whilst both Aboriginal people and service providers valued outcomes related to health, education and employment, Aboriginal people were more likely to express the view that strengthening culture, and enhancing voice and control, were central to achieving these outcomes. There is a need to develop more holistic evaluative frameworks which better represent the elements that different stake-holders value.

The CDU's and Governance ways of working conform well to a set of emerging principles for those working on complex problems in International Development. Their practice is therefore also validated by experience and theory from elsewhere.

The review team concludes that the role played by CDU staff within the CLC is an efficient use of financial resources. The cost of the CDU unit for the period between 2005-6 and 2012-13 was $5.9m, which represents 15% of total expenditure. It is our view that this represents a highly cost effective operation given the outcomes achieved.

However there is a looming mismatch between demand for CDU's services and its ability to finance the supply of these services which poses significant risks for both CDU and the CLC more generally as well as the effectiveness of the program.

Recommendations

The review team has made recommendations for the Community Development Unit, the Governance Project and the CLC more broadly.

The Community Development Unit should:

1. Explore, where feasible, the decentralization of some staff to the CLC regional offices, as planned for Lajamanu.

2. Continue and enhance strategies to attract and retain staff who have the desire and ability to build long term relationships with Aboriginal constituents.

3. Proactively explore complementary funding streams which allow greater sustainability of its operating model.

4. Document its preferred approach to the investment of Aboriginal capital in sectors which are arguably the responsibility of governments.

5. Establish mandatory minimum standards and requirements of subcontractors, and investigate opportunities for training and capacity building of subcontractors.

6. Ensure that the issue of recurrent costs has more prominence in project discussions and budgets, and that it is done systemically across all projects.

7. Undertake a review of the added value of both WETT and World Vision Australia's (WVA's) contribution to the Early Childhood Care and Development Project.

8. Facilitate a discussion amongst the project committees, the CLC full council and communities about the pros and cons of the different project decision-making and the governance structures it supports.

9. Build on the very good monitoring and evaluation processes that it has established, and the data and information that is already at its disposal, by investing in further research on the impact and effectiveness of its work, as well as more data generation by, and feedback from, community members themselves.

The Governance Project should:

1. Continue to support Kurdiji in Lajamanu and in particular in helping it to balance its new role in planning for community lease money, and its ongoing role as a key governance mechanism.

2. Seek to reduce the dependence of the project on the current coordinator position through the recruitment of local co-workers and more engagement of CDU staff.

3. Place more emphasis on greater engagement with other agencies and actors in Lajamanu in order to influence their policies and practices.

4. Build on its good practice in monitoring and recording lessons learnt by further analysing the material and data it has collected and enabling even greater sharing of the project's experience with others.

5. Explore and be responsive to opportunities that contribute to enhanced Aboriginal voice and control in other communities in the CLC region by drawing upon the principles and learnings underpinning the Lajamanu Governance Project.

The CLC should:

1. Undertake an analysis of the role of the Central Land Council in a largely post land acquisition era and its role in promoting social change in the region as part of a mid-term review of its strategic plan (2012-17).

2. Seek to develop a more holistic and coordinated approach to its community engagement work ensuring consistency between the work of CDU and other teams.

3. Seek to define what it considers to be 'effective CLC staff practice' in working with Aboriginal people and engaging communities, and formalising this institutionally.

4. Ensure in its next iteration of planning and reporting processes that the CLC is creating the right incentives to support the adherence to these practices and principles.

5. Ensure the consistent and systematic use of appropriate language interpreters across constituent facing functions of the organisation.

6. Develop a timely influencing strategy based on the findings of this evaluation and related material and research.

Acronyms and Glossary

AAMC	Aboriginal Associations Management Centre
ABA	Aboriginals Benefit Account
AC	Aboriginal Association
ACER	Australian Council of Education Research
ACFID	Australian Council for International Development
ALRA	Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976
APONT	Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
BIITE	Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education
CAT	Centre for Appropriate Technology
CD	Community Development
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
CDS	Central Desert Shire
CDU	Community Development Unit
CEC	Community Education Centre
CLC	Central Land Council
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
DBS	Dead Bullock Soak
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DET	Department of Education and Training
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ECCD	Early Childhood Care and Development Program
ECRG	Early Childhood Reference Group
FAFT	Families as First Teachers
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Service and Indigenous Affairs
GEC	Government Engagement Co-ordinators
GMAAAC	Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation
ICC	Indigenous Coordination Centre
IDA	Imanpa Development Association
IPA	Indigenous Protected Areas
ITEC	Information Technology Education Centre
LIP	Local Implementation Plan
LPA	Lajamanu Progress Association
LRG	Local Reference Group
NPA	National Partnership Agreement

NPYWC	Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Women's Council
NTDET	Northern Territory Department of Education
NTER	Northern Territory Emergency Response
NT(G)	Northern Territory (Government)
PAW	Pintubi Anmatjere Warlpiri
RJCP	Remote Jobs and Communities Program
ROC	Regional Operations Centre
RSD	Remote Service Delivery
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
SIHIP	Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program
SNAICC	Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care
SSM	Shire Service Managers
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TO/s	Traditional Owner/s
UKTNP	Uluru – Kata Tjuta National Park
URM	Uluru-Kata Tjuta Rent Money Community Development Project
WDNWPT	Western Desert Nganampa Walytja Palyantjaku Tjutaku Aboriginal Corporation
WETT	Warlpiri Education and Training Trust
WETT AC	Warlpiri Education and Training Trust Advisory Committee
WpkJ	Warlpiri-patu-kurlangu Jaru
WVA	World Vision Australia
WYDAC	Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation

Anangu: used in this report to refer to Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara speakers and neighbouring Aboriginal peoples.

Kardiya: a generic term used by Warlpiri people to describe non-Indigenous Australians.

Sorry business: generally refers to complex mourning and funeral practices carried out by Aboriginal people in accordance with their traditions.

Yapa: generally used by Warlpiri people to mean a person as opposed to an animal. In this report however it is used specifically to refer to Warlpiri and neighbouring Aboriginal peoples.

Aboriginal words used in this report are spelt according to the local orthographies in use at communities where Pitjantjatjara and Warlpiri languages are spoken.

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1 INTRODUCTION

How can Aboriginal people maximise the economic and social benefits of third party use of their lands – whether that be through the use of mining royalties, national park rent or Commonwealth Government leases? What are the most effective ways to strengthen social cohesion and community control in Central Australia? How can government, service providers and other actors support the attainment of social, economic and cultural outcomes that are valued by Aboriginal people?

These questions give rise to much discussion, argument and policy debate in Australia. This evaluation explores the Central Land Council Community Development Program and the Lajamanu Governance Project which have been running for eight and three years respectively. The results of this evaluation provide valuable evidence and lessons which we believe to be of value to others concerned with these issues.

2 HISTORICAL AND POLICY CONTEXT

The Central Land Council (CLC), a statutory authority set up under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) 1976, is an Aboriginal organisation governed by a Council of 90 elected Aboriginal members. The CLC has been operating for over 30 years, working with Aboriginal people to support them to achieve freehold title to their traditional lands under the ALRA and recognition of native title rights. Central to this work is a commitment to support effective arrangements that give Aboriginal people increased control over their own affairs. The CLC also supports Aboriginal people to manage their land and to negotiate agreements with others seeking to use their land, which includes payment of rent and royalties to Traditional Owners.

In 2005 the CLC, with the support of Traditional Owners and community residents within the CLC region, created the Community Development Unit (CDU) in order to implement community development (CD) projects using funds sourced from rent and royalties from land-use agreements and affected area payments (see inside back cover of this report for location of 2013 CDU projects). The CDU led the development of the CLC Community Development Framework (CLC 2009) which articulates community development goals, principles and processes for the CLC. The framework sets out the CLC's inter-cultural community development approach which is characterised by a focus on community ownership, Aboriginal control, trust based relationships, respect for local values and processes, an understanding of cultural differences, and monitoring and evaluation.

In April 2011, the CLC in partnership with residents of Lajamanu began a three-year developmental governance project, with the support of the Commonwealth and Northern Territory Governments and the Coordinator-General of Remote Service Delivery (CGRIS).

It is critically important for the context of this Evaluation to understand that the period in which the CLC's Community Development and Governance programs have been established has coincided with a time of tumultuous change in government Aboriginal policy in the Northern Territory affecting the same communities in which the CD Program and Governance Project have operated.

As the CLC's Community Development Program and Governance Project are only one of many interventions in the lives of Aboriginal people in the communities in which these programs operate, it is important to understand the scale and complexity of government policy changes Aboriginal people have been subject to within these same communities during this same period. In particular, it is important to understand the increasing dissonance over time between the principles and approaches underpinning the CLC programs subject to this review and both Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government policies and practices in these same communities.

This difference has become apparent through the annual external monitoring of CDU projects by the CLC. The 2011 monitoring report found that:

> *"People in many locations readily compare their experience of working with CDU through a community development process with the approach of other agencies and organisations. People are able to identify the greater control they have over resources in CDU-facilitated processes. On the other hand, people feel disempowered by some other processes, and this sense of disempowerment in turn undermines and conflicts with their experience of the CLC's community development approach." (Kelly 2012, p. 8)*

Between 1990 and 2004 the **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission** (ATSIC) was the administrative centrepiece of Aboriginal self-determination, with elected Aboriginal councillors and commissioners holding responsibility for funding a range of specific Aboriginal services and giving policy advice to governments.

In April 2004 the Australian Government announced its intention to abolish ATSIC and distribute the programs and services administered to mainstream Australian Government agencies. The transfer of the vast majority of programs occurred on 1 July 2004. In March 2005 the Federal Parliament passed the ATSIC Amendment Bill abolishing ATSIC.

With the abolition of ATSIC, the Federal Government implemented a new policy framework of **Shared Responsibility Agreements**. These were agreements between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and Australian governments based on the principle of 'mutual obligation'. The principle of mutual obligation required both parties to contribute towards making the agreements work.

In June 2007, the Northern Territory Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse provided its report, Little Children are Sacred (Northern Territory Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse 2007), to the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory.

On 21 June 2007, in response to the Board of Inquiry's findings, the Howard Government announced the 'National Emergency Response to Protect Aboriginal Children in the Northern Territory' (Brough 2007) from sexual abuse and family violence. On that same day the Federal Government enacted the Northern Territory National Emergency Response (NTER) legislation.

The NTER legislation applied to a wide range of 'prescribed areas' (coinciding with communities in which the CDU program operates) in which Aboriginal people are the sole or predominant inhabitants, including Aboriginal land, Community Living Areas, declared town camps and other declared areas. Some of the significant features of the NT intervention package included:

- Compulsory acquisition by the Commonwealth of 5-year leases over declared Aboriginal land, Aboriginal community living areas and town camps;
- The exclusion of customary law and cultural practice as a factor relevant to sentencing and bail decisions;
- The application of income management to residents of prescribed (and other declared) areas;
- The denial of review by the Social Security Appeals Tribunal of income management decisions;
- Modifications to the permit system to allow greater access to communities situated on Aboriginal land;
- Bans on the sale and consumption of alcohol in prescribed areas; and
- Bans on the possession and supply of pornographic material in prescribed areas.

The legislation provided that actions undertaken as part of the NTER were excluded from the operation of Part II of the Racial Discrimination Act.

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In 2008 the incoming Labor Government commissioned a Review Board[1] to conduct an independent review of the NTER (NTERRB 2008) to assess whether the measures had been effective and their impact on individuals and communities.

The Review Board report released in October 2008 found that Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory felt a sense that their culture was considered responsible for problems which had arisen from decades of neglect in government service delivery. The NTER Review also noted that

> *"The Intervention diminished its own effectiveness through its failure to engage constructively with the Aboriginal people it was intended to help" (NTERRB 2008, p. 10).*

Consequently the Review concluded that sustained and sustainable improvements in the safety and wellbeing of children and families in remote communities will only be achieved through partnerships between community and government based on mutual respect.

Meanwhile, sweeping local government reform was concurrently affecting the lives of Aboriginal communities throughout the Northern Territory. On 1 July 2008 the Northern Territory Government disbanded more than 60 locally elected Aboriginal Community Government Councils, replacing these with 11 'Super Shires' with responsibility for the provision of local government services to rural and remote communities.

Further Federal Government policy changes ensued. Following the 2009 Labor Government response to the NTER Board Review and a period of community consultation, in November 2011 the Gillard Government introduced the Stronger Futures legislation. This law intended to address key issues that exist within Aboriginal communities of the Northern Territory such as unemployment, school enrolment and attendance, alcohol abuse, community safety and child protection, food security, and housing and land reforms. The Stronger Futures legislation was announced as a commitment by the Australian Government to work with Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory to build strong, independent lives, where communities, families and children are safe and healthy. Many aspects of the Stronger Futures program linked to the Federal Government's Close the Gap targets.

Accompanied by a $3.4 billion investment package, Stronger Futures is directed to improving the lives of Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory, particularly those living in remote communities and town camps who experience much higher levels of disadvantage than anywhere else in Australia. Stronger Futures focuses on improved services, local job creation, addressing alcohol abuse and education.

Cumulatively these Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government policy changes have created – for better or worse - a whirlwind of constant change in the lives of Traditional Owners and residents of the communities in which the CLC CD Program and Governance Project have operated for over the last eight and three years respectively. During the course of this review the majority of interviewees have provided the Review Team with their views and experiences of the CLC Community Development and Governance programs in light of this rapidly changing broader context.

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[1] Mr Peter Yu (chair), former chair of the Halls Creek Project Management Committee, Western Australia, Ms Marcia Ella Duncan, former chair of the New South Wales Aboriginal Child Sexual Assault Taskforce, Mr Bill Gray AM, former Australian Electoral Commissioner.

3 PROGRAM HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT[2]

The Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) 1976 provides Aboriginal people with the ability to negotiate compensation for granting access to their land successfully claimed or granted under the Act, and also provides for statutory payments by the Commonwealth Government.

Under the Act, the Central Land Council is charged with responsibility for identifying and representing the interests of Aboriginal Traditional Owners in negotiations over third party access to and use of Aboriginal land, and for the distribution of financial payments associated with third party use of Aboriginal land.

The allocation of compensation funds to both investment and to community benefits projects preceded the establishment of the Community Development Unit within the Central Land Council in 2005. The CDU was a CLC response to the need to assist people with these projects.   Half of third party land use related funds distributed by the CLC to Traditional Owner were used to establish investment funds (a CLC policy). The remaining land use related funds were used in conjunction with dividends from investment funds, for further investment, individual or immediate family benefit. During this period to 2005 the dominant sources of third party funds were associated with two gold mines in the Tanami Desert, approximately 500 kilometres north-west of Alice Springs – the Tanami Mine and the Granites Mine.

Commencing in 2005, the Community Development Unit within the CLC has worked with Traditional Owner and community residents within the CLC region who have either elected to or been required by resolutions of the Central Land Council elected delegates to utilise third party payments for collective community benefit.

During the eight year period between 2005 and the time of this Review in 2013 both the volume and diversity of sources of funds utilised for community benefit with the support of the CDU has grown exponentially. As of 2013 the CDU supports the following projects for which third party financial payments for the use of Aboriginal land are applied wholly or partly for community benefit (see inside back cover of this report for location of 2013 CDU projects):

- The Warlpiri Education and Training Trust Project (WETT);
- The Tanami Dialysis Project;
- The Uluru-Kata Tjuta Rent Money Community Development Project (URM);
- The Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation Project (GMAAAC);
- The Northern Territory Parks Rent Money Project (NT Parks); and
- The Community Lease Money Project.

Figure 1 portrays the expenditure per annum from the beginning of the CDU on these different projects. It is notable that WETT and GMAAAC revenue streams which derive from the Granites mine make up nearly 80% of the $25m that has been spent in this period, with the Uluru rent money project most of the remainder.

[2] For a comprehensive history of the CLC's Community Development Approach, see Barnes (2013), p.137-159.
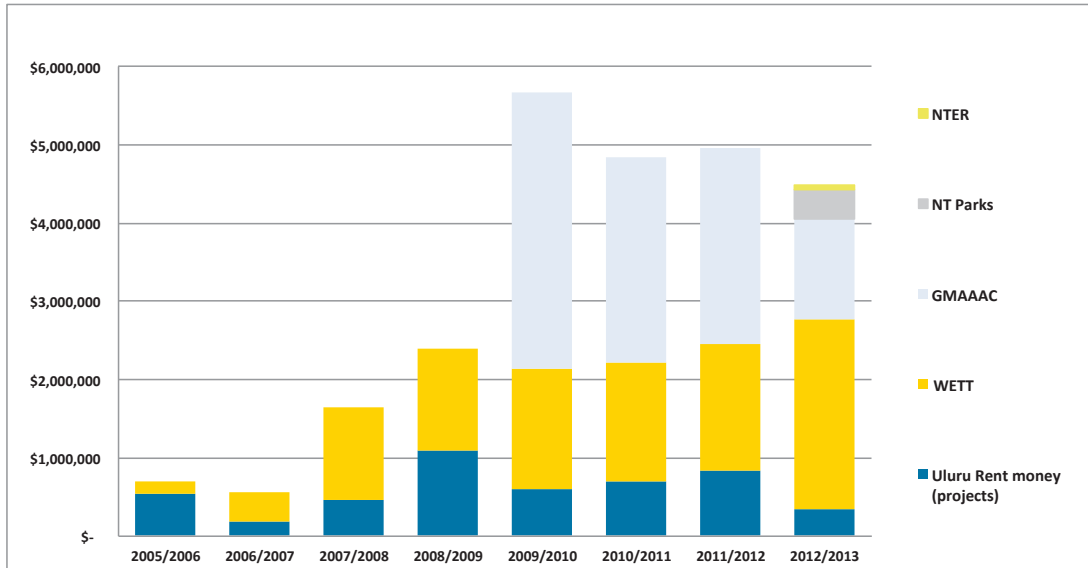
Figure 1: CDU expenditure per annum on various projects, 2005/6 to 2012/13

Given the dominance of GMAAAC and WETT within the overall CDU portfolio during this period, the diagram shown in Figure 2 is a useful reference point for understanding the complex nature of the flow of financial considerations associated with The Granites mine.
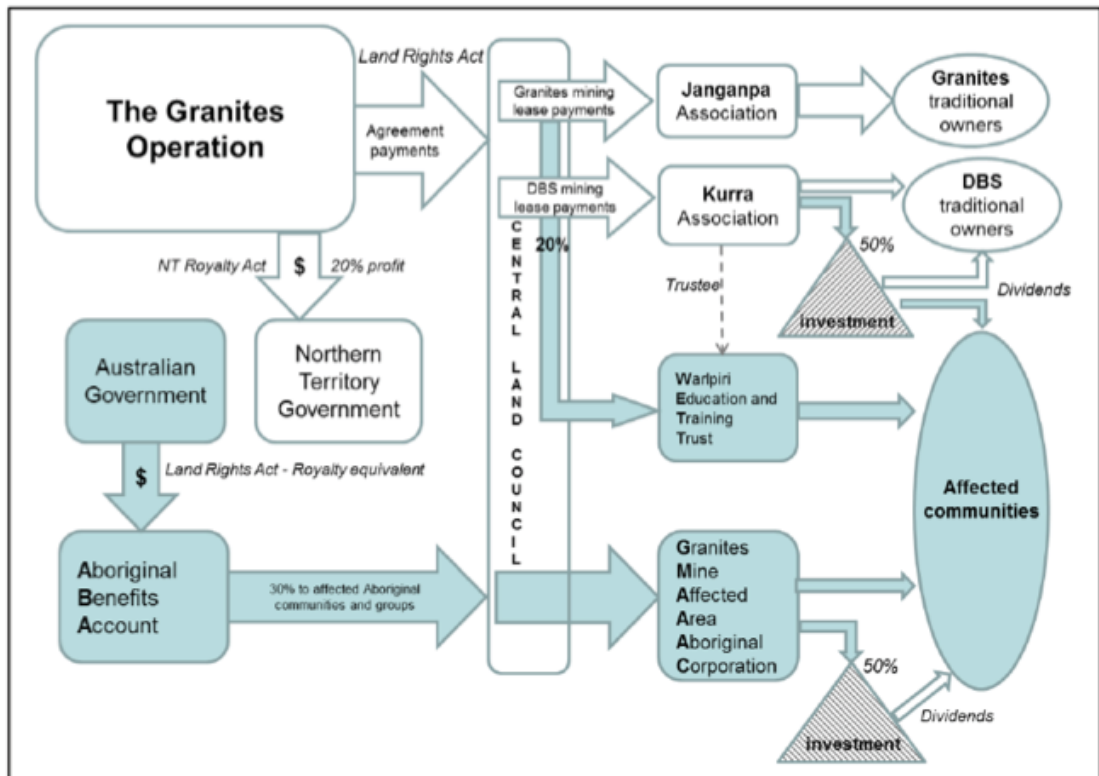
Figure 2: WETT and GMAAAC Payment Pathways (Barnes, 2013)

As illustrated in Figure 2, two streams of revenue flow through the CLC to the Janganpa and Kurra associations, as well as to the Warlpiri Education and Training Trust and the Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation Project.

In addition to these resource flows associated with mining on Aboriginal land, the Community Development Unit now also supports community development processes associated with rental money for the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, financial considerations from the Northern Territory Government associated with the settlement of Native Title claims by Traditional Owners over 16 Northern Territory National Parks, and five year lease payments by the Commonwealth Government for the use of Aboriginal community land and infrastructure. More detail is provided in this chapter about each of these projects.

3.1 The Community Development Program

The overall intention of the CLC's Community Development Program (CLC 2009) is to partner with Aboriginal people in processes that enable them to set and achieve their dual objectives of:

1. Maintaining Aboriginal identity, language, culture and connection to country, and

2. Strengthening their capacity to participate in mainstream Australia and the modern economy, through improving health, education and employment outcomes.

The Community Development Unit (CDU) works through various projects to support Aboriginal people. The overarching goal of the work is that Aboriginal people will be strong and resilient and able to live well in both the Aboriginal world and mainstream Australian society.

There are four intermediate objectives of the work. These are:

1. Maximise opportunities for Aboriginal engagement, ownership and control, particularly in relation to the management of resources that belong to them;

2. Generate service outcomes which benefit Aboriginal people and are valued by them, including social, cultural and economic outcomes;

3. Build an evidence base for the CLC's community development approach and the value it has for contributing to Aboriginal capabilities; and

4. Share lessons learned with other government and non-government agencies.

Building on a wide range of domestic and international experience, as well as an expert reference group, the CLC's community development framework lays out and defines a number of community development concepts as well as the rationale for 'Why community development?'. Four main arguments that underpin CDU's approach are made. These include:

a. That greater ownership and participation leads to initiatives which are locally appropriate, more effective and sustainable;

b. That by participating in the process and collectively owning and implementing the solutions people build their knowledge skills and experience which helps them tackle other issues;

c. That working together increases community cohesion as people become more aware that they face common problems and work together to resolve them; and

d. That community development builds stronger and more self-reliant communities that are better able to identify priorities and meet needs and therefore have greater control over their lives, communities and futures.

The CDU's community development framework also provides an analysis of the history of the application of community development approaches in Aboriginal Australia, and the differences from other contexts, as well as the challenges. As a number of authors have observed the 'myth of community' and naïve understandings of power and social relations can lead to community and participatory development processes merely enhancing the influence of the powerful (Cooke & Kothari 2001)[3] , or contributing to further marginalisation and disengagement (Jagger 2011).

Like many agencies concerned with social change, perhaps the most difficult challenge for the CLC is navigating the challenge of promoting equitable and inclusive processes within communities; whilst at the same time strengthening the ability of communties as a whole to engage effectively with external agencies in a rapidly changing external context. This requires not only an acute knowlede of local 'micro-politics', but also a careful and consistent approach to modelling dependable and inclusive processes.

The CD program has grown organically over the last eight years (both in response to increased demand for community development projects and through additional sources of income allocated for community development purposes) and now represents a material component of the CLC's operations. It employs 13 staff and has a total staffing and an annual operational budget of $1.8m as of October 2013.

[3] See for example http://participaction.wordpress.com/2008/07/09/tyranical/

The CDU work is currently implemented through six projects. These projects have different management arrangements, decision-making models and implementation processes through a range of sub-projects. However, all the projects are characterised by the nature of the funding, which comes from Aboriginal peoples' own money, and the fact that they focus on achieving outcomes sought by Aboriginal people. In addition, all the projects are governed by Aboriginal decision-making bodies. The projects and various subprojects include the following:

The Warlpiri Education and Training Trust Project (WETT)

The WETT project utilises regional gold mining royalties to support education and training initiatives in the Tanami region, primarily in the four communities of Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Willowra and Nyirrpi (see Figure 3). WETT has five sub-projects largely based on a foundational report commissioned by the CLC and produced by Jerry Schwabb in 2006 (Schwabb 2006):

- The Early Childhood Care and Development Program;
- The Youth and Media Program;
- The Secondary School Support Program;
- The Language and Culture Support Program; and
- The Learning Community Centre Program.

These five sub-projects help support the long held ambitions and efforts of Warlpiri people to improve education in their region. WETT is governed by the Kurra Aboriginal Corporation, the trustee of WETT. The Kurra WETT Committee, comprised of Traditional Owners of the Dead Bullock Soak mine, meets twice a year to determine the application of WETT funds based on recommendations from the WETT Advisory Committee (AC). The WETT Advisory Committee comprises two community representatives from each of the communities of Willowra, Lajamanu, Nyirrpi and Yuendumu (a subcommittee of the peak Aboriginal education organisation Warlpiri-patu-kurlangu Jaru), one representative each from the CLC and mine operator Newmont, and three independent members with education expertise (see Figure 3).

Below: Community meeting in Willowra, participants deciding which community projects to support
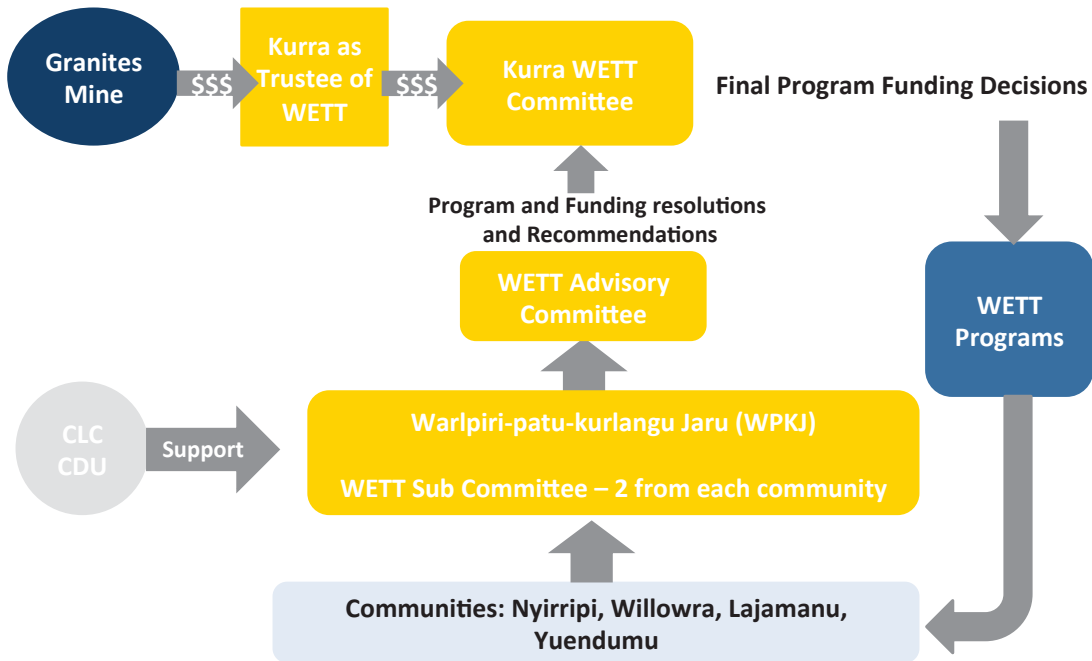
Figure 3: WETT Governance Structure and Decision Making

Annual monitoring reports completed between 2010 and 2012 (Kelly 2011; 2012; 2013) find that WETT has strong support from all four communities, and that participation in WETT governance bodies and committees has contributed to the skills, empowerment and self-confidence of many Aboriginal participants.

Notwithstanding this, the monitoring reports identify a number of issues associated with the WETT program. These include:

The capacity of implementing partners. Much of the focus of CDU staff is reported to involve facilitating the work of non-Aboriginal implementing partners. Monitoring suggests that partnering with local Aboriginal organisations as implementing partners is preferable to working through external agencies without local Aboriginal governance. Aboriginal organisations are regarded as generally more accountable to Aboriginal people and have access to senior community members through their boards and committees, which facilitates implementing partners' engagement within Aboriginal communities.

Context specific approaches. The importance of recognising the significant contextual differences in each of the four communities in which WETT operates was highlighted in monitoring reports, and in an independent evaluation of the Early Childhood Care and Development Program managed by World Vision.

Assumptions about learning models. WETT supports several programs focused on education,

including the Early Childhood Development Program, the Learning Centre Program and the youth development component of the WETT Youth and Media Program. Monitoring found that whilst each program is based on the assumption that opportunities for people to come together for formal learning will benefit those individuals, each program is struggling to attract people to its formal training or education activities. In both the Learning Centre Program and the Youth and Media Program there was emerging evidence that an individual approach might be more successful in engaging people in ongoing learning and identifying individuals' aspirations and potential learning pathways.

The Tanami Dialysis Project

This project focuses on providing remote dialysis services that meet the interconnected bio-physical and social needs of Aboriginal individuals and communities. The project occurs under the auspices of Western Desert Nganampa Walytja Palyantjaku Tjutaku Aboriginal Corporation (WDNWPT), which is based in Alice Springs.

In 2007 Kurra made an initial allocation of $30,000 to WDNWPT to explore the feasibility for services in Warlpiri communities. In 2008 Kurra subsequently approved $1.6m to set up the Yuendumu regional dialysis service. As Barnes notes "[t]his is significant because Kurra had decided to use its own money …that would be otherwise available for individual distribution" (Barnes 2013:155). The project now has two remote sites, Yuendumu and Lajamanu, and each has been through multiple stages of development, receiving support from the Kurra Aboriginal Corporation and GMAAAC (see below), throughout those stages.

The Uluru-Kata Tjuta Rent Money Community Development Project (URM)

The URM project commenced in 2005 with the purpose of:

- Developing community initiatives that will benefit the communities in which numbers of traditional landowners live, including Mutitjulu, Imanpa, Kaltukatjara (Docker River) and Areyonga/Utju; and

- Developing plans for commercial enterprises of benefit to traditional landowners, and/or the above communities.

Each year between $400,000 and $700,000 (depending on tourist numbers) from the rent due to Traditional Owners is spent on regional, community and outstation projects. This comprises almost half of the rent payments received.

Right: Patients recieving treatment at dialysis centre, Lajamanu

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION
CLC Community Development and Governance Programmes

Text Box 1: The Annual Uluru Rent Money Process

The URM process begins with all Uluru Kata Tjuta Traditional Owners being invited to a meeting at the start of the year. Between 40 and 80 Traditional Owners attend this meeting and nominate and prioritise between 3 - 5 location based projects and between 1 - 3 regional projects, depending on the funds available.

The CLC consults with each of the traditional owner family groups and residents for the location based projects and the project partners for regional projects. Projects are developed and budgets finalised as part of this process.

All Uluru Kata Tjuta Traditional Owners are then invited to a second meeting later in the year. Between 40 and 80 TOs attend this meeting. At this meeting TOs endorse both the chosen projects which have been developed and costed, and the allocation of funds to them.

Traditional Owners allocate the community development funds to a range of local and regional initiatives. Annually, they select up to five communities or family-based 'outstations' and CDU staff support those communities to develop project plans. Following approval of project plans and budgets by the Uluru Kata Tjuta Traditional Owners, the CLC releases rent money to the implementing project partners. Many projects have been infrastructure based, including water supplies, upgrading power supplies and renovating and equipping workshops for art, small stores and sporting facilities. Regional projects include support for at-risk youth, assistance for dialysis patients, children's mental wellbeing and a cultural history archive.

The Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation Project (GMAAAC)

The purpose of GMAAAC is for community benefit and development in nine communities potentially affected by The Granite mines, by helping with housing, health, education, employment and essential services; supporting cultural activities such as funerals, sorry business and country visits; and promoting Aboriginal self-management.

GMAAAC was established in 1991 to receive compensation payments from the Granites mine, with 50% to be invested and 50% to be applied as community funds. The community funds also cover the costs of administering the corporation with the balance to be divided to designated communities according to a formula, with the two largest communities, Yuendumu and Lajamanu, receiving one third each. In initial years a large proportion of community funds were provided to a committee or organisation, who then reportedly spent them on motor vehicles, and to a lesser extent household goods (Barnes 2013).

In 2008 the CDU, building on the WETT experience, began working with GMAAAC in order to try and create more long term community benefit, as well as to ensure compensation payments were applied in accordance with the association's rules and objectives.

Project decisions are made by elected community GMAAAC committees following community meetings. This process includes consulting with the community on appropriate 'eligible community organisations' who then develop plans and budgets for prioritised projects (see Figure 4).

GMAAAC steps

STEP 1
Community Meeting

• Previous years' project outcomes fed back to community

• Committee election every three years

STEP 2
Committee Meeting

• Plan & prioritise project ideas

• Discuss possible Eligible Community Organisations (ECOs)

GMAAAC
Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation

STEP 3
Community Meeting

• Committee feedback their planning to the community

• Community decide on ECOs

STEP 6
Projects Begin

• Project officers write up funding agreements

• Projects start

• Monitoring and evaluation of previous years' projects this fed back to the community

Step 5
Committee Meeting

• Committee look at ECO project plans

• Committee decide on funding projects

STEP 4
Develop Project Ideas

• Project plans and budgets are developed by the ECOs with committee and project officers

Figure 4: Steps in the GMAAAC Planning Process

The CLC monitoring reports between 2010 and 2012 (Kelly 2011; 2012; 2013) indicate a high degree of satisfaction with GMAAAC funded sub-projects across the nine communities. Most projects were identified as of benefit to communities. Some project partners have reported GMAAAC seed funding of projects has been able to leverage government funding. In several locations GMAAAC funded vehicles created issues and division within communities associated with poor maintenance and determining rights of vehicle usage.

In 2012 the CLC monitoring suggested that the GMAAAC decision making and project selection processes are improving in most communities (Kelly 2013). People are now more likely to nominate projects that will be approved (74 per cent of nominated projects were approved for funding in 2012 compared with 57 per cent in 2011 and 27 per cent in 2010). Monitoring reports suggest that people are increasingly understanding and largely owning the process of project decision-making, and that this is a considerable change that has become apparent during the last three years of the project. It suggests that there is a process through which communities go, learning about decision-making and how to work within rules and mutual accountability, which is reinforced through the consistent application of those rules and accountabilities.

Monitoring reports link these changes to the high levels of skill now being bought to bear by the CDU staff. Staff are able to identify more consciously the steps in the process they use and the ways in which they have been able to negotiate with different communities and individuals. However, this program continues to take considerable CDU staff time and resources to maintain. The reports from staff indicate that considerable time is spent in meetings and other informal communications. In 2012 16 committee meetings and 14 community meetings were held across the nine communities.

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION
CLC Community Development and Governance Programmes

The Northern Territory Parks Rent Money Project (NT Parks)

This relatively new project was initiated by a resolution of the CLC Executive in 2010 and applied to a native title settlement involving the lease of 16 national parks by the Northern Territory Government. The resolution required that lease monies be applied to community development projects determined by the Traditional Owner groups of each national park.

Three projects commenced in 2011 and a further nine projects were in planning in 2012. Overall the CLC held 18 meetings with various Traditional Owner groups during 2012. Several of these projects are supporting infrastructure on outstations, as well as meeting places, shelters, a cemetery and a church. Independent monitoring in four locations in 2012 suggested that initial concerns from Traditional Owners about a community development approach in communities had lessened as tangible project benefits started to appear (Kelly 2012 p.60). However the monitoring report also noted the importance of ongoing communication about the decision making process and projects, especially to people outside of the community structures which manage the project.

The Community Lease Money Project.

In 2007, as part of the Northern Territory Emergency Response, the Commonwealth Government compulsorily acquired five-year leases over 20 ALRA communities and 10 Community Living Areas in the CLC region. In 2008 the Commonwealth Government promised it would pay fair rent for these communities, and in 2011-12 approximately $1m was distributed to Traditional Owners of the 20 ALRA communities[4] . Following protracted negotiations with the Commonwealth, the CLC Council and all affected Aboriginal Land Trusts and Community Living Areas in the CLC region accepted the Commonwealth's final multi-million dollar five-year lease money offer in late 2012. Under this agreement, the CLC has received one-off amounts of between $202,000 and $2.25m per community to distribute "to or for the benefit of" Traditional Owners.

Since late 2011, the CLC staff met with Traditional Owners and community residents of the 20 ALRA communities to talk about how the rent money could be split between individual distribution, community benefit and investment. Following discussions with the CLC, by mid-2012 a total of 12 communities had decided to divide their money between individual distribution and community benefit. According to the 2012 CLC monitoring report (Kelly 2013), this was a strong indication of the support for community development and a whole-of-community benefit approach. Notably, only two communities at that time decided to distribute all their money to individuals.

Six communities were unable to reach a decision, in part because of disputes within wider community groups. It was also noted that many of the consultation meetings had been very stressful and difficult for Traditional Owners and community residents. Even when many people did want to use the money for overall community benefit, there were still people in communities who wanted to have the money individually distributed.

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[4] Community Living Area titles are held by associations set up under the Northern Territory Associations Act. This Act precludes individual members from benefitting from distributed rent money; all funds paid to residents of Community Living Areas must be applied to community benefit.

In November 2012 the full Council of the CLC passed a resolution ensuring that at least half of the final valuation of the lease amount for all of the 20 communities would be applied for community purpose projects. Council also resolved that those communities that stood to receive more than $1m could allocate no more than $500,000 for individual distributions. Council passed this resolution with a view to promoting the use of the money for community benefit and reducing disagreement and harm within communities. The Council resolution was passed unanimously, suggesting strong support from the delegates for the community development approach and the recognised benefits for their communities.

Annual Monitoring of CDU Projects

For the past three years systematic external and independent monitoring has been undertaken of the work supported by the CDU and reported in an annual monitoring report (Kelly 2011; 2012; 2013). Dr Linda Kelly of Praxis consultants has provided support in the design of a Monitoring and Evaluation framework for the program, as well as undertaking the annual monitoring. Her work is supported by independent consultants who have local language and cultural skills and cultural understanding, relationships and extensive experience in the region, who collect data and feedback from communities. Exploring appropriate monitoring approaches and data gathering techniques has been an important aspect of the development of this assessment process.

Evaluation Focus

Given the relatively short time frame for the review, and given the fact that the Northern Territory Parks Rent Money Project (NT Parks) and Community Lease Money Project were both comparatively new, the evaluation focused on the following Community Development sub-projects:

- The Uluru-Kata Tjuta Rent Money Community Development Project (URM);
- The Warlpiri Education and Training Trust Project (WETT);
- The Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation Project (GMAAAC);
- Elements of the Tanami Dialysis Project.

3.2 The CLC Community Governance Project

In addition to the work outlined above, the scope of this evaluation also encompasses the CLC Community Governance Project. The Project utilises a development approach to:

Strengthen legitimate and effective decision-making and implementation processes in Lajamanu.

The intended outcome of the project will be the formation of a legitimate governance mechanism within the community and the operationalisation of that mechanism.

The origins of the Governance Project in Lajamanu align with research suggesting that the cumulative impacts of recent policies of the Commonwealth and Northern Territory Governments, most notably the NT Emergency Response (NTER) and the abolition of community councils through Shire reform, have resulted in a significant 'governance vacuum' in communities, decreasing the capacity for local decision making and control. This problem is exacerbated by excessive government demands on limited community capacities.

Lajamanu is a relatively unified and cohesive community with an engaged leadership. Residents have nonetheless expressed a deep level of disempowerment through the loss of its community council and have talked about being on the outside of current processes, with little active involvement and authority in local affairs.

The Governance Project is seen as a response to disenfranchised community members looking for new ways to be actively engaged in decisions affecting their community, and the challenge of governments struggling to find an effective means to engage with remote communities in the Northern Territory. The aspirations for strong community governance in Commonwealth Government Remote Service Delivery (RSD) sites were seen to be faltering in places such as Lajamanu where there are a multitude of advisory groups, but few active and resourced community governance mechanisms.

The Governance Project commenced in 2011 and was funded for three years. The project aims to follow a developmental approach to solving the 'governance gap' in remote communities, beginning in Lajamanu. The project works with community residents and Traditional Owners to create an effective and legitimate community governance mechanism that can:

a. Ascertain and articulate the aspirations of the diversity of community residents, and ensure those aspirations are reflected in the Local Implementation Plan;

b. Provide for a strong community 'voice' and increased participation;

c. Recognise and build leadership capacity;

d. Ensure government agencies, and other organisations, consultations and engagement are targeted and effective;

e. Fulfil the CLCs consultation requirements for matters inside the community including s.19 leasing requests and planning consent processes; and

f. Provide a model for successful and legitimate community governance that can be applied more broadly.

The Governance Project was also seen to align with one of the five main objectives in the National Partnership Agreement (NPA) for RSD communities (COAG 2008) - to improve the level of governance and leadership within Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal community organisations. CLC saw that getting this objective right was critical for communities to be able to engage and negotiate with governments, and also drive their own development and take the lead in addressing their issues over the longer term.

Currently, Local Reference Groups are the main Australian Government engagement interface being used in the development and implementation of Local Implementation Plans (LIP) in RSD communities such as Lajamanu. This places high expectations on Local Reference Groups to represent their community, as well as further expectations on Aboriginal community cohesion and capacity (that is, the ability of a community to 'speak', 'decide', 'negotiate' and 'engage').

This expectation is matched in some communities by effective governing and representational mechanisms in the inter-cultural arena. In other communities there are significant challenges according to the CLC's original rationale for the Governance Project. In some RSD communities, existing local organisations or governance structures are being used as the Local Reference Group, in others the Local Reference Group comprises a combination of organisational representatives and community members. In the NT context, where local community councils have been abolished under the regionalisation of local government, bringing together a cohesive and legitimate Local Reference Group that can represent community interests and engage in planning has presented difficulties.

The Governance Project is stated by the CLC to be based on successful approaches to community governance building where a developmental and participatory approach to strengthening governance capacity has been employed. This approach has been used by the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations (ORIC) and other governance capacity builders in communities where there have been major challenges for local governance mechanisms. It has been shown by the national Indigenous Community Governance Research Project to be extremely effective if sustained as a place-based initiative over time.   Four key principles underpin the work of the Governance Project:

- **Collaboration.** If any new governance arrangements are to succeed they must be driven by the community but supported by government and other agencies. The project receives advice from a Governance Advisory Committee comprising senior staff from: the Regional Operations Centre, FAHCSIA, the Northern Territory Government Service Delivery Coordination Unit, the Office of the Coordinator General for Remote Indigenous Services and a specialist community governance advisor.

- **Community development approach.** The project aims to provide a positive way forward utilising the CLC's community development approach which is articulated in the CLC Community Development Framework (CLC 2009), and drawing upon the community development expertise of project staff, consultants and members of the Governance Advisory Committee.

- **Recognise the rights of both community residents and Traditional Owners.** As a statutory authority under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 the CLC is well placed to be able to assist Traditional Owners and community residents to discuss and clarify their respective roles and responsibilities within communities.

- **Local ownership and control.** Local ownership and control of this project is seen as critical. It is assumed that project outcomes will only be realised and sustained if genuine local ownership and control are achieved.

Regular monitoring reports have been produced by the project worker and reviewed with a mentoring group comprised of people with experience in aboriginal policy, indigenous governance, international community development and anthropology. These monitoring reports have produced considerable learning about effective practice, particularly in regards to engaging with people in Lajamanu and facilitating and identifying their existing systems of governance and decision-making. The project methodology has paid close attention to documenting, reviewing and reflecting on the project implementation and outcomes, including regular interviews with community members.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Evaluation Team

The evaluation was conducted by Associate Professor Chris Roche of La Trobe University and James Ensor, Managing Director of People & Planet Group Pty Ltd, who are also the authors of this report. In addition, anthropologist Petronella Vaarzon-Morel was part of the evaluation team in Imanpa and Willowra. Anthropologist Dr Miles Holmes and Indigenous Land Management specialist Dr Jane Walker were part of the team in Lajamanu. Petronella, Miles and Jane brought their long-standing anthropological experience in working with these communities, ensuring the team was able to build on their strong relationships with Aboriginal people and their understandings of local social structure and cultural processes. In addition Petronella had been responsible for conducting many of the Community Development Program monitoring interviews completed as part of the CLC's annual monitoring process, particularly in Warlpiri communities. The team was assisted by local community members, in particular by Sharon Anderson in Lajamanu. Attempts to engage local people in Imanpa and Willowra were largely hindered by people's availability due to a significant proportion of people being off site, occupied with sorry business or otherwise already employed in paid work.

4.2 Reference Group

A reference group was established to provide advice and analytical input to the Review Team. Members of the reference group were:

• Brian Gleeson (former Coordinator General for Remote Indigenous Services);

• Bill Kruze (principal at Banarra);

• Andrea Mason (Coordinator of the Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (NPY) Women's Council);

• David Martin, Director Anthropos Pty Ltd;

• Marc Purcell (Chief Executive Officer of ACFID);

• Bernie Yates (Former Deputy Secretary in FaHCSIA, now Department of Social Services); and,

• Peter Yu (Director of Nyamba Buru Yawuru, and Board Member of Kimberley Institute).

The reference group met twice during the review to provide advice on the methodology (August 2013) and feedback on initial findings (November 2013). Members of the Reference Group were appointed as individuals rather than as representatives of a particular organization.

4.3 Method and Approach

The overall evaluation used a critical approach (Faulkner 2013), utilising multiple sources of data and understandings to explore and examine the outcomes of the CLC's Community Development and Governance work and to identify what these outcomes mean for Aboriginal people in central Australia. The evaluation also made use of wider international development literature as well as experience of other community development approaches in Aboriginal communities in order to locate the analysis of the CLC's work and its outcomes in a broader context. See sections 7 and 8 of this report in particular which attempts to draw these threads together.

The approach adopted, in consultation with the CLC, sought to be culturally appropriate and acceptable to Aboriginal people and was designed to meet the ethical standards for evaluation established by the Australian Evaluation Society. It was also informed by the guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies 2010). In particular the evaluation sought not to impose cultural and conceptual frames through narrowly focused extractive questioning, but rather to elicit people's own 'valuation' of the outcomes of different projects and processes.

In line with the critical approach outlined above, the evaluation team used qualitative and participatory approaches to collecting data, as well as exploitation of existing secondary data in the public domain, where relevant. The approach was designed to test the underlying assumptions of the CLC's development approach and identify positive and negative outcomes using a 'theory based' method (White 2009) i.e. a method that attempts to test the theory and assumptions underpinning the programs being assessed. These theories and assumptions then informed the key evaluation questions used in the semi-structured interviews.

Text Boxes 2 and 3 summarise the theory and assumptions of the CLC's community development approach and Governance programs. These were distilled by the Review Team from program documentation and literature, and then tested with CLC staff.

Bottom Right: Community member ratings showing most popular community projects

Bottom Left: Community interviews in Lajamanu using visual aids

Text Box 2: Community Development Theory of Change

The exclusion and lack of ownership of Aboriginal people in the processes and projects which affect them has led to disempowerment, and poor outcomes. At the same time individual royalty payments have not led to collective benefits. The CLC's community development processes seek to support community members to elaborate their vision for a better community and to identify projects and processes that need to be addressed to achieve it, using Aboriginal people's own money. In so doing the CLC assists in identifying key stakeholders, developing partnerships, and overseeing the implementation of projects drawing on local and external resources. The CLC also supports monitoring and evaluation, of both the process and outcomes of the actions, in order to improve performance and learning over time.

Key Assumptions:

- That monies used collectively are used more effectively by communities than those distributed individually;

- That the CLC's Community Development Program adds value to royalties controlled by Aboriginal people;

- That the process of Aboriginal control of identifying, selecting and implementing their own projects is in itself empowering;

- That the process builds individual and collective capacity as well as broadening the benefits by engaging less powerful community members in planning and decision-making;

- That projects identified and implemented in this way make a tangible difference to people's lives;

- That the combination of the process and the projects contributes to outcomes that Aboriginal people value including their own self-esteem, skills and knowledge, social cohesion, cultural maintenance and empowerment;

- That communities are often using these funds to address needs/priorities that are not being met by Government or others;

- That these initiatives compare favourably with other attempts to improve conditions for Aboriginal people, as they seek to address the ownership, empowerment and inclusive institutions necessary to drive positive long term change; and

- That the behaviour of other actors (including sub-contractors of CDU projects), although sometimes unhelpful, does not sufficiently undermine CDU's work to the extent that it makes it ineffective.

Text Box 3: Governance Project Theory of Change

In a climate of disempowerment, where Aboriginal people feel they have limited control of or influence over decisions affecting their lives, the formation of a legitimate governance mechanism can provide a means for the community to regain a voice, and provide lessons for elsewhere.

Key Assumptions:

• Community members want ownership and control of governance;

• Within the community there exists sufficient capabilities and agency to create effective governance;

• The CLC is able to sensitively facilitate the emergence of a genuine and legitimate governance mechanism;

• That other bodies will engage with the governance mechanism;

• That other bodies will not seek to – or inadvertently - undermine the governance mechanism and will be at minimum neutral to it;

• That there is the capacity to exercise strong advocacy on behalf of the mechanism once it is formulated (by the community or the CLC); and

• That lessons learnt in Lajamanu can be usefully applied elsewhere.

4.4 Selection of Communities

A community selection framework was developed in order to sample a range of locations based on a number of issues including: size, remoteness, language and cultural differences, location and projects. As a result the following communities were selected:

Lajamanu

This would allow the Warlpiri Education Training Trust (WETT established 2004), Tanami Dialysis Support Service Project (established in 2007) Granites Mine Affected Areas Aboriginal Corporation (GMAAAC established in 1991 but working with the CDU since 2008), and Governance Projects (established 2011) to be reviewed in an RSD site. Whilst located on Gurindji land, the majority of Lajamanu residents are Warlpiri people.

Willowra

This would allow the Warlpiri Education Training Trust and Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation projects to be reviewed in a non-RSD site. The majority of Willowra residents identify as Warlpiri or Warlpiri-Anmatjerre people.

Imanpa

This would allow the other longstanding CLC supported program the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Rent Money Community Development Project (URM established in 2005) to be reviewed. The community is predominantly Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara although Warlpiri, Luritja and Arrernte speakers also live there.

All three communities are also receiving community lease money (i.e. monies owed from compulsory five year leases established as part of the NT intervention). Although this sub-project was not a focus of the evaluation it did allow the team to explore if, and how, prior engagement in community development activities has affected how people are approaching the community lease money.

Prior to the evaluation team arriving the CLC staff visited communities to get their permission for the evaluation and to inform them of who would be visiting as part of the review team and when. Posters with picture of the evaluation team members were distributed and placed on boards on prominent sites e.g. at stores and Learning Centres.

4.5 Selection of Participants

It was originally proposed to interview between 40 to 60 adult Aboriginal stakeholders (20 - 30 people in each of the selected communities) who would be able to comment on the processes, outcomes and future directions of the CLC Community Development and Governance Projects.

In order to ensure that as many community members as possible were able to contribute, the evaluation team spent between 4-10 days in each community. This enabled the team to follow up leads and be available to talk with people informally about the evaluation process, as well as to discuss initial findings with community members.

In order to obtain a representative sample of interviewees attention was paid to ensuring that there was a reasonable balance of gender, age and community roles (Traditional Owners, community leaders and residents, project participants, project recipients, police, government employees, shopkeepers, health workers) and identification of others who have not been involved in decision-making, or who may feel they have not benefited from the Community Development Program or Governance Project.

The team ended up interviewing 129 people, in individual or small group settings. This included 52 Aboriginal women, 40 Aboriginal men and 37 service providers (see Table 1).

Table 1: Interviews Conducted by Review Team

Project/ Location	Female community members	Male community members	Service providers	Total
Willowra	13	7	15	35
Lajamanu	25	25	16	66
Imanpa	13	9	6	28
Total	52	40	37	129

These interviews built on 372 interviews undertaken by external consultants between 2010-2012 for the CLC, as part of its ongoing independent monitoring of the CD program. As such the findings of this review are therefore informed by almost 500 interviews. There is some overlap in the interviewees, therefore the total number of people interviewed is somewhat less than this figure. Table 2 summarises the numbers and locations of these interviews. Those communities visited as part of the current review are shown in bold.

Table 2: Combined Interviews from the CLC monitoring and this Review (2010-13)

Project/ Location	Female community members	Male community members	Service providers	Total
WETT and GMAAAC				
Yuelamu (Mt Allen)	8	10	1	10
Nyirrpi	19	8	9	36
Yuendumu	47	17	15	79
Lajamanu	46	51	30	127
Willowra	52	26	24	102
Sub Total	172	112	79	363
NT Parks Rent Money				
Ewaninga Rock carvings Conservation Reserve	3	7		10
Iyltwelepentye/Davenport Range	4	2		6
Karlu Karlu/ Devils Marbles	3	4	1	8
Chambers Pillar Historical Reserve	5	1		6
Sub Total	15	14	1	30
UKT Rent Money				
Mutitjulu	7	2	6	15
Imanpa	30	13	7	50
Ulpanyali	4	0	2	6
Kenmore Park	7	1	2	10
Sub Total	48	16	17	81
Dialysis Project (Yuendumu & Alice Springs)	18	2	4	24
Total	253	144	101	498
Percentage of total (%)	51	29	20	100

An effort was also made to interview people from across age ranges. Table 3 indicates that this resulted in a relatively even balance across age groups. Whilst this sample is clearly not numerically representative (over 40% of the population in these communities are under 18), and those over 45 are therefore 'over-represented', it arguably does represent a) those active on the committee structures of WETT, GMAAAC URM and Dialysis Project, and b) more senior men and women in these communities.

Table 3: Ages of Interviewees

Project/ Location	Age (years)				Total
	18-25	25-44	45-64	65+	
Willowra	3	8	7	2	20
Lajamanu	10	12	16	12	50
Imanpa	0	11	9	2	22
Total	13	31	32	16	92
Percentage of total (%)	14	33	35	18	100

It should be noted that a great effort was also made to try and cover the family (patri-couple) or skin groups associated with different countries and Dreamings represented in each community. This was more successful in Lajamanu than in Willowra and Imanpa where a major funeral, ongoing conflict and associated absences made this more problematic.

4.6 Data Collection

Key informant interviews

After the study was explained and consent confirmed, semi- structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted. These varied from 20 minutes to one hour in length. A limited number of telephone interviews with service providers were also conducted. The evaluation team, including the researchers with prior relationships with the communities, conducted the interviews. Other people were present at the interviews as desired by the informant; this often included family members, or colleagues working on the same committee or group.

The interviews used visual prompts of the community development process and projects using a collage of GMAAAC, WETT and URM photographs. In line with a number of visual evaluative techniques (see Price et al. 2012) this permitted a) interviewees to make links and associations between different projects and activities, b) provided a focus for the discussion which lessened the interviewer/interviewee dynamic, and c) allowed participants to further their understanding of processes and projects that they were less aware of, and in so doing gain something from the process.

This method allowed the review team to gauge:

- Participants' knowledge of individual projects that had been undertaken in their community;
- What participants' valued about these projects, and what they did not value;
- Participants' knowledge and understanding of the processes by which these projects have been selected, managed, implemented and reviewed i.e. the governance and community development processes that lay 'behind' the projects; and
- Participants' understanding of the role of the CLC and what they felt the CLC might do differently in the future.

All interviews were recorded in field notes with crosschecking of meanings by Aboriginal people in Aboriginal languages where necessary.

Group interviews

Where desired we also conducted group interviews. These group interviews followed the same structure and topics as in the key informant interviews.

Participant Observation

Observations were conducted of CDU programs at the sub-project level and of the Governance Project and its processes. This included being located in the Learning Centres and Playgroup locations in Willowra and Lajamanu for some interviews and discussions, visiting WYDAC locations during activities, and attending Kurdiji discussions as observers. As we sought to be in communities at times when CDU staff were not present - in order to maintain independence - we were unable to attend processes facilitated by CDU staff. This means our interpretation of some of these processes comes indirectly through discussions with community members and the CLC staff rather than through participant observation except at the full Council meeting (see below).

Nevertheless these observations enabled the team to determine levels of community participation and ownership, as well as the relationship between service providers and community members. Furthermore it allowed the team to get a feel of the atmospherics of different activities and projects.

Workshop with the CLC CDU staff

A day long workshop was held with the CLC community development staff on 18 October 2013 which allowed the team to gain a broader understanding of CDU staff's work across a wider range of communities and projects.

Session with Full CLC Council

The Evaluation Team attended the full CLC Council meeting on 13th November 2013. At this meeting the team provided feedback to the delegates on their findings to date, and gathered information from them on their perceptions of the CLC's Community Development work, what they thought might be improved, and what role the Council should play in order to ensure the long term success of this work.

4.7 Data Analysis

The evaluation team has undertaken analysis of the findings from secondary data sources, observations and its own interviews. This data has been analysed deductively to consider the relevance of themes identified by broader literature review and inductively to consider emergent themes that were identified during the interview process. An iterative approach to data analysis has been used where themes are drawn from the data, reviewed and then re-examined to synthesize the findings.

This analysis has been further tested with Aboriginal people – during initial feedback sessions in the community – for example with the Kurdiji group in Lajamanu – with the CLC full Council and with other informed stakeholders such as members of the CDU Reference Group, and relevant CLC staff to add and deepen that analysis.

Secondary data analysis of social, cultural and economic data for the NT; the CLC project documents, budgets and monitoring reports; staff reports of the Governance Project; data on royalty payments; evidence provided by stakeholders; and relevant policy documents and contextual data. This process has also sought to minimise additional burdens on stakeholders whilst maximising efficient synthesis of existing data sources, as well as helping in locating the outputs of the CDU in a broader context.

Stakeholder interview and observation analysis has occurred in three stages:

a. Content analysis has been used to classify the data according to the domains of change related to the evaluation questions and the working hypotheses/theory of change.

b. Thematic analysis has been undertaken using 'open' coding. Data from notes, observations and transcriptions has been analysed to identify the processes and relationships between project selection, monitoring and outcomes.

c. Each researcher has read the transcripts and notes several times to identify any additional themes. Attention has been paid to differences in opinions across and within communities, and between researchers.

Social Network Analysis of data collected in Lajamanu on the membership of the various committee and governance structures is being trialled. This potentially will allow an assessment of the degree of overlap of membership between groups and a greater understanding of the networks of governance that exist. Some examples of this are presented in the Lajamanu findings section of this report.

4.8 Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this review that it is important to recognise:

Limited availability of data: a recent study commissioned by the CLC (Doran & Ling 2012, p. 3) noted:

"In spite of the comprehensive nature of available data sources, from the authors' perspective these data sources will be of limited use to the CDU for one of more of the following reasons: available data is out of date; available data is not dis-aggregated below the state/territory levels; access to relevant community level data, where possible, is restricted and requires application, approval and payment; and, National and state survey data is generally collected with very little inclusion of participants in areas covered by CLC CDU operations."

This has meant that it proved difficult to triangulate findings in a number of areas with reported outcomes expressed by informants. Whilst more data seems to be collected for RSD sites this is not always available, nor in a form that would allow for causal inferences to be drawn.

Community Coverage: the resources available and the timeline for this review has meant that we have had to limit the numbers of communities where we have undertaken in-depth work to three out of the 31 NT communities where the CLC CDU program is primarily engaged[5] . Whilst we believe that the triangulation of the review findings with the broader monitoring data and literature provides for some confidence in the findings being more broadly generalised, the heterogeneity of the communities and contexts means that this should be treated with caution.

Addressing the Counterfactual: one of the main challenges of impact evaluation in particular is how to address the counterfactual i.e. what would have happened without the project or program. This review has relied upon a number of techniques for causal inference which are suitable for a small sample size of heterogeneous communities (see Rogers 2010). In particular we are seeking 'congruence' i.e. the degree to which the findings match the program theory/assumptions; 'counterfactual comparison' what would have happened without the program; and 'critical review' i.e. are there other plausible explanations of the findings.

However given the number of actors intervening, the heterogeneity of communities involved, and the non-linear nature of the change processes that these multiple drivers produce it should be recognised that this review is in many areas reducing uncertainty about what is happening, as opposed to proving causality.

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[5] CDU is also engaged in numerous outstations as well as communities in Western and Southern Australia.

5 FINDINGS – IMANPA, WILLOWRA AND LAJAMANU

This chapter outlines findings (and background context) in relation to each community visited. Following sections present the overall findings, emergent themes and strategic issues.

5.1 Imanpa

5.1.1 Context

Imanpa was established as a 1.7 hectare excision from Mt Ebenezer pastoral lease in 1978 following a long period of advocacy for a community living area by Traditional Owners and people long associated with the area (such as those who previously worked on cattle stations in the area). It is located about seven km north of the Lasseter's Highway and 17 kilometres from Mt Ebenezer Roadhouse (currently closed). The community is predominantly Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara speaking, with essential services including a primary school, secondary school annex (part of Nyangatjatarra College based at Uluru), a health clinic, police station and community store. Being a relatively small community of approximately 180 people, Imanpa is not designated as a Remote Service Delivery (RSD) site by the Commonwealth Government, nor a Growth Town by the Northern Territory Government. Table 4 shows select socio-economic data for Imanpa.

Table 4: A Statistical Snapshot, Imanpa[6]

Socio-economic Indicator		Total
Population	Total Number of Residents	185
	Indigenous Residents	172
	Residents > 15 years of age	136
	Median Age	22
	Average Household Size	5.7
Employment	Employed Full Time	12
	Employed Part Time	11
	Labour Force Participation Rate[7]	25%
Income	Median Family Income ($/week)[8]	633
Household Language	English	6%
	Indigenous	94%
Education[9]	Year 9 or less	76%
	Years 10-12	10%
	Unstated	14%

[6] Source: Australian Census 2011.

[7] The number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of persons aged 15 years and over. NB this includes people employed, but away from work 'NB. In addition, this includes "people employed, but away from work".

[8] Median total family income is applicable to families in family households. It excludes families where at least one member aged 15 years and over did not state an income and families where at least one member aged 15 years and over was temporarily absent on Census Night.

[9] Count of persons aged 15 years and over who are no longer attending primary or secondary school.

Above: Arrival of a new community computer, Imanpa

Right: Tanya Luckey and Julia Burke (Ara Irititja support worker) reviewing newly installed iMAC in 2008

Three notable contextual factors were at play in Imanpa at the time the Review Team visited the community. Firstly, a significant number of former community residents had moved to Mutitjulu, at least in part in response to tensions associated with conflict within the community. Secondly, the recent closure of Mt Ebenezer Roadhouse was reported to have impacted the community (through reduced art sales, local jobs and access to fuel). Both of these factors, together with sorry business, led to community members estimating that up to 50% of the normal population of Imanpa was not in the community at the time of the Review Team visit.

Because a significant number of Imanpa residents have moved to Mutitjulu, the Review Team also visited Mutitjulu to interview a number of former Imanpa residents about both the CDU projects in Imanpa and to better understand the reasons for such significant population movement. As well as factors including community conflict and closure of the Mt Ebenezer Roadhouse, better employment opportunities at Yulara were identified as a significant reason, with 20 former Imanpa residents having been placed in work by Anangu Jobs, mostly at Yulara Resort.

An important third contextual factor was that the Review Team encountered very limited continuity and corporate memory of service providers in the community in relation to URM projects in Imanpa. Key personnel across education, health, police and shire services had been in posts for periods spanning one week through to a maximum of nine months.

The Review Team conducted 22 in-depth interviews with local community members (13 with women and 9 with men) with representation across age groups as outlined in Table 5.

Table 5: Age of Interviewees in Imanpa

Age group (years)	Number of Interviews	Percentage of Interviews
18-24	0	0%
25-44	10	45%
45-64	9	41%
65+	3	9%

A further six interviews were conducted with service providers and representatives of Local, Northern Territory and Commonwealth Government agencies operating in Imanpa.

These interviews built on the 25 interviews that have been conducted in Imanpa as part of the ongoing independent monitoring undertaken by the CLC between 2010-12. This allowed us to cross-check data and responses across more than 50 interviews.

5.1.2 Uluru Rent Money Overview

A total of $887,390 has been received by Imanpa through the Uluru Rent Money project since its inception comprising:

  • A $600,000 contribution towards a new community store between 2006 and 2008. The Australian Government contributed $210,000 and the NT Government the balance for the store of $30,000. Project design and construction was subcontracted to local architect Sue Dugdale and Associates. The store opened early in 2009 and has been run since by Outback Stores. The Imanpa Development Association (IDA) owns this asset;

- $137,000 for an additional cool room for the community store and re-surface of flooring between 2009 and 2013. Outback Stores were the project manager on both jobs;

- A $137,390 contribution to a visitors' and sports ablution block between 2009 and 2011. A Project Agreement was entered into with CAT to design and construct disabled male and female showers and toilets sited near the sports oval. IDA owns this asset; and

- $13,000 for band equipment. A Project Agreement was entered into with NPYWC (which runs the youth program at Imanpa) to source and manage the equipment which is used in the IDA owned Recreation Hall.

Imanpa has also benefitted from the Ara Irititja regional project which operates in over 30 communities in South Australia, the Northern Territory and Western Australia. Ara Irititja ('stories from a long time ago') officially commenced in 1994 and has been allocated $376,000 by URM to repatriate hundreds of thousands of historical and cultural items and makes them available to Anangu through a digital database. The Ara Irititja interactive digital archive is available in a number of Anangu communities allowing them to navigate the digital archive, write and up-load information, stories and reflections, and use passwords to restrict access to specific items.

Ara Irititja has been funded on two separate occasions, both with Pitjantjatjara Council as the subcontractor. The first stage of URM funding was for $181,000 from 2008 – 11 (for implementing in Aputula (Finke), Kaltukatjara (Docker River), Mutitjulu, and Imanpa. The second stage of funding was for $195,000 from 2012 – 2013 for further implementation in the above communities, as well as extending to the Watarrka school at Lilla (which serves Lilla, Ulpanyali, and Wanmarra), Titjikala, Yirara College in Alice Springs and Utju (Areyonga).

5.1.3 URM Imanpa Projects

Imanpa has been the subject of previous monitoring of CDU projects (Kelly 2010, 2011, 2012). The key themes which emerge from this monitoring include:

Community Benefit from URM Projects. Previous monitoring found that both Anangu community members and service providers regard URM supported projects as benefiting the Imanpa community. In particular, monitoring reports indicate overwhelmingly positive comments about the new store from both Anangu residents of Imanpa and service providers. Benefits to the community attributed to the new store included an increased range of goods available (TVs, blankets, clothes); that the new store is well managed by Outback Stores (employing Anangu, retaining children's savings books and proactively discouraging unhealthy food choices) and that the store is able to provide higher quality and fresher food as a result of the upgrade. Whilst there was less knowledge of URM as a funding source, overall other projects were reported as benefiting the community. The band equipment was reported as keeping young people occupied, developing skills and reducing conflict.

Right: Using the Ara Irititja ('Stories from a long time ago') interactive digital archive, Imanpa

Limited knowledge of URM as a funding source. With the exception of the new store, there was very limited Anangu knowledge of URM as the source of funding for community projects, especially amongst young people. Knowledge however was reported in the monitoring reports as being higher amongst service providers, although the reasons for this are unclear.

Project delivery speed. The majority of interviewees (both Anangu residents and service providers) regarded the URM projects as being delivered too slowly, noting that in a number of instances this was beyond the control of both Anangu and the CLC and instead associated with subcontractors (e.g. delays with the ablution block reportedly associated with Shire processes).

Sustainability. A number of interviewees suggested that URM funded projects are likely to be more sustainable in Imanpa because of the community development process whereby community members engagement in the design, planning and sometimes delivery of URM projects fosters a sense of ownership. This was contrasted with a recent SIHIP house renovation project which was claimed to have involved no community consultation, poor design and execution and which provided no employment or training opportunities for Anangu.

Against this background outlined in monitoring reports, feedback from community members to the Review Team in Imanpa on the impact and benefit of the URM funded projects in the community was very positive and mirrored the conclusions reached in earlier monitoring.

The new Imanpa Store generated universally positive feedback. The store is valued for providing a larger range of goods and better quality of fresh food, and is seen as a hub for the community for which people have a sense of ownership.

"The store has made things better. Not enough room before. More room. New shop is better. A lot of tinned food in the old shop. A lot of fresh vegetables here now with the cool room now."

"I was there when they opened the store. It has been a good for the community."

"We had an old store, this one better, we are happy."

"Those things were really important to community because they were operating from an old store for a long time. It's a lot bigger than old store; we can get more stuff in it. It's better with new cool room."

The new ablution block is seen as valuable for visitors, especially visiting sports teams and school children from Melbourne who come up every year and help in the community.

"When people come for the football they can have toilet & shower. When people come from Melbourne they using toilet block and they sleep over there".

Ara Irititja is seen as valuable by those who have used it, but it was notable that some families dominated its use and that some interviewees had not used it because of conflict in the community.

"Ara Irititja that's good one, see all old photos, old people. Recently they've added more photos. I've added more names. They've got a block for people who have passed away. Other family members— whoever have got password can look at it and print photo. Old people's ideas—all Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara people had old photos".

"That's the one they love. We are looking after that, it's a popular space. I used to sit there all day long and use it."

"People use it. People here like to get copies of photos of deceased relations, so they can show it to their people, so that they can understand history. Now they got photos of their grandmothers and grandfathers."

Above: General store funded by URM, Imanpa

Above: Seal of approval for general store at Imanpa, 2009

Right: Young people practice with new Imanpa band equipment, 2010

The band equipment is valued by community members as something which engages young people in particular, although it was suggested that lack of access to the equipment was an issue.

"And band we are happy. Friday, Saturday we have dance and is good fun on the weekend". "Plenty band instruments in the building. When we feel happy we can dance".

"Sometimes young fellas use the band instruments—the instruments are in the Youth Centre."

5.1.4 Feedback on CDU Ways of Working

Overall the CDU staff responsible for URM funded projects in Imanpa are seen as working very effectively in a community experiencing significant conflict between different family groups. Feedback to the review team from interviewees in Imanpa suggests that the CLC is seen as listening and engaging effectively with community members.

"I'm happy with the Land Council, all the work they are doing here. They are working here right way."

"Before Land Council was doing all these things here people went away from Imanpa when nothing was happening. It's been a good help, Anangu money."

"I think it's all right, it's good how they are working with people here."

One interviewee consciously disengages from CDU processes because of the community conflict.

"There are a lot of arguments, that's why I stay out of it. We didn't know about meetings."

This community member suggested that the best way for the CLC to work in this conflict context is to talk to each of the different groups about their ideas, and if they disagree to bring them together to talk about it and make decisions.

More broadly, external stakeholders and service providers in Mutitjulu are extremely positive about the role played by CDU in Imanpa and the broader region. Attributes of the effectiveness of CDU are cited as including:

• The historical knowledge and long term relationships key staff have with local Aboriginal people.

• The ability of staff to share information, jointly plan and partner with other agencies (both on CDU business and other issues such as a joint taskforce looking at land reform issues in Mutitjulu).

• Strong governance arrangements for CDU work.

• Delivery. "CDU put a timeframe in place and deliver. Delays with the swimming pool were not CLC's fault" (referring to the URM funded Mutitjulu community swimming pool opened in September 2013).

"I think they do a great job. I applaud <CLC staff member> and the team. She has been an absolute saint. She does get the best outcome for the community at the end of the day."

"CLC CDU do outstanding work and deserve accolades for their achievements."

"CLC CDU is doing great work in a difficult situation. It has been a really important role."

5.1.5 Issues for Consideration

Seven specific issues emerged from our interviews in Imanpa and Mutitjulu, which we believe warrant consideration by CDU.

Financial Sustainability. In line with the Review Team's observations, a number of interviewees suggest it is important for the CLC to find ways to ensure the ongoing longer term financial viability of projects, especially capital intensive projects with significant ongoing recurrent operating costs.

It was suggested that particular attention should be paid to maximising the requirement for government to at least co-contribute to recurrent operating costs associated with projects which in mainstream Australia are financed through local, state or Federal governments. Ensuring planning processes incorporate ongoing operating or flow on costs was seen as important by interviewees, with the Mutitjulu swimming pool cited as an example here. It is our understanding costs have been allocated by Traditional Owners to cover 4/5 years recurrent costs and the CLC will be seeking government funding to add to this.

This issue is made more important given the number of interviewees who regarded Imanpa as being at a disadvantage in terms of Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government investment because the community is neither a Remote Service Delivery site nor a Growth Town. These interviewees cited a lack of new housing and employment opportunities as particular areas of community need which are not being adequately addressed because of the community's lack of status, especially in comparison to the larger community of Mutitjulu. This, together with the closure of the Mt Ebenezer Roadhouse, was cited as contributing to significant movement of people to Mutitjulu and Alice Springs.

"A lot of Anangu are leaving Imanpa because of a shortage of housing. All the town camps are crowding up—people every way. We been ask Government…remember intervention time? We showed them houses and nothing happened."

"Houses are the worst thing in Imanpa. Shire will not look after small places like Imanpa, will only build in growth towns."

"There's hardly no employment at Imanpa—no employment, no housing. We are struggling. A lot of employment at Mutitjulu. [People have moved there.] But got to remember these people have now got houses and jobs—something we can't provide at Imanpa."

As noted elsewhere in this report, interviewees in Willowra (also a non RSD site) expressed similar concerns about the social impacts of a strongly perceived lack of investment in essential services and infrastructure. This raises a broader issue touched on later in this report of the implications of a potentially widening gap in government investment between RSD and non RSD sites for the rights of community members in non RSD sites.

Early Joint Planning. Service providers directly or indirectly affected by CDU projects suggest it would be valuable to understand early on in CDU planning processes which projects are being considered through the CDU for the reason that many projects have longer term flow on implications for other agencies. Examples cited in Mutitjulu included the housing required for swimming pool staff and the need for an integrated outstation planning process which also incorporates the desire of Traditional Owners to establish an economic base through outstation based tourism enterprises.

Knowledge of URM Decision Making Processes. Whilst community members in Imanpa see clear benefit from URM funded projects in Imanpa and are supportive of the CLC processes within Imanpa once money has been allocated to the community, understanding of the broader decision making processes which lead to the allocation of funds to Imanpa appears to be limited to those very few individuals directly engaged in broader URM meetings.

Of those interviewed, only two residents of Imanpa expressed knowledge of meetings in which decisions were made about project proposals for Imanpa. This may relate to the conflict in Imanpa and key absences, however there was also no evidence of any governance structure for CDU staff to work with in Imanpa as, unlike GMAAAC for example, the URM project has not set up community-based governance arrangements. CDU staff suggest this is in part because the URM decision-making process means that communities do not receive an annual allocation, and therefore maintaining local governance arrangements would be difficult as there might be several years between allocations. However in the absence of such arrangements, the risks of exacerbating conflict become significantly higher and there is an enhanced reliance on the skills of experienced CLC staff with local networks and knowledge.

This lack of understanding of the broader processes may contribute to a minority perception that Imanpa is not equitably dealt with through URM decision making processes: (even though Imanpa has recieved higher allocations than all other communities apart from Mutijulu)

"Sometimes when we get rent money from Land Council for something we need here, they all rush in from Docker River and Mutitjulu and grab the money. Mutitjulu and Areyonga taking the money. We need something here so we can make a plan to grow up the community."

Awareness of Use of Anangu Money. Community members are largely positive that Anangu money is being used for projects aligned to Anangu needs and priorities, and that money is being used for community purposes. However interviews by the Review Team confirmed the conclusions of previous monitoring reports that the knowledge of URM as a funding source for all projects in Imanpa - with the exception of the Store - is very limited. The lack of visibility of use of Anangu money for CDU projects may not be helpful in the broader context, and consideration should be given to ensuring that partners and sub-contractors are communicating this in their publicity materials and branding.

Understanding Local Context. Imanpa appears to be an example of a community in a constant state of changing dynamics driven by factors both within the community (such as conflict) and external factors (such as employment opportunities elsewhere). The apparent effectiveness of CDU staff in this context is arguably a consequence of the key staff member having a history and detailed understanding of the social and cultural contexts of the region combined with long term relationships with community members through which understanding is enhanced.

Timelines. Interviewees reconfirmed the views expressed in previous monitoring reports that projects are perceived as taking too long. "I think the process—like getting these projects approved—process takes too long. They had to wait a few years for store; going back and forth."

It is notable however to the Review Team that many of the factors delaying project implementation are beyond the direct control of CDU staff and are associated with for example the complexities of the subcontracting process (e.g. for the store) or government assessment processes for infrastructure (e.g. for connecting the ablutions block to the community water and sewerage systems).

Use of Professional Interpreters. Interviewees encouraged CDU to give greater thought to the selection and use of interpreters for meetings in Imanpa.

"We are constantly talking to CLC telling them "you guys have to provide an interpreter". I'm requested [to work as interpreter] but some meetings are important for me to be involved in as part of meeting as a community member. The information is new to me as well. I find it hard being a Chairperson and ending up being interpreter as well. I had to decide who I'm really there for."

This will assist in community members having a greater understanding of project decision making and planning processes. We do however note that the CLC do always use an interpreter for URM TO meetings, but they do acknowledge some of the challenges in finding suitably qualified interpreters who are willing to interpret for contested meetings which involve discussion about money which can become heated.

5.2 Willowra

5.2.1 Context

Willowra, or Wirliyajarrayi, is situated on the Lander River, some 330kms north west of Alice Springs. Located within Lander Warlpiri country, the land was taken up for a cattle station in the 1920s. Subsequently, in 1928, many Lander Warlpiri Anmatjerre were killed in the area following the murder of a dingo trapper, an event known as the Coniston Massacre (see Albert 2009 for information of recent commemoration of event).

In the 1970s community members applied for a loan to purchase Willowra station on behalf of the local Aboriginal community. In 1973, soon after the election of the Whitlam government, the loan was granted and the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs purchased Willowra for the Lander Warlpiri people. The Willowra community took over the management of the station in 1974 as part of the Willowra Cattle Company. A land claim under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act was lodged in 1978, and the land was handed back to its Traditional Owners in 1983 (for more on the history of Willowra see Vaarzon-Morel, 2012 and Coombs 1993). Table 6 shows select socio-economic data for Willowra.

Table 6: A Statistical Snapshot: Willowra[10]

Socio-economic Indicator		Total
Population	Total Number of Residents	221
	Indigenous Residents	202
	Residents > 15 years of age	145
	Median Age	20
	Average Household Size	5
Employment	Employed Full Time	16
	Employed Part Time	23
	Labour Force Participation Rate[11]	30.6%
Income	Median Family Income ($/week)[12]	900
Household Language	English	5%
	Indigenous	95%
Education[13]	Year 9 or less	43%
	Years 10-12	34%
	Unstated	23%

The community is comprised of people of predominantly Warlpiri and Warlpiri-Anmatjerre descent. Essential services include a school which covers early to middle years, a medical clinic, a store and an airstrip. There has been a permanent police presence in Willowra since 2007. As a relatively small community of approximately 220 people[14] , Willowra is not designated as a Remote Service Delivery (RSD) site by the Commonwealth Government, nor a Growth Town by the Northern Territory Government.

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[10] Source: Australian Census 2011.
[11] The number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of persons aged 15 years and over. 'NB. In addition, this includes "people employed, but away from work".
[12] Median total family income is applicable to families in family households. It excludes families where at least one member aged 15 years and over did not state an income and families where at least one member aged 15 years and over was temporarily absent on Census Night.
[13] Count of persons aged 15 years and over who are no longer attending primary or secondary school.
[14] 2011 Census of Population and Housing (ABS 2013b), but it is also clear that population numbers fluctuate due to seasonal changes, ceremonial activities and community conflict.

The review took place in the week leading up to an important funeral for a senior man. His family (much of the community) were therefore largely pre-occupied with sorry business (i.e. funeral and grieving ceremony). Ongoing conflict in the community also meant that some families were not currently living in Willowra. The Coordinator of the Learning Centre was also away this week which meant the centre was only open for a few hours each day. Nevertheless this did allow us to observe the Centre being run by local people. Early voting for the Federal election, a meeting of Warlpiri teachers from across the region, and the opening of the Playgroup building also meant that there was a lot going on during our visit which meant that many people were unusually busy.

Despite this the team managed to conduct 20 in-depth interviews with local community members (13 with women and 7 with men) and a further 12 with service providers. These interviews built on the 67 interviews that have been conducted in Willowra as part of the ongoing independent monitoring commissioned by the CLC between 2010-12. This allowed us to cross-check data and responses across nearly 100 interviews, with 72 individuals, as well as ensuring good coverage of age groups and the major family groups in Willowra.

5.2.2 WETT

All five WETT sub-projects are funded and operating in Willowra. These include:

- The Learning Community Centre Program;
- The Language and Culture Support Program;
- The Youth and Media Program;
- The Early Childhood Care and Development Program; and
- The Secondary School Support Program.

Table 7: WETT Contributions to Willowra

Year	WETT Contribution - Willowra
2006/2007	$73,729
2007/2008	$231,758
2008/2009	$260,239
2009/2010	$316,019
2010/2011	$394,714
2011/2012	$461,859
2012/2013	$873,211[15]
Total	$2,611,530

Wirliyajarrayi Learning Centre

The Learning Centre, which opened on 23 April 2013 and is run by BITTE, is almost universally seen as the jewel in Willowra's crown. It has taken many years of struggle, lobbying and hard work to come to fruition. Nearly all respondents see the Centre as a 'yapa'[16] place, that is, owned and governed by Aboriginal people. It is felt to provide a safe and culturally appropriate space, despite the conflict between some families in the community.

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[15] This includes $2.5m capital costs for the Learning Centre
[16] "We call white people 'kardiya' and we call ourselves 'yapa'", Peggy Rockman Napaljarri et al. (2003: xxii).

e 2: Warlpiri skin names

Nakamarra
Jakamarra ⟷ Napurrula
Jupurrula

‹marry›

‹marry›

Napaljarri
Japaljarri

Napanangka
Japanangka

Nungarrayi
Jungarrayi

Napangardi
Japangardi

‹marry›

‹marry›

Nangala
Jangala ⟷ Nampijinpa
Jampijinpa

⟷ Father to child
Child to father

→ Mother to child
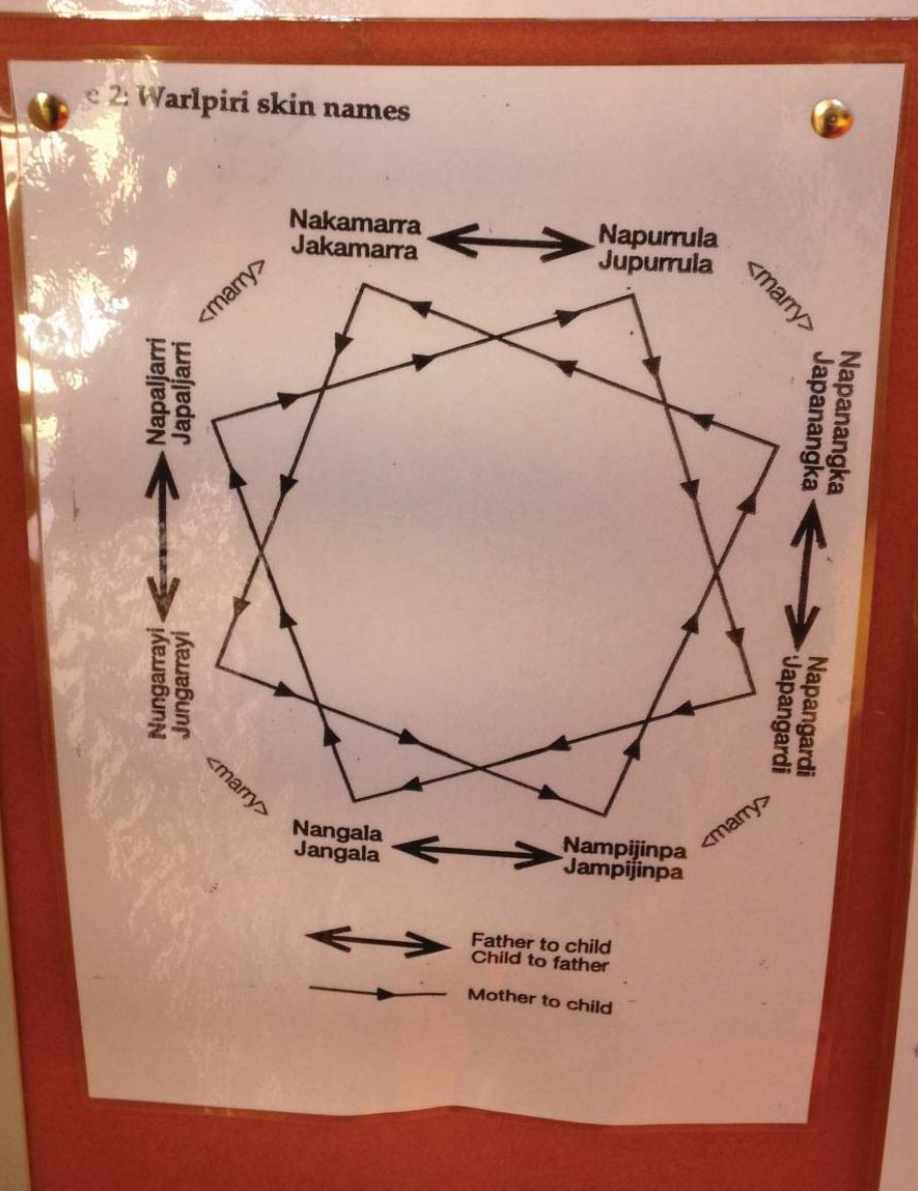
Above: Community artworks at Wirliyatjarrayi Adult and Learning Centre, Willowra

Left: Walpiri skin names, Wirliyatjarrayi Adult and Learning Centre, Willowra

"The Learning Centre is the best. We use it for Facebook. We see family, old pictures and photos and read books."

"At the moment everyone's going to the learning centre. Its (trouble) free to go in, when you've got a problem we say leave it outside."

People believe that this is because the Centre has been designed, planned, funded and managed through the WETT committee structures which has created high levels of ownership, as well as a building that 'works' in ways which maintain appropriate social and cultural relations. The fact that four local people were employed in helping to build the Centre, and four are now employed to help run the facility also helps create a sense of ownership, as well as providing direct social and economic benefits to local Aboriginal people. These staff have completed a Language, Literacy, Numeracy (LLN) assessment and enrolled in a program of formal study.

"Learning Centre is here for people to learn. It is a yapa place. It's been built by WETT mob. They're the ones been helping build the centre here for yapa."

The non-Aboriginal Centre coordinator, who has prior experience of working on Aboriginal governance, is seen by many respondents as playing an important role in the effective management of the Centre whilst at the same time nurturing local ownership and control. Three well attended reference group governance meetings were held in the first six months of operation, however due to conflict in the community the reference group has not met since August 2013. Despite this most people see the reference group as a functioning and inclusive governance mechanism.

"The Reference Group are the boss of the Centre. They make the rules. They close down the Centre if someone breaks the rules. They talk to parents if the rules are broken. The Centre belongs to everyone – the paintings from each family tell this story."

"Design is good and Reference Group make the decisions and rules for the Learning Centre. The Committee is the boss of the Coordinator."

In its first six months of operation the centre has run eight formal learning courses for educational certificates as well as informal learning sessions and events involving 127 participants (Table 8). Another 10 participants are in discussion with the Coordinator about enrolling in formal study in 2014. In the brief period between its opening in April 2013 and 30 June 2013, 115 people have used the Centre's computers on 758 visits. The BIITE six monthly report states that 'since then an average of 15 men and 16 women use the computers every week (about a quarter of them use the computers more than three times a week)'. On average three people use the library every day which has a range of Warlpiri language and English materials. The Learning Centre is equipped with computers and an internet connection which enable the local community to access the outside world. As such, it provides an important learning and technology space otherwise not available in the community.

Table 8: Activities and Participants - Wirliyajarrayi Learning Centre (Feb-Sept 2013) (BIITE 2013)

Willowra Learning Centre Activities	Number of Participants		
	Male	Female	Total
Cert I Visual Arts Screen Printing	-	5	5
Cert I Indigenous language and Knowledge	-	6	6
Cert II Indigenous language and knowledge work	-	1	1
Cert I Education and Skills Development	-	6	6
Beanie Workshop	2	12	14
Computer/i-pad Skills	44	14	58
Drink Driver Education	6	2	8
Cert I Visual Arts Colour and Painting	-	14	14
Cert I Visual Arts Quilting	4	11	15
Total	56	71	127

A number of service providers in Willowra commented on positive outcomes since the centre has opened. This included staff in the Shire office remarking on how support provided by the Centre to people had lessened demands upon them, and the person responsible for the Remote Jobs Community Program (RJCP) – Activity Centre noting an observable improvement in people's ability and confidence in filling in forms and applications. It seems that both the formal training provided by the centre as well as the informal learning that comes from greater familiarity with computers and on-line activity (such as internet banking and use of Facebook) has contributed to the functional literacy of some regular attendees at the Centre.

Plans for the Learning Centre to build linkages with the Activity Centre have been thwarted by the fact that the Activity Centre was at the time of this review open only one day per week owing to a lack of resources and the fact one person is responsible for the RJCP across multiple communities. The limited capability of the Activity Centre means that potential synergies between the two institutions have not been fulfilled. For example, 25 young people receiving youth allowance have not been referred by the RJCP to the learning centre for enrolment in formal training.

Country Visits

While looking at the pictures of WETT and GMAAAC funded projects the most common reaction from interviewees was to note that 'school country visits'[17] were not happening. Nearly every Aboriginal respondent noted this and lamented the fact.

"Still waiting for country visits. Used to have country visits that went for a week. Took kids out camping overnight – got WETT money for elder payments telling stories and working with kids."

"They used to have country visits but probably closed now. Every year we used to go country visit taking kids to different country. Past few years we never go on country visits, but we want to."

"We used to follow our culture and country visits are important to teach our kids. Shire stopped it, probably with the school. We really want to carry on our culture. Young people are forgetting the old people. We need support so we can go on country visit."

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[17] "Country visits by schools involved knowledgeable Aboriginal elders whose role was to elucidate and explain the cultural significance of country through traditional stories and sacred sites" (Barnes, 2013, p. 146).

For the majority of interviewees the reason for the decline in country visits was due to the school no longer actively supporting them. They argued that for country visits to be done well required the school to play a lead role, along with others such as WYDAC and the CLC rangers.

"Country visits a fantastic opportunity for kids…. A lot of effort goes into this from yapa and kardiya. Depends on goodwill of teachers and not getting hung up on OH&S."

Whilst it was recognised that the community and the rangers could arrange visits – indeed a men's visit to sacred sites had recently been facilitated by the CLC - or that WYDAC organise bush trips - this was not sufficient. This was because the school not only had the resources and logistical capacity to organise longer and more comprehensive visits, but equally importantly was responsible for education in the community which interviewees firmly believe country visits need to be an integral part. This is because interviewees regarded country visits as providing a significant opportunity to teach children about Dreamings, country and interconnections among families.

Interviewees also associated this lack of support from the school as linked to the ongoing issue of Warlpiri language teaching at the school which has been a bone of contention for some time. A good summary of these views can be found in the submission by the Warlpiri-patu-kurlangu Jaru Association to the recent National Inquiry on Language Learning in Indigenous Communities (Warlpiri-patu- kurlangu Jaru 2011). It is of note that one of the submissions quoted in the inquiry recognised that:

"Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages need to be recognised, valued and supported in schools, and in developing relationships with families and communities. Initiatives that develop culture and language have been found to be significant factors increasing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students' participation, attendance and achievements in schools" (Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2012, p. 80)".

Indeed the inquiry made the following recommendation:

"The Committee recommends that the Commonwealth Government work with state and territory governments to provide adequately resourced bilingual school education programs for Indigenous communities from the earliest years of learning, where the child's first language is an Indigenous language (traditional or contact)." (ibid p.xix)

Recent changes of personnel at the school suggest that some of the challenges experienced in the past few years of building a strong relationship between the community and the school may begin to be addressed. Indeed a Warlpiri reading evening that was held at the school during our visit which attracted a large community turn-out perhaps indicates a brighter future.

WETT Youth and Media Program

The aim of the WETT Youth and Media program (managed by WYDAC) in Willowra is to support Warlpiri youth in the creation of positive and meaningful futures as individuals, and for the benefit of their communities

The program is run by the Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation (WYDAC). WYDAC was started by the Yuendumu Community in 1993 to address chronic petrol sniffing at Yuendumu (see http://mttheo.org/home/). The WYDAC program is also known as Mt Theo based on the location of the original youth diversionary program designed to address this problem.

With the support of WETT funding, the program has since broadened in nature and scope to provide a comprehensive program of youth development and leadership, diversion, respite, rehabilitation and aftercare services throughout the Warlpiri region, with programs now operating in Lajamanu, Nyirrpi and Willowra as well.

> *"All these projects is making Willowra a good place. Yuendumu was only one to have Mt Theo, but it's – WYDAC—spread out to other communities. We included two little towns and now we are all growing up. We are speeding up."*

WYDAC was commonly cited by interviewees as an important service to the Willowra community. Nearly everyone – including service providers and the Police - felt that it played an essential role in keeping young people occupied, and many believed that the community had seen less anti-social behaviour as a result – although in the weeks following the evaluation visit in August 2013, there have been some incidents of vandalism, which most people associate with the spike in community conflict. The store staff for example remarked upon WYDAC's support in helping to organise children and young adults in unloading store supplies arriving by road-train.

> *"Happy with WYDAC and Youth Centre. [I am on the] committee. No petrol sniffing now. Took kids to Mt Theo for a couple of weeks to stop petrol sniffing. Mt Theo led to Youth Centre led to Learning Centre."*

> *"WYDAC running well. Taking elders to get bush medicine, kids to Yuendumu for swimming, Disco night, new screen for movies. Fri & Sat night disco. Used to give out food purchase orders and kids took turns to serve food in youth centre. Have computers, games and toys and computer to listen to music. Kids make own CD's & act out videos (monsters and donkeys)."*

Youth Diversionary Program

WYDAC, with WETT funding, run both a Youth Diversionary Program and a Youth Development Program. Whilst there was some reduction in activities (9% reduction in total hours) in the first six months of 2013 compared to the previous period, total participants were slightly higher. However hours and participant numbers were significantly up compared to the same period last year, WYDAC suggest that "[t]his reinforces the fact that the youth program remained not only neutral amidst this community tension but especially active and important in providing positive diversionary activity" (WYDAC 2013, p. 13).

The most recent project reports indicate that the youth diversionary program continues to provide wide-ranging and highly frequented activities as illustrated in Table 9, which summarises activities between January and June 2013.

Table 9: WYDAC Activities in Willowra

Activity Type	Activity Hours	Activity Numbers	Activity Events
Youth Program Activities			
Home Economics	7.50	38	5
Arts & Crafts	286.25	1138	125
Basketball	13.00	85	11
Bush Swimming	16.00	50	4
Computers	294.75	714	117
Disco	92.67	1824	33
Family/Movie Night	11.75	254	7
Football	0.75	9	1
Games	9.00	32	6
Music	3.00	5	2
Other	14.00	137	7
Softball	15.03	104	6
Youth Centre	323.25	3856	129
Youth Program Support	53.75	75	23
Total	1140.70	8321	476
Cultural Activities			
Bush Trips	29.50	32	6
Camps	39.50	25	2
Special Event	9.50	300	2
Total	78.50	357	10

Between January and June 2013 WYDAC have for the first time tried to assess the number of individual participants accessing their services, despite the very real challenges of doing so. They estimate that nearly all youth in the community have done so at some time in the period from January-June 2013. Indeed it is suggested that nearly all young people in Willowra use some aspect of the service every week. The average number of total participants per week was 352, of which 195 were female.

Accessing the Youth Centre, computers and arts and crafts (particularly for younger girls) constitutes the bulk of the acitivity hours supported by WYDAC, with the youth centre and disco attracting the most numbers of participants. Computers seem to attract a smaller proportion of dedicated users in a well resourced space with good internet access though NT libraries. Music has also proved popular with training in song-writing, singing and in using the computer recording software resulting in the recording of 21 songs. Although sports activity seems to have declined, WYDAC reports suggest that this is because the Sports Clubs and teams run their own activities without WYDAC support. One service provider felt that too many of WYDAC's activities were too passive and they should include more physical actitivities. WYDAC also continue to support cultural activities and organised six short bush trips (half to one day per trip) during the January-June 2013 period.

Figure 5: WYDAC Activity Hours and Participants, January-June 2013
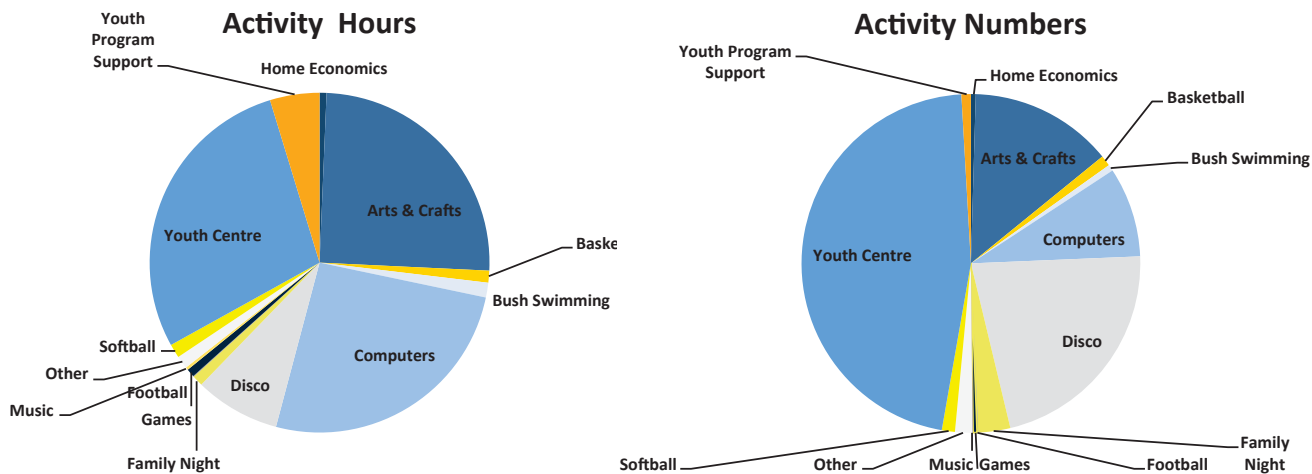
The WYDAC staff are seen to have creatively adapted their services as a result of changing circumstances. For example in order to address problems created by younger children not being able to attend evening events, the staff now allow them to attend until 9pm. Staff then drive these children home, helping to ensure they are less likely to be roaming the community late at night.

The location of WYDAC next to the Learning Centre and Playgroup, in the emerging 'precinct' in the centre of Willowra seems to provide a key hub of linked services with a clear differentiation for different age groups. This is what was originally envisaged in the report by Jerry Schwab (2006).

Youth Development Program

As part of WYDAC's Youth Development Program designed to help create positive, meaningful and formal life pathways for Warlpiri youth, young people – known as 'jaru trainees' - are provided with training, mentoring and support. Through this program young people take responsibility for running WYDAC community events including the disco, football and softball. It is reported that the growth in self-confidence and work ethic for participants in this program is very significant.

Table 10 shows the number of activity hours, and number of activities and events undertaken as part of the WYDAC Youth Development Program. The numbers of Jaru trainees has reduced from a high of 37 involved in 270 hours of training in 2011 to 22 involved in 111 hours of training in 2013. WYDAC suggest that this may be due to the community tensions and the later than usual onset of the football tournament. More positively the WYDAC 'life pathways' initiative saw two new trainee 'Graduates' during this period, both of whom were subsequently employed at the Willowra shop. This brings the total number of Willowra Graduates to 10, four of whom have found work. This is an important contribution given the challenges of youth unemployment in remote communities.

Table 10: WYDAC Youth Development Program in Willowra

Informal Education and Training	Activity Hours	Activity Numbers	Activity Events
Media Training	7.0	5	4
Art	3.5	23	2
Computers	504.75	1266	208
Hairdressing	5.0	43	3
Music	15.5	23	8
Other	28.5	209	15
Total	564.25	1569	240

WYDAC staff also provide funding support for activities in Willowra that GMAAAC supports, such as the sports clubs. WYDAC staff wondered if there might need to be better coordination with the WETT/GMAAAC regarding activities that both organisations were funding in order to avoid possible duplication. They suggested that clearer signposting of who was funding what might help.

WETT Early Childhood Care and Development Program

The goal of the Early Childhood Care and Development Program which has now operated for more than three years in Willowra is "to improve the health and wellbeing of children aged 0-5 yrs by building a foundation for children to reach their social, intellectual, spiritual and physical needs through the support of parents and carers and better early childhood services, in four Warlpiri communities". The outcomes sought by the program are:

1. The capacity of parents and carers to support children's health, development and wellbeing has increased.

2. Increased capacity of existing and new Indigenous Early Childhood services to provide high quality culturally strong early learning and care services for children 0-5 years.

3. Increased community capacity to effectively govern ECCD programs within their community and within the Warlpiri region.

4. Increased capacity of parents/carers to access and utilise culturally relevant parenting materials and early learning resources.

Many respondents were enthused by the new building which contained the playgroup. This was directly contrasted with a small inconvenient space which the playgroup had previously occupied behind the Shire Office. This change has contributed to the Centre being open on more days and an increase in the number of children attending playgroup from about 3-5 to an average of about 12. This includes children who attend pre-school and then come to the Centre afterwards. It was reported to us that all but three of the eligible children in the community have attended the playgroup.

Figure 6: Willowra Play Group Attendance Oct 2012-June 2013 (WVA 2013)[18]
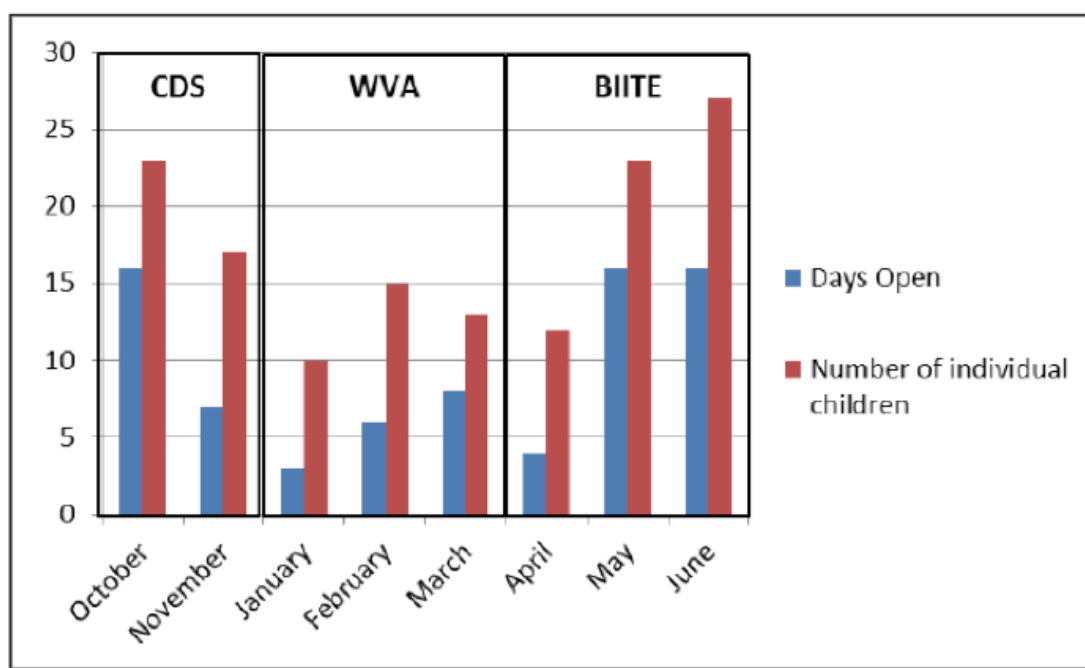
Community members also suggest that there are a number of other factors which explain the increase, which go beyond the physical improvement of the surroundings. These included :[19]

- The distancing of the centre from the Shire, and the fact that it is a 'neutral space'.
- Changes in personnel, and greater presence of kardiya (non-Aboriginal) staff.
- Changes in the management arrangements with Central Desert Shire no longer running the service and a new partnership with BIITE and WVA having been established after an interim period when WVA ran the centre. BIITE is now running the playgroup and WVA is focused on outreach support.

The Centre has also recently recruited four local staff. In order to avoid exacerbating community conflict and claims of family bias, the selection process was run in collaboration with the WETT Early Childhood Reference Group in Yuendumu. This is a good example of an innovative solution to a challenging issue addressed through calling on cross-community support.

WVA also report that since the centre has been established the Willowra Early Childhood Reference Group (ECRG) has also met more frequently, although it was reported that the turn-out isn't always great, and they were involved in developing the recruitment strategy described above as well as attending the SNAIC conference in Cairns. However it was reported by playgroup staff that the group is still relatively weak and staff don't yet feel accountable to this group. WETT Advisory Committee members also provide direct support to staff.

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[18] Figure 6 shows playgroup management changes over the 2012-13 period. CDS (Central Desert Shire); WVA (World Vision Australia); BIITE (Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education).
[19] These are consistent with the findings of Armstrong, Lonsdale and Stojanovski (the Australian Council of Educational Research 2012). Fourth Progress Report.

There were some concerns expressed to the team about the need to develop further links between the playgroup and the pre-school. We were told that there are insufficient numbers of pre-school children to justify a staff position at the school. We understand there are some moves to explore if there might be more integration of pre-school and playgroup services given the size of the community. This would seem sensible.

Given the relatively low levels of overall government investment in Willowra - especially compared to RSD sites - it is not improbable to suggest that without WETT and WVA funding there would be no playgroup in Willowra.

The fourth evaluation progress report of this program undertaken by the Australian Council of Education Research (ACER) in September 2012 (Armstrong, Lonsdale & Stojanovski 2012) concluded that whilst WVA facilitators were viewed positively by communities, and the program was working relatively well in Yuendumu, there were a number of things that were not working so well. These included, amongst other things, the view that:

- The services were not yet robust or sustainable in Willowra, Lajamanu and Nyirrpi, with low numbers of children attending;

- WVA's model of support was best suited to communities where services were already capable and being delivered, and that the WVA facilitators needed to live in the community;

- The program needed to be better tailored to the different communities, and build relationships with other service providers; and,

- The program needed to develop a 'two-ways' model of child development and a simple evaluation framework with a smaller set of indicators identified by the communities.

Since the fourth evaluation, WVA have changed their model of support and there is a permanent playgroup coordinator employed by BIITE and a WVA presence in the community for two weeks a month. It was not evident to the evaluation team that the program was markedly 'two-way'[20] yet, and therefore tailored to the community, however it is recognised that this is likely to take some time to achieve.

School Visits and Support

Parents and young people were universally positive about inter-state school visits. In the last three years trips to Canberra, Sydney and Cairns have benefitted 36 students from Willowra School. Parents emphasised both the learning potential as well as the incentives they created for improved school attendance.

"People who go on excursions go to school every day. My father would growl at me to go to school."

"In 2011 we started kids excursion and took some to Canberra with WETT money. Last year we went to Sydney. This year we are going to take kids to Cairns, in four weeks time. They are chosen by attendance. Kids who go everyday—we choose those kids."

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[20] This describes how Warlpiri language and cultural learning is emphasised, at the same time as more mainstream vocational skills, education and training.

In particular interviewees stressed the importance of young people being exposed to the world beyond Willowra and the opportunities and possibilities that might exist. Younger people who went on the visits tended to talk more of the excitement of travel, and the fun and joy of the experience. However they also talked about the learning they had experienced for example in visiting Canberra, and the importance of the fact that the Coniston massacre was recognised at the National Museum.

"I feel proud of it when kids go on school excursion. Not enough jobs here in this little place."

"Went to Sydney with upper primary. New principal. First to Canberra… then Sydney…. It is good to learn new things: old money and shillings. Endeavour Ship and Captain Cook. Taxi boat on the harbour. Kids had to attend school, came every day, attendance is better."

Staff at the school were more sceptical of the impact of the visits on attendance, suggesting that other things such as sorry-business, football tournaments and conflict were the main drivers of the ups and downs experienced. They also believed that there should be a stronger educational component to the visits.

In the past four years several children from Willowra attending secondary school have been assisted by this support program. Students at Kormilda (1), and St Johns (1) colleges in Darwin have benefitted from grants of up to $2,500.

Those within the education department with regional responsibility for Warlpiri schools felt that the contribution of WETT to school visits and the broader support both WETT and the CLC provide to Warlpiri schools (through for example, CLC Rangers and vehicle support for country visits) is extremely important given the financial constraints of the Northern Territory Department of Education. There was clear recognition that without WETT many of these activities would simply not occur.

5.2.3 GMAAAC

Since 2008 there have been 29 projects agreed for funding in Willowra using GMAAAC money. In 2008 and 2009 only 20% of project proposals were approved for funding because they did not meet the criteria, whereas in 2011 and 2012 the proportions have risen to 68 and 73% respectively. It was suggested in 2012 monitoring report that this is a sign that communities have an increased understanding of GMAAAC's purpose and approach (Kelly, 2012: 40).

Total expenditure in the period 2009-13 amounts to nearly $700,000 (see Table 11). About 30% of this has been spent on men and women's sporting activities, just over 20% on improving outstation infrastructure, 18% on support to the school and clinic, and some 14% on youth activities through WYDAC.

Table 11: Willowra GMAAAC Projects 2009-13

Project	Year					Total
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	
Expenditure amount	$103,148	$207,727	$66,513	$176,389	$138,199	**$691,976**
Applications (no.)	10	19	19	11	20	**79**
Funded (no.)	2	5	13	8	9	**28**

Grants are generally relatively small (i.e. below $35,000) and focused on practical and concrete activities. What is remarkable in Willowra is that GMAAAC processes appear to be somewhat quarantined from the ongoing tensions within the community, with meetings and decision-making process having been maintained relatively well. This is testament to the value that the community places on both the GMAAAC projects and the clarity and robustness of the decision making processes. This is all the more remarkable given the history of GMAAAC before it came under the CDU, when expenditure had been largely on vehicles and household items.

"It was hard before with GMAAAC. Then everyone came and worked together. We put bore on Jarra Jarra road and one on Mt Barkly road."

In 2012 the community chose to elect a GMAAAC committee by consensus, with a male and female representative from each of the four main family groups. This effort to ensure that there is good representation across family groups is a deliberate attempt to reduce tension between families and for GMAAAC decision making to be seen as equitable and legitimate. This, combined with the understanding CDU staff of dynamics within the community, might also explain why GMAAAC processes seem to be somewhat immune to some of the conflict experienced in the community.

In 2012 there were 11 GMAAAC project applications in Willowra, of which eight were funded for a total of $134,139. This is together with previous project funding for 13 projects in 2011 ($168,932); a number of which are still ongoing, as indicated in Table 12.

Below: Willowra school visit - learning to surf at Manly Beach

Below: Having fun at a school visit to Luna Park, Melbourne

Below: School visit to Sydney Cricket Ground to meet former Sydney Swans coach Paul Ross

Table 12: Ongoing Willowra GMAAAC projects and those approved in 2012

Project	Organisation	Objective	Amount
Willowra Sports Club	Women's Sport Operational	Health	$5,365
Willowra Sports Club	Men's Sport Operational	Health	$32,584
Centre for Appropriate Technology	Feasibility Study into hand pump bores	Infrastructure	$17,153
Clinic	Children's Play Equipment	Health	$20,000
Cattle Corporation	Vehicle Repairs and maintenance	Infrastructure	$2,920
Central Desert Shire	Repairing Football Oval	Infrastructure	$36,600
WYDAC (Mt Theo)	Oven in Youth Centre Kitchen	Health	$2,959
Willowra School	Installation of Bubbler Trough	Education	$10,000
Willowra School	Installation of Shade Cloth over Play Areas	Education	$22,000
Baptist Church	Landscaping outside Church	Infrastructure	$4,500
Baptist Church	Vehicle	Essential	$35,000
AAMC	Funeral	Health	$20,000
AAMC	Sorry	Health	$16,000
AAMC	Ceremony	Education	$4,800
		Total	**$229,881**

Community members value in particular the funding that GMAAAC provides to support cultural, religious and sporting activities, particularly for sorry business, funerals and ceremony, as well as the Baptist Church. It is also clear that while robust debate and argument also occurs, some report that they are not always informed about, or present for, decision making processes.

"Everyone comes together to make decisions. People talk about ideas and take it to the meeting. Sometimes arguments when people have different ideas but always money for church, ceremonies and funerals."

"We were really happy to get the money. I was battling for money from GMAAAC for Church. This year they didn't tell me about it—other mob take the money."

However in general most respondents did feel well informed about both the processes by which GMAAAC projects were developed and selected as well as about the projects themselves. This is consistent with the monitoring reports which have noted "signs of increased community ownership and increased understanding of the project selection and management process" Kelly (2012, p. 15). The review team found that most respondents were clear if projects were funded by GMAAAC or WETT – earlier monitoring reports had indicated some confusion about this. As suggested in the 2012 monitoring report, respondents seem to associate GMAAAC more with cultural purposes, whereas WETT is seen more as something that could contribute to training and employment opportunities.

In particular respondents felt that GMAAAC and the CLC Rangers program have enabled them to address some of the concerns associated with the lack of country visits reported under the WETT program.

"The CLC are helping with GMAAAC and the Rangers. Last week they took people looking at sacred site (men's visit). They take old people and find animals and do tracking and making bushfire—burning country. They can help us with country visit. Land Council are helping Aboriginal people with the land, sacred side and what yapa need".

5.2.4 Feedback on CDU Ways of Working

In general all Aboriginal community members who expressed a view about the CLC – and not just community development staff - were positive about its role. In particular people felt that the CLC staff were respectful and inclusive in their approach, but also were supportive in empowering the community to make its own decisions.

"We are happy with Land Council; they are the ones taking us the right way, because we are not experienced. Yapa do make things happen—we make the final decisions."

In addition to the work of the CLC Community Development Unit staff, several respondents spoke of the CLC Rangers Program (there are six rangers in Willowra, three men and three women) as being very important to them, and mentioned a recently organised visit to men's sacred sites supported by both the CLC Rangers and the regional CLC anthropologist. A number of interviewees felt there was even greater potential in getting people 'busy on country visits' and land management work.

At a more fundamental level, elder men noted the importance of the Land Council as 'our shield' and talked of the historical role of the Land Council in securing and protecting land rights, and helping people cope with the NT Intervention.

"Land Council was our shield through the Land Rights. We had land claim. Shield was like a father, was looking after us. We had a struggle with Intervention. They took our rights, living conditions. They was the ones controlling us from Canberra. I'm really not happy with it. "

The CLC seems to play an important role as a trusted convenor and broker supporting the Willowra community to engage with others, and where feasible hold them to account.

Most service providers were also positive about the CLC and the community development staff in particular, with the responsiveness and approachability of the CLC staff being remarked upon. However one service provider felt that the CLC could do more to help the community to arrive at better decisions, and challenge these more strongly, and another that the CLC should consult with other agencies before funding decisions are made in order to maximise synergies and avoid duplication.

Another service provider in Willowra also questioned the degree to which the community development approach had been adequately embedded across the CLC as a whole, suggesting that for example those staff involved in royalty payments would benefit from a better understanding of these principles.

5.2.5 Issues for Consideration

In Willowra we observed high levels of local ownership, understanding and empowerment associated particularly with the processes of WETT and to a lesser extent GMAAAC, as well as in many of the projects.

Contracting. We observed a number of issues with the subcontracting processes. They can be time consuming, difficult and challenging. A key challenge for the CLC is ensuring subcontractors behave in ways that are consistent with the CDU framework, and how the CLC intervenes when power relations are such that local people are not able to hold contractors to account. This however needs to be done in a manner which does not undermine, or substitute for, local committees. Some of the issues that need to be carefully monitored include:

- Staff performance and continuity. Are individual subcontractor staff performing adequately and behaving in ways consistent with community development principles? Is staff turnover a problem, and does it undermine the building and maintenance of effective relationships?

- Project delivery. Are projects proceeding according to original expectations? If not are changes to plan justified and communicated well?

- Branding, funding and institutional interests. Are contractors adequately recognising the role of Aboriginal people, and the CLC as well as the fact these projects are using Aboriginal people's money in the promotion of their work?

Employment. In aggregate it is apparent that CDU funding contributes both directly and indirectly to a critical mass of the current level of Aboriginal employment in Willowra. WETT supported projects in Willowra have supported approximately eight jobs held by Aboriginal residents through the Learning Centre, Playgroup, and through WYDAC life-pathways scheme. Based upon a conservative interpretation[21] of 2011 census data, this equates to approximately 45% of Willowra's full and part time Aboriginal workforce. If Rangers were included then the CLC's contribution could be considered as even greater.

Local people value Aboriginal employment opportunities highly and the relative success of the CLC or contractors in providing these is one of the criteria people seem to use to judge the effectiveness of the process, as well as other actors. There is also clear evidence of greater ownership of projects, like the Learning Centre, that involve greater Aboriginal involvement in planning and design processes and employment opportunities. Aboriginal organisations such as Tangentyere Constructions which built the Learning Centre seemed to be particularly valued for their ability to mentor and support local people employed on the project.

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[21] Assuming 80% of the non-Aboriginal resident population of Willowra above 15 years of age are in either fulltime or part time employment, and there has been a 10% increase in full time or part time employment since 2011.

5.3 Lajamanu

5.3.1 Context

Lajamanu is located 870 km south of Darwin and 560 km south-west of Katherine. Situated on Aboriginal Freehold land claimed through the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, development processes in Lajamanu are made complex because of the history of the community. Though the vast majority of residents are Warlpiri, the Traditional Owners of the land on which Lajamanu is located are the Gurindji people, the majority of whom reside in Kalkarindji and Daguragu, approximately 100 kilometres to the north of Lajamanu. Table 13 shows select socio-economic data for Lajamanu.

Table 13: A Statistical Snapshot: Lajamanu[22]

Socio-economic Indicator		Total
Population	Total Number of Residents	656
	Indigenous Residents	586
	Residents > 15 years of age	407
	Median Age	21
	Average Household Size	4.5
Employment	Residents Employed Full Time	67
	Residents Employed Part Time	52
	Labour Force Participation Rate	32.6%
Income	Median Family Income ($/week)	544
Household Language	English	10%
	Indigenous	90%
Education	Year 9 or less	47%
	Years 10-12	40%
	Unstated	13%

The population of Lajamanu in 2011 was estimated to be 656 people of whom 586 were Aboriginal. At that time 49 per cent of Lajamanu's Aboriginal population was younger than 20 years of age. The Aboriginal population of Lajamanu is projected to increase from 735 people in 2006 to 1,010 in 2026. The greatest proportional increase is expected to be in the 50 year and over population, which is expected to double over the next 20 years from 75 in 2006 to 167 in 2026.

Whilst reliable recent baseline data on the non-RSD sites of Imanpa and Willowra is patchy at best, there is more comprehensive data in relation to RSD sites such as Lajamanu. Much of this data was collected during 2009, but often relates to earlier points in time (in particular, the census data is from 2006). The Review Team noted the following key trends from this data in relation to Lajamanu which is far more comprehensive than for non-RSD sites.

Health:

- After adjusting for age differences, the observed number of hospital admissions for Lajamanu residents was nearly 12 times the national average for diabetes; 11 times the national average for assault; and twice the national average for avoidable chronic disease between 2003 and 2008.

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[22] Source: Australian Census 2011.

Environmental Health:

- In 2009, there were 100 residential dwellings in Lajamanu providing 153 bedrooms. This resulted in an average of 4.84 people per bedroom. 54 per cent of Lajamanu households are considered to be overcrowded and seven assessed dwellings were deemed in need of significant capital expenditure. This is much higher than the Aboriginal national average for over-crowding (14%) and the total national average (3%).

Early Childhood:

- 55 per cent of Aboriginal children in the Katherine Australian Early Development Index region (including Lajamanu) were considered developmentally vulnerable in language and cognitive skills. This compares to a rate for all Aboriginal Australian children of 29 per cent, and for non-Aboriginal children in Australia of 8 per cent; and

- Of the total births in Lajamanu during the period 2004–2008, 38 per cent were to teenage mothers. This was nine times the equivalent proportion for the Australian population as a whole during this period (4%).

Education:

- The rate of Aboriginal 15- to 24-year-olds participating in full-time employment or study in Lajamanu (16%) is lower than the Northern Territory rate (26%) and less than half the national Aboriginal rate (44%). The average yearly attendance rate at Lajamanu School declined from 60 per cent in 2001 to 53 per cent in 2009; and

- Results for Lajamanu students in the 2009 National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) indicate that students are achieving below the national minimum standard in most subjects. For example, less than five per cent Years 3, 5 and 9 participants and 33 per cent Year 7 participants achieved at or above the national minimum standard for reading. When assessed for numeracy, less than five per cent Years 3, 5 and 9 participants and 17 per cent Year 7 participants achieved at or above the national minimum standard.

Employment:

- 24 per cent of Aboriginal people aged between 15 and 64 years in Lajamanu were employed in 2006. However, when CDEP (which no longer exists) is not included this drops to 5 per cent, which is around one-eighth of the national Aboriginal rate of non-CDEP employment (42%); and

- According to a data collection by the Northern Territory Government, there were 212 jobs (including vacancies) in Lajamanu in March 2010, of which eight were CDEP positions. Excluding vacancies, there were 197 non-CDEP jobs in Lajamanu in March 2010, of which 117 were held by Aboriginal people and 80 were held by non-Aboriginal people. Most non-CDEP jobs were in the public sector (104) with the remainder (93) in the private sector. Of the 93 private sector jobs, 56 were held by Aboriginal Australians and 37 were held by non-Aboriginal people.

Law and Order:

- A total of 816 offences were recorded in Lajamanu between 2006 and 2009. In total, 23.8 per cent of offences recorded over the three-year period were alcohol related and 18.7 per cent drug or substance abuse related. 95% of offences against the person and 70% of public order offences within Lajamanu were alcohol related over the same period; and

- Between 2004 and 2009, 91 people with an address in Lajamanu were imprisoned in Alice Springs and/or Darwin Correctional Centres. These offenders underwent a total of 181 periods of imprisonment during the five-year period. Most of those imprisoned were male, and most were under 40 years of age.

Lajamanu Administrative Arrangements

Unlike other smaller communities sampled by the Review Team, there are a multiplicity of complex administrative and external governance arrangements surrounding Lajamanu through which Aboriginal residents of Lajamanu appear to exercise limited voice and no apparent decision making authority.

At a Federal level Lajamanu is one of 29 Remote Service Delivery sites included in the Council of Australian Governments' (COAG) Remote Service Delivery National Partnership Agreement (RSD NPA). Under this agreement, a Local Implementation Plan (LIP) for Lajamanu was developed and finalised in 2010 (Australian Government, Northern Territory Government 2010) with the aim of improving Commonwealth, Northern Territory and Local Government services in consultation with a Local Reference Group (LRG) of Aboriginal residents. It was notable however that Central Desert Shire (CDS) staff in Lajamanu interviewed by the Review Team were not aware of the contents of the LIP.

Consistent with the national template, the Lajamanu LIP is aligned with the COAG 'Close The Gap' targets and focuses on seven areas: early childhood, schooling, health, healthy homes, economic participation, community safety and governance and leadership. The Lajamanu LIP includes a total of 16 priorities, 25 strategies and 83 actions across these seven domains.

A Regional Operations Centre (ROC) in Alice Springs, supports a Government Engagement Co-ordinator and Aboriginal Engagement Officer based in Lajamanu in monitoring implementation of the LIP. The ROC is staffed by Commonwealth and Northern Territory public servants. It reports to a Northern Territory Remote Service Delivery Board of Management, which is a partnership consisting of senior officials from both governments and from the Central Desert Shire (CDS). The Board of Management is responsible for providing oversight and guidance on the implementation of RSD policy. In relation to Lajamanu, the Board of Management is tasked with monitoring and reporting on progress against the actions in the LIP, attempting to bring a whole-of-government approach to supporting the work of the ROC and solving problems and addressing any lack of progress on implementation of the LIP.

At a local government level, Lajamanu is one of nine communities serviced by the CDS. The Shire is responsible for the delivery of local government services in the community and employs a Shire Services Manager in Lajamanu to co-ordinate delivery of services. The CDS has its own separate planning processes contained in a Shire Plan (Central Desert Shire Council 2013) and which includes a Strategic Plan, Annual Corporate Plan, Core Service Priorities and a Service Delivery Plan. These plans also contain a very large number of strategies, actions and activities at a Shire and community level, which presumably require heavy investment in monitoring and reporting.

The Shire is governed by 12 elected councillors, only two of whom are residents of Lajamanu. Under the Shire structure an Aboriginal Local Board is meant to operate in Lajamanu, however Shire staff interviewed indicated that the Local Board has not been functioning and has only met once. Many interviewees in Lajamanu suggested that community disengagement with the Shire may result from the perceived lack of Aboriginal voice that can be exercised through Shire structures:

"[We are involved with the Shire]. We get run down, backstabbed you know. We got no power in Shire. They don't ask, they make own decision".

Local Aboriginal voice and control in these various governance and administrative processes appears at best extremely limited. Local service providers in Lajamanu reportedly meet in the absence of community representatives to share information on a monthly basis. This meeting is convened by the GEC. Separately, the Local Reference Group (LRG) is convened quarterly by the GEC to monitor implementation of the LIP. Again, this group does not appear to have any formal decision making authority. Recent issues discussed by the LRG include street signs, clean up days and sports days. It was reported to the Review Team that a recent attempt by the ROC to bring together the meetings of the LRG and Local Board in Lajamanu was not agreed by the Shire.

Investment in Lajamanu

As a consequence of Lajamanu's enhanced administrative status relative to the other sites sampled by the Review Team, there is evidence of significant levels of new capital and programmatic investment into the community from non-CLC actors over the past five years (Australian Government, Northern Territory Government 2010). This includes:

- Upgrades to the Lajamanu School, including a new multi-purpose hall and replacing all asbestos demountables with new teaching and learning facilities, including specialist facilities for middle and senior years;

- Agreement to a 40-year housing precinct lease to the Executive Director of Township Leasing (Commonwealth) with a shorter term sublease to Territory Housing under the Strategic Aboriginal Housing and Infrastructure Program and subsequent construction of 17 new community houses;

- A women's safe house was established and became operational in February 2009;

- The opening of a Commonwealth Government funded crèche in Lajamanu in August 2013;

- The Department of Lands and Planning was allocated $2.5m as part of the 2010–11 Northern Territory Government budget to continue improvements to the Lajamanu airstrip (still to commence);

- A total of $3.6m was allocated in the 2010–11 Northern Territory Government budget to the Department of Lands and Planning to conduct a three-year project to survey new and existing housing and infrastructure in the Territory Growth Towns, including Lajamanu;

- As part of the National Partnership on Digital Regions, Lajamanu has been identified to receive e-Health services as part of a $7m project;

- WYDAC has been awarded $254,281 to employ one outreach coordinator over a three-year period (2009–10 to 2011–12) and $1.2m for the construction of a duplex for youth worker accommodation (2009–10);

- Construction of a new health clinic; and

- Construction of a dialysis unit (partly funded through Kurra Aboriginal Corporation and GMAAAC funding).

This investment is a clear contrast to the absence of observable new government investment in the non RSD sites of Willowra and Imanpa.

5.3.2 WETT, GMAAAC and Tanami Dialysis

In Lajamanu the Review Team examined four CLC projects which included:

- The Warlpiri Education and Training Trust (WETT);
- The Granites Mine Affected Area Corporation Project (GMAAAC);
- The Tanami Dialysis Project; and
- The CLC Governance Project.

The Review Team conducted 50 in depth interviews with local community members (25 with women and 25 with men) with relatively even representation across patri-couple/family groups and age groups, as outlined in Table 14.

Table 14: Age of Interviewees in Lajamanu

Age Group (years)	Number of Interviews	Percentage of Interviews
18-24	10	20%
25-44	12	24%
45-64	16	32%
65+	12	24%

A further 16 interviews were conducted with service providers and representatives of Local, Northern Territory and Commonwealth Government agencies operating in Lajamanu.

These interviews built on the 61 interviews that have been conducted in Lajamanu as part of the ongoing independent monitoring commissioned by the CLC between 2010-12. This allowed us to cross-check data and responses across more than 100 interviews, as well as ensure good coverage of age groups and the major family groups in Lajamanu.

WETT

Between 2006-7 and 2012-13 approximately $2.5m of WETT funds have been allocated for projects in Lajamanu (see Table 15).

Table 15: WETT Contributions to Lajamanu

Year	WETT Contribution - Lajamanu
2006/2007	$73,729
2007/2008	$331,758
2008/2009	$260,239
2009/2010	$580,253
2010/2011	$392,369
2011/2012	$347,307
2012/2013	$460,435
Total	**$2,446,090**

All five WETT sub-programs are funded and operating in Lajamanu, which include:

- The Learning Community Centre Program;
- The Language and Culture Support Program;
- The Youth and Media Program;
- The Early Childhood Care and Development Program; and
- The Secondary School Support Program.

The Learning Community Centre Program

The Lajamanu Learning Centre has received significant WETT funding during 2012 ($216,000) and 2013 ($123,000), as well as ongoing funding from FaHCSIA. Partner reports (BIITE) and previous CLC annual monitoring suggest that the WETT Learning Community Centre Program has struggled to become established in Lajamanu due to problems with the capacity of the Shire to manage the centre.

As part of the CLC monitoring in Lajamanu in 2012, questions were asked about people's expectations of the Learning Centre. It was explained to people that the Centre had been slow to get started and there was the need to check that their previous ideas were still relevant for the Centre. The responses indicated that people expect the Learning Centre to focus on training and education for adults and to provide a bridge for people moving from education into employment. People identified literacy and numeracy for adults in both English and Warlpiri as a high priority. They were also interested in Warlpiri history, access to the internet, stock work, crafts, media and opportunities for cooking classes.

Consistent with recent annual monitoring reporting and project reports from the Learning Centre, the Review Team was advised that a number of factors have contributed to the relatively slow development of the Learning Centre. These have included:

- Staff retention (the original co-ordinator left after a period of approximately five months in 2012 and the current co-ordinator commenced in May 2013);
- The lack of a secure lease for the building delaying new investment in building infrastructure;
- Absences from the community of key Lajamanu women from the WETT Advisory Committee; and
- The poor condition of the Learning Centre when the current co-ordinator commenced in May 2013, requiring intensive maintenance and cleaning work to become operational.

Those interviewed by the Review Team suggest that despite these obstacles the Learning Centre is quickly becoming valued by the community since the arrival of the current co-ordinator:

"Learning centre – that's a really good one, that being built. There are more and more kids using the centre for computers, they use the library, Batchelor has been doing lots of training in there. "

"That learning centre is really good. It's WETT and government money. We've been buy half with WETT money. Yeah it's really good. People looking round for computers. Yapa been using it, kardiya even use it. I did this story on the computer there. [This is story about Traditional Owners people]. I did the typing, take photos of art and tell story on computer. Save it all to a file. <Learning centre staff member> is really good, she's helping us. Helping us to read and write."

"Lots of people are using the Learning Centre, they use computers there a lot. There used to be nothing in there but now there are computers and people are really enjoying that. Ladies have been learning sewing. A woman came out here to show them, I'm not sure if she's coming back. Others are doing computer courses and job searching with Centrelink."

"We are using the learning centre. People come from other towns too, like Centrelink come and use it. Yeah all the yapa are using the learning centre, and people of any age. They're learning computer course, how to use computer".

Whilst there are informal users of the Learning Centre who use the facility for access to internet and email (an average of 12 per week between March and August 2013), the main focus of the Centre is on more formal education and training. This has included computer, literacy and hospitality training, as well as children's services training for playgroup and crèche staff, and conservation and land management training with the Kalkarindji, Dagaragu and Wulaign Rangers. The Learning Centre also provided a venue for a reportedly successful cultural awareness program for non-Aboriginal residents of Lajamanu which attracted 12-15 people.

Other agencies utilise the Learning Centre for the delivery of training programs including the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) (construction training); Remote Jobs and Communities Program (RCJP) (job related training); and Pintubi Anmatjere Warlpiri (PAW) Media (media training).

Parts of the building are also sub-leased to other agencies including Centrelink and the Information Technology Education Centre (ITEC). The most recent six monthly report (March-August 2013) indicates a high level of activity at the centre during this period with almost 50 informal events attracting more than 1,000 people, and 50 formal training session attracting over 250 people.

There are 17 BIITE enrolled students in children's services and education support qualifications, 25 in business qualifications, 14 in conservation and land management. Fifteen students completed accredited Safe Food Handling training delivered by BIITE, 20 completed accredited First Aid training delivered by Eagle and St John's, 15 students were enrolled in construction qualifications delivered through a CAT/BIITE collaboration, and 10 students participated in Living Proud's accredited work practices and workplace practices training delivered through ITEC.

During the 10 week construction/refurbishment of the Learning Centre, one local man was employed as a mentor, 11 attained a White Card, and 4 completed a full Certificate I in Construction. Two of the men who completed their full qualification have gone on to gain employment with Newmont Mines. The Creche employed three of the children's services students and a previous Batchelor student was employed as the crèche coordinator. Several other children's services students are employed by the playgroup within the school grounds.

The Learning Centre employs four part time Aboriginal staff and casual staff as required. It is reported that two of the employed staff are taking an increasing amount of responsibility for and interest in the Learning Centre and that this is contributing to their engagement in other forums in the community such as the Local Reference Group for the Lajamanu LIP. The majority of users of the Centre are reported to be in the mid 20's to mid-40's age group, with the Review Team advised that relatively few younger people (18-24) use the facility.

The Review Team observed that overall Aboriginal governance and leadership of the Lajamanu Learning Centre is significantly less evident than at the Willowra Learning Centre. The Lajamanu centre has an Advisory Group; however the co-ordinator reported that it was difficult to get this group to convene. The Centre co-ordinator seeks advice and direction from individual community members and users of the Centre, rather than through the Advisory Group. Greater planning, direction and education mapping is reported as being required for the Learning Centre in order to design programs which are aligned with community priorities.

It was reported to the Review Team that discussions are occurring between different education related service providers about the notion of an 'education precinct' in Lajamanu to contribute to closer alignment and collaboration between different service providers. This concept has merit, however to be relevant to the priorities of community residents, it will require strong local Aboriginal governance and leadership. It is unclear as to whether the Early Childhood Reference Group has been engaged in providing input and direction to the education precinct concept.

Perhaps because of the absence of strong Aboriginal direction, the Learning Centre Coordinator feels disconnected from the CLC and would greatly value more regular communication and advice from CDU staff.

Notwithstanding some of the historical challenges associated with the subcontracting model, it was notable that a number of service providers and subcontractors commented positively about the WETT governance model, and in particular articulated the accountability service providers and subcontractors feel towards the WETT Committee under this governance model.

"WETT is very good. The Walpiri ladies are good to work with. They hold the school accountable financially, but allow the school to choose what to do within their guidelines and criteria."

"The WETT structure is ideal. WETT committee members live in Lajamanu and are directly aware of what's going on. I feel directly accountable to the WETT committee on the ground. Six monthly reporting is required by WETT, and the WETT structure means that any inaccurate reporting will immediately be picked up. This structure couldn't more ideal."

Warlpiri Language and Culture Support Program

This program involves country visits and elder payments to provide school students with the opportunity to learn from community elders both in the classroom and on bush trips. The CLC monitoring reports and partner reporting between 2010 and 2012 suggest that the WETT Warlpiri Language and Culture Support Program is considered by Lajamanu residents as essential for intergenerational learning and a high priority for WETT funding. These bush trips are seen by many community members as an essential forum for elders to pass on language and cultural knowledge to younger generations.

Monitoring reports suggest that the success of this program is dependent upon effective collaboration between different actors and agencies in the community. For example, co-operation and joint planning between Lajamanu School, CLC staff and Traditional Owners involved in managing the Northern Tanami IPA and the CLC run Wulaign Rangers resulted in an extended four day country visit in 2010.

The Review Team found that this program is highly valued by community members in Lajamanu:

"Country visits are really important, kids get to know their grandfather and skin names. It is good CLC rangers, the school, WETT, WYDAC, all working together but it needs more support."

"Mt Theo always going out doing country visits with school and rangers. We come together with elders to go on country visits to teach the kids. We usually have country visits twice a year. We had one this year, we went to Ngukulku [Wilson Creek Floodout]".

Within this overall positive context, a number of Warlpiri interviewees suggest that there has in recent years been an increasing disconnect between the aspirations of the community about the nature and purpose of country visits and what has occurred:

"Those country visits really important for kids to learn country from elders. There's only a few elders left now. Only literacy workers go on country visits now. You know it used to be all yapa staff at the school, you know the TA's (teacher assistant) too. Not anymore. That Principal keeps changing things all the time and that Principal also keeps changing too."

The need for more effective joint planning and understanding of the purpose of country visits was echoed by a key education service provider in the community:

"The Ranger Program needs to be better organized; junior ranger program happened previously and doesn't now. There's no clear purpose of country visits. They used to be about elders teaching young people about country. These are highly valued, but need to be refined to provide more learning opportunities."

Below: WETT Youth and Media Program - Lajamanu disco

Below: Community interviews during country visits, Lajamanu
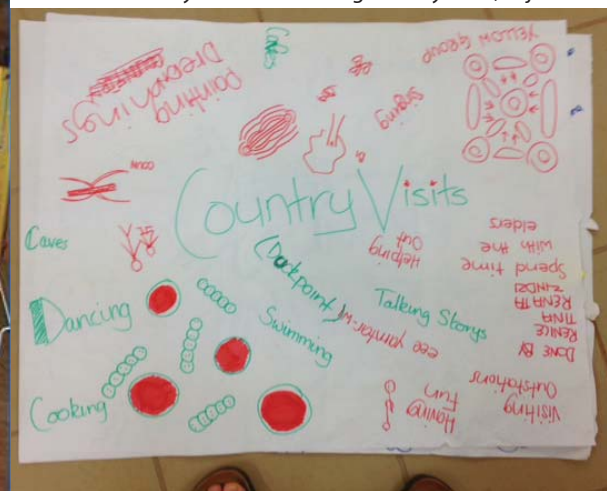
INDEPENDENT EVALUATION
CLC Community Development and Governance Programmes

The WETT Youth and Media Program

The aim of the WETT Youth and Media program (managed by WYDAC) in Lajamanu is to support Warlpiri youth in the creation of positive and meaningful futures as individuals, and for the benefit of their communities. This occurs through a range of diversionary, education, training and employment programs that develop a sense of self, family leadership and culture. The program operates at three levels; a youth diversionary program, a youth development program (which provides media, education and training programs) and a 'Jaru life-pathways' program[23] which supports young people to develop employment and participate strongly in community life.

Previous monitoring reports (Kelly 2011; 2012; 2013) suggest that the WETT Youth and Media Program is highly valued by Lajamanu residents. The program attracts a high number of young people in the community (averaging 735 participants and 75 activity hours per week in Lajamanu), with nearly half the program participants from the 15-plus age group. Youth diversionary program activities such as arts and crafts, film nights, disco, bush trips (of which there were reported to be 25 in 2012) and sport are popular. The WYDAC youth centre is reported in the CLC monitoring reports as "the heart of all activity in Lajamanu" (Kelly 2012, p. 31).

WYDAC however report that Lajamanu has proved considerably more difficult in terms of student's engagement compared with other communities. At the same time, residents see the program as limited to the very young and that more is required for older youth in the community. Community members are looking to the Learning Centre to provide more formal learning and employment pathway opportunities.

The youth and media program remains highly active in Lajamanu in 2013. In its latest report, WYDAC cites an average of 701 activity participants per week during the January – June 2013 period, of which approximately 60% are boys and 40% girls. The dominant age groups of participants are 10-14 (30% of participants), 5-9 (27%) and 15-19 (16%).

Interviewees throughout the community spoken to by the Review Team were universally positive about the impact of the WYDAC program in Lajamanu:

> *"WYDACs doing a good job with the kids. They take them out on weekends, having sports with them. There's less break-ins now, kids are sitting down. They are really enjoying it. They do things in the rec hall like movie nights, discos. My grandkids are coming back really happy from this. They're lovely people those workers. When I worked at Land Council they came out on country visits with us. They work with Jangala (Jerry) doing tracking and outside activities."*

Project reports suggest a high level of Aboriginal engagement and direction for the program through a local WYDAC sub-committee and high levels of collaboration with other service providers in Lajamanu including BIITE, the school and store.

Youth Diversionary Program

This program aims to engage young people (5-25 year olds) in a consistent program of positive, healthy and safe diversionary, cultural and project activities. These are aimed at increasing enjoyment, interest and challenge whilst correspondingly reducing engagement in negative behaviours such as substance misuse or other 'at risk' activities.

The most recent project reports indicate that the youth diversionary program continues to provide wide-ranging, highly frequented activities as illustrated in Table 16 summarising activities between January and June 2013.

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[23] For more on the Jaru pathways program see http://mttheo.org/home/jaru-pirrjirdi/career-pathways/

Table 16: WYDAC Activity in Lajamanu

Activity Type	Activity Hours	Activity Numbers	Activity Events
Youth Program Activities			
Home Economics	25.50	48	11
Arts & Crafts	149.75	882	53
Basketball	157.50	1499	53
Bush Swimming	12.00	126	6
Computers	38.50	146	13
Disco	158.50	6720	46
Family/Movie Night	35.00	745	16
Football	78.50	1550	28
Games	57.00	424	20
Music	86.75	263	26
Other	134.50	742	48
Soccer	27.00	281	11
Softball	16.25	134	7
Youth Centre	222.50	3321	77
Youth Program Support	15.25	115	13
Total	**1214.50**	**16996**	**428**
Cultural Activities			
Bush Trips	69	113	14
Camps	73	65	1
Special Event	10	900	2
Total	**152**	**1078**	**17**
Informal Education and Training			
Media	8	38	4
Home Economics	50	65	23
Sport	36	45	17
Total	**94**	**148**	**44**

Project reports suggest that disco, football, basketball and attendance at the youth centre are particularly popular activities. Of particular note in the most recent project report was the collaboration between the school, WYDAC and the Northern Tanami IPA and Wulaign Ranger Program to take 33 young people on a four day country visit in June 2013 which saw learning on animal tracking, hunting, painting, story-telling and dancing.

"The presence of senior Elder Jerry Jangala as Cultural Mentor ensures the profound educative nature of the regular bush trips. For example on one bush trip Jerry established a camp under a sacred tree and explained the laws of how each skin group related to the tree before showing how to dig for witchetty grubs. Media such as film or photography is used regularly on bush trips which enables short films for everyone to enjoy at the youth centre."

Figure 7: Lajamanu WYDAC Activities and Participant Numbers, January-June 2013
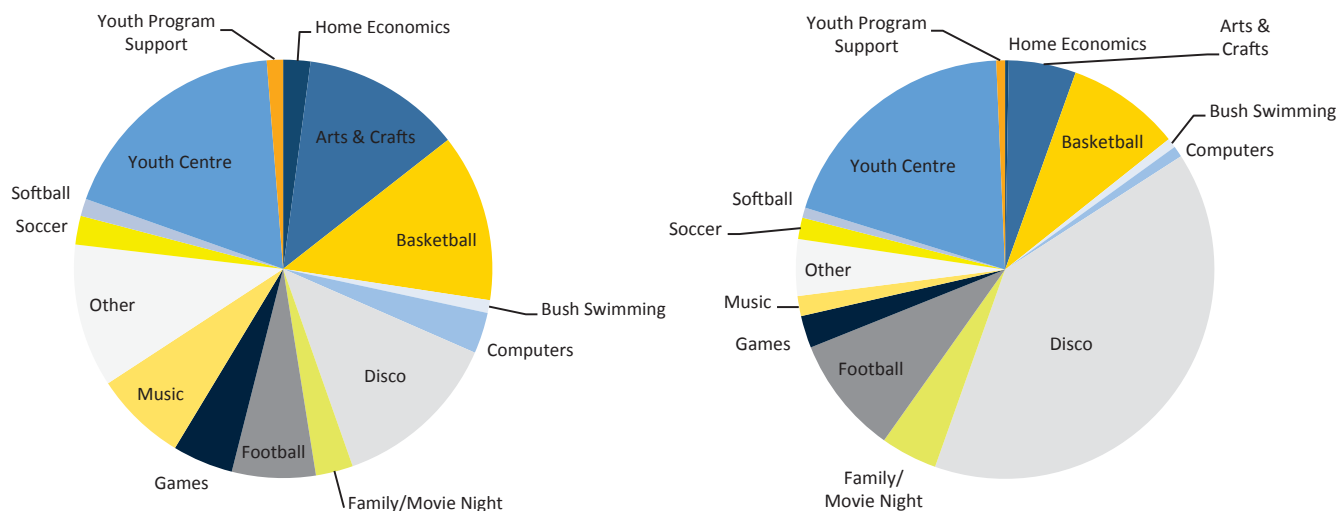
Youth Development Program

This program aims to create positive, meaningful and formal life pathways for Warlpiri youth through opportunities from Jaru trainee membership, media training, education and employment. Through this program young people take responsibility for running WYDAC community events including the disco, football and softball. It is reported that the growth in self-confidence and work ethic for participants in this program is very significant.

This program also provides informal education and training across a range of areas through a WETT funded Training Co-ordinator position. The breadth of this activity can be seen in Table 17 covering the January – June 2013 period.

Table 17: WYDAC Youth Development Program in Lajamanu

Activity	Activity Hours	Activity Numbers	Activity Events
Art	6.0	34	2
Computers	39.0	148	14
Hairdressing	2.0	4	1
Hospitality/Cooking	9.5	9	4
Media	8.0	38	4
Music	158.5	383	42
Other	139.75	787	50
Total	**362.75**	**1403**	**117**

WYDAC have raised the issue of the sustainability of the WYDAC Training Coordinator position – which has only been able to service Lajamanu periodically. The Learning Centre may present the best opportunity for young people to access formal training opportunities, and it follows from this that a strong strategic partnership between WYDAC and BIITE may contribute to enhancing training opportunities for residents of Lajamanu.

Graduation (Life Pathways) Program

The aim of this program is to support young people to develop employment and life pathways so as to participate strongly in community life. As of June 2013 there were 10 graduates from this program, eight of whom are in employment and three participating in a range of community committees and other governance structures within Lajamanu.

The Early Childhood Care and Development Program

The Early Childhood Care and Development Program has operated now for more than three years in Lajamanu, under WVA.

The Lajamanu Playgroup is run on a day to day basis by a staff member of the Families as First Teachers (FAFT) program which is funded through the Northern Territory Department of Education and line managed through the Lajamanu school. The FAFT teacher is supported by four Aboriginal staff from Lajamanu who are funded through FaHCSIA. Two WVA staff (a local Warlpiri community based facilitator and an Alice Springs based co-ordinator who visits Lajamanu two weeks per month) provide support to the program.

Previous CLC monitoring reports (Kelly 2011; 2012;2013), together with partner reports, suggest that whilst Lajamanu residents value the WVA managed WETT Early Childhood Care and Development Program, participation in the playgroup is very low, with the program only attracting between 5-8 children per day in 2012. As discussed in the earlier Willowra section of this report, an independent evaluation of the program by the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) in 2012 found that the program was not robust or sustainable in Lajamanu, with low attendance numbers. The evaluation recommended the program be better tailored to individual community circumstances and found that the WVA model of support was better suited to communities where services were already capable and being delivered.

Right: WETT Youth and Media Program
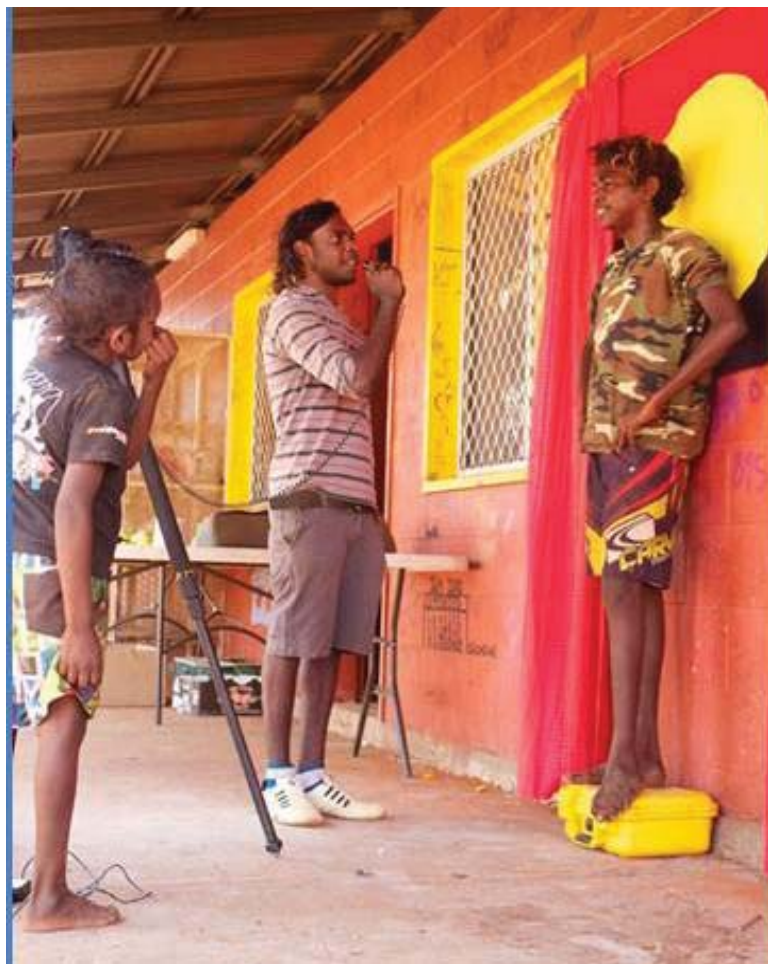
Transition to education

It was reported to the Review Team – although not formally verified - that there are approximately 81 children in Lajamanu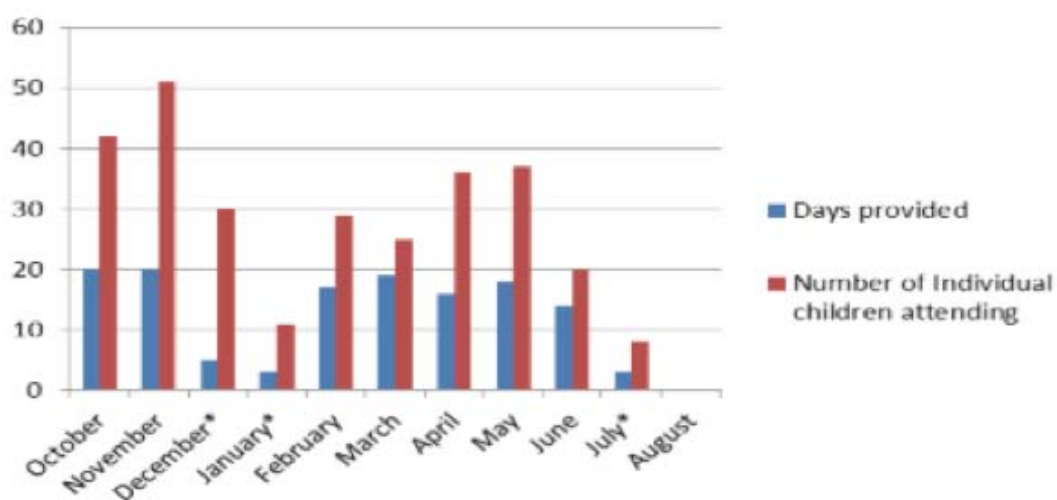 eligible to attend Playgroup. The most recent partner report (WVA 2013) suggests high levels of variation in attendance between October 2012 and August 2013 as outlined in the chart below.

Figure 8: Lajamanu Play Group Attendance, October 2012-June 2013 (WVA 2013)

At the time of the Review Team visit in September 2013 attendance was reported by interviewees as being very low – a core group of 6-7 mothers and children attending playgroup each day, extending up to a maximum of 10-12. The WVA target of 15 children attending Playgroup at least twice per week is recently reported as being achieved on just two occasions (WVA 2013). The Review Team directly observed three participants in Playgroup when it visited the service.

Some interviewees suggested that numerous changes in the location of Playgroup and its current outdoor location are factors contributing to the current relatively low level of engagement. During its three years of operation the Playgroup has been run from multiple locations within the community.

Initially the Playgroup operated from an outside area opposite the community store and reportedly attracted an average of 10 children and their parents. In mid-2011 Playgroup was relocated into the preschool building and during this period engagement surged, with combined playgroup and preschool participants reportedly peaking at 45. Factors reported to the Review Team as contributing to this surge in engagement included that the preschool was a very suitable venue with a large shade area, a purpose built indoor facility and was well resourced with up to seven staff. Other factors included the provision of transport to and from Playgroup and that breakfast and lunch were provided.

In early 2012 preschool enrolments were too large to accommodate both playgroup and the preschool. Playgroup was then moved to a range of different buildings within the school over a period of time, including the home economics and woodwork rooms. Ultimately however playgroup has had to be relocated to an outside location in 2013.

The current location has shade and access to school toilets, although no access to water and electricity within the immediate area where the Playgroup operates. The Review Team encountered a significant divergence of views and contestation amongst different service providers as to whether the current outdoor location is a factor influencing the relatively low rates of participation in Playgroup. Warlpiri users of the Playgroup facility interviewed by the Review Team reported preferring an indoor venue:

> *It is better if we are in a building than being outside. More people will come to Playgroup. The building should be in the school. It is safer inside, risk of getting hit by a car of the children are outside [the facility sits next to the school car-park with no fence]. We need toilet and shower for Playgroup. Now we have to change nappies in the school toilet."*

> *"Playgroup should have a permanent building for themselves close to the school. In wet season rain will come. They sit under a tree with caterpillars and leaves falling down on them. Mums will like playgroup and go there with their kids."*

> *"Playgroup is still under the tree. That's not suitable for the kids. We go from the park to the tree. We need a building. Mothers not bringing their kids. Only five or six kids regularly. It's too hot and windy under that tree. We have three maybe four local women working there too as playgroup workers. They are employed by the school. When playgroup was at the preschool attendance was good. Maybe 20, 30 kids. We keep getting moved all the time. Been in six places in three years."*

A consistent view expressed to the Review Team however is that locating playgroup within the school precinct area allows for stronger integration and easier transition for children across playgroup, pre-school and the primary school.

The low level of engagement of Lajamanu residents with the Playgroup after more than three years of operation requires more detailed investigation, including an assessment of value for money given the staff cost structure associated with delivery of the program and limited participation. In the event location proves to be a significant issue, it is worth noting that the lack of a building to accommodate the Playgroup within the school is beyond the direct control of the school itself as all the rooms are currently being used. Co-location with the newly established Lajamanu crèche is possible, but reported to the Review Team as being complicated because of the different nature of the services (parents not accompanying children to crèche, but being required to do so for Playgroup).

Training

The latest project report (October 2012 - September 2013) indicates that there is strong demand from community members for, and completion rates associated with, WVA funded training in Children's Services Certificates 1, 2 and 3 in Lajamanu. This training is delivered through BIITE, with a trainer present in Lajamanu approximately three days per month. The recent opening of the Child Care Crèche in Lajamanu is contributing to this demand, with six new workers seeking enrolment in Certificate 1 and three students in Certificate 2 during the last six months in Lajamanu. Completion rates during the year to September 2013 are significant, with four students completing Certificates 1 and 3, and one student completing Certificate 2.

Early Childhood Reference Group

In 2011 WVA staff in conjunction with WETT established the Early Childhood Reference Group (ECRG) in Lajamanu. The group comprises approximately 10 members, with membership determined through a self-selection process (noting that in 2013 the ECRG undertook a mapping task to ensure that all families in Lajamanu were represented on the group). Members are generally older women with training and experience in teaching, although two members are now young women in their 20's.

The ECRG seeks to address the needs of children aged 0-5 across the community. Careful planning appears to have been undertaken with the initial establishment of the ECRG, through for example creating clear Aboriginal ownership of the ECRG by restricting the first four meetings of the group in 2011 to 'yapa' group members, and taking Aboriginal ECRG members to visit three Aboriginal managed and controlled childcare centres in South Australia to broaden their exposure to different models.

The most recent project report from WVA states that the ECRG has become a strong voice for children's needs in Lajamanu. It is reported that the group has met nine times during the year to September 2013, in which time it has focused on acting as an advisory board for the establishment of the new Child Care Crèche in Lajamanu, planning a visit to Cairns to attend the SNAIC conference and preparing a presentation for a WVA conference (WVA 2013). One interviewee suggested that the legitimacy of ECRG has been explicitly recognised when the Commonwealth Government used the ECRG as a focal point for consultation on the design of the new Lajamanu crèche. Plans were reported to have been discussed with the ECRG and modified as a result of their input and advice.

> *"Three years ago the Early Childhood Reference Group worked to get a childcare building included in the Local Implementation Plan so it was a proud moment for them when it opened."*

The leadership role of the ECRG is also recognised by other service providers in the community.

> *"There is an Early Childhood Reference Group established by WVA. Robyn Lawson is the Chair. It covers children from 0-18. 10 yapa ladies are on it and are always consulted. They are strong women."*

> *"The Early Childhood Reference Group is the boss for Playgroup. It has as 8 or 9 yapa and WVA as bosses."*

One education service provider reported concerns to the Review Team about the operations of the ECRG. These concerns included limited advance notice being provided for meetings, the absence of formal agendas and the dominance of the Playgroup location on meeting agenda at the expense of more significant issues. These concerns warrant discussion with the implementing agency.

Issues for Attention or Resolution

Four significant issues were raised by stakeholders in relation to the Early Childhood program which the Review Team believes require resolution.

The first issue was questioning whether ongoing WETT investment is required in Playgroup in Lajamanu given the significant levels of new government investment.

> *"Playgroup is self-sustaining now, we don't really need WETT for the Playgroup. FaHCSIA and NT Government funding means Playgroup & Crèche are mainstream funded by Government."*

Secondly, whilst recognising the value of WVA's initial engagement with the program, a number of other service providers in the education sector in Lajamanu questioned the added value of WVA to the program moving forward. These interviewees suggested that the combination of additional Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government investment in early childhood services and staffing in Lajamanu combined with the part-time presence of the WVA co-ordinator raised the questions of value for money and of the added value of the organisation in future.

> *"WVA haven't really had a role in Playgroup this year. We're here on the ground all the time".*

Thirdly, the Review Team was advised by a range of interviewees of tensions in the relationship between the CDU and WVA, including different understandings of the nature of the relationship and accountability. Finally, the location of the Lajamanu Playgroup is an issue generating significant tension amongst stakeholders and requires resolution.

Secondary School Support Program

The CLC monitoring reports between 2010 and 2012 suggest that the WETT Warlpiri Secondary School Support Program is highly valued by Lajamanu residents and has supported the Lajamanu School to conduct interstate excursions and supported Warlpiri students at other secondary schools within the Northern Territory and interstate. Children have contributed to school partner reports, indicating their enjoyment of activities. The teachers have identified increased confidence and openness to a wide range of new experiences among the children.

Consistent with the CLC monitoring reports, the Review Team found that this program is highly valued by those interviewed in Lajamanu.

"School excursions are important. Young people can go see schools in Melbourne and learn computer and everything so they can learn more ideas and come back."

"Our daughter went on that school trip and she really liked it. Learning lots from the outside world. They really enjoy it. They buy cameras to take photos. They also went to Katherine for the work expo. My daughter talking about being a teacher, now she wants to be a clinic worker cause the expo showed her."

According to key stakeholders interviewed, WETT funding for this program is highly valuable. School excursions have taken place to Melbourne, Bendigo, Sydney and Canberra, benefitting 46 children in the last four years. The current Principal is placing a strong emphasis on vocational aspects of upcoming programs, including a visit to Cairns which will include exposure to a TAFE, an Indigenous dance company, Indigenous Ranger Guides and an Indigenous Training Corporation at Mossman Gorge.

In the past four years several children from Lajamanu attending secondary school have been assisted by this support program. Students at Kormilda (2), St Johns (3), and Marrara Colleges in Darwin have benefitted from grants of up to $2,500 each. A number of Lajamanu residents interviewed by the Review Team requested access to more information about how young people could be supported through this program to attend secondary schools outside Lajamanu, and about the process by which families can access this support.

Right: School visit to Bendigo Gold Mine, Victoria

GMAAAC

Between 2009 and 2013 approximately $3.3m of GMAAAC funds have been spent on projects in Lajamanu (see Table 18).

Table 18: GMAAAC Expenditure in Lajamanu

Year	Amount
2009	$512,539
2010	$622,826
2011	$846,466
2012	$870,992
2013	$427,260

Over this period GMAAAC funds have supported a wide range of projects and organisations in Lajamanu including:

- Tracks Dance Company (for the Milpirri Cultural Festival);
- Warnayaka Art Centre (for staff and operational funding);
- Wulaign Homelands Council (for services for outstations);
- The Tanami Dialysis Project;
- Lajamanu Progress Association (the community investment arm of the Lajamanu Store);
- WYDAC; and
- CDS (for upgrading community facilities).

Ongoing GMAAAC Lajamanu projects and those approved in 2012 are shown in Table 19.

Table 19: Ongoing GMAAAC Lajamanu projects and those approved in 2012

Project	Organisation	Objective	Amount
Vehicle and Operational	CLC Rangers	Employment & Training	$144,605
Power to Shed	Wulaign Council AC	Essential Services	$7,900
Outstation Road Rehabilitation	Wulaign Homelands Council AC	Essential Services	$108,450
Lajamanu Dialysis Committee Travel	WDNWPT	Health	$10,000
Lajamanu Dialysis Patient Travel	WDNWPT	Health	$54,831
Milpirri 2012	Tracks Dance Co.	Health	$30,000
Men's Business Area Shelter	Lajamanu Progress Association	Health	$90,000
Basketball Court Resurfacing	WYDAC (Mt Theo)	Health	$62,000
Staff & Operational funding	Warnayaka Art Centre	Employment & Training	$100,000
Oval Seating	Central Desert Shire	Health	$43,560
2 Laundry/toilet blocks	Central Desert Shire	Health	$60,000
Mens Sport Operational	Northern Warlpiri Sporting Club	Health	$35,364
Womens Sport Operational	Northern Warlpiri Sporting Club	Health	$40,019
Sports Weekend 2011	Northern Warlpiri Sporting Club	Health	$5,350
Funeral	AAMC	Health	$36,000
Sorry	AAMC	Health	$28,800
Men's Ceremony	AAMC	Education	$8,000
Women's Ceremony	AAMC	Education	$8,000
Swimming pool Feasibility Study and Stage 1	Central Desert Shire	Infrastructure	$325,822
		Total	**$1,198,701**

GMAAAC supported projects appear to fall into four broad categories:

- Projects supporting and reinforcing cultural obligations and knowledge (men's and women's ceremony, sorry business, funerals, Milpirri and the Arts Centre);

- Projects facilitating access to country (the CLC Rangers Program and grading of outstation roads);

- Projects contributing to local culturally reinforcing employment opportunities (the CLC Rangers, Arts Centre); and

- Projects contributing to social, sport and recreational priorities (funding for sports teams, upgrading sporting infrastructure such as the basketball courts and football oval, feasibility study for a swimming pool).

Above: Willy and Jerry painting at Warnayaka Art Centre, Lajamanu

Right: Lajamanu country visit, 2010

The Review Team found that most interviewees could readily identify the sorts of projects funded through GMAAAC and the governance structure and process governing GMAAAC in Lajamanu.

> *"GMAAAC committee comes together to talk about the projects. We put them up on a list and pick the priority ones and talk about what will really help. It takes a couple of months but when we are sure we put them on a list. When the committee decides on what they want they have a public meeting to confirm with the community. Then this is taken to Alice Springs with directors meeting and then confirmed back with the community. There's about 10 to 15 people on GMAAAC committee. People are nominated then community votes."*

> *"GMAAAC committee members are talking about projects and approving them. There's a lot of arguments. But that's how it goes. We look at priorities, we prioritise each project, which is the quickest to get up and finished. Sometimes there's arguments and disagreements about what's important. "*

Interviewees appear to place particular value on both individual projects and collections of projects that reinforce and pass on Aboriginal culture, provide employment opportunities and facilitate access to country. In many instances GMAAAC has been a co-funder of these projects with other agencies such as the Lajamanu Progress Association, which requires collaboration between different funders and organisations to be delivered.

Interviewees commented in particular on two projects which meet many of these criteria – the CLC Ranger Program and the Milpirri Festival.

Many interviewees commented positively on the Ranger Program into which GMAAAC funding has been allocated. Interviewees suggested that this program is at the epicentre of what CLC constituents value in the work of the CLC, and value more broadly in communities. There appear to be five dimensions to how Aboriginal people attribute value to the Ranger Program in Lajamanu:

Meaningful Culturally Reinforcing Employment. Interviewees highly value the employment opportunities created by the Ranger Program across all age groups. Jobs associated with the Ranger Program appear to have significant 'status' relative to other employment opportunities and reportedly are the basis of intense competition when vacancies arise. This may be related to perceptions of employment linked to the CLC and to Ranger jobs being seen as reinforcing cultural values and priorities. Both older people (60+), and those younger people (25-44) employed as Rangers, demonstrated great pride in their jobs when interviewed by the Review Team.

Access to Country. The Ranger Program appears to be regarded as a - or in some cases the - key mechanism by which many Traditional Owners are able to access country on a regular basis. Indeed in some communities the Rangers are seen as an essential prerequisite for Traditional Owners to be able to access country.

> *"Rangers are really good at taking kids out cause they're yapa, and they're taking people out."*

The value of the Ranger Program in facilitating access to country is potentially made more important in recent years, with a number of interviewees suggesting that recent policy changes associated with a) the NTER, b) income management, c) outstation policy (in particular the requirement for children resident on outstations to attend school) and d) less access to ABA funds making access to country more difficult for Traditional Owners.

> *"That has changed because of the intervention. People don't use outstations now because of intervention. People need CLC for country visits now."*

*Above and left: GMAAAC funds contributed to
Milpirri Festival, 2012
Credit: Peter Eve and Tracks Dance Company*

Knowledge Transfer. Transfer of traditional knowledge and culture to younger generations is an urgent priority for many older interviewees. The Ranger Program is seen by these interviewees as a key mechanism and resource to facilitate this process on country. This also extends to transfer of knowledge to school age children. In particular, country visits implemented in partnership between the CLC Rangers, staff and Traditional Owners involved in the management of the Northern Tanami IPA, and schools are one of the most important activities and priorities reported to the Review Team. Use of video and media to document and record appropriate aspects of country visits appears to also be highly valued by some interviewees, with WYDAC involved in a number of country visits to facilitate this.

> *"They can be happy & proud so they can say this is my dreaming (on country visits). We would like to get our elders back into school to teach them, show them this is their grandfathers dreaming. Like when I teach stories, I say to kids this is from your grandfathers, great grandfathers. On country visits they had good stories and the kids were interested."*

A Trigger for Collaboration and Understanding. The Ranger Program can be a trigger for joint planning and collaboration between different organisations and activities at a community level (the CLC, schools, WYDAC, resource centres etc…), building relationships with the potential to deepen over time. Importantly, access to country involving non Aboriginal staff at a community level is seen as an important mechanism to build understanding of Aboriginal culture and the importance of land to Warlpiri worldviews.

> *"Rangers, WYDAC, Milpirri people – they are all working closely with yapa. Yapa really asking for more of this type of work, working with kardiya too. Yapa really taking control of this one through GMAAAC."*

Training and Skills. A number of interviewees reported the value of the opportunities provided for education and training through the Ranger Program, both on the job and through external service providers. Elements of this training appear directly transferrable to other employment opportunities in communities.

The Milpirri Festival was initiated in 2005 by Wanta (Steven Patrick) Jampijinpa, in partnership with Tracks Dance Inc and the Lajamanu Community Education Centre (CEC) as a bi-annual celebration of Warlpiri identity. GMAAAC has funded Milpirri between 2008 and 2013.

The key theme of Milpirri is validation of Warlpiri identity in a situation where many Warlpiri people feel trapped between two cultures. Milpirri project documentation outlines that young people in particular feel that engagement with the mainstream institutions that now control most communities requires a relinquishing of Warlpiri values. On the other hand, the culture of their elders seems increasingly irrelevant. Many people thus feel they are in a kind of social no-man's land where the values of neither culture are properly learnt.

Grappling with this causes confusion, apathy and violence. Milpirri is an effort to overcome this confusion by exposing Warlpiri youth through dance and ceremony to key elements of Law and Culture which can provide some stability, self-esteem and direction. Milpirri aims to maintain a strong identity so that contemporary Warlpiri people can have good lives and opportunities to engage with the rest of the world without being smothered or overwhelmed by it.

Although Milpirri is based on traditional songs and stories, these are reinterpreted in the context of contemporary community life and outside cultural influences. It is a dynamic and vivid presentation involving men and women, young and old. Although the dance is vibrant and varied, each Milpirri is underpinned by a guiding theme drawn from traditional law.

An evaluation of the latest Milpirri in 2012 (Holmes 2012) suggests that Milpirri is making a very significant positive contribution to the lives of Lajamanu residents through a number of areas. These include:

Building Community Engagement and Social Cohesion. With 92 school children and 126 adults dancing in Milpirri in 2012, more than one third of Lajamanu residents directly participate in the event. In 2012, 114 local Warlpiri people were employed through Milpirri as dancers, singers, cultural advisers and directors.

The evaluation indicates that Milpirri is valued by community members as a mechanism for bringing the community together, and for creating cross cultural learning opportunities:

"It is always a good one. Last night was really good for everyone, yapa and kardiya together. I was really happy. Everyone doing their proper job."

"Milpirri started off small and it grows. It grows and gets recognised by people right across Australia. It is about bringing people together, about learning about kardiya and yapa. Most of our people still want to go in our Law and culture. But hopefully we will walk together, coming out of the shadows, working side by side because we are all important in Australia. Seeing granddaughters and sons taking part in Milpirri really makes us proud. Women and men taking part as well. The boys, they sing, they dance, they perform. To see young women taking part. Young men taking part. It will go on for years. Hopefully Milpirri will get bigger and wider. I would like to see more kardiya get involved. Our skin is connected to the land that makes us who we are. To see young ones coming behind us... It's about bringing us together so we are not separate from each other. We don't walk on a separate road. We would rather walk on the same road together."

Education and Cross Cultural Awareness. Whilst Milpirri is a one day event, it requires many weeks of training and learning. The Lajamanu School is the primary collaborator with Milpirri through which 120 school training and learning workshops were held in the run up the 2012 Milpirri event, as well cross cultural training and learning opportunities for teachers.

Data collected by the school and Tracks Dance Company in 2012 found that school attendance increased by 16% on average during the four weeks prior to Milpirri and the 2012 Milpirri evaluation finds that a number of culturally appropriate practices have been adopted by the school through exposure of teachers to Milpirri. These include the incorporation of Warlpiri kinship through colour coding the school assembly area and the school uniform into colours to reflect the different patri-couple (skin) groups, which assures children know which group they belong to and provides a visual re-enforcement of a Warlpiri cultural system which elders state is essential to community harmony.

Health and Social Determinants of Heath. The 2012 Milpirri evaluation finds that Milpirri directly improved the fitness of school age participants as well as directly address a number of critical social determinants of health and wellbeing. These included the role played by Milpirri in reinforcing and valuing cultural identity and the empowerment created by Milpirri within the Lajamanu community through the event being designed and controlled by Warlpiri people.

The Warnayaka Art Centre located in Lajamanu has been supported through GMAAAC between 2008 and 2013 in a range of areas as outlined in Table 20.

Table 20: GMAAAC Support to Art Centre 2008-13

Year	Funding activity	Amount
2008	Operational Support	$55,000
2008	Outdoor shade	$30,000
2010	Amenities and Shade Area	$33,000
2010	Wages - 2 part time positions	$20,000
2010	Training Officers and Operational Support	$35,000
2011	Operational and wages funding	$100,000
2013	Landscaping, yapa wages, women's culture and digitisation	$50,000

Monitoring reports and interviews conducted by the Review Team make clear that GMAAAC funding for Warnayaka Art Centre is contributing to local employment and income generation within Lajamanu. The art centre employs 8 – 10 Warlpiri staff in a flexible manner, allowing staff to meet cultural and family obligations in the community. Given the low level of Aboriginal employment in Lajamanu, the Art Centre appears to be a significant employer in the community in its own right.

The Art Centre estimates that employment of Warlpiri people in the centre generated approximately $188,000 in Aboriginal wages in Lajamanu in 2012-13. Art Centre sales in 2012/13 amounted to $121,840, with payments to artists directly from sales of approximately $66,500. Artists also receive royalty payments from their art work in addition to this.

> *"The input from GMAAAC to yapa trainers and staff wages really underpins what we do and gives important support to this income generated for the community."*

The Art Centre also promotes Warlpiri culture and improves the esteem and reputation of Lajamanu artists. The Art Centre has held many exhibitions in Australia and overseas. A number of artists travelled to Europe in 2013, with women sharing their culture in workshops in Poland and the men looking at Digital Installation Art in Europe.

Significant GMAAAC funding in Lajamanu has been allocated to Wulaign Homelands Centre for the grading of outstation roads. Whilst acknowledging that this work has been successfully completed, a number of interviewees expressed concern about the perceived limited capacity of Wulaign to support the desire of Lajamanu residents to access and utilise outstations.

> *"They have their own money, just to keep themselves alive. They get a little bit of money to grade the roads to the outstation, that's all."*

Unfortunately the Review Team were unable to interview Wulaign staff during the period of our work in Lajamanu and we recommend that the CLC explore this issue with Wulaign.

GMAAAC has provided significant funds towards a range of Cultural and Ceremonial Programs in Lajamanu. These include funeral and sorry business funds ($64,000 in 2012), men's and women's ceremony ($16,000 in 2012) and construction of a new men's business shelter ($90,000 in 2012).

These investments are regarded by interviewees as very important for the community and it is clear that the community has established clear self-management guidelines for the use of these funds.

"We got money for ceremony and sorry. For ceremony families get $300 per boy. Even if that boy goes through twice, they only get $300. For sorry family group only gets money again. Money for women and money for the men. Money is for food and finish up. We get $300 for family and $1000 for finish up – for blankets and travel for ladies in skin groups."

A range of interviewees expressed concern that GMAAAC funds are insufficient for meeting funeral and sorry business needs in the community. In this context, additional 'top up' funding from the Lajamanu Progress Association for funerals and sorry business is highly valued by community members.

GMAAAC has also provided significant funds towards Sports Infrastructure and Programs in Lajamanu. These include resurfacing of the football oval and basketball court, construction of roofing over the basketball court, football oval seating and operational funds for sports teams and sports weekends.

Interviewees reported a high level of dissatisfaction with the sports infrastructure investment subcontracted to the Shire Council for the football oval upgrade, which at the time of the Review Team visit had not occurred.

"For that oval GMAAAC gave money to the Shire years ago. We've been talking about it for years and Shire still not done anything. We shouldn't give money to Shire council, we don't see it."

"Football oval project is no good. There is not enough seating for 4 Lajamanu teams, we need more seating for visitors. The Shire never spoke to GMAAAC Committee about the seating – how much, what sort."

One unrelated service provider expressed a blunter view to the Review Team about the reasons for the apparent disconnect between the outcomes of the football oval upgrade and residents initial decisions:

"People wanted a small fence but ended up with a tall fence because a whitefella told them it would be better that way."

The Review Team was advised by the CLC that this project remains problematic and that negotiations are continuing with the Shire Council to seek to resolve the various issues associated with the project.

A number of consistent themes emerged in interviews with community members and service providers with respect to GMAAAC funded projects. These include:

Aboriginal control. A number of interviewees commented on the increased importance of GMAAAC projects and the CLC more generally in Lajamanu in the context of broader recent policy change:

"CDU projects have made life better in Lajamanu. GMAAAC before CDU was only for outstation, Toyota and grading roads. That has changed because of the intervention. People don't use outstations now because of intervention. People need CLC for country visits now. Outstation infrastructure was stolen by kardiya visitors and station people after permit system ended".

"GMAAAC members make the decisions. Yapa have control of GMAAAC. All projects are good."

"Yapa control GMAAAC money. Yapa are bosses of projects through GMAAAC committee."

Flexibility. GMAAAC funding was valued by some agencies because of its flexibility relative to other funding sources, especially government funding. For example, GMAAAC funding for the Arts Centre is particularly valued because of its relative flexibility compared to other funding sources, and the ability of the centre to use the funding to provide employment opportunities for Lajamanu residents (three full time and up to 10 part time staff).

Accountability and Control. Many interviewees expressed frustration at the absence of mechanisms by which subcontractors can be held to account by GMAAAC and community members for failure to deliver projects as intended, or, in some cases, at all.

> *"All projects come from yapa money, but once we decide yapa have got nothing to do with the projects. Kardiya then take over projects, we forget who owns them once they get built. There is no feedback from projects to GMAAAC members – who is looking after vehicle or building. People forget it is yapa money, yapa stuff."*

The Shire was singled out in particular for not delivering what community members understand was agreed, not consulting with the local GMAAAC committee during project design and delivery and not providing employment and training opportunities for community members in project delivery. This feedback applied more generally to the provision of services in the community by the Shire:

> *"To get our house fixed you have to fill in a form that has to go all the way to Alice to get our problem fixed. Like electricity and a plumber we have to wait months. Even the toilet block near the holy ground, the Shire hasn't fixed that either."*

> *"We still got problems with the Shire, we don't want them involved in [GMAAAC] projects."*

Employment. Lajamanu residents highly value Aboriginal employment opportunities generated through GMAAAC projects, and the relative success of the CLC or contractors in providing these is one of the criteria people seem to use to judge the effectiveness of the process, as well as other actors.

Tanami Dialysis

The Lajamanu dialysis centre has been operational since May 27th 2013 with a current capacity of eight people, though it is currently run with a maximum of six patients in order to give staff some time off.

Over the last three years the dialysis project has attracted funds from a variety of Aboriginal and government sources including: Kurra Aboriginal Corporation ($454,000); GMAAAC ($64,000); Lajamanu Progress Association ($250,000); the Aboriginals Benefit Account ($2.3m); and donation of dialysis machines by the Northern Territory Government ($100,000).

Left: Dialysis centre in Lajamanu

Stage one of the Lajamanu dialysis project was completed in 2011 and stage two was undertaken in 2012. These included the commencement of construction of a new dialysis facility and nurses' accommodation, as well as three years of operational funding for the program, utilising funding from the Aboriginals Benefit Account leveraged from an original grant from Kurra Aboriginal Corporation.

Annual CLC monitoring reports (Kelly 2011; 2012; 2013) find that:

- Demand for the services associated with the dialysis project in Lajamanu is significant. Monitoring reports indicate that as of October 2011 there were 13 Lajamanu residents on dialysis in Darwin and Katherine (and an additional five residents of Kalkaringi/Daguragu);

- The service has been active in ensuring these people are able to make trips home, and also that family have travelled from Lajamanu to support people located in Darwin or Katherine. There were several return-to-country trips in 2012 for Lajamanu and Kalkarinji patients living in Darwin and Katherine; and

- Kurra provided funds to supplement GMAAAC funds for a fact-finding trip to Alice Springs, Hermannsburg and Yuendumu for the Lajamanu Kidney Committee members.

Reports from this project are clear and provide good activity information. The latest monitoring report recommends encouraging feedback from service users over time to ensure the service is meeting all needs appropriately.

Interviewees reported to the Review Team that the service is particularly valued for two reasons. Firstly it encourages people to seek treatment that they would otherwise avoid as it would have meant leaving Lajamanu permanently in the past. It is not unreasonable to assume that this has led to a number of the 24 people from Lajamanu now on dialysis living longer lives. Secondly it encourages patients on dialysis elsewhere to pursue their treatment in order to be sufficiently healthy to return to Lajamanu for visits and ongoing treatment.

"The dialysis centre is the most important project for yapa. People can come back and spend more time with families, participate in sorry, ceremonies and community events. All family all together. Warren Snowden promised two more dialysis chairs from government and we want two more chairs from GMAAAC –important for our people."

GMAAAC funding has assisted as it pays for the costs of return visitors, and funded study trips during the course of the establishment of the centre. There are plans to increase the number of places by two and to have 50% of places dedicated to permanent patients and 50% to visitors – it was reported to the Review Team that this would assist financial sustainability given the formula for government payments for treatments.

The Dialysis Centre is supported by a local Kidney Committee which is reportedly working well, meets regularly and includes patients. There are no Aboriginal staff employed by the project. Staff at the centre expressed concern that kidney disease amongst Aboriginal people was very high and increasing affecting younger people. They stated that too much sugar was the primary cause and that, to their knowledge, there are no nutritional programs running within the community.

5.3.3 Conclusions – Community Development Program

Projects facilitated by the CDU in Lajamanu are generally highly valued by the community, albeit sometimes for different reasons. The majority of projects are making a tangible and observable difference to people's lives. Almost universally community members believe that projects in Lajamanu initially supported through CDU would not have come to fruition in the absence of WETT, GMAAAC and Kurra investment decisions.

In Lajamanu interviewees place particular value on collections of projects that reinforce and pass on Aboriginal culture and facilitate access to country. In many instances the delivery of these projects requires collaboration between organisations (e.g. school country visits requiring collaboration between the Northern Tanami IPA staff, Traditional Owners, the Wulaign Rangers, Lajamanu School and WYDAC/CLC).

Within this context, a number of themes emerge from the interviews and discussions the Review Team had with community members and service providers in Lajamanu. These include:

Employment. In aggregate it is apparent that CDU funding contributes both directly and indirectly to a critical mass of the current level of Aboriginal employment in Lajamanu. Taken together, WETT and GMAAAC supported projects in Lajamanu support approximately 24 jobs held by Aboriginal residents through the Learning Centre, Playgroup and Arts Centre. Based on a conservative assessment[24] of 2011 census data and the RSD data presented in section 5.3.1, this equates to somewhere between 20-30% of Lajamanu's full and part time Aboriginal workforce.

More generally, Lajamanu residents value Aboriginal employment opportunities highly and the relative success of contractors in providing these is one of the criteria people use to judge the effectiveness of projects in the community. There is also some evidence of greater ownership of projects that involve greater Aboriginal involvement in planning and design processes, and employment opportunities.

A significant number of interviewees in Lajamanu clearly stated a need for greater employment opportunities for Aboriginal people to be built into both current CDU projects and as a standard feature of future projects. Some noted how important it was for young people to 'learn how to work'. Most people say it is better for GMAAAC and WETT money to go to Aboriginal organisations in Lajamanu where possible.

> *"We need more training and jobs for yapa through WETT projects. There are no yapa working for WYDAC."*

> *"Just one kardiya built that grandstand, should have used local people. We want employment, something to be proud of, built from our own hands. You know I built that oval and I'm proud of that."*

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[24] Assuming 80% of the non-Aboriginal resident population of Lajamanu above 15 years of age are in either full time or part time employment, and there has been a 10% increase in full time or part time employment since 2011.

Communication and Information Flows. In Lajamanu we observed limited knowledge and understanding of decision making processes particularly associated with WETT amongst Aboriginal residents of the community. In part this is due to the different governance structures for WETT described in section 3 of this report. In addition this may possibly be a function of the size of the community, the current absence from Lajamanu of key WETT Advisory Committee members, the diverse range of projects and committee structures in Lajamanu and the intensity and frequency of CDU staff engagement in Lajamanu. In Lajamanu in particular there appears to be a need for more regular and broader communication to the community about both the WETT (and to a lesser extent GMAAAC) decision making processes, decisions taken, and the progress of projects including what has been spent, and any problems that have arisen.

> *"There's few people in the community who know all about these projects, some need to be reminded, some people know about how it all works. Some people want to know more. Some people say its government money. People know more on GMAAAC than WETT."*

Social network analysis suggests the relative density of the networks involved in GMAAAC related committees is much higher than that of WETT, which is dependent on a few individuals to link WETT committees to each other as well as to other community structures (see Figure 8). This might also help explain why more interviewees felt less informed about WETT projects and its decision making processes than those of GMAAAC. The value of this sort of analysis is that it might help go beyond simply looking at the numbers of individuals involved in various committees but also understanding the importance of the connections between them.

Figure 9: Social Network Analysis of WETT and GMAAAC Committee Membership
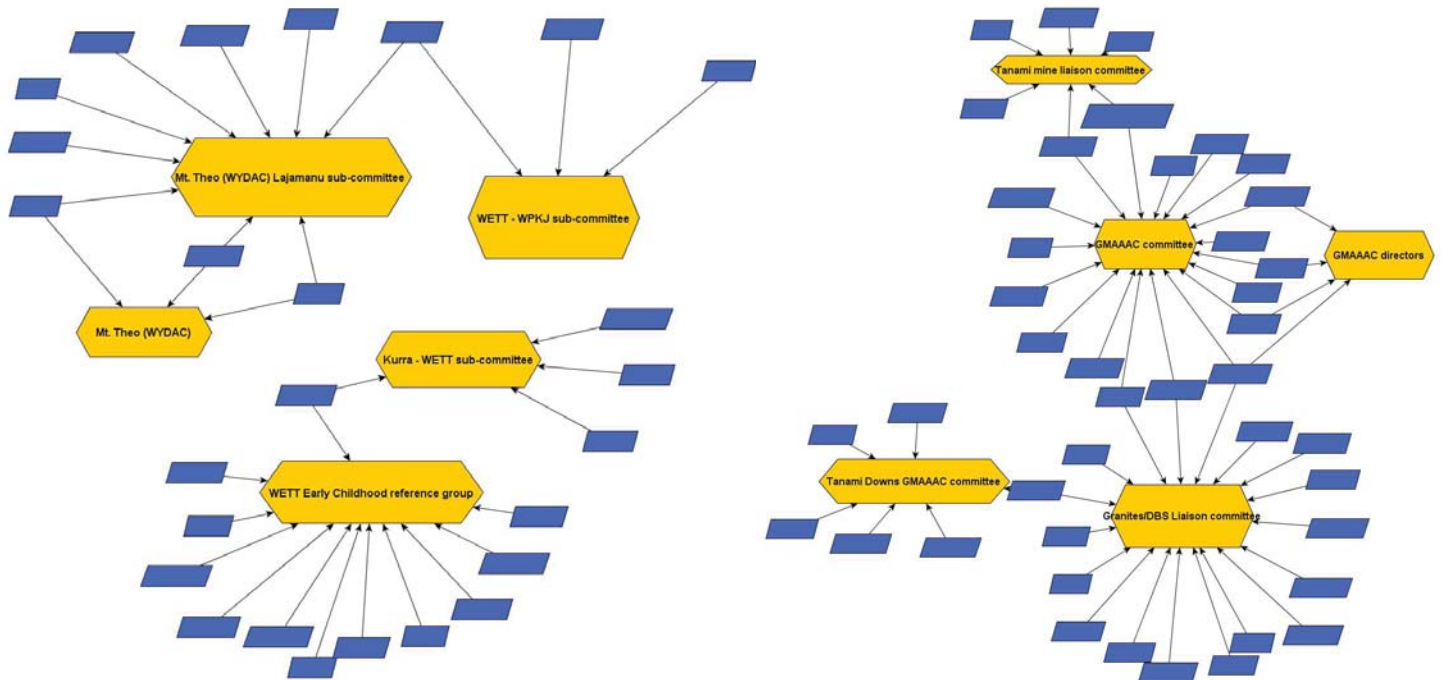
"There is not much feedback from Land Council on projects and how they are happening. Land Council need to listen to members and explain processes and procedures for projects. We get upset and angry, ask a lot of questions then."

One aspect of this concern may relate to the contrasting visibility of governance arrangements for WETT and GMAAAC at a community level. For example, one interviewee suggested that there is less understanding of WETT decision making processes because decisions are taken by a larger group of WETT Committee members from different communities who come together in Alice Springs. GMAAAC decision making processes, on the other hand, are more visible at a community level.

"A lot of people not involved in WETT. We're not happy with this. We need to make them prove themselves. WETT has meetings in Alice Springs and other communities. GMAAAC is out in the open to the community."

Intensity of CDU Engagement. Whilst CDU subcontracting and implementing agencies in Lajamanu reported a positive working relationship with CDU, a consistent theme expressed is a sense of 'disconnect' with CDU and a desire for better information flow and more frequent opportunities for seeking the advice and input of CDU staff to the many challenges WETT programs face.

"CDU need a ground presence here to sort things out and ensure accountability".

It should be noted that CDU did recruit a staff member in mid-2013 who will be based in Lajamanu once accommodation is secured.

The Subcontracting Model. A significant number of interviewees in Lajamanu expressed concerns about the subcontracting process, particularly in relation to GMAAAC supported projects. These concerns included a sense that once projects are agreed upon, local people lose control over project design and delivery. In some instances people claim what has been delivered is not in line with their understanding of original project decisions (e.g. a basketball roof and football spectator seating). Other concerns include the failure of some subcontractors to deliver projects according to timelines, or indeed at all. Projects subcontracted to the Shire such as the football oval upgrade were singled out by interviewees.

> *"All these projects come from yapa money, we buy it or get it built. After that we have no say. Sometimes we forget who looks after things and who owns them. We get no feedback from organisations at meetings, they're forgetting its yapa money and stuff. They should come and tell us 'this is the vehicle you bought, its running well, we are using it for this'. We have meetings on our own as committee members. Organisations are not coming in and talking to us."*

Different CDU Operating Context in RSD Sites. The Review Team observed greater and more varied investment in Lajamanu as an RSD site than we observed in the non-RSD sites of Willowra and Imanpa. In Lajamanu there is a more diverse portfolio with greater co-financing of GMAAAC and WETT supported projects by other agencies, particularly Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government agencies. This may suggest that the work of CDU would have greater impact in RSD sites and Northern Territory Growth Towns where a deliberate emphasis is given to a) seed funding Aboriginal priority initiatives and leveraging other sources of funding and b) brokering and building platforms of co-operation under Aboriginal guidance and leadership between different agencies providing services to these communities.

CLC Engagement. Service providers interviewed in Lajamanu recognised the role and influence the CLC has in the community. In this context a number of service providers expressed disappointment that the CLC staff in Lajamanu are not engaged in service provider and stakeholder meetings, and that there are not more opportunities for joint planning. A particular example cited was the disruption created within the community associated with the timing of royalty distribution meetings, and in particular the impact this has on school attendance rates when meetings are held during school terms. It was suggested, for example that planning such meetings to coincide with school holidays would have a major positive impact on school participation.

5.3.4 Lajamanu Governance Project

Origin and Assumptions

The Lajamanu Governance Project is funded by the Commonwealth Government and commenced in Lajamanu in 2011. The project aims to develop a model for strengthening community governance in RSD communities in Central Australia, with an initial focus on Lajamanu. The project is based on successful approaches to community governance building where a developmental and participatory approach to strengthening governance capacity has been employed.

The Governance Project has from the outset worked with an existing group in Lajamanu referred to as Kurdiji[25] . Comprising a relatively even gender balance of approximately 20 male and female members, Kurdiji had its origins in 1998 as a Law and Justice Project funded by the then Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Kurdiji was a group established to address law and justice issues within the Lajamanu community. Kurdiji has a long history of working closely with local police and legal aid services (NAAJA) on issues associated with community conflict and court related processes.

Kurdiji was defunded in 2005. In 2008-09 Kurdiji members approached the North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA) to support Kurdiji to address key social issues within Lajamanu and to engage with external agencies on law and justice issues. During 2010 and 2011 Kurdiji engaged in a range of issues including reintroducing Warlpiri cultural teaching in the school (following the ending of this practice by the Northern Territory Government), resolving community conflict and advocacy to enable more timely and direct phone communication between community members and the Lajamanu Police Station (a phone diversion system diverted calls to Darwin).

A key assumption underpinning the 2011 Lajamanu Governance Project was the existence of a 'governance gap' in remote communities. The original project outline references research[26] suggesting that the cumulative impacts of recent Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government policy changes - most notably the NT Emergency Response (NTER) and the abolition of community councils through Shire reform - have resulted in a significant 'governance vacuum' in communities, decreasing the capacity for local decision making and control.

A second assumption underpinning the Governance Project is that the governance vacuum is exacerbated by excessive government demands on limited community capacities:

> *"Disenfranchised community members are looking for new ways to be actively engaged in community life and this is matched by the demand of governments, who are struggling to find an effective means to engage with remote communities in the NT."*

In particular, the project sought to address the aspirations of the Commonwealth Government for strong community governance in Remote Service Delivery sites. One of the five main objectives in the National Partnership Agreement (NPA) on RSD is to "improve the level of governance and leadership within Indigenous communities and Indigenous community organisations". The project proposal suggests that this objective is "faltering in places where there are a multitude of advisory groups, but few active and resourced community governance mechanisms".

The CLC argued that getting this objective right is critical for communities to be not only able to engage and negotiate with governments, but also to drive their own development and take the lead in addressing their issues over the long term.

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[25] Kurdiji is a metaphor for protection: a shield, and also the name for the Warlpiri initiation ceremony, see Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu,Patrick & Holmes and Box (2008).) Ngurra-Kurlu: A way of working with Warlpiri people.

[26] See, for example, Central Land Council (2010The governance role of local boards: A scoping study from six communities (http://www.clc.org.au/media/papers/CLC%20governance%20report%20A4.pdf), and recent CGRIS Six Monthly Reports (CGRIS 2009; CGRIS 2010; http://www.cgris.gov.au/userfiles/file/FAHCSIA_1932_CGRISREPORT[LO-RES_A4].pdf , http://cgris.gov.au/userfiles/file/FACS_2165_CGRISREPORT_[REPORT-html].pdf).

A third implicit assumption in the original project proposal is that the project approach taken to the development of a governance model for Lajamanu (but not necessarily the model itself) is replicable to other RSD sites in central Australia. In particular the project proposal suggested that the project might be extended to Yuendumu and Hermannsburg at some point in time.

Project Architecture and Approach.

The Governance Project employs a project co-ordinator now based substantially in Lajamanu. The co-ordinator commenced in April 2011, with sustained engagement by the co-ordinator in Lajamanu starting in September 2011 after a period of orientation and induction. The Review Team noted that the Governance Project was still 'young' in terms of community development processes at the time of its visit in September 2013.

There are no documented rules governing Kurdiji membership. The Review Team was advised that membership is linked to members' roles in the community, traditional law and authority. This is a reflection of the project working in a complex inter-cultural space, in a manner which acknowledges intra-cultural processes.

It is important to note that the CLC has been clear in describing Kurdiji is a 'mechanism' or entry point for the project to enhance Aboriginal governance rather than an outcome in itself. This was important in not predetermining a future outcome to the process -which Kurdiji may or may not be part of.

The Review Team observed that significant thought has gone into developing structures and ways of work around the project. These structures seek to provide advice and support to the project co-ordinator, and to establish a formal linkage between the project and representatives of key government agencies whose policies, programs and activities impact RSD communities such as Lajamanu.

These include the establishment of a Governance Advisory Committee for the project comprising representatives of key government agencies; and the establishment of a 'mentors group' comprising a diverse range of individuals who collectively bring significant skills in Aboriginal governance, community development and knowledge of the Lajamanu community context. The project co-ordinator prepares fortnightly reports to the mentors group, which holds regular teleconferences to discuss issues associated with the project and to provide advice to the co-ordinator. It is likely that this group plays an important role in preventing burn-out of the co-ordinator. It was reported to the Review Team that the mentors group has also played an important role in validating the approach taken by the project with the broader Land Council.

The Review Team also noted that the project is relatively well documented, with both six monthly and fortnightly reports prepared by the co-ordinator.

Project Evolution and Milestones.

The initial focus of the project co-ordinator was to develop relationships with the community members, with a focus on building understanding through for example learning Warlpiri and accepting an invitation to observe ceremonial activities. This approach helped gain insight into traditional decision-making, authority networks and leadership, as well as an understanding of the extent of overlap of Kurdiji membership with community organisational leadership networks.

A review of a range of Governance Project progress reports indicates that evidence of both internal empowerment and external recognition of the role of the Kurdiji group has particularly emerged in 2013.

"Overall, the work at Lajamanu has been extremely productive in the last 6 months, with an increasing feeling amongst Kurdiji and community members that there are growing opportunities to influence decisions made in Lajamanu and a growing role for Kurdiji in governing internal community issues" (CLC 2013, p. 1).

Key events cited in the report during this period as evidence of increasing empowerment and voices include:

• Recognition of the legitimacy of Kurdiji by the Gurindji Traditional Owners of Lajamanu. In 2012 Kurdiji Group members identified the importance of dialogue with the largely Kalkarindji based Gurindji Traditional Owners of Lajamanu. In March 2013, a meeting took place in Kalkarindji at which the Gurindji not only endorsed the work of the Kurdiji group, but also expressed the desire to start something similar at Kalkarindji. This is significant because it indicates that Kurdiji felt confident enough, and in touch with their traditional law to both identify the need for the meeting and to organise it themselves.

• In May 2013 the official opening of the Kurdiji building (funded through GMAAAC) took place in Lajamanu. The opening day ceremony was an opportunity for Kurdiji to present itself to the community and further reflect on its role within the community. Progress reports suggest that the opening and use of the Kurdiji building has provided a significant boost to people's feeling of increased empowerment and control in ways that were not anticipated.

• Kurdiji have been engaged in representing the Lajamanu community in a Northern Territory Liquor Commission review of the Top Springs Roadhouse Liquor Permit. Located approximately 200 kilometres north east of Lajamanu, Top Springs has been a longstanding source of alcohol illegally brought into Lajamanu, contributing to violence and conflict. Kurdiji requested a formal one-year review in all affected communities (which was agreed to) and asked for clarification of the liquor permit process. They also asked for clarification of the liquor permit process, as they felt there should be community input into this process as well as greater clarity around the procedures for applying for permits. Kurdiji activities included a meeting in Kalkarindji with other Aboriginal community representatives, correspondence with the Commission and media comment in May when the decision was handed down. The project coordinator played a clear role in helping to facilitate this process.

• Exploring other governance models. A workshop considered other governance model examples, including Thamarrur Aboriginal Corporation, Muurdi Paaki Regional Assembly, NT local government reform, combining advisory groups and networked governance in Lajamanu. The workshop was an attempt to broaden the thinking in Lajamanu about governance options and provided Kurdiji members with different examples of developing more effective governance. Following on from this workshop, in April 2013 Kurdiji and WETT Committee members attended and presented at a Strong Aboriginal Governance Summit convened by the Aboriginal Peak Organisations of the Northern Territory (APONT) and held at Tennant Creek. Together these activities have contributed to explicit conversations now about whether or not Kurdiji should be the 'one voice' or whether something new needs to be developed. Progress reports suggest there are a range of views on this and that this work requires much more focus and time.

Cumulatively these events and developments are reported to have led to a marked change in the tone and nature of Kurdiji Group discussions:

"The governance conversation amongst the Kurdiji group and other community members continues to deepen. Discussions have changed markedly over the two years from a general tenor of disempowerment, despair and confusion about where to go to a generally positive, proactive assessment of current challenges and a feeling that people are building a basis of understanding and capability that will enable them to create positive solutions themselves." (CLC, 2013 p. 8)

Findings

The Review Team met with the Kurdiji Group both at the outset of its work in Lajamanu (to both introduce the Review Team and solicit advice from Kurdiji about the methodology) and at the completion of fieldwork in Lajamanu (to feedback and test findings with Kurdiji members). During the course of the Review Team's period in Lajamanu it interviewed a number of Kurdiji members individually and in small groups, as well as a wide range of community members and service providers as to their impressions of the impact and effectiveness of the Governance Project. Key themes which consistently emerged through these discussions included:

Kurdiji's role is widely understood in Lajamanu. People of all ages see Kurdiji as an important way of doing things in a strong 'yapa' way. Everyone we spoke to, including young people, knew about Kurdiji, and what it did to keep traditional law and culture strong, as well as to address community problems.

"Kurdiji is good if there are families in a fight then they get involved to sort out their problem".

"Kurdiji is good for young people. They stop fighting. They are local people sorting out our problems. Not kardiya doing it. Sometimes they don't get on (yapa and kardiya) with problems. Can't sort it out. With problems we look up to them (Kurdiji). They also help out at court too."

"I am really proud of this kurdiji as it is the first organisation we got here."

"Kurdiji look after sorry, milpirri, sorry camp, school country visits. They talk to police & families. Kardiya don't understand yapa law and payback system."

"Kurdjij work on the court list, some people get community service instead of prison. That is helping our people, it is good, lots of young people get into trouble we need to support them in their problems."

"Kurdiji helps out at court too. They help stop people going to jail and what they need to do in the community. Kurdiji is helping with grog, drink driving, people bringing grog into the community. Kurdiji also helping with Facebook bullying. A lot of young girls bullying each other. If other communities come here with their problems kurdiji sorts it out. If murder they decide punishment and how to deal with it."

"Kurdiji, they are there to help every day. Sometimes problem when families get involved."

"Kurdiji, they make sure we have community meeting to stop problems. Young people do listen, even those that don't listen still get punishment."

The above statements appear to be a reflection of the desire of Kurdiji members to initially focus on improving governance of internal community issues over matters they feel they have some control over, before expanding to address external issues.

Social network analysis also indicates that Kurdiji is clearly one of the key structures in Lajamanu. Only one committee scores higher on its connectivity (the Indigenous Protected Area Committee), and only two score higher on "betweeness centrality" i.e. a measure of the degree to which Kurdiji acts as a key link with other committees (the Granites committee and the IPA Committee). Its membership covers all but 3 of the 16 Warlpiri skin groups, and 9 of its 19 members are women.

Kurdiji is valued by service providers in Lajamanu. A wide range of service providers commented positively on the role they understand Kurdiji plays in Lajamanu, and could outline positive changes in the community driven by Kurdiji's presence. A number of service providers also expressed a strong desire to work more closely with Kurdiji to address specific issues within their particular service domains, and for a closer working relationship with the Governance Project co-ordinator.

> *"The Kurdiji Group is very good. They mediate and prevent police involvement in disputes. There is a change in attitude from some men as a result of [the project co-ordinator's] work with Kurdiji. It is a change in how they talk now. I would like to see it grow and grow. Kurdiji is rebuilding the roots of what has been taken off them".*

> *"I would like Kurdiji to work more closely with the school."*

> *"Kurdiji is good but people need to say 'I am in the kurdjij group and that is not allowed to happen'. It is the beginning of the cycle of learning of laws."*

> *"I am strong advocate of local control through a really positive thing like Kurdiji."*

In particular, service providers see Kurdiji playing a critical role in conflict prevention and resolution in Lajamanu through working with other organisations such as the police and night patrol. During our visit the Review Team observed a mature self-initiated Kurdiji group discussion of conflict and violence issues in the community. In the course of this discussion we also observed frustration amongst Kurdiji members at their inability to make contact with the local police during a night of disturbance and violence in the community, suggesting that there are opportunities for more timely effective communication between these parties in preventing conflict and violence.

Below: Mapping traditional governance, Kurdiji members discussing different families' traditional countries

Kurdiji is attributed by some observers as contributing to reduced Lajamanu crime rates. Some interviewees associated with the legal system believe that Kurdiji has contributed to a significant reduction in offence rates in Lajamanu through its work establishing strong governance processes for managing conflict, violence and alcohol abuse within the community.

Whilst any direct attribution of reduced offence rates in Lajamanu to a single factor is clearly problematic, court data[27] summarised in Figure 10 does suggest a significant reduction in overall offence rates in Lajamanu between 2008 and 2012 in particular.

Figure 10: Total Offences Lajamanu 1995-2012 per Daily Court Lists
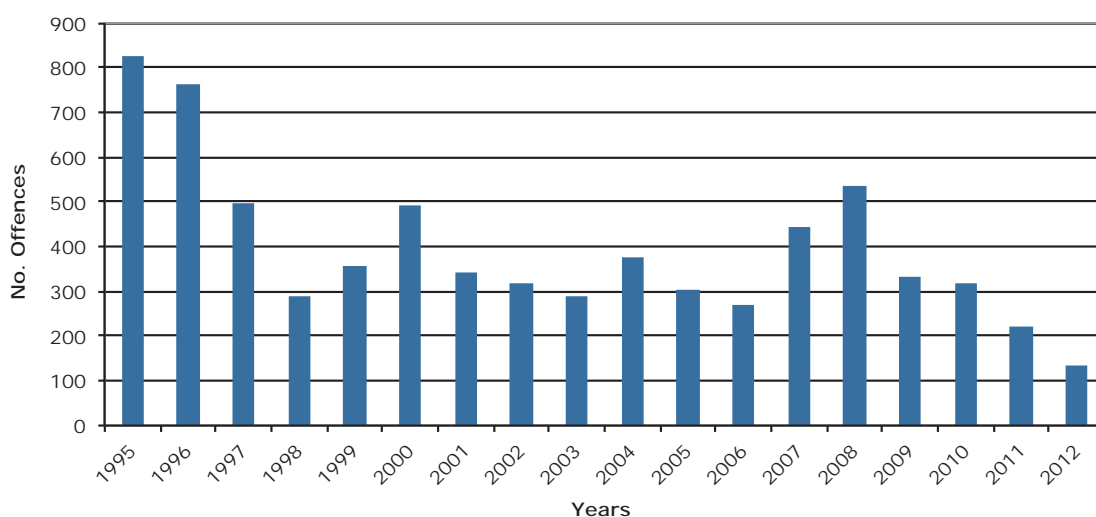
When court record data is further disaggregated to focus on offences directly related to the main issues that Kurdiji focus on in the community (assault, alcohol offences and theft), it can be seen that there is a very significant decline across all three domains although the decline in the incidence of assualt has been from a peak in 2010 (see Table 21).

Table 21: Offences in Lajamanu 1995-2012

Offence Type	Year				
	2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
Alcohol Offences	37	27	8	21	22
Stealing	16	12	5	3	1
Assault	14	21	27	21	14
Total	**67**	**60**	**40**	**45**	**37**

Anecdotally, one interviewee with a long local history in Aboriginal law and justice issues suggested to the Review Team that Kurdiji has contributed to an offence rate approximately half that of comparable Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory.

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[27] Data Collected by NAAJA based on Lajamanu Court Records.

Kurdiji is seen by Aboriginal people as beginning to address elements of the governance vacuum.
A wide range of interviewees expressed a profound sense of disempowerment as a consequence of the combination of the NTER and abolition of Community Councils as part of the Shire reform process. One opinion reported to the Review Team is that the former Community Council played two separate roles; a political role (providing voice and cross cultural understanding) and a service delivery role, and that community members are particularly angered by the elimination of the political role:

"We had 12 local council members. White fellas have taken our local power. When shire came in customary law was taken away. "

"The Community Council had a service function and a political function as a safe inter-cultural service. People are most angry about loss of political function. People may be 'on strike' with the Shire to force the Shire to fail - people want to make it fail. The Shire can be a service provider, but no more than that. Kurdiji type mechanisms are needed to address the political vacuum."

In this context, many interviewees articulated a view that Kurdiji either are or should be 'the bosses' of Lajamanu and see the Kurdiji building as a symbol of the re-emergence of Aboriginal voice and legitimacy in Lajamanu. A view expressed to the Review Team is that the Kurdiji building is more important to the group at a symbolic level (about legitimacy, voice and control) than at a practical level (as a venue to meet). It was reported that the Kurdiji building has coalesced a sense of identity and reinforces legitimacy of the group.

"Kurdiji building is good because people know where to meet and decide what to do from there and then go out into the public and have a meeting. They stand up, they're strong in that. They're really proud of that building. "

"Kurdiji needs to be recognised by lawyers and shire. We need a Resource Centre under that name, we need to show government. They are acting in a completely racist discrimination act manner. "

"We want government to recognise us. We are dealing with our own problems. We want to be on top of the shire, the clinic, the school. One umbrella which is Kurdiji on top. Kurdiji could be over the LRG."

Below: Kurdiji sign, Lajamanu

The role and approach taken by the Project Co-ordinator has been critical to Kurdiji's success. A wide range of interviewees including Kurdiji members, community members and service providers indicated that the role of the Project Coordinator has been critical to Kurdiji's success in the last 2 years. Key elements of this approach observed by the Review Team include:

- Self-awareness and an ability for ongoing critical self-reflection;

- An ability to follow peoples articulated views through active listening and to work at their pace, avoiding the temptation to prioritise personal views or take over responsibility for actions which could be more easily done by the co-ordinator. The success of the Kurdiji building is largely attributable to this approach; and

- An ability to adjust approach and strategy through learning and reflection.

"[The Project Coordinator] has been really helpful to our people. He's been helpful with Kurdiji. He's been good to work with. He helps Kurdiji a lot and being involved with that and helping at public meetings. He goes around and sits and talks with others about things. Lots of people really open up to him and sit and discuss things. "

"What [the Project Coordinator] is doing, is giving information, telling us to be strong, getting us together. "

The key assumptions underpinning the Governance Project remain largely valid. As outlined above, there appear to be three key assumptions which have underpinned the Governance Project, that:

- A 'governance gap' exists in remote communities in the Northern Territory;

- The gap is exacerbated by excessive government demands on limited community capacities; and

- The project approach taken to the development of a governance model for Lajamanu (but not necessarily the model itself) is replicable to other RSD sites in Central Australia.

It was a near universal view of residents and service providers interviewed in Lajamanu that the combination of the NTER, and nature of the Shire governance model, significantly reduced the ability of Lajamanu residents to meaningfully influence government decisions that affect them, or to exercise decision making authority.

As outlined earlier in this Review, the history and context of each Aboriginal community in the Northern Territory has unique characteristics. Because of this it would be folly to conclude that the Kurdiji model per se is appropriate or replicable in other RSD sites in the Northern Territory. However, the principles underpinning the Governance Project in Lajamanu and approach taken through implementation would be entirely appropriate in other community contexts the Review Team has visited. For example, one of the key principles of this approach is acknowledging and working with local authority structures and supporting cultural processes and valued norms of behaviour.

Rather than a formal government program roll-out or expansion, the most effective approach to test and encourage replicability of the Lajamanu Governance Project may well be through 'self-spreading' mechanisms. By this we mean the creation of opportunities for other communities to become aware of the advances the Kurdiji Group and Lajamanu community appear to have made through the Governance Project and for government to be responsive to requests for support from other communities for investment in tailored initiatives which can increase Aboriginal voice.

Current and Future Challenges. The Review Team noted a number of current and future challenges associated with the project. These include:

Resilience and Sustainability. Despite the progress reported to and observed by the Review Team, the Kurdiji Group members themselves and others recognise that Kurdiji is not yet self-sustaining and will continue to rely on a project coordinator and further funding to support it. There is a need for the project to continue to work at a pace at which both strengths and resilience can grow together.

It was suggested to the Review Team that increasing recognition of the role of Kurdiji may create its own risks for the project. As Kurdiji becomes increasingly seen as the key Aboriginal voice in Lajamanu it will likely attract requests and demands from an increasing array of service providers, government agencies and NGOs in Lajamanu. Whilst at one level this is welcome, it also raises the risk of Kurdiji becoming entirely reactive to external agendas, with increasingly limited space for articulating and advancing Aboriginal needs and priorities. The main focus needs to be on building the resilience and strength of Kurdiji in order to influence external actors and how they engage with Kurdiji in Lajamanu. The Review Team notes in particular the need for a very carefully jointly planned approach between CDU and the Governance Project to Kurdiji's recently agreed role in the planning for Commonwealth 5 Year Community Leasing money in Lajamanu.

Another element of sustainability is the reliance of the project on the particular approach brought by the current project coordinator to the work. A significant number of Aboriginal interviewees strongly encouraged the project to employ one or more local co-workers to work with the coordinator. Whilst the Review Team is aware of the challenges associated with previous attempts to employ co-workers, we believe institutional sustainability is a significant issue for the project.

The success of the project to date has a high level of dependence on the approach of the current coordinator, much of which is arguably difficult to capture adequately through documentation and to institutionalise through systems. A mix of strategies could be adopted by the CLC to mitigate this risk including employment of co-workers, initiatives to promote greater sharing of information about the approach of the Governance Project across the organisation (and particularly with CDU) and secondments of CDU staff to work with the Governance Project Coordinator for periods of time.

Walking the Talk. A key challenge for Kurdiji members reported to the Review Team is balancing their community wide Kurdiji roles in resolving community conflict with advancing or defending the interests of their immediate families when families are party to community disputes. Given the emphasis that Kurdiji place on behaving in an appropriate manner, and indeed this behaviour being what creates the community 'shield', this is something that may in part determine Kurdiji's legitimacy in the eyes of the community and others.

Engagement with Service Providers. There is a strong desire from a range of government agencies and service providers for the project coordinator to engage more regularly in service provider fora, and for service providers to have access to the Kurdiji Group on a more regular basis to seek advice. Whilst this has to be balanced against the risks outlined above, the Review Team believes there are opportunities to increase these engagement levels without risking an overly reactive positioning of Kurdiji. This for example could include participation by the coordinator in monthly service provider coordination meetings in Lajamanu convened by the GEC through which specific issues requiring the advice and direction of Kurdiji members could be identified. It could also be a mechanism by which Kurdiji members can raise issues of concern to community members with service providers directly.

Engagement with the CLC Community Development Unit. It was very noticeable to the Review Team that the relationship between the Governance Project and CDU unit in Lajamanu appears very limited. At face value there appear to be significant opportunities for mutual learning between these two critical areas of the CLC's operations in Lajamanu, and for greater co-ordination. This might include how, for example, members of Kurdiji might influence the governance of other committees and groups.

5.3.5 Feedback on CDU and Governance Project Ways of Working

Whilst community members and service providers are positive about the ways of work of CDU and the Governance Project, a number of issues emerged which warrant consideration. These included:

Mutual Learning and Co-ordination - CDU and Governance Project. Many of the key challenges now being encountered by CDU in Lajamanu and more broadly (e.g. promoting Aboriginal voice, having project committees with the confidence to hold subcontractors to account) relate directly to the aims of the Governance Project. The Review Team believes, despite the differences in the programs, that there are tremendous opportunities for mutual learning between CDU staff and the Governance Project more generally, and for a significantly more closely co-ordinated approach between the two units to their work in Lajamanu. This is especially important in the context that Kurdiji will be playing a key role in decision making about the allocation of community lease funds in Lajamanu.

The Review Team observed that many effective development practices have been developed in parallel between the two programs which would benefit from sharing and mutual learning. For example, the Governance Project demonstrates particularly strong practice in critical self-reflection, active listening and working at the pace of Aboriginal governance groups. Similarly, CDU staff demonstrate particularly good practice in leveraging greater Aboriginal control and voice through their ability to broker and convene between Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations, and have well developed strategies for ensuring inclusive governance and decision making processes which accommodate the interests of less vocal or powerful groups within communities.

A potential starting point for such a process may be a workshop involving both programs to distil common attributes of best practice (see section 8.4 page 117 for example), which in turn may provide an effective starting point for a broader CLC process to address recommendation 3 in Section 9.3 of this report (page 122).

Intensity of CDU Engagement. Whilst CDU subcontracting and implementing agencies in Lajamanu reported a positive working relationship with CDU, a consistent theme expressed is a sense of 'disconnect' with CDU. There is a desire for better information flow and more frequent opportunities for seeking the advice and input of CDU staff, particularly in relation to WETT programs. A permanent CDU staff presence in Lajamanu will be important to address this need.

CLC Engagement with Service Providers. Service providers interviewed in Lajamanu recognised the role and influence the CLC has in the community. In this context a number of interviewees expressed disappointment that the CLC staff in Lajamanu are not engaged in service provider and stakeholder forums, and that there are not more opportunities for joint planning. A particular example cited was the disruption created within the community associated with royalty distribution meetings, and in particular the impact this has on school attendance rates. It was suggested that planning such meetings to coincide with school holidays would have a major positive impact on school participation.

5.3.6 Issues for Consideration

Within the context of the work of both the Governance Project and CDU in Lajamanu being highly valued by community members, the Review Team made the following observations through its engagement with community members and service providers:

A Different CDU Operating Model in RSD Sites? The Review Team observed greater and more varied investment in Lajamanu as an RSD site than we observed in the non RSD sites of Willowra and Imanpa. In Lajamanu there is a more diverse portfolio with greater co-financing of GMAAAC and WETT supported projects by other agencies, particularly Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government agencies.

This may suggest that the work of CDU would have greater impact in Lajamanu (and potentially other RSD sites) where a deliberate emphasis is given to a) seed funding Aboriginal identified priorities in Lajamanu and leveraging other sources of funding to support these and b) brokering and building platforms of co-operation and co-ordination across different service providers in a manner which maximises Aboriginal governance and empowerment. Such a CDU operating model in RSD sites would most likely require a permanent presence of an additional CDU staff member in order to invest in the relationships and networks required for such an approach to be successful, and in particular to ensure that Aboriginal people do not lose control of leveraged or co-financed projects.

In Lajamanu this approach has transformational potential should an effective resident CDU worker work in close co-ordination with the Governance Project. One example of the potentially transformational nature of this approach may be in the education sector in Lajamanu where multiple agencies and funding bodies appear to implement a range of poorly co-ordinated programs, and where the Review Team observed significant 'turf' contestation between agencies in the absence of strong Aboriginal governance and control.

Communication and Information Flows. In Lajamanu we observed limited knowledge and understanding of decision making processes particularly associated with WETT amongst Aboriginal residents of the community. This may possibly be a function of the size of the community, the current absence from Lajamanu of key WETT committee members, the diverse range of projects and committee structures[28] in Lajamanu and the intensity and frequency of CDU staff engagement in Lajamanu. In Lajamanu in particular there appears to be a need for more regular and broader communication to the community about both the WETT (and to a lesser extent GMAAAC) decision making processes, decisions taken, and the progress of projects including what has been spent, and any problems that have arisen.

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[28] The Review Team has calculated that there are 30 committees in Lajamanu involving more than 100 residents. Whilst some individuals are on many committees (11 people are on more than 4, 5 are on more than 10), equally importantly some individuals act as key 'connectors' between committees that would otherwise be delinked from the overall system. These individuals seem to be key in determining flows of information between groups, and were often much better informed than others i.e. for example about delays to projects.

As outlined earlier in this report, one aspect of this concern may relate to the contrasting visibility of governance arrangements for WETT and GMAAAC at a community level. One interviewee suggested that there is less understanding of WETT decision making processes because decisions are taken by a larger group of WETT Committee members from different communities who come together in Alice Springs. GMAAAC decision making processes however are more visible at a community level.

Subcontracting. A significant number of interviewees in Lajamanu expressed concerns about the subcontracting process, particularly in relation to GMAAAC projects subcontracted to the Shire. These concerns included a sense that once projects are agreed to, local people lose control over project design and delivery. In some instances people claim what has been delivered is not in line with the original project decisions. Other concerns include the failure of some subcontractors to deliver projects according to timelines, or indeed not at all. Projects subcontracted to the Shire such as the football oval upgrade were singled out by interviewees.

There is also some evidence of greater ownership of projects that involve greater Aboriginal involvement in planning and design processes and associated employment opportunities. This suggests that projects are likely to have greater impact and sustainability where subcontractors: a) demonstrate the capacity to meaningfully engage community members in design processes; b) have feedback and accountability mechanisms to the community; and c) provide training and employment opportunities.

Most people interviewed by the Evaluation Team believe it is better for GMAAAC and WETT money to go to either Aboriginal controlled organisations in Lajamanu where these organisations have the capacity to deliver projects, or where this is not possible to non-Aboriginal organisations which have the capability to meaningfully engage Aboriginal people in the planning, design and delivery of projects.

Employment. Lajamanu residents value Aboriginal employment opportunities highly and the relative success of contractors in providing these is one of the criteria people use to judge the effectiveness of projects in the community. A significant number of interviewees in Lajamanu clearly stated there needs to be more jobs created through CDU supported projects. Employment opportunities associated with reinforcing the value of law and culture, as well as facilitating access to country, were particularly valued in Lajamanu.

Financial Sustainability. A number of interviewees are acutely aware of the finite life of the Granites mine and express a desire to undertake longer term planning with CDU and other relevant sections of the CLC in order to maximise the sustainability of future projects.

6 OVERALL FINDINGS

6.1 Outcomes

The CLC has facilitated the spending of approximately $25m of Aboriginal people's money on community development in Central Australia since 2005. This has contributed to:

The provision of Youth diversionary and training activities through WYDAC in Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Willowra and Nyirrpi which are currently: providing between 59 and 70 hours of youth activity per week engaging a large proportion of youth and children in these communities, employing three 0.5 FTE Warlpiri program mentors; one full time 'Jaru' trainee youth worker; and over 250 Warlpiri 'Jaru' trainees working on either a voluntary or paid basis coordinating youth activities, and which had 41 people enrolled in accredited training.

The establishment and running of four playgroups in Lajamanu, Willowra, Yuendumu and Nyirrpi, in partnership with WVA and BIITE which in the last two years has served on average between 30-60 children per month; and in 2011/12 employed 1 Warlpiri Early Childhood worker and 12 casual playgroup workers; supported 18 women in completing at least one unit of early childhood training with 12 attaining Certificate 1 in Work Preparation, 9 Certificate 2 in Community Services and 11 attaining Certificate 3 in Child Services.

Support for 3 Learning Centres in Lajamanu, Willowra and Nyirrpi, in partnership with BIITE which in 2012 included supporting the construction of a new Centre in Willowra. BIITE reports high usage of the Centres – particularly in Nyirrpi (136 residents and visitors using the Centre between March and September 2013) and in Willowra (8 training activities between April and Oct 2013 attracting 114 people). More than 40 Aboriginal people are currently enrolled in a variety of certificates including art, money management, children's services, family well-being and preparation to study. The Centres also provide Aboriginal people with help with internet banking, taxation and superannuation questions. The centre in Willowra employs four causal Aboriginal staff, two in Nyirrpi, and two part time Aboriginal staff in Lajamanu and casual staff as required.

Annual inter-state school excursion visits for an average of 30 children per year from four Warlpiri schools and support for some 40 Warlpiri students to attend a range of boarding schools across Australia. The schools receive up to $2,500 per student from the Trust towards sports or music equipment or lessons, school uniforms and school excursions.

Two hundred and twenty community benefit projects through GMAAAC supporting a range of activities across nine communities including youth and cultural activities, community infrastructure improvements on outstations, and sporting clubs and art-centre projects, such as the Warnayaka Art Centre project in Lajamanu.

Nearly 40 community benefit projects funded through the rent money from Uluru – Kata Tjuta National Park including the store in Imanpa, the Ulpanyali Art room, the swimming pool, netball and basketball courts in Mutitjulu, the regional Dialysis and Ara-Irititja projects and numerous projects to support outstations.

The Tanami Dialysis Support Services Project which is overseen by the CLC and managed by the Western Desert Nganampa Walytja Palyantjaku Tjutaku Aboriginal Corporation (WDNWPT). It has provided remote health services to kidney disease patients in Yuendumu since August 2012 and Lajamanu since May 2013. It supports Warlpiri patients on dialysis in Darwin and Alice Springs. In the 12 months from July 2012-June 2013 the service in Yuendumu enabled 12 patients to return home providing 464 dialysis sessions. A further 266 sessions were provided at the 'Purple House' in Alice Springs and 34 Warlpiri patients in Alice Springs received support. The new centre in Lajamanu has allowed nine patients to return for visits.

In many of these areas CDU has been able to leverage or complement other funding. For example WVA funding of the Early Childhood Care and Development Program now makes up 75% of the budget, the WETT Regional Learning Centre Program is being supported by a $1.3m grant from the former FaHCSIA for operational costs in Lajamanu, Willowra and Nyirrpi, the learning centre in Willowra was supported by a $2.5m grant from the Aboriginals Benefit Account (ABA), the Mutitjulu pool was supported by a $3m grant from the ABA, and the Lajamanu Dialysis has received funding from the Kurra Aboriginal Corporation ($454,000); Lajamanu Progress Association ($250,000); the ABA ($2.3m) and a donation of dialysis machines by the Northern Territory Government ($100,000).

6.2 CDU Theory of Change

The CLC's community development program is based on an implicit 'theory of change' and set of assumptions which we outlined in section 3 of this report. It is our view that this evaluation has gathered some strong evidence that six of nine of these assumptions generally hold true, notably:

- That the CLC's Community Development program adds value to royalties controlled by Aboriginal communities;

- That the process of Aboriginal control of identifying, selecting and implementing their own projects is in itself empowering;

- That the projects identified and implemented in this way make a tangible difference to people's lives;

- That the process builds individual and collective capacity as well as broadening the benefits by engaging less powerful community members in planning and decision-making;

- That the combination of the process and the projects contributes to outcomes that Aboriginal people value including their own self-esteem, social cohesion, cultural maintenance and empowerment; and

- That these initiatives compare favourably with other attempts to improve conditions for Aboriginal people, as they seek to address the ownership, empowerment and inclusive institutions necessary to drive positive long term change.

There are perhaps three assumptions where the evidence is less pronounced:

1. That the CLC Land Use Trust Account income streams used collectively have broader and more lasting benefit than those distributed individually;

2. That communities are using these funds to address needs/priorities that are not being met by Government or others; and

3. Whilst the behaviour of other actors (including subcontractors of CDU projects) may sometimes be unhelpful it does not sufficiently undermine CDU's work to the extent that it makes it ineffective.

In the case of Individual vs Collective use of the CLC Land Use Trust Account income streams it is clear that many community development projects have produced longer term collective benefits for people than individual payments have. It is also evident that there are a number of less powerful or influential people who have benefitted from these programs who would have otherwise missed out in their absence. Furthermore we also observed that in some cases the community development supported processes seemed to be somewhat insulated from conflicts in communities, whereas decisions about individual payments often exacerbated tensions.

However we also believe that there is some evidence to suggest that individual and collective use of royalties and other income should be seen as complementary rather than an 'either-or'. This is not to say that there is not potential to spend a greater proportion of royalties collectively. Rather it is to suggest that economically families and individuals will continue to need household goods, transport and indeed discretionary spending money, and that individual rather than collective royalties are more suited to these needs. Furthermore politically it is clear that for a minority of interviewees the reduction of individual payments is perceived as undermining the entitlements of Traditional Owners. Despite the fact the full Council of the CLC have increasingly endorsed the use of land use agreement payments for community development purposes, the reduction of individual payments is perceived by a small minority of interviewees as undermining the entitlements of Traditional Owners. The recent internal research undertaken by the CLC on individual use of royalties may provide some more grist to the mill on this issue.

In the case of financing community priorities not being met by government it is clear that many of the activities supported through the CLC's community development program are used to fund health and education services and activities which are funded by Federal and State governments in much of mainstream Australia. However is it also the case that communities are using their own resources to fund things that government has been reluctant to support (i.e. cultural activities and outstations). It has also been suggested to us that communities are also choosing to fund things that government should, but which they are no longer willing to wait for e.g. speed bumps or arguably municipal swimming pools. As we note in section 8.2, this requires some deliberation by the CLC.

In the case of the other actors, we would argue that there is evidence to suggest that the behaviour of other actors – including subcontractors - can undermine both the processes and outcomes of the community development work supported by the CLC either directly, or indirectly. This arguably requires the CLC to think through how it might seek to influence the broader eco-system within which its community development is located, and whether business as usual approaches to lobbying and policy work might need to be complemented with other strategies. We explore these further below.

6.3 Achievement of Objectives and Cost-Effectiveness

Table 22 summarises our assessment of CDU's progress against its intermediate objectives. Overall this indicates that the implementation of the unit's work has been largely successful. As such it is our belief that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that not only is the theory of what CDU is trying to do mostly sound, but the execution of the program is also largely effective.

Table 22: Assessment of CDU's progress against its intermediate objectives

| CDU Intermediate Objectives	Summary Findings
Maximise opportunities for Aboriginal engagement, ownership and control, particularly in relation to the management of resources that belong to them.	The CLC has clearly generated multiple opportunities for engagement which have demonstrably led to a sense of greater control and ownership. It has also catalysed processes which have lead to a greater engagement within communities of those who may have been previously excluded. The different CLC supported projects seem to have different levels of community buy-in and understanding. In part this is a function of the decision making and governance structures of the projects, but also of which individuals, families and clan groups are on these groups, the size of the communities and the levels of community cohesion. The CLC might want to explore with communities the pros and cons of different structures with a view to revising those where community development process outcomes are less evident.
Generate service outcomes which benefit Aboriginal people and are valued by them, including social, cultural and economic outcomes.	Projects supported by CDU have clearly produced outcomes valued by Aboriginal people. These have included: the generation of employment opportunities, enhanced training and education outcomes, skills development, improved child care, youth engagement, cultural strengthening and maintenance; and enhanced health for kidney patients. It is also clear to the review team that the potential for greater outcomes is constrained by other factors outside the control of the CLC which include the broader social determinants of health, the resourcing of health, education and housing services and associated policies, and the policies and practices of other service providers and subcontractors.
Build an evidence base for the CLC's community development approach and the value it has for contributing to Aboriginal capabilities.	The CLC has amassed an impressive range of data, reports and interviews on both the community development and governance programs. The annual monitoring process and reporting for the community development program has enabled a good level of 'ground truthing' and verification of both process and outcomes. The fortnightly reporting and feedback process of the mentoring group on the Governance Project has produced a wealth of information which enables a good understanding of change processes over time. The review team believe that the CLC could perhaps in the next phase be making more of this data by further investment in research to accompany the M&E process. For example, the CLC could undertake more in depth analysis of the interview material or explore social network analysis more fully. Furthermore there is arguably potential to be strengthening community efforts to generate and share data and information.
Share lessons learned with other government and non-government agencies.	The CLC has made efforts to share its lessons with others for example through: the very popular Community Development Newsletter; the publication of monitoring reports on the CLC website; the presentation of papers at workshops and academic conferences and their subsequent publication; the production of videos explaining the

As a number of researchers have argued, the need for inclusive social change processes which can genuinely empower Aboriginal people often requires sensitive support from sympathetic partners who have sufficient 'moral suasion' or authority[29] . This is usually an authority that government can rarely claim for historical and cultural reasons. The fact that the CDU is located within a statutory agency which is governed by Aboriginal people provides the unit with an important degree of legitimacy and authority, which it uses to good effect.

This has included efforts to ensure that groups and individuals within communities that might often be excluded from decision making are more involved, particularly in processes of project prioritisation and selection. The fact that the vast majority of Aboriginal respondents feel that GMAAAC processes, especially, are inclusive and feel well informed about them is testament to the success of the CDU in pursuing this.

Cost-Effectiveness

Total Community Development expenditure from 2005/6 to 2012/13 is $25.2m, growing from about $0.5m per annum in the first two years of operation to nearly $5m per annum in the last four years (see Figure 11). If funds leveraged through ABA grants (for example for Willowra learning centre or Mutijulu pool) are included the total is $33.2m.

Figure 11: CD Expenditure and Unit Costs 2005/6 to 2012/13
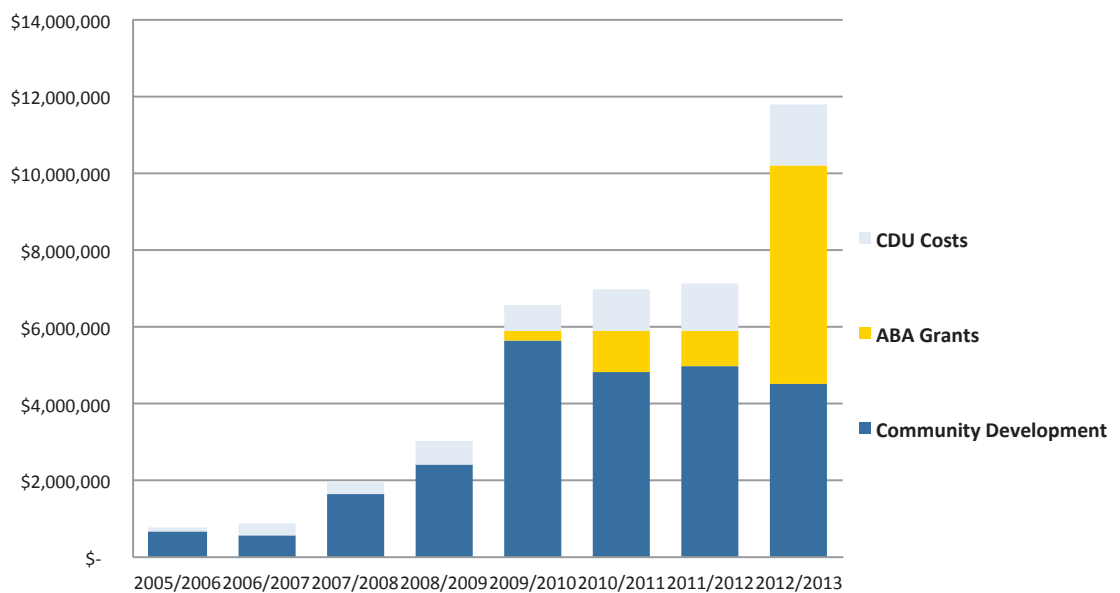
Total Costs of the CD Unit within CLC for this period are estimated at $5.9m. As a proportion of revenue, which currently includes significant unspent amounts, taken annually this figure declines to a low of between 16%-22% in 2010/2012, and just over 10% in 2012/13 due to the large flows of income for community leasing associated with the NTER.

As a percentage of total expenditure, costs of CDU have averaged 15% over its existence. It is our view that this represents a highly cost effective operation given the outcomes achieved, particularly given the high - cost environment in which the program works.

It should also be noted that there are usually many years of work, including building governance, partnerships, contracts and procurement, prior to the expenditure of some larger (particularly capital) projects – hence these costs can often be considered 'investments' for increased project expenditure at a later date.

29 See for example David Martin (2001) http://caepr.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/Publications/DP/2001_DP213.pdf

7 THEMES AND ISSUES ARISING

During the course of this Review a number of broader themes and issues have consistently arisen across different locations and stakeholders interviewed. Whilst a number of these issues are beyond the direct control of the CLC, collectively all seven issues have a profound impact on the CD Program, Governance Project and the operations of the CLC more broadly.

7.1 Importance of Context Specific Approaches

As outlined in the methodology section of this report, the Evaluation Team deliberately chose to focus its fieldwork in three contextually different communities as a sample of the broader community context in which the CLC CD Program operates.

In doing so it is clear to the Evaluation Team that there are highly likely to be a number of unique characteristics associated with each community in which the CD Program operates. Highly tailored and context specific approaches are likely to be essential ingredients for the effective work of CDU in each community in which the program operates. This resonates with International Development literature and research, which is increasingly talking of moving away from 'best practice' to 'good fit' with the local context, and going 'with the grain' of indigenous political and cultural realities (see Booth 2012).

Across just the three sampled communities, these varying characteristics include:

- Land tenure: Imanpa is a 1.7 square kilometre excision of Mt Ebenezer Station, Willowra and Lajamanu claimed through the ALRA and under Aboriginal Freehold title;

- The socio-historical nature of residency: Willowra residents are largely Traditional Owners of the community and surrounding land, Lajamanu is located on Gurindji land with largely Warlpiri residents; Imanpa residents are a mix of Traditional Owners and others from a large region;

- Administrative status: Lajamanu is a Commonwealth Government nominated Remote Service Delivery site with additional government resourcing, investment and job opportunities, whilst Willowra and Imanpa do not attract this priority;

- Size: Lajamanu is a community of approximately 700 residents with a wide range of external agencies and service providers. Willowra is a smaller community of approximately 250 people and Imanpa approximately 180 people;

- Funding Sources and Intensity of Engagement: Different funding streams for community development projects have generated different consultation and governance processes in each community (URM, GMAAAC, WETT) and the Evaluation team observed differential levels of intensity of engagement and accompaniment by CDU staff with project committees; and

- Conflict and Population Movement. Each Aboriginal community is dynamic and in particular the Evaluation Team noted significant levels of conflict and associated population movement in both Willowra and Imanpa.

These and other contextual differences across the three sample communities we believe contributed to the Evaluation Team observing significant differences in each community's experience of the CD Program.

For example, in Willowra the Evaluation Team observed high levels of local ownership, understanding and empowerment associated particularly with the processes of WETT and to a lesser extent GMAAAC. Nearly all adult interviewees could articulate an understanding of CDU project decision making processes and management arrangements in Willowra.

In Imanpa however knowledge of decision making processes was only high among Traditional Owners who have attended URM meetings at Mutitjulu. Whilst valuing the community development projects subsequently implemented in their community, residents of Imanpa appeared to be significantly less informed and involved in the decision making processes which lead to these projects. In Imanpa therefore there was less evidence of empowerment of community members through the URM governance and decision making processes.

In Lajamanu we observed less widespread knowledge and understanding of decision making processes, particularly for WETT. This may possibly be a function of the size of the community, the diverse range of projects and committees in Lajamanu and the intensity of CDU engagement. In Lajamanu there appears to be a need for more regular and broader communication to the community in general about both the decision making processes, decisions taken and the progress of projects (including what has been spent and any problems that have arisen).

The Evaluation Team also observed greater and more varied investment in Lajamanu as an RSD site than we observed in the non-RSD sites of Willowra and Imanpa. A large proportion of any observable new investment in the latter non RSD communities appears to come from GMAAAC, WETT and URM funding sources. In Lajamanu there is a more diverse portfolio with greater co-financing of GMAAAC and WETT supported projects.

This may suggest that CDU processes can effectively act as a seed-funder and broker in RSD sites, with an enhanced ability to leverage other sources of funding in a manner which seeks to retain Aboriginal control. In what appear to be relatively capital starved non-RSD communities it is likely that Traditional Owners and residents will prioritise more capital intensive community development investments in the absence of other funding streams. This in turn might assist the CLC in developing a clearer position vis-à-vis government funding (see section below on this matter).

The different CDU processes and intensity of engagement at Imanpa, Willowra and Lajamanu may contribute to different observed outcomes in terms of community ownership and empowerment. For example, the process at Imanpa does not involve representative community members in decision making in the same intensive way that it does at Willowra. This is not just a matter of who the CLC consults with or the project governance structure, but has to do with the origin and nature of the funds involved, as well as the social structures, family relations and inter-cultural and intra-cultural histories of the communities in which these processes are undertaken.

7.2 Power, Agency and Voice

It is clear to the Review Team that the CD Program and Lajamanu Governance Project play a critical role in empowering Traditional Owners and community residents across central Australia during a period of broader rapid disempowerment.

These CLC programs are providing multiple forums and processes through which a critical mass of Aboriginal people across central Australia are able to analyse, identify and address their self-determined needs and priorities in a context where a range of other forums serving similar purposes have been disbanded over the last decade. In this context, the Review Team believes the CLC programs have in many instances created a platform through which Aboriginal people have been in a position to engage with and influence external actors, especially in relation to co-financed CDU projects in different communities and the Governance Project in Lajamanu.

In Imanpa, Willowra and Lajamanu the Evaluation Team noted high levels of dissatisfaction with the voice and power vacuum created by the combination of the NTER, abolition of community government councils, the cessation of the CDEP program, the abolition of the permit system within communities and the abolition of ATSIC regional councils. Cumulatively these changes have created a strongly articulated sense from numerous interviewees of a loss of Aboriginal voice and control, both in the past and present.

"It's taken responsibility away from people. That Community Council knew what was happening within community. We are now with Shire and there's a separate group for the store—nobody working together. We had a Council overseeing store and the whole community. We want voice back in community, because we are a small community we haven't got a voice on the Shire."

"We used to have a strong council, trained people to be good people. We are lost without our chairperson and council. We are falling to pieces. Nothing to have a say. Government used to sit down and listen to community council. We don't have a say in who comes to the community."

"I'm not interested because we don't want to listen to Kardiya. Yapa got no power on Shire. It's been really hard for us struggling since 2007. They took our rights, talking about child abuse. They got it in the city. What about the catholic church what they did in the past? They need compensation. I wasn't happy when they brought the Intervention. They sent out police, army & doctors to all Aboriginal communities. There was the army, tents and doctors. It was very scary for us. No one in Willowra had done anything wrong. We have no power. CLC have no power. John Howard said let's put it in NT. When Kevin Rudd came in the law is still there. Now it is called stronger futures. "

Interviewees cite the absence of appropriate local intercultural governance structures through which they can have genuine involvement in decision making processes affecting their communities; a lack of information about the activities of external actors in their communities and the absence of any forum through which Aboriginal residents can articulate their needs and priorities and address community issues and problems (this is consistent with CLC's earlier research - see CLC 2010).

The CLC CDU processes are seen as an exception to this broader context, with one interviewee contrasting the experience of working with CDU and local government:

"They have local meetings where local board talk. [But when asked to meetings] they don't now really what they are going to talk to the Shire about. With CLC Community Development they know what they want and what to say."

The Shire structure, including Local Boards, are not currently regarded by the vast majority of interviewees as a mechanism which does or can address this vacuum. It should be noted that some of the government representatives we talked to were of the view that Local Reference Groups were adequately fulfilling some of these functions, for example in the development of the Local Implementation Plans, which it should be noted only exist in RSD sites.

The only place where The Evaluation Team observed an embryonic Aboriginal mechanism which seeks to reclaim some of the authority and power that has been lost is with Kurdiji in Lajamanu, and to a lesser extent in the WETT and GMAAAC committees. People of all ages see Kurdiji as an important way of doing things in a strong 'yapa' way. Everyone we spoke to - including young people - knew about Kurdiji, knew what it did to keep traditional law and culture strong, as well as address community problems. We would agree with one of the conclusions of the APONT Governance summit concluded

*"The right governance solutions are quietly (and not so quietly) being discussed and implemented in communities. They require much greater support and resourcing. **Invest in Aboriginal people to design governance arrangements.** Trust in their innovation and count on their energy"* (Holmes & Smith 2013, p. 42).

7.3 Individuals, Relationships and Organisational Networks

Given the absence of effective local intercultural governance structures and structural co-ordination and downward accountability of service providers, successful initiatives within the communities visited by the Evaluation Team appear to be very much contingent upon a relatively coincidental alignment of individuals.

These individuals appear to be characterised by a desire to work with people in a respectful manner where Aboriginal culture and law are valued and incorporated alongside organisational policies, guidelines and institutional norms. In many instances these individuals seem to be willing and able to transcend their institutional strait-jackets, take initiative and interpret guidelines flexibly. School principals who do, or do not, support country visits are an example which seems to depend on how a particular principal interprets education department policy, and on whether they recognise the importance of acknowledging Aboriginal culture and working with local people to ensure good community support for the school and educational outcomes.

In many instances these individuals seem to act on little more than instinct and intuition, implicitly recognising the importance of their activities and programs being informed by the priorities and views of Aboriginal residents in communities, and of the importance of building effective working relationships with other service providers in order to maximise the effectiveness of the use of limited resources in communities[30] .

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[30] This is despite the fact that effective collaboration, for example between schools and communities is well recognized as being important, see for example the findings of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs Inquiry on Indigenous languages (2012, p.79) which note "Building and improving partnerships between schools and Indigenous communities was highlighted as a positive way to improve educational outcomes for Indigenous students. The potential benefits were great including improving school attendance, engagement and learning outcomes for Indigenous students."

The importance of effective collaboration and working relationships between different service providers in communities cannot be underestimated. There is evidence to suggest that systematic responses involving the collaboration of different service providers to key priorities and needs in communities can be more effective than isolated or uncoordinated responses. For example, the Evaluation Team observed that collaboration, co-ordination and effective working relationships between schools, learning centres, pre-schools and playgroups in Lajamanu and Willowra are critical to the effectiveness of education programs and the engagement of Aboriginal residents with these programs.

Taken together with the lack of local Aboriginal intercultural governance, coordination of service providers and accountability described above, the Evaluation Team concludes that positive Aboriginal led change - outside of the CDU and Governance Project sphere - is largely ad hoc and often attributable to determined Aboriginal leadership supported by the coincidence of likeminded non-Aboriginal actors in communities. The challenge therefore for the CLC is to continue to help create the circumstances which increase the probability of this collective leadership emerging.

In this context, the Evaluation Team observed that Aboriginal people place particular value on **networks of projects or organisations** which when working in a consistent and joined up manner reinforce and pass on Aboriginal culture, facilitate access to country and equip young people with the skills and confidence to live in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal worlds in a manner in which they can exercise control over their lives.

Examples of these networks of organisations and projects include:

- The school, pre-school, playgroups and learning centres in Lajamanu and Willowra;

- The school, WYDAC and Ranger Programs in Lajamanu and Willowra; and

- The centrality of Night Patrol, Kurdiji and local Police in addressing community conflict and alcohol abuse in Lajamanu.

In many instances successful outcomes for Aboriginal community members are dependent upon collaboration between different organisations in the same community. The ability of CDU staff to work effectively to facilitate these networks of collaboration, elevate Aboriginal voice within them and broker relationships between diverse actors is a skill-set highly effective in this context where many non-Aboriginal agencies struggle to understand and make these connections.

Furthermore it seems that despite the large number of organisations and committees in places like Lajamanu, the fact that there are a diversity of structures, some of which act in a networked fashion, actually makes for a more resilient eco-system of actors and brings some checks and balances into the system. In some senses what we observed in parts of the system are consistent with the notions of networked governance and 'nodal leadership' identified by the Aboriginal Community Governance Project as part of their set of core 'design principles for effective Aboriginal governance' (see Smith 2008, p. 85).

This is not to deny that some feel that there are too many over-lapping externally instigated bodies, committees and structures in many communities. However we believe it would be a mistake to think that bringing this diversity 'under control' by establishing singular points of coordination and accountability is likely to be effective. A better starting point might be developing greater understanding of how existing hybrid structures, leadership and networks actually function (or not) in different contexts and sharing this experience to encourage a more informed debate.

7.4 Cross-cultural Understanding and Ways of Working

Notwithstanding their desire for Aboriginal control and employment opportunities through the CD Program, Aboriginal interviewees recognise the need for non-Aboriginal staffing in the CLC and in general, and also in relation to some of the GMAAAC, URM and WETT supported projects.

However what was reported to the Evaluation Team was a widely held view that non-Aboriginal staff working at a community level need a better understanding of Aboriginal ways of working, community histories and local context and culture. This observation was also made by the Evaluation Team based on interviews across a large number of non-Aboriginal residents and service providers in all three communities visited.

Successful initiatives and programs are made more remarkable by a backdrop of a near total absence of cross cultural training reported by service providers to the Evaluation Team (with the exception of a recent cross cultural training event in Lajamanu conducted by NintiOne at the Learning Centre). Without a structured orientation and effective introduction to the history and 'micro-politics' of the communities in which key service providers work it becomes extraordinarily challenging for otherwise well-meaning and usually deeply committed staff to work effectively at a community level.

At its worst, the absence of contextual understanding and cross-cultural training was reported to the Evaluation Team as breeding ill-informed views about communities by some service providers.

However many non-Aboriginal interviewees in communities were acutely self-aware of their lack of historical, cultural and contextual knowledge and expressed a strong desire for education, training or mentoring programs which supported them in gaining these insights and skills. It seems extraordinary that, for example, it is still necessary for parliamentary inquiries to be making recommendations for teachers working in Aboriginal schools to be required to undergo English as an Additional Language (EAL) or cultural awareness training (see recommendation 22, Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2012).

It was also notable in a number of instances that strong and empowered Aboriginal organisations have been instrumental in attracting high calibre non-indigenous staff seeking to work under strong Indigenous direction and leadership.

Right: Interconnected relationship between traditional law, language, ceremony, skin families and land
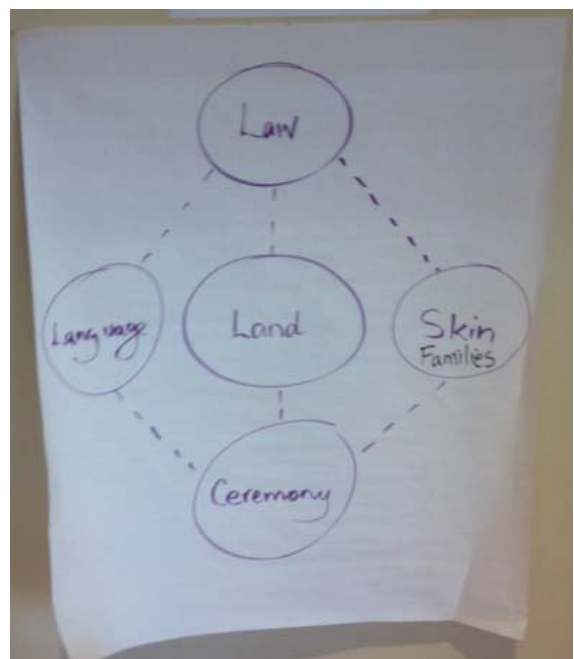
7.5 Service Provider Coordination and Accountability

In the absence of any observed effective intercultural governance structures at a community level - other than those associated with the CLC CD Program and Governance Project - the Evaluation Team found little evidence of any systemic or structural coordination of service providers and their interaction with the communities they serve. What co-ordination occurs appears to be largely ad hoc and at the instigation of individuals who recognise the importance of collaborative approaches between different actors and the importance of Aboriginal people having a voice in decisions affecting them.

Specifically, there seemed to be no evident structural relationship between the Federal Government Engagement Co-ordinators (GEC), Local Government Shire Service Managers (SSM), RJCP providers and NTG and Federally funded services and NGOs. There also appears to be no mandatory structural central point of coordination which brings together service providers and community members at community level.

In Willowra there is no evidence of a regular service providers' forum involving Aboriginal residents, although the Evaluation Team was advised that non-Indigenous service providers do informally meet on occasion. In Imanpa a service provider forum has recently been co-ordinated by the local police, but so far without Aboriginal participation. In Lajamanu there is a service provider's forum which meets regularly for information sharing, but which does not involve Aboriginal community representatives. In Lajamanu there has been an effort to bring the Local Reference Group together to develop and monitor the Local Implementation Plan (Australian Government, Northern Territory Government 2010), but the Shire Local Board is reported to have met rarely.

Perhaps the most effective ad-hoc mechanism reported to the Evaluation Team is in Mutitjulu where the GEC proactively convenes meetings with service providers and representatives of the Mutitjulu community every two months or so as an information sharing forum.

In the absence of effective local governance structures (outside of the CLC supported projects), interviewees reported to the Evaluation Team a near total absence of mechanisms by which community residents could hold government and service contractors to account for performance. Basic housing repair and maintenance issues were cited by numerous interviewees as an example where residents have no mechanism to track their requests for housing repairs, nor provide feedback to the Shire on its performance. It is also recognised by some observers that at the same time there is the challenge of community members holding each other to account.

It is worth noting that even within the context of CDU projects that CLC staff are finding it challenging to empower Aboriginal project committees to hold subcontractors to account for performance and delivery of projects. In part this is due to the lack of providers and therefore reduced choice. This may also be for a number of reasons that might be socio-cultural, and/or related to more straight-forward power relations. The relative lack of discussions amongst agencies we encountered on what newer forms of social accountability or community feedback mechanisms[31] might look like is a striking contrast with similar situations in the realm of International Development (for example, see Roche 2010).

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[31] For example community score-cards, complaints and redress processes and participatory impact assessments using social media.

7.6 Leverage, Control and Sustainability

The CLC Community Development program utilises a subcontracting model whereby project management and delivery is subcontracted by the CLC to contractors following community planning and decision-making processes. This subcontracting model can be time consuming, difficult and challenging.

The Evaluation Team observed a number of particular issues associated with the subcontracting processes which warrant commentary.

Firstly, a significant number of CD Programs are successfully generating financial leverage. Many projects initiated by communities using their own capital have successfully sought co-contributions from government agencies and other contributors. In some instances, relatively small initial community or Traditional Owner investments have been matched by far larger government co-contributions for the successful delivery of projects. Interviewees reported positively to the Evaluation Team about this model, but also expressed a strong desire for Aboriginal project committees to retain control over projects under these co-financing arrangements.

Secondly, in a number of instances the Evaluation Team was advised that community members and project committees feel a loss of control over projects once these are handed to subcontractors for delivery. This was especially notable in Lajamanu, a larger RSD site where a significant number of CDU projects are both co-financed by other agencies and subcontracted to third parties.

There are a number of dimensions to ensuring Aboriginal control is maintained. The CLC needs to continue to support local committees to ensure subcontractors behave in ways that are consistent with the CDU framework, and be prepared to step in when power relations are such that local people are not able to hold contractors to account. Staff performance, project delivery, continuity, branding, funding and institutional interests seem to be amongst the number of issues which need to be carefully monitored. We believe that the CDU should try and use the leverage that comes with spending several million dollars per annum to improve quality through establishing minimum standards for all subcontractors and engaging in capacity development of subcontractors to meet these standards.

The issue of retaining Aboriginal control extends to changes to project design. In a number of instances the Evaluation Team learned from interviewees of projects allegedly not delivered according to the design specifications originally set by Aboriginal project committees, resulting in committee members not understanding how and why decisions had been made to modify project design without their knowledge or input. Examples of this situation include the location of the visitors change rooms and toilets at Imanpa, the extent of basketball court roofing and seating in Lajamanu and upgrading of the football oval in Lajamanu.

Thirdly, a number of interviewees raised the issue of sustainability of community development projects. Again, there are a number of dimensions to this issue spanning the project planning and implementation phases, as well as a broader issue of ongoing revenue streams. At the project planning stage a number of interviewees articulated how CD programs can involve recurrent operating and/or maintenance costs, stressing the importance of having these costs factored in or made clear at the outset of project design and budgeting. Whilst this seems to be done in some projects, it is unclear the degree to which this is done systematically and whether the provisions made are sufficient to cover recurrent costs. This is despite the fact that it would seem that overall fund balances for the CLC's community development work are relatively healthy. The CLC's Land Use Trust Account balances set aside for community development projects have grown from $6.5m to nearly $14m in 2012/13.

At project implementation stage Aboriginal people reported to the Evaluation Team the value they attach to projects which involve greater Aboriginal involvement in planning and design processes and which create Aboriginal employment opportunities. The relative success of contractors in providing these is one of the criteria people use to judge the effectiveness of the process, as well as the performance of other actors. There is also some evidence of greater ownership and sustainability of projects which maximise Aboriginal control and employment opportunities. Aboriginal organisations such as Tangentyere Construction (an Aboriginal owned social enterprise), which built the Willowra Learning Centre, seem to be particularly valued for their ability to mentor and support local people. However there are clearly some challenges with the continuity of staffing, and financial sustainability with many subcontractors, and there is a mixed emphasis on capacity development and mentoring of local people who might be potential managers of these projects in the longer term.

The macro sustainability issue raised with the Evaluation Team concerns the Granites mine. In both Willowra and Lajamanu committee members are aware of the finite life of the Granites mine, upon which these revenue streams rely. In Lajamanu this also has led to some discussion about the need for longer term planning, rather than annual allocations, and ideas about the need for a greater number of income generating activities. At a session of the full CLC Council with the evaluation team on 18 November 2013 this issue generated much discussion with some delegates emphasising the importance of a greater investment in economic development. Some suggested the need for the CLC to support the further establishment of Aboriginal corporations which might run community and economic development initiatives, provide employment and at the same time generate income.

7.7 Need for More Holistic Evaluative Frameworks

Although Aboriginal people and most service providers emphasise similar positive elements of the CLC's community development and governance work, it is also clear that there are also dimensions which are valued – and weighted – differently. This is particularly the case for what in broad terms might be called cultural dimensions and, to a lesser extent, issues of voice and control. Whilst both groups valued outcomes related to health, education and employment, Aboriginal people were more likely to express the view that strengthening culture, and enhancing voice and control, were central to achieving these outcomes.

Whilst there is certainly some evidence to suggest, for example, that Aboriginal people who speak Aboriginal languages have *'markedly better physical and mental health;* are more likely to be employed; and are less likely to abuse alcohol or be charged by police' (Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2012, p. 13), there is also a view expressed by some service providers that a focus on 'culture' can at best be a distraction and at worst inhibit the achievement of their own desired outcomes.

It is our view that in part this is because the evaluative frameworks that are used in much of the planning and evaluation of agencies' work, either largely ignore these socio-cultural dimensions, or tend to see them as means to an end, as opposed to an integral and constitutive part of the development process itself[32] . Others have argued that when processes like the national census do not take into account those variables that Aboriginal people value they can become an entrenched tool of assimilation.

As such we believe that evaluative frameworks which include more deliberate emphasis on both cultural and 'voice' elements, as well as more traditional outcomes, might provide not only a more holistic picture, but also better represent the elements that different stakeholders value. This in turn might create the conditions for a better and more respectful dialogue between Aboriginal people, non-Aboriginal service providers and government. There are a number of templates for these which provide a useful starting point (for example see Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu, Holmes & Box 2008, and numerous approaches to measuring voice, empowerment and accountability in Khan 2012). This approach might usefully be combined with existing work on frameworks for what constitutes 'well-being' or community benefit[33] - see section 8.5 for what this might mean for CLC's own processes.

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[32] This is similar to debates on whether democracy leads to 'development'. As Amartya Sen has cogently argued in Development as Freedom, if freedom and choice are part of the definition of what constitutes development then they are both ends and means in achieving it.
[33] For example the 'Yawuru Well-Being Index', which seeks to measure things of importance to the Yawuru people of Broome including family and kinship, connection to culture and acceptance by the dominant society.

8 BROADER STRATEGIC ISSUES FOR CDU AND THE CLC

Feedback to the Evaluation Team suggests the CLC is highly valued for the role it plays in facilitating the processes of Uluru Rent Money, WETT, GMAAAC, and the Tanami Dialysis project, as well as for its support for the Governance Project. The CLC is particularly valued as playing an important role as a trusted convenor and broker supporting communities to engage with others, and where feasible to hold them to account.

A number of interviewees describe the Land Council as a "shield", especially in the period since the 2007 NTER.

> *"Land Council was our shield through the Land Rights. We had land claim. Shield was like a father, was looking after us. We had a struggle with Intervention. They took our rights, living conditions. They was the ones controlling us from Canberra. I'm really not happy with it."*

Within this context there are four key strategic issues which the Evaluation Team believes emerge for the CDU and the CLC more broadly arising from our observations during the review process.

8.1 Sustainability of the Operating Model

Since its inception in 2005, the Community Development Unit within the CLC has grown rapidly in size and complexity. This growth appears to have been largely organic and as a consequence of a range of both predictable and unpredictable factors including:

Increasing demand. The desire of the CLC's constituents to invest capital flows into the CLC Land Use Trust Account into CD projects has increased during the period. The proportion of total revenue going to community development has risen from a third to one half of the total since 2010/11 i.e. doubling from about $7m to $15m (although this is skewed by the 'one off' payment of the NT Intervention community lease money).

This has occurred both at an institutional level (through formal resolutions of the elected Land Council to mandate certain capital flows for community development purposes) and at a Traditional Owner and resident level where groups have voluntarily determined that their capital shall be spent on community development projects. It is of note that communities that are not the beneficiaries of any major flows of royalty or park payments are also increasingly demanding support for community development.

As outlined earlier in this report, there is evidence to suggest that one factor driving increased demand for community development projects is the strong desire of Aboriginal people to use their own capital to address their priorities and needs in a manner which they can control, especially in light of the whirlwind of Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government policy change and associated sense of disempowerment during the period.

Increasing supply. Over the life of the CDU a greater range of capital has flowed into the CLC Land Use Trust Account, including compensation payments for Commonwealth Government five year leases under the NTER and Northern Territory Government Native Title payments to Traditional Owners of NT National Parks. Together with other factors highlighted in this report (such as the transaction costs associated with the subcontractor model) these new capital flows appear to be placing significant workload pressure on CDU staff to meet the expectations of Traditional Owners and at least 31 communities to plan and implement an array of new projects.

It is therefore not surprising that as of October 2013 the CDU has a total annual operating expenditure of $1.8m, of which $1.2m covers the costs of 13 staff. Of these staff, eight are funded through the Aboriginals Benefit Account (ABA), three are cost recovered from a range of grants and two are funded through WETT. Significantly, ABA funding for six of the Unit's 13 positions is time bound: Funding for three posts expires in June 2015 and a further three posts in June 2016. Assuming these ABA allocations are not renewed, CDU staffing budget projections suggest a significant decline in staff resources over the next three years at a time when the expectations of the CLC's constituents for the support of CDU can reasonably be assumed to increase significantly.

This looming mismatch between demand and supply poses significant risks for both CDU and the CLC more generally. The combination of increasing constituent expectations of CDU support for a growing array of community development projects, new sources of capital flows and a projected reduction in CDU staffing resources over the next three years could reasonably be assumed to result in existing CDU staffing resources being spread increasingly thinly across projects and communities.

This is a key risk for CDU and the CLC for two reasons. Firstly, there is a risk of reducing the effectiveness of CDU supported projects over time. As outlined earlier in this Evaluation, we observed a direct correlation between the local knowledge, relationships and intensity of engagement of CDU staff with communities and the effectiveness and sustainability of community development projects. As such, projected demand and supply trends could reasonably be assumed to reduce the effectiveness of CDU supported projects over time.

Related to this is a broader risk to the CLC associated with potential frustration and dissatisfaction of its constituents with the capacity of the organisation to support an increasing array of community development projects across its region.

There are a range of options the CLC and CDU could pursue to proactively address this potential issue. These include:

• Carefully managing the expectations of constituents as to what CDU can realistically deliver in support and accompaniment and maintaining a focus on quality. This might also involve exploring the potential of encouraging fewer projects, as well as asking whether what some call projectitis – a condition when the focus on projects leads to ignoring broader joined up processes of social change - is an issue for communities and the CLC;

• Taking immediate steps to secure medium term (ideally five year) funding to adequately resource CDU to meet the projected demand for project support. The Evaluation Team notes in particular a strong theoretical alignment between the Abbott Government "Empowering Communities" policy framework and the intent and approach of the CDU which should be explored. Whilst it is clear that the role CLC plays in facilitating the effective distribution of income for collective purposes is a core function of the organisation, we also note the importance of seeking complementary funding from non-governmental and private sector sources; and

• Explore potential larger scale subcontracting options for implementation of some elements of the CDU portfolio where appropriate capacity exists. It is worth noting however that the Evaluation Team did not encounter any agency in the communities it visited with appropriate expertise and capacity. We suggest that the CLC might therefore explore how it might increase the capacity of implementation partners by imposing minimum requirements and standards and concomitant capacity development.

This latter option also relates to the broader issue of the role and identity of the CLC in a post land acquisition era. The Evaluation Team believes that the work of the CDU (in combination with the work of other sections of the agency such as the Ranger Program) has the potential to contribute to the CLC assuming the role and identity of an Aboriginal rights-based development agency over time. In this light, any larger scale subcontracting of elements of the CDU function must be considered at least as much at a strategic institutional level as at an operational level.

8.2 The CLC and Government Relations

Rapidly growing community demand for the approaches adopted by the CLC CD program and the likely expansion of the program will increasingly raise the question of the responsibilities of, and relationship between, the expanding CLC CD program and government service providers in a critical mass of Aboriginal communities across central Australia.

Whilst the Northern Territory and Commonwealth Governments are responsible for the delivery of services enabling the basic rights of Aboriginal citizens to education, healthcare, housing and appropriate infrastructure, it is apparent to the Evaluation Team that a sizeable proportion of WETT, GMAAAC and the Tanami Dialysis projects, in particular, are either partially or fully financing the sorts of projects other Australians take for granted as the responsibility of governments to provide.

As outlined earlier in this report, the majority of interviewees take great pride in the fact that Aboriginal people are utilising their own money to address their own priority needs in a manner which maximises their control. This is clear evidence of good development practice by the CLC. Almost universally interviewees were also of the view that a huge range of services initially instigated and funded through Community Development projects and now benefiting Aboriginal people would simply not have happened without the impetus of the CLC CD funding.

Clearly this issue requires carefully balancing of the priorities of the CLC's constituents with ensuring governments do not abrogate their core responsibilities. To this end, the Evaluation Team believes it would be helpful for the CLC and the CDU to articulate and document (at least at a principle level) its preferred approach to the investment of Aboriginal capital in sectors which are arguably the responsibility of governments (such as education and healthcare) as a benchmark by which to consistently support community members to analyse how best to design and sustainably finance projects.

Without a disciplined and conscious approach to this issue, there is a longer term strategic danger for the CLC that over time its constituents see the broader problems of, for example, early childhood education, dialysis treatment or recurrent operational funding of swimming pools or learning centres as something the CLC bears responsibility for, despite the fact it has no statutory responsibility for these issues.

8.3 Future Viability of Non RSD Communities

As outlined earlier in this report, the Review Team observed a stark contrast in levels of new government investment in the RSD community of Lajamanu relative to the non RSD communities of Imanpa and Willowra. We also observed a range of factors driving significant population movement from the non RSD community of Imanpa to the far larger (although non RSD) community of Mutitjulu, at least some of which related to enhanced access to services.

As we have outlined, it is possible that in the future the CDU program in RSD sites or other larger communities with a critical mass of services will have greater impact if it increasingly seeks to use the CLC community development funds as seed money to leverage and influence other capital flows into RSD communities from the Commonwealth and Northern Territory Governments. In non RSD sites however it is apparent that the comparative lack of government investment may require increasingly capital intensive investment of community development funds in the absence of other funding, with the attendant risks outlined above.

The Review Team also believes that the viability of some non RSD sites may come into question in the medium term in the absence of government policy settings which will allow Aboriginal people to enjoy their basic rights in these communities. As a rights-based statutory authority we believe it is important for the CLC to in particular support the efforts of its constituents in these communities to hold governments to account for the delivery of the essential services nearly all other Australians take for granted.

8.4 Organisational Development: Consistency and Attributes of CLC Effective Practice

The CLC is a complex agency responsible for a diversity of statutory functions under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 and other legislation. As a consequence the organisation has a range of functionally structured sections and units which specialise in implementation and delivery of different statutory functions. Because of their often specialised nature, these different sections often must interact with the CLC's constituents in different ways, often driven by different outcomes and imperatives. For example, the mining section is required by legislation to process exploration applications within a defined period of time from date of receipt by the CLC, whereas other functions such as land management generally have greater legislative flexibility and discretion governing their activities.

Notwithstanding this diversity of functions, the Evaluation Team believes there is an important organisational development opportunity for the CDU, and potentially the CLC more broadly, to articulate, document and build into induction and management practices what it believes should be the common attributes of effective practice for all CLC constituent facing staff, irrespective of their roles within the agency.

For example, a workshop conducted by the Evaluation Team with the CDU staff drew out the following attributes of best staff practice or 'ingredients for success':

- Active listening to Aboriginal people and being conscious of practices that disempower people in staff practice (e.g. implicit body language);

- Appropriate communication (for example, through the use of interpreters and through avoiding the use of "in-house" jargon);

- Working to community contexts, timelines and capacities;

- Length and depth of staff relationships and networks with Traditional Owners and other agencies;

- Accountability to Traditional Owners and communities;

- Acute power and gender analysis;

- Capacities of learning, review and adaptation;

- Doggedness and determination;

- Support of Community ownership and control;

- Delivering what Aboriginal people ask for, whilst recognising power dynamics within communities;

- Ability to identify and manage subcontractors capable of meaningful community engagement; and,

- Ability to integrate Sustainability concerns (financial, people, processes and leverage) into community development processes.

Whilst some of these attributes are more specific to CDU staff, arguably many other attributes are generic capabilities or attributes the CLC management and Traditional Owners would implicitly expect of the CLC staff. We also believe there is potential for the CLC to explore the development of capacity building of others in these skills.

8.5 Dealing with Complexity and Uncertainty

There is a growing recognition of the importance of coping with the complexity and uncertainty when addressing 'wicked' problems. In the International Development arena this has resulted in a range of publications which has challenged 'business as usual' approaches (see for example Ramalingam 2013; Andrews, Pritchett & Woolcock 2012; Pritchett, Woolcock & Andrews 2010), and in particular linear and imposed approaches to supporting locally driven change.

This is leading to a much greater emphasis on:

- Supporting locally defined solutions for locally nominated problems, rather than overly relying on often inappropriate 'international best practice';

- Recognising that one can rarely predict what will actually happen once one intervenes in a complex system, and therefore trying, learning and adapting as one goes is critical;

- Promoting Positive Deviance i.e. understanding and appreciating how positive change is occurring – often in outlier groups or communities – and focusing learning on the underlying drivers of these outcomes;

- That in such systems the creation and functioning of feedback loops is what drives evolutionary change, and enhancing the ability of citizens and communities to not only have access to data, but create and disseminate their own is vitally important; and

- That learning is scaled as much through diffusion and collaborative networks as it is by defining and exporting 'best practice' or promoting evidence based policy change, and then 'imposing' this on other contexts.

These principles have major implications for the way organisations plan, and implement their agendas, but also how they monitor, evaluate and disseminate what they are learning. The CDU's work and the Governance project in many ways conform well to these principles: their ways of working in practice are validated by experience and theory from elsewhere. However we believe that potentially the CDU and the Governance Project could perhaps be doing more particularly in relation to the final two dot points above.

This might involve for example:

- Piloting through the learning centres community research projects, for example on housing, and encouraging the sharing of their findings through social media, as a form of self-representation of their situation, perhaps supported by WYDAC;

- Investing in ongoing action-research alongside the regular monitoring processes to better understand positive outliers and test the deeper assumptions the program has about how CDU is promoting positive change; and

- Developing existing collaborative networks and more effectively analysing and disseminating the information the program has already gathered[34] i.e. through more in depth analysis of the 500 interviews it has undertaken, or through further social network analysis of the governance arrangements it is supporting.

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[34] See Jones, H, Jones, A, Shaxson, L and Walker, D 2013 , Knowledge, policy and power in international development: a practical framework for improving policy, for some ideas about how this this might be done.

We would also suggest that the CLC will need to ensure in its next iteration of its planning and reporting processes (which started with the elaboration of the 2012-17 Strategic Plan (Central Land Council 2012) that it is creating the right incentives to support the adherence to these principles, not just in the CDU but in other parts of the agency, like the Rangers' program, which has similar ways of working. This would probably need to include how the agency is going to factor in a more holistic approach to monitoring and evaluation which is consistent with what Aboriginal people value, as suggested in the previous section.

These issues are not just important for the functioning of the CLC. It is clear that overly bureaucratised approaches to planning, monitoring and reporting based on linear and reductionist notions of change have plagued both government and non-government agencies both in Aboriginal settings and elsewhere.

Whilst these processes are often justified in terms of transparency and accountability they in fact often make things more opaque and less accessible to the constituencies these agencies seek to benefit or represent. The CLC has a real opportunity to model a different way of doing things which can serve as an exemplar to others struggling to adopt simpler and more transparent means of being held to account by both the communities they represent, but also their other stakeholders.

9 RECOMMENDATIONS

We have divided the recommendations into three sections. The first focuses on recommendations for the Community Development Unit, the second on the Governance Project and the third on the CLC more broadly including internal dimensions as well as external relations and policy issues.

9.1 The Community Development Unit

The review team recommends that the CDU should:

1. Explore, where feasible, the decentralization of some staff to the CLC regional offices, as planned for Lajamanu. In particular we believe that this is important in a) RSD or larger communities (because of the increased knowledge, relationships, communication, leverage and impact that a permanent staff presence is likely to provide) and b) shifting to a more holistic geographic operating model for the Unit as it increasingly manages multiple CD income streams within many CLC regions and communities;

2. Continue and enhance strategies to attract and retain staff who have the desire and ability to build long term relationships with Aboriginal constituents;

3. Proactively explore complementary medium term funding streams which allow greater sustainability of its operating model. This should include confirming ongoing arrangements with government sources, but also securing non-governmental sources, and mining companies, particularly to enable innovation and piloting of new initiatives. We believe there is a reputational and political risk associated with exclusively drawing on ABA or project monies to fund the CDU, and therefore recommend that caution should be exercised in doing so;

4. Document its preferred approach to the investment of Aboriginal capital in sectors which are arguably the responsibility of governments (such as education and healthcare) as a benchmark by which to consistently support community members to analyse how best to design and sustainably finance projects. This needs to include the development of analysis and strategies re the future viability of communities in non-RSD sites;

5. Establish mandatory minimum standards (e.g. training and employment of local Aboriginal people in projects), and requirements of subcontractors and associated training and capacity building of subcontractors. CDU should be using the economic leverage of the several million dollars of projects it support each year to, for example, demand mandatory training in community development principles. Indeed it might be able to generate some income from the supply of that training and professional development;

6. Ensure that the issue of recurrent costs has more prominence in project discussions and budgets, and that is done systemically across all appropriate projects;

7. Undertake a review of the added value of both WETT and WVA's contribution to the Early Childhood Development Project. This should include an assessment of the experiences and perceptions of members of the WETT committee concerning their involvement in WETT processes and the effects on their lives. Despite more efforts to evaluate this program than any others, the levels of dissonance, disagreement and overlap, between actors (the CLC, WVA, BIITE, FAFT and Schools) is higher than any other program we reviewed. It is our view that a rationalisation of the program and the numbers of organisations involved is required.

8. Facilitate a discussion amongst the project committees, the CLC full council and communities about the pros and cons of the different project decision making and governance structures. It would seem that the WETT and URM processes generate more limited community level engagement in broader decision making processes than GMAAAC, which appears to contribute to less knowledge and ownership. However the regional process associated with WETT and URM provide a different layer of inter-community governance and networking which is valuable. This discussion would also need to include:

- How to balance the greater ownership that GMAAAC processes seem to create with the greater focus and long term strategy that WETT decision-making seems to provide,

- How to ensure effective early joint planning with other actors where this is appropriate (e.g. where there are opportunities associated with URM's support to outstations and the potential engagement with agencies involved in tourism).

9. Build on the very good monitoring and evaluation processes that it has established, and the data and information that is already at its disposal, by investing in further research on the impact and effectiveness of its work, as well as more data generation by, and feedback from, community members themselves. This in turn could be used to develop and model more holistic approaches to Monitoring and Evaluation as suggested in section 7.7.

9.2 Governance Project

The review team recommends that the Governance Project should:

1. Continue to support Kurdiji in Lajamanu and in particular in helping it to balance its new role in planning for community lease money, and its ongoing role as a key governance mechanism;

2. Seek to reduce the dependence of the project on the current coordinator position through the recruitment of local co-workers and more engagement of CDU staff;

3. Place more emphasis on greater engagement with other agencies and actors in Lajamanu in order to influence their policies and practices. In making this recommendation we recognize that this needs to be done judiciously in order to a) not legitimize poor processes of engaging local people, or b) to act as substitute for Aboriginal voice;

4. Build on its good practice in monitoring and recording lessons learnt by further analysing the material and data it has collected and enabling even greater sharing of the project's experience, not least with other Aboriginal communities and organisations, as well as with service providers and policy makers; and,

5. Explore and be responsive to opportunities to contribute to enhanced Aboriginal voice and control in other communities in the CLC region drawing upon the principles and learning underpinning the Lajamanu Governance Project.

9.3 The CLC

Internal policy and practice

The review team recommends that the CLC should:

1. Undertake an analysis of the role of the Central Land Council in a largely post land acquisition era and its role in promoting social change in the region as part of a mid-term review of its strategic plan (2012-17). This would help provide a more robust and strategic framing for the organisations' Community Development role in the next 10 years;

2. Seek to develop a more holistic and coordinated approach to its 'community engagement' work ensuring consistency between the work of the CDU and other teams, in particular those people working on governance and land management;

3. Seek to define what it considers to be 'effective CLC staff practice' in working with Aboriginal people and engaging communities and formalise this institutionally. This should then be used to systematise this practice through more consistent training and professional development, reflective practice and associated monitoring and evaluation. This could in turn be used to develop external professional development courses (see CDU recommendation 5);

4. Ensure in its next iteration of its planning and reporting processes that it is creating the right incentives to support the adherence to these principles. This needs to include how the agency is going to factor in a more holistic approach to monitoring and evaluation which is consistent with what Aboriginal people value; and,

5. Ensure the consistent and systematic use of appropriate language interpreters across constituent facing functions of the organisation.

External policy and engagement

1. The review team recommends that the CLC should develop a timely influencing strategy[35] based on the findings of this evaluation and related material and research. This would include:

- A 10 page Policy Brief and associated presentation materials;

- Feedback and discussion of findings with communities and the CLC staff, including discussions as to what the CLC will do differently as a result;

- The presentation of findings in different formats to funders, service providers, policy makers, and other relevant stakeholders; and,

- More specific policy initiatives designed to influence others and seek greater political and financial support for the CLC's Community Development Program and Governance Project.

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[35] The Review Team notes in particular a strong degree of conceptual and analytical alignment between the new Federal Government 'Empowering Communities" policy framework and the demonstrated experience and impact of the CDU Program and Governance Project.

10 APPENDICES

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Appendix 2. Terms of Reference

The Central Land Council's Development Approach

Independent Evaluation Proposal (April 2013)

Terms of Reference

Introduction

The Central Land Council (CLC), a statutory authority set up under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) 1976, is an Aboriginal organisation governed by a council of 90 elected Aboriginal members. The CLC has been operating for over 30 years, working with Aboriginal people to support them to achieve recognition of land and native title rights. Central to this work is a commitment to support strong Aboriginal governance arrangements that give people increased control over their own affairs. The CLC also supports Aboriginal people to manage land and to negotiate agreements with others seeking to use their land, which includes payment of rent and royalties to Traditional Owners.

In 2005 the CLC created the Community Development Unit (CDU) in order to implement community development projects involving Aboriginal rent and royalties from land-use agreements and affected area payments. The scale of this program is significant and warrants a formal independent evaluation of impact. Over the last 7 years, in excess of $30m of Aboriginal controlled capital has been invested in the Community Development Program. The CDU led the development of the CLC Community Development Framework (the framework), which articulates development goals, principles and processes for the CLC. The framework sets out the development approach which is characterised by a focus on community ownership, Aboriginal control, trust based relationships, respect for local values and processes, an understanding of cultural differences, and monitoring and evaluation. Increasingly the framework is guiding both the CLCs CD Program and the Community Governance Project. As such it is providing a critical tool for ensuring consistency of development practice by different sections of the organisation.

CLC Community Development Program

The overall intention of the CLC's Community Development Program is to partner with Aboriginal people in processes that enable them to set and achieve their dual objectives of maintaining Aboriginal identity, language, culture and connection to country, and strengthening their capacity to participate in mainstream Australia and in the modern economy, through improving health, education and employment outcomes.

Drawing upon the resources provided by Aboriginal communities themselves, that is through projects undertaken with royalty, rent and affected area money and with Aboriginal leadership and governance arrangements, the Community Development Unit (CDU) works through various projects to support Aboriginal people. The overarching goal of the work is that Aboriginal people will be strong and resilient and able to live well in both the Aboriginal world and mainstream Australian society.

There are four intermediate objectives of the work. These are:

1. Maximise opportunities for Aboriginal engagement, ownership and control, particularly in relation to the management of resources that belong to them.

2. Generate service outcomes which benefit Aboriginal people and are valued by them, including social, cultural and economic outcomes.

3. Build an evidence base for the CLC's community development approach and the value it has for contributing to Aboriginal capabilities.

4. Share lessons learned with other government and non-government agencies.

The CDU work is currently implemented through six major projects each with sub programs and projects. The various projects have different management arrangements, decision-making models and implementation processes. However, all the projects are characterised by the nature of the funding, which comes from Aboriginal peoples' own money and the fact that they focus on achieving outcomes sought by Aboriginal people. In addition, all the projects are governed by Aboriginal decision-making bodies. The projects include the following:

- The Warlpiri Education and Training Trust Project (WETT)
- The Tanami Dialysis Project
- The Uluru-Kata Tjuta Rent Money Community Development Project (URM)
- The Granites Mine Affected Area Aboriginal Corporation Project (GMAAAC)
- The Northern Territory Parks Rent Money Project (NT Parks)Community Lease Money Project
- The Community Lease Money Project.

For the past three years systematic monitoring has been undertaken of the work supported by the CDU and reported in an annual monitoring report. Exploring appropriate monitoring approaches and data gathering techniques has been an important aspect of the development of this assessment process. One emerging recommendation has been that the monitoring should be further complemented by independent evaluation looking at the effectiveness and impact of the CDU work with Aboriginal people.

CLC Community Governance Project

In addition to the work outlined above, the scope of this evaluation also encompasses the CLC Community Governance Project. While this project is not managed by the CDU it operates within the community development framework and has broadly similar objectives to the CDU Program. The Project utilises a development approach to:

Strengthen legitimate and effective decision-making and implementation processes in Lajamanu.

The intended outcome of the project will be the formation of a legitimate governance mechanism within the community and the operationalization of that mechanism.

The Governance Project commenced in 2011 and was funded for three years. It has a little over 12 months left to run. Regular monitoring reports have been produced by the project worker and reviewed with a mentoring group. These monitoring reports have produced considerable learning about effective practice particularly in regards to engaging with people in Lajamanu and facilitating and identifying their existing systems of governance and decision-making. The project methodology has paid close attention to documenting, reviewing and reflecting on the project implementation and outcomes, including regular interviews with community members.

Similarities and differences between these two CLC Programs

The CLC recognises that these two programs are at significantly different points in their implementation and are using different entry points. The CD Program has the benefit of seven years of implementation and considerable opportunity to experiment and refine the process. It has established mechanisms for governance and decision-making with participating groups. The CD Program utilises the significant financial resources Aboriginal people provide, which creates considerable opportunities to realise the development objectives Aboriginal people set.

In contrast the Governance Project has been implemented for just under two years. It uses a different type of CD approach which is focused on exploring governance, then developing locally appropriate governance mechanisms in anticipation of eventual benefit that is fully determined by the community. This Project does not have financial resources to implement initiatives and therefore relies on the community's ability to access and control outside resources, including access to their own monies administered under the CD Program.

While the two programs are different there is a clear opportunity for cross learning and therefore the CLC is taking the opportunity to include both in this evaluation project.

Purpose and objectives

This document outlines the Terms of Reference for the proposed evaluation of the CLC's development approach encompassing both the CD Program and the Community Governance Project. The overall purpose of this evaluation for the CLC is to:

Explore and improve its development work in order to maximise the benefits for Aboriginal people.

The major objective for the CDU is:

- Assessment of the contribution of the development approach of the CDU to the achievement of the positive social, cultural and economic outcomes identified in communities.

The major objective for the Governance Project is:

- Assessment of whether the Project is contributing to an understanding and model of governance that is meaningful for people in Lajamanu community.

Additional objectives include the following:

Community Development Program

- Assessment of the contribution of the development approach of the CDU to the capacity development of people and groups within communities; and,

- Assessment of the impact of CDU work with regard to other important contextual influences upon the lives of Aboriginal people in remote communities, and the likely sustainability of this impact.

Community Governance Project

- Identification of the learning emerging from the project methodology and outcomes being achieved; and,

- Assessment of the potential application of project methodology and this model of governance in other communities and in other decision-making processes by Aboriginal communities.

Interconnected Learning

- Identification of learnings from each program/project that have relevance for the other.

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION
CLC Community Development and Governance Programmes

Methodology

Approach

The overall evaluation approach needs to build from a critical epistemology, utilising multiple sources of data and understanding to explore and examine the outcomes of the CLCs development work and what these outcomes mean for Aboriginal people. It is expected that the evaluation will make use of wider literature and experience of other community development approaches in Aboriginal communities in order to broaden the analysis of the CLC's work and its outcomes.

The evaluation needs to build upon, and not repeat, existing information available through monitoring and other reports. The approach should be designed to undertake additional and new research that will test the underlying assumptions of the CLCs development approach and identify positive and negative outcomes.

The approach will need to be culturally appropriate and acceptable to Aboriginal people. As far as possible it will engage with Aboriginal people and be directed by them in terms of relevance and appropriate methodologies. It will need to meet the ethical standards for evaluation established by the Australian Evaluation Society.

Scope

While the purpose and objectives of the evaluation are ambitious, it is recognised that financial and other limitations will limit the scope to some degree.

The evaluation will focus on the CLC's development approach in Lajamanu where both the CD Program and Governance Project are being implemented. It is not expected that there will be sufficient time and resources to research in detail all the programs, projects and sub-projects supported by CDU. Final decisions about evaluation location and focus beyond Lajamanu will need to be determined by the evaluation team in consultation with the CDU and Aboriginal people themselves. However there are several possibilities. These include:

- The WETT Project which has now been operating successfully for a number of years and could be expected to have extensive learning and information about effective community development and other interventions with communities in the Tanami.

- The programs and projects supported through the GMAAAC Project which supports a broad range of initiatives in 9 communities in the Tanami.

An appropriate scope for the evaluation, which would support valid findings, will need to be finally determined with the evaluation team.

Data collection techniques

In line with the critical approach proposed above, the evaluation team will need to be able to utilise a range of data collection techniques giving attention to quantitative, qualitative and participatory approaches to collecting data, as well as exploitation of existing secondary data where it is relevant.

As far as possible, interaction with Aboriginal people will need to be undertaken by either local researchers or by people with considerable experience and skill in interaction with Aboriginal communities. It is expected that the evaluation team may comprise of senior researchers who are able to establish the evaluation approach and methodology and also able to train and support local researchers in collection of data at the community level.

Analysis

It is expected that the independent evaluation team will undertake rigorous and informed analysis of the findings from the data. It is also expected however that there will be opportunity for this analysis to be further tested with Aboriginal people and with other informed stakeholders such as the CDU Reference Group, relevant CLC staff and others.

The purpose of this further analysis is not to question the analysis undertaken by the independent evaluation team, but to add and deepen that analysis through local and informed observation and commentary.

The Evaluation Team

La Trobe University has been identified by the CLC as the most appropriate partner to undertake this independent evaluation due to its ability to bring together a multi-disciplinary team with the diverse skills and experiences required for this exercise, and its experience on community led evaluation and research, particularly in the community health area, including in Aboriginal Australia. .

The suggested evaluation team will be led by Associate Professor Chris Roche[36] , Chair in International Development at La Trobe University. He has over 20 years' experience in the development of evaluation and impact assessments of community development and is currently advising the AusAID's Pacific Leadership Program on its monitoring and evaluation processes. Associate Professor Roche is currently putting together a team which will include James Ensor, Managing Director of People and Planet Group[37] , as well as an experienced Central Australian researcher. James has 20 years professional experience in leadership roles in international development, human rights and corporate responsibility including seven years with the Central Land Council and playing an instrumental role in the National 'Close the Gap' Steering Committee. A number of candidates with research experience in Central Australia and with appropriate methodological skills are currently being contacted as to their availability to join the team.

This team will therefore comprise experience and knowledge in working in research and evaluation in a cross cultural environment. The team will also have skills in socio political analysis, participatory assessment and in Aboriginal community development.

The team will also include a local researcher who already has relationships with the communities where the evaluation will focus its field work. As noted above this independent team will have the capacity and skills to train and support local researchers as required and/or to provide researchers who are capable and skilled in undertaking evaluation and research in Aboriginal communities. Local interpreters will be required and the CLC will assist with finding appropriate people.

Evaluation Timing

It is expected that the evaluation will be undertaken in 2013, with data collection and analysis being undertaken from July - September 2013. However these timelines can be negotiated depending on the scope of the evaluation and depending upon availability of people in Lajamanu and any other participating Aboriginal communities.

A final draft report is expected from the evaluation team by the end of September 2013. A complete report following further analysis by stakeholders is expected to be available by the end of November 2013.

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36 See http://www.latrobe.edu.au/humanities/about/staff/profile?uname=CRoche.
37 See http://www.peopleplanetgroup.com.au/.

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION
CLC Community Development and Governance Programmes

Reporting and Accountability

The evaluation team are expected to produce a minimum of two reports which concisely but thoroughly identify their findings, analysis and conclusions about both programs in response to the identified purpose and objectives. There may also be benefit in a short additional paper that highlights the interconnected learnings as identified in the objectives.

The evaluation team will be responsible for ensuring that the findings of the evaluation are reported back to the communities and individuals involved in the evaluation, as well as other key stakeholders, in an appropriate manner.

The independent evaluation team will be contracted by the CLC and will provide their reports directly to the CLC.
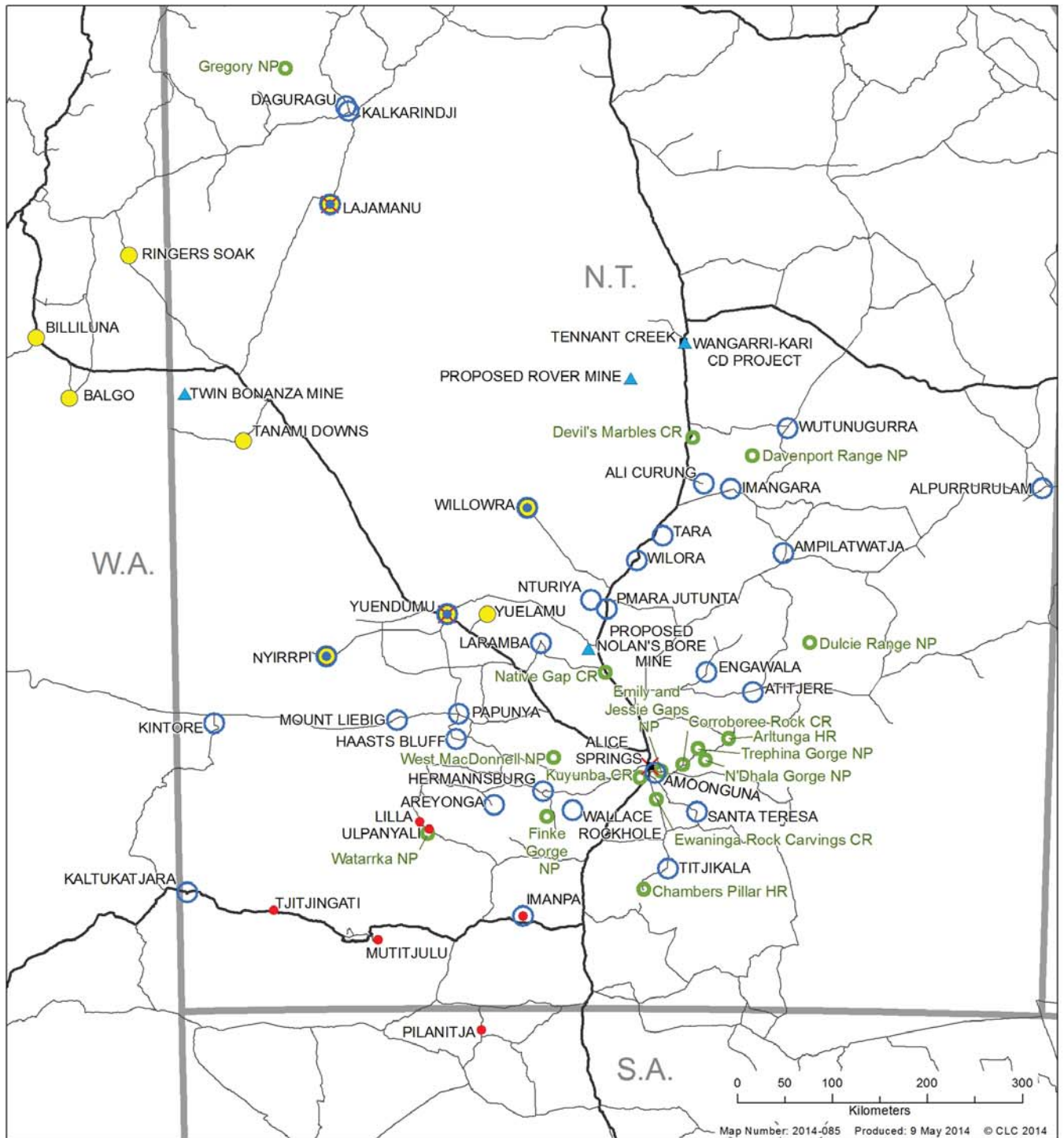
Locations of 2013 CLC Community Development Unit Projects

- ●   Uluru Rent Money Community Development Project
- ●   Warlpiri Education and Training Trust (WETT)
- ✕   Tanami Dialysis Support Service Project
- ●   Granites Mine Affected Area Community Development Project
- ◉   NT Parks Rent Money Community Development Project
- ○   Community Lease Money Project
- ▲   New Community Development Project