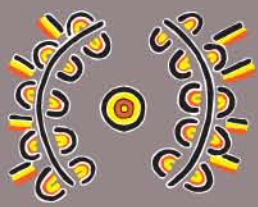




Northern Territory Emergency Response: Perspectives from Six Communities



Central Land Council

Reviewing the Northern Territory Emergency Response:
Perspectives from six communities

The Central Land Council (CLC) is a Statutory Authority which operates under the Commonwealth Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 and the Native Title Act 1993. The CLC is located in the southern portion of the Northern Territory and covers an area of 775963 square kilometres - 381792 square kilometres is Aboriginal land. The CLC is directed by its Council, which consists of 90 Aboriginal people elected from communities. The CLC represents approximately 24000 Aboriginal people resident in the southern half of the Northern Territory. Indigenous communities located within the CLC area are diverse and include small family outstations, large remote communities and town camps located within the larger regional service centres of Alice Springs and Tennant Creek.

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Executive Summary

The Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER), announced on 21 June 2007, included a wide range of legislative and service delivery measures. The CLC undertook this research to document the experiences and opinions of Aboriginal people in Central Australia in relation to the NTER. The research was undertaken from February to June 2008 with the assistance of local Aboriginal researchers. The research focussed on the main measures implemented in the first year of the NTER including: income management arrangements, housing repairs and maintenance, the abolition of the Community Development Employment Project (CDEP), introduction of store licensing, voluntary child health checks, increased allocation of police resources, the introduction of five year leases, the roll out of Government Business Managers (GBMs) into communities and changes to the operation of the permit system.

This report presents the perspectives of Aboriginal men and women on the NTER measures from six case study communities in Central Australia: Titjikala, Papunya, Yuendumu, Ali Curung, Kintore and Hermannsburg. It is based on a detailed participatory evaluation survey of 141 Aboriginal residents in these communities. The survey questioned participants' awareness of the NTER measures, feelings on the measures and effect of the measures on them and their community. The survey included a self assessment scale. The community surveys were augmented by 51 semi-structured interviews with other community-based employees or agencies, government agencies and GBMs in survey communities. Additional data was provided by the NTER Operations Centre, Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, and Centrelink.

The research conducted demonstrates clearly the diversity of opinion around the NTER measures across communities, as well as amongst community members resident in a community. However, through the enumeration of responses, this report also identified trends in people's perceptions of key measures:

Income Management

Responses across survey participants were almost evenly divided between people in favour (51 percent) and opposed (46 percent) to income management. Gender and age were not significant factors in influencing people's level of support. However, income type influenced people's support for income management: people on a wage were most supportive of income management. Advantages associated with income management included increased household expenditure on food and children, young men contributing to family shopping, and reductions in gambling and drinking. Disadvantages associated with income management included less discretionary cash and restrictions on the use of managed money, blanket coverage being discriminatory, problems with accessing managed money, incompatibility with population mobility, difficulties for aged and disabled people, and cost shifting to Aboriginal people and community staff to deal with the new arrangements. There was some evidence that if income management was better directed towards people with alcohol, gambling or substance misuse problems, that people in communities would be more supportive of it.

Licensing of stores

People reported improved quality of stock in their community stores following the NTER licensing processes. However, in almost all survey communities (except Kintore) the licensing of stores has been associated with increases in store prices. Figures from one store in Hermannsburg show increased expenditure on different food types with a reduction in cigarette purchases following the introduction of income management. During the licensing negotiations, Yuendumu and Ali Curung reported being placed under pressure by Australian Government representatives to allow Outback Stores to manage

community stores. Ali Curung residents also reported being reasonably satisfied with Outback Stores' management once in place.

Community Development Employment Program (CDEP)

A large majority (76 percent) of people expressed support for CDEP while 22 percent of people supported the scrapping of CDEP. People reported there is now less incentive to work because of the 'random' nature of breaching compared with CDEP 'no work no pay' rules, the lack of pay differentiation between Work for the Dole and welfare, and inability to earn top-up wages. As a result, people reported that participation has fallen under Work for the Dole arrangements compared with CDEP. The implementation of alternative programs, such as Work for the Dole, has been haphazard across communities. While a number of people have been 'breached' for not meeting new work requirements (involving the loss of income for eight weeks), the enforcement of work requirements varies widely between communities.

Police

No case study communities had additional police deployed from the NTER. Overall, a large majority of survey respondents (74.8 percent) reported that they were happy with the current police numbers. However, in Titjikala, the only survey community with no permanent police presence, almost 60 percent of people wanted an increased police presence in the community. Respondents noted the importance of community engagement in developing an effective policing strategy. People also commented on the important role that Night Patrols can have in promoting community safety.

Alcohol

A majority of people (57 percent) felt that there was less alcohol consumption in their communities than prior to the NTER. A significant portion (37 percent) thought alcohol consumption was about the same on their communities. Reasons given by people surveyed for reduced alcohol consumption include: the introduction of income management, grog running laws and increased policing. However, given many other alcohol changes have occurred as part of the NT Alcohol Management Framework, a fair assessment of the effect of NTER changes in isolation is difficult.

Housing

The overwhelming majority of survey respondents (86.4 percent) reported that they needed better housing in their community. Community support for the NTER Community Clean Up (CCU) program was closely linked to the quality and efficacy of the repairs and maintenance undertaken in communities. At Kintore and Hermannsburg where housing audits have been completed in a reasonable time frame and consistently, communities were supportive of the program. However, at Ali Curung and Titjikala, where numerous audits have been undertaken without substantial repairs or where allocated funding was used ineffectually, people were dissatisfied with the program. Community members and staff in Titjikala and Ali Curung expressed frustration that building, repairs and maintenance work was being shifted away from community-based employment teams to contract labour of predominantly non-Indigenous workers. Accounts from Hermannsburg suggest that communication problems are leading to duplication of repairs and maintenance efforts by the community and outside CCU contractors.

Health Checks

After some initial concern and uncertainty, most people were supportive of health checks. In some communities clinic staff reported that the NTER health checks were an unnecessary duplication of resources. In other communities, the checks picked up children previously not screened by the clinic. It took more than 11 months for health checks to be undertaken at Ali Curung.

5 year lease arrangement

There was little awareness of the 5 year leases in the survey communities. The overwhelming majority of respondents (85 percent) were opposed to 5 year leases. Reasons for opposition to 5 year leases included: the leases gave government more control over communities, there was no certainty about what would happen at the end of the five years, the leases overrode the rights of traditional landowners, the leases were put in place without any consultation and the boundaries of the leases were inappropriate. At present, the leases have had no practical effect on operational issues or processes in communities.

Permits

In communities on Aboriginal land the overwhelming majority of respondents were opposed to the changes to the permit system (94 percent). Reasons for maintaining the permit system in its original form included: maintaining the safety of children, stopping unrestricted photography and media access, stopping strangers and unsavoury people entering communities, respect for privacy of people in communities and respect for Aboriginal law. The change to the permit system is having no noticeable impact in communities.

Government Business Managers

The majority of people in Titjikala, Hermannsburg, Kintore and Papunya who were interviewed didn't know the Government Business Manager. By comparison, while the significant majority of Yuendumu and Ali Curung respondents knew of the GBM, very few knew what their role involved. For people who were aware of the GBM, perceptions about the work undertaken by GBMs in communities was mixed with 51 percent reporting that they were unhappy with the GBM's work in their community and 17 percent reporting that they were happy. People in communities wanted the GBM to hold public meetings and keep them better informed on the NTER.

Nearly all people surveyed were critical of the processes followed in the first year of the NTER. People reported that they were dissatisfied for the following reasons: the lack of information flow, particularly to younger and older people, no consultation on changes, initial fear about what would happen (including use of the army) and poor conduct of some NTER Taskforce meetings. Slowly, however, a clearer picture has emerged of the shape and extent of different measures on the ground.

The overall picture is nuanced with support and opposition across the range of measures. Generally, the service-based measures, such as health checks, received solid support. People could see the benefits from increased servicing and increased focus on their communities. On the other hand, where rights have been affected or the autonomy of the community challenged, such as the introduction of 5 year leases and GBMs, there has been significant reservation about the intent of such measures and they have received little support.

Some broader themes did emerge. The results are diverse and community specific – each community is different. The rollout took no account of that. Where good governance structures and systems existed, they were largely ignored and undermined. The communities that lost CDEP also lost a degree of community participation and enthusiasm in work. Many survey respondents questioned whether the NTER measures were effective in improving child safety and education. NTER funds that are allocated for community-based programs have mainly been used for local government service provision with only 19 percent allocated for youth or child safety initiatives. School enrolment and attendance outcomes have not improved according to NT Government figures. There was no solid evidence of NTER induced urban drift, but there was evidence of more frequent trips to town for people in nearby communities. The understanding of NTER measures by residents was generally poor, except where measures had significant impacts, such as income management. This suggests a lack of information but also that the impact of most NTER measures is modest and that the deeper social issues in communities remain unaddressed.

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Introduction

On 21 June 2007 the Australian Government announced a set of 'national emergency' measures in response to the report on child sexual abuse in remote Aboriginal communities by Anderson and Wild (2007). Many politicians and journalists have highlighted aspects of the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) as a success and cited the support of Aboriginal people for specific measures without sound evidentiary basis. While all views are important to consider, this report seeks to present in a systematic way the perspectives and experiences of the people most affected by the NTER changes, Aboriginal community residents.

The research was undertaken from February to June 2008. The aim was to provide the overall community perspective and the views of Aboriginal people on the NTER. This report presents the perspectives of Aboriginal men and women across various NTER measures from six case study communities in Central Australia: Titjikala, Papunya, Yuendumu, Ali Curung, Kintore and Hermannsburg. It is based on a detailed participatory evaluation survey of 141 Aboriginal residents (see Appendix 1) and 51 semi-structured interviews with other community-based employees or agencies and GBMs. The 51 interviews are secondary sources that have been used to augment, balance or provide additional details on the community survey findings.

The NTER included a raft of changes in legislation and service delivery mechanisms which affected Aboriginal communities across the Northern Territory. However, given the lack of a detailed project plan for the NTER with clear objectives, targets and indicators, and the large spread of NTER changes, the survey was necessarily limited to a number of key NTER measures and their outcomes, both intended and unintended.

Case Study Communities

Due to resources, time and availability of researchers undertaking field research, the survey was limited to six communities (Figure 1). These communities represent people from different language and cultural groups and provide a cross section of communities in Central Australia, in terms of distance from major service centres and associated service levels.

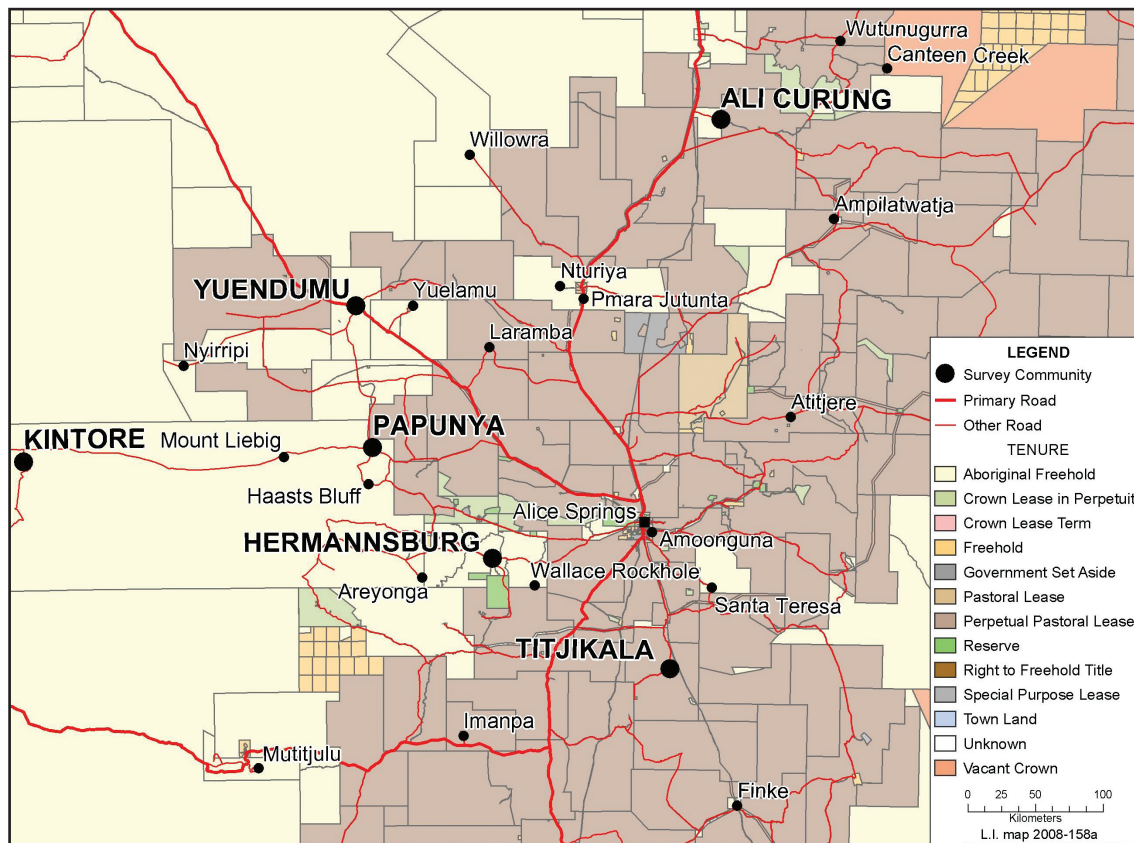


Figure 1: Map of the case study communities

■ Ali Curung

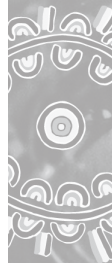
Ali Curung is situated 370 km north of Alice Springs and approximately 175 km from Tennant Creek. Ali Curung is a part of the Warrabri Aboriginal Land Trust and situated on Kaytetye Land. The community has a population of approximately 320-450 people who represent three language groups Warlpiri, Kaytetye and Alyawarra. The Ali Curung Council and a range of government and private service agencies are responsible for delivering services to both residents of Ali Curung and Imangarra (outstation). The services at Ali Curung include a clinic, a police station, a school (up to year 10, although supports students through year 11 and 12 undertaking distance education), a new art centre (opened 2008), an internet café, council office, a community store, a sports and recreation program, an aged care facility and respite centre, a market garden (currently closed) and CDEP which has a level of 160 participants from Ali Curung and Imangarra.

■ Hermannsburg

Hermannsburg is situated 130 km to the west of Alice Springs. It is located on the Ntaria Aboriginal Land Trust. Hermannsburg was established as a Lutheran mission in 1877 and the government and mission distributed government rations until 1963. In 1982 it was handed back to community control under Ntaria Council Inc. Hermannsburg has an approximate population of 600 people. The people of Hermannsburg belong to the Arrernte and Luritja groups. Hermannsburg has a range of services including two general stores, a council, a school, health clinic, recreation hall, police station, garage/mechanical workshop and women’s centre. Tourist facilities include a camp ground with cabins (currently closed) and a heritage precinct around the old mission. Hermannsburg Potters operates as a successful international art business.

■ Kintore

Kintore is situated 530 km to the west of Alice Springs. The community is very isolated; the nearest community towards Alice Springs is Mt Liebig, 230 km to the east. It is located on the Haasts Bluff



Aboriginal Land Trust and has an approximate population of 350 people. The people of Kintore belong to the Pintupi group. Pintubi and Luritja are spoken. Kintore has a range of government-funded services including a community council, a health clinic, primary school, secondary school, aged people's program, a police station, a youth program (run through the council) and women's centre. A child care centre is proposed. It also has a general store and an art centre (Papunya Tula) both owned by the community.

■ Papunya

Papunya is a community of approximately 350 people that lies 200 km west of Alice Springs on Aboriginal land. Papunya is on Luritja country and residents are primarily Luritja speakers. Papunya community has a store, a clinic, a primary school, a Central Land Council office, and a Centrelink office. The Papunya Community Council ran a CDEP.

■ Titjikala

Titjikala community is approximately 120 km from Alice Springs. The community is located on a Community Living Area (CLA). The approximate population size of the community is 400 people. The people of Titjikala belong to the Arrernte, Luritja and Pitjantjatjara language groups. Titjikala community has an internationally recognised tourism business Gunya, an art centre and a store. It also has a health centre, women's centre, aged people's program, a child care centre and a primary school. The Titjikala Community Council ran a CDEP program that employed more than 100 people.

■ Yuendumu

Yuendumu community is 290 km north-west of Alice Springs on the Tanami Highway. The community is situated on the Yuendumu Aboriginal Land Trust. The community consists of approximately 800 people who are predominantly Warlpiri and Anmatjerre people. Yuendumu community has two stores, an Aboriginal mining company, an arts centre, a relatively new clinic and a primary health care provider (WYN Health), women's centre, old people's program, a child care centre, a primary school, a media organization (PAW media), substance misuse prevention and youth development program (Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation known as the Mt Theo program), an operating CDEP program, and a Centrelink office. Some of the organisations, though based at Yuendumu, provide services in surrounding communities, for example PAW operates in Pintubi, Anmatjerre and Warlpiri lands in 11 communities.

Report Structure

Following this introduction, the report contains three further chapters:

- Chapter 2: provides the details of methodology
- Chapter 3: highlights the survey and interview results
- Chapter 4: undertakes an additional broader analysis of the results and findings, presenting key research findings and conclusion

While this document can be considered a stand-alone document, readers may wish to consider the individual community reports (Dore 2008a, 2008b; McDonnell 2008; Meltzer 2008; Shaw and Stockman 2008; Wright et al. 2008a, Wright 2008b).



Research method

The research method was based primarily on a participatory evaluation approach. Participatory evaluation extends beyond quantitative data and benchmark indicators to include the human, political, cultural and social contextual aspects. It enables participants to express their views and identify ‘most significant changes’ (Davies & Dart 2005, Estrella & Gaventa 1998, Walter 2006).

A number of community members from the case study communities were employed to help the survey design and undertake the survey. It was necessary for the research to present a clear factual account of the NTER in the communities. The research team balanced and reinforced the perspectives of Aboriginal people with views for employees of community-based and Alice Spring-based agencies, Government Business Managers and quantitative data from the NTER Operations Centre and Centrelink.

The research project was designed to understand the NTER process in a selection of remote Aboriginal communities. The communities were selected based on a mix of the following characteristics:

- Tenure arrangement, including Aboriginal Land Trusts and Community Living Areas (CLAs)
- Size of communities
- Economic profile
- Availability of researchers
- Date welfare quarantining was due in the community
- Distance from service centre and service levels
- Language and cultural affiliations

Accordingly, six communities were chosen as field sites for this research project: Ali Curung, Hermannsburg, Kintore, Titjikala, Papunya and Yuendumu. A survey was undertaken in all of the case study communities with Aboriginal residents.

Survey design

The survey questions were developed at a workshop with Aboriginal researchers and an employee of Oxfam International held at the CLC on 19-20 February 2008. The team of Aboriginal researchers worked with the CLC and Oxfam to design the survey question and the self-evaluation scales. During this workshop Aboriginal researchers were given detailed factual information about the NTER measures, introduced to the concepts behind research and the methodology to be used in this research. Each researcher spoke about their experiences of the roll-out of NTER in their community. This work culminated in researchers finalising the survey measures, scales and questions (see appendix 1) and providing advice on how the research should be conducted in communities.

The survey form was based around open-ended questions that focused on key NTER measures:

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| ■ Income Management | ■ 5 year leases | ■ Police |
| ■ Store licensing | ■ Permits | ■ Health checks |
| ■ Housing | ■ Alcohol | |

The survey also included questions on the NTER process, population mobility, child safety and overall perceptions of NTER. Surveys were designed to gather detailed accounts from participants on their knowledge of measures, feelings on NTER measures and the effect of measures on them and their community. In addition, the surveys included a self-assessment scale. Self evaluation data

derived from the scale was enumerated and used to aggregate findings across and within the case study communities. The survey was conducted twice at Ali Curung either side of implementation of income management to assess how residents' responses to measures changed over time.

Survey implementation

A research team was assigned to each community that included a lead researcher who had expertise in conducting research and locally-based Aboriginal researchers who helped with research, translation and selection of interviewees. Surveys were conducted in the period from March through to June 2008. The research team undertook surveys with at least 13 Aboriginal adult residents (in most communities, the participant numbers were significantly higher) and open-ended interviews with various employees from community-based agencies, e.g. Council CEO, store manager. Table 1 provides detail of each of the fieldwork locations, including research team, fieldwork time and survey participants.

Table 1: Communities, researchers, field time and survey participants

Community	Research Team	Fieldwork dates (2008)	Total survey participants	Non-Aboriginal Residential Staff
Titjikala	Siobhan McDonnell (CLC) Lena Campbell (resident)	17-19 Mar	7 men 6 women	CEO, store managers, women centre managers and workers, art centre managers
Papunya	Gill Shaw (ANU) Punata Stockman (resident)	17-18 Mar	11 women 11 men	Nursing sister, store manager
Yuendumu	Anna Meltzer (private Anthropologist) Tess Ross (resident)	17-21 Mar 2-4 Apr 22-26 Apr	8 men 7 women	Council CEO, school principal, Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation Acting Manager, Warlukulangu Artists Manager, and the Women's Centre Manager. Yuendumu Mining Company (email input) Manager and the WYN Health Manager (email input).
Ali Curung (Round 1)	Alyson Wright (CAT) Savannah Long (resident) Marjorie Hayes (resident)	26 Mar – 5 Apr	18 women 9 men	CDEP manager, council CEO, housing manager, (previous) store managers, health clinic manager, art centre manager, Ali Curung police, Alekarenge school principal
Ali Curung (Round 2)	Alyson Wright (CLC) Lucy Jackson (resident)	3-6 Jun	6 men (3 repeats) 13 women (6 repeats)	Art centre manager, CDEP manager, (new) store managers, administration manager

Kintore	Jeremy Dore (CLC) Sid Anderson (CLC)	22-24 Apr 28 Apr	10 women 15 men	Council CEO, store manager, health clinic manager, school principal, women's centre co-ordinator, youth worker, police
Hermannsburg	Jeremy Dore (CLC) Sid Anderson (CLC)	13-14 May	25 women 10 men	Store managers (both stores), school principal, housing manager, council worker, Western Arrentre Health Aboriginal Corporation co-ordinator, Tjuwanpa Outstation Resource Centre manager

Across and within communities' survey methods varied – sometimes interviews were undertaken with individuals and other times in family groups. The method was frequently dependent on the advice provided by Aboriginal researchers working in the research teams. In all communities, there was a mix of targeted interviews (for example, several council members and store committee members were normally involved in the survey) and more random interviews (including research teams setting up out the front of the community store to catch residents). Non-Aboriginal residential workers were targeted for semi-structured interviews (see detail over page).

In total, 141 participatory evaluation surveys were conducted in the six communities. Interview times ranged from 15 minutes to an hour depending on the level of input able to be given by the participant. Given the length of the survey, research teams often chose to leave some questions. Additionally, research teams found that in some communities there was very little knowledge of some measures and chose not to continue asking particular questions. For this reason, the analysis distinguishes between survey participants (total 141 people surveyed) and respondents (those who responded to a question). The survey participants were slightly oriented towards women, with approximately 60 percent of survey participants being female (see Table 2). The age makeup of the survey participants was skewed towards older people rather than younger. Table 3 shows 77 percent were aged between 30-64 years and younger adults make up only 16.3 percent of the survey participants. This is disproportionate given the younger age profile of populations in remote Aboriginal communities. However, surveying younger aged people was often difficult because of shyness or people feeling that they didn't have enough knowledge to comment (see Dore 2008; Shaw 2008). More discussion of the method is available in the individual community reports (see references).

Table 2: Gender composition of survey participants

Gender	Proportion of overall participants
Female	60%
Male	40%
Total	100%

Table 3: Age composition of survey participants

Age group	Proportion of overall participants	Age Profile of remote communities (ABS 2006)	
18-29	16%	0-19	46%
		20-29	18%
30-39	23%	30-39	15%
40-49	26%	40-49	11%
50-64	28%	50-64	8%
65+	6%	65+	2%
Total	100%		100%

The employment of Aboriginal researchers has been integral to the success of this survey implementation. In addition to general assistance as researchers, Aboriginal researchers contributed valuable community knowledge and context of responses, translation of interviews including explanations of measures in local languages (many interviews were conducted in local languages), and assistance in seeking survey participants. Aboriginal researchers were employed on a casual basis by the CLC during the survey period.

Open ended interviews

In addition to the community surveys using participatory evaluation techniques, open ended interviews with employees from community-based agencies (see Table 1) were conducted to add additional data that could be used to expand and compare findings from the community surveys. The following agencies participated: NPY Women’s Council, Western Desert Renal Dialysis Support, Tangentyere Council, Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS), Salvation Army and Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi. Responses from these organisations are highlighted in the report. Additionally, Government Business Managers (GBMs) were also interviewed by CLC members of the research team.

On 9 May 2008, CLC staff members conducted a group interview with the GBMs from all case study communities (with the exception of the Yuendumu GBM who provided a written response). The NTER Operations Centre was also represented at this interview. During this interview GBMs were asked to put forward their perspectives on the roll-out of various measures in their community. They were also asked to address specific community concerns that were raised in the course of conducting the survey fieldwork. These responses have been included in this report.

Quantitative NTER data

Finally, data sets were also requested from Australian Government sources: NTER Operations Centre, Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations and Centrelink. This data has been used to provide analysis to the survey results. The data provided includes:

- Account of the administrative problems encountered in the roll-out
- Number of people breached on Work for the Dole arrangements
- Presence of the Government Business Manager (GBM) and actions undertaken by them
- Establishment of any housing and infrastructure
- Changes to employment situation and transfer from CDEP
- Changes in school attendance (provided by NT DEET 2008)
- Whether health checks have taken place.

Data provided by the Australian Government has also been included in the report.

Limitations of the method

There were some limitations in the methodology and the research implementation. First, it was difficult to devise a suitable method for a review of NTER because of the lack of publicly available policy framework. Such a framework could have provided detail of the NTER measures' objectives, intent and associated indicators which could be compared with community perceptions. This limitation extends to any review being undertaken on the NTER. Further, the research was notably undertaken over a short time period. This was necessary so that findings could be available for the NTER 12 month review. However, the short time frame limited the scope of the research project and the sample size. A sample of 141 community residents represents about 7 percent of the total population of the six communities.

The research could be improved by: a larger sample in each community; inclusion of more younger people; sampling across a larger spread of communities including small communities and outstations; repeat surveys; surveying across all NTER measures; and greater access to Australian Government data.

Despite some limitations, the research team, through targeted and random interviews and the advice of local Aboriginal researchers, made consistent efforts to reach a representative sample of views in the case study communities. Further, by use of a participatory approach, including the self evaluation survey tool and use of Aboriginal researchers, the survey gathered detailed perspectives on a range of measures following in-depth surveys (most of which took at least half an hour). The report findings unite these perspectives into a telling story of the NTER.



Research findings

The following section presents the key findings of the research associated with each NTER measure included in the survey. This is followed by a short description of the measure and its associated roll out in the survey communities. While it is not the aim of this report to represent or discuss the detail behind all NTER measures, a summary of legislative changes and update on the practical roll out of the measures surveyed is provided. The main focus of this section is the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative survey data. The analysis in this section is based on survey responses from community members. However, there is also Centrelink data and responses from community-based agencies and Government Business Managers (GBM) considered within the analysis. GBM comments are found in boxes.

Note that this section focuses on the NTER measures included in the research and does not discuss measures and legislative changes not reviewed in the survey research, such as: pornography bans including checks on publicly funded computers, customary law consideration for bail and sentencing, statutory rights in buildings, business management powers, new powers with respect to town camps and suppression on native title. The research team left these out because it was considered necessary to focus on the main measures of the NTER.

Income Management

As a Council member I hear good things and bad things from people about the changes. The good things are that everyone in a house is buying food for the house... The bad things are that people say there is not enough cash. Winter is coming and people like to go away for things like sports weekend to other places, like places in South Australia. Can people get their money sent to other places?

Key findings

1. Responses across survey participants are almost equally divided between people in favour (51 percent) and opposed to income management (46%).
2. Gender and age are not significant factors in influencing people's level of support for income management.
3. Income source is a factor influencing people's level of support for income management. People on wages were most supportive of income management.
4. Advantages associated with quarantining arrangements included:
 - increased household expenditure on food and children
 - reduction in drinking
 - young men are contributing to family food
 - reduction in gambling
 - facilitates saving money (including through the use of store cards)
5. Disadvantages associated with quarantining arrangements included:
 - not enough discretionary cash
 - blanket reform is discriminatory
 - problems with accessing quarantined money
 - incompatibility with population mobility



- lack of choice
 - administrative restrictions on the use of quarantined money
 - cost shifting to Aboriginal people and community staff to deal with the new arrangements
6. For some aged and sick people moving onto income management has been difficult.
 7. If income management was better directed towards people with alcohol, gambling or substance misuse problems, there is some evidence to suggest that Aboriginal people would be more supportive of it.

Summary of welfare reform measure

- Income management supporting legislation came into effect on 18 August 2007; however, income management has been implemented on a community by community basis at the discretion of the Minister (see Table 4).
- Income management involves Centrelink directing income support payments to stores and housing rental agents to meet 'priority needs' (food, clothing, rent, transport, health etc).
- Under the changes 50 percent of most income support and family assistance payments and 100 percent of lump sum amounts are income managed. There is no reduction in the amount of money a person receives from Centrelink.
- Each person is encouraged to have a face to face interview with remote visiting Centrelink teams to decide individual payment arrangements. If clients are not interviewed, they are auto-income managed and their payments accrue until they are able to be interviewed.
- Stores must be licensed to receive income management. In Alice Springs, managed income is distributed to clients via store cards that can be used in Coles, Woolworths and Kmart.
- As at 18 July 2008, income management was in place in 28 communities, associated outstations and two town camp regions in CLC region and a total of 14,358 people were being income managed. Income management is due to be implemented in all communities by late August 2008.

Table 4: Income management start and research dates for survey communities

Community	IM start date*	Research conducted
Titjikala	7 Sept 2007	17-19 March 2008
Hermannsburg	17 Sept 2007	13-14 May 2008
Papunya	11 Dec 2007	17-18 March 2008
Kintore	11 Dec 2007	22-24, 28 April 2008
Ali Curung	7 April 2008	26 March-5 April 2008 3-6 June 2008
Yuendumu	TBC	Over March-April 2008

*Source: NTER Operations Centre, Australian Government

Quantitative data analysis: overall and community by community

Across survey communities, 141 people were asked their perception of income management arrangements. Responses across all survey participants were almost equally divided between people in favour and people opposed to income management (see Table 5). 63 people (45 percent) responded that income management should be scrapped or changed a lot. By contrast, 70 people (50 percent) were in favour of keeping income management arrangements, albeit some people wanted small changes made to the arrangements. 8 people (or 6 percent) remained unsure.

Further analysis of the survey data suggests that gender was not a significant factor influencing people’s support or opposition to income management arrangements. For example, 29 percent of women and 28 percent of men reported that income management should be scrapped (see Table 5). This is significant given the anecdotal discussion that Aboriginal women may be more in favour of income management.

Table 5: Participants response to income management by gender

Gender	Response					Total
	Scrap	Change a lot	Unsure	Change a little	Good	
Female	24 (29%)	13 (16%)	5 (6%)	17 (20%)	25 (30%)	100%
Male	16 (28%)	10 (18%)	3 (5%)	12 (21%)	16 (28%)	100%
Total	40 (28%)	23 (16%)	8 (6%)	29 (21%)	41 (29%)	100%

The type of income people receive (whether welfare payment or some other type) was significant in assessing the level of support an individual will have for income management arrangements (see Table 6). People on waged income reported overwhelming support (70 percent) for income management in its current form, or with small changes.

Table 6: Participants’ response to income management by income type

Income type	Response				
	Scrap	Change a lot	Unsure	Change a little	Good
CDEP	3 (19%)	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	2 (13%)	4 (25%)
Wage	1 (4%)	5 (22%)	1 (4%)	6 (26%)	10 (44%)
Welfare	21 (24%)	11 (14%)	5 (6%)	18 (23%)	25 (32%)
Other	0	3 (50%)	0	1 (17%)	2 (33%)
No response	13 (72%)	3 (16%)	0	2 (11%)	0
Total	28%	16%	6%	21%	29%

Age appears to be reasonably insignificant in assessing the level of support an individual will have for income management arrangements. Although, people between 18-29 years old were the most unsure, suggesting this group may be the least clear about the arrangements. People over the age of 65 were equally divided between ‘change a little’ and ‘scrap’. The sample size for age groups over 65 and between 18-29 was small (see Table 7) which means the results are not conclusive.

Table 7: Participants response to income management by age

Age group	Response				
	Scrap	Change a lot	Unsure	Change a little	Good
18-29	5 (22%)	5 (22%)	5 (22%)	3 (13%)	5 (22%)
30-39	11 (33%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	6 (18%)	11 (33%)
40-49	8 (21%)	6 (16%)	1 (3%)	9 (24%)	9 (35%)
50-64	12 (31%)	9 (23%)	0	7 (18%)	11 (28%)
65+	4 (44%)	0	0	4 (44%)	1 (11%)
Total	28%	16%	6%	21%	30%

Evidence indicates that the way in which communities have experienced the administrative roll out of income management arrangements differs markedly across communities. Across the five case

study communities there were a total of 1050 people being income managed on 30 May 2008 with variable proportions of people on income management (see Table 8). Income management arrangements have a much wider coverage in some communities (70 percent of Papunya residents and 60 percent Hermannsburg residents are income managed) than others (32 percent of Ali Curung residents and 38 percent of Titjikala residents are income managed).

Table 8: Number of people being income managed by community, 30 May 08

Community	No of IM customers	Approx population of community	Proportion of people on IM, relative to population
Ali Curung	123	385	32%
Hermannsburg	365	600	60%
Kintore	163	350	47%
Papunya	247	350	70%
Titjikala	152	400	38%
Total	1050	2085	50%

Source: Centrelink June 2008.

In three case study communities, Hermannsburg, Titjikala and Papunya, the introduction of income management arrangements increased numbers of welfare recipients (see Table 9). In Titjikala and Papunya, the increase was small but Hermannsburg, there was a large increase in welfare recipients, with an additional 120 people (or an additional 20 percent) receiving income support. This change presumably reflects the shift of large numbers of people previously receiving CDEP onto Work for the Dole arrangements. The increases across all communities may also be a result of people now receiving correct and full Centrelink entitlements and people no longer participating in any form of work related activity.

In two communities, Ali Curung and Kintore, the numbers of people receiving income managed payments has decreased (by 25 and nine people respectively) relative to those who were receiving welfare payments. In Kintore this is unsurprising because CDEP had operated for a short period of time with small numbers of people. In Ali Curung, it may suggest that some people have been transferred into waged positions in the community and people were moving to CDEP rather than be income managed.

Overall, the introduction of income management arrangements and the abolition of CDEP resulted in a six percent increase of welfare recipients, which is not substantial. This suggests the rationale for the abolition of CDEP to allow for more people to be income managed is limited.

Table 9: Comparison of the number of people receiving welfare payments at 14 Sept 07 and number of people on income management at 30 May 08

Community	Number (and proportions) of welfare payment customers prior to IM	No (and proportion) of IM customers	Change in numbers from welfare payments to IM
Ali Curung	148 (38%)	123 (32%)	-25 (-6%)
Hermannsburg	245 (40%)	365 (60%)	+120 (+20%)
Kintore	172 (50%)	163 (47%)	-9 (-3%)
Papunya	213 (60%)	247 (70%)	+34 (+10%)
Titjikala	140 (35%)	152 (38%)	+12 (+3%)
Total	918 (44%)	1050 (50%)	+132 (+6%)

Source: Centrelink June 2008

Of the survey communities where income management had been in place for some time (between two and eight months) perceptions differed markedly between communities (see Table 10). There was diversity of opinion in each of the communities about support for, or opposition to, income management arrangements. Overall, the majority of people surveyed in Titjikala (75 percent) and Hermannsburg (69 percent) were supportive of income management arrangements, albeit in some cases with some suggested changes to how income management arrangements operated. By contrast, people in Papunya were almost universally opposed to income management. Finally, in Kintore support for income management was mixed, with some people supporting income management arrangements but with reservations, and others opposed to the arrangements. In Yuendumu which was yet to experience income management people were generally opposed to income management, although responses varied. In Ali Curung, the research team took repeated surveys of perceptions of income management (see below). While the sample size is too small at individual community level to provide a representative voice, the diversity across community responses is reflective of: age profiles, mobility and work profile of survey responses and the administrative burdens associated with roll out of income management.

Table 10: Comparison of community responses to income management

Community	scrap	change a lot	not sure	change a little	good	Total
Ali Curung	3 (8%)	10 (27%)	2 (5%)	13 (35%)	9 (24%)	37
Hermannsburg	6 (17%)	5 (14%)	3 (9%)	6 (17%)	15 (43%)	35
Kintore	7 (30%)	2 (8%)	3 (13%)	3 (13%)	9 (38%)	24
Titjikala	3 (25%)	0	0	3 (25%)	6 (50%)	12
Yuendumu	9 (60%)	3 (20%)	0	2 (13%)	1 (7%)	15
Papunya	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	0	2 (11%)	0	18
Grand Total	43	23	8	29	41	141

**Perceptions of income management before and after welfare quarantining:
An Ali Curung experience**

The repeated surveying, before and after income management, at Ali Curung was used to assess people's perceptions of income management over time. Evidence from Ali Curung suggests that perceptions of income management have not changed significantly between the two field work periods (Table 11). In the first round of fieldwork perceptions of income management were very mixed, with 53 per cent of people surveyed reporting that they supported income management arrangements (albeit with small changes, in some cases) and 38 per cent of people reporting that they were opposed to the changes, the remainder of people remained unsure. In the second round of fieldwork (8 weeks after income management had been introduced to the community), the views of income management were still very mixed, with 47 per cent reporting opposing the changes and 53 per cent supporting the changes. There was no statistically significant difference between the two periods. Through discussions and observationally, people were getting used to the income management arrangements.

Table 11: Ali Curung responses to income management in fieldwork period 1 and 2

Field work time	scrap	change a lot	unsure	change a little	good	Total
Ali Curung (1)	3 (12)	7 (27)	2 (8)	8 (31)	6 (23)	26
Ali Curung (2)	3 (18)	5 (29)	0	5 (29)	4 (24)	17

Qualitative data analysis

The above analysis revealed that the perceptions of income management vary across and within communities. Further interviewing of community members provided greater insight into the differential evaluations of income management.

Advantages of Income Management

■ Increased expenditure on food and children

People interviewed in Hermannsburg, Ali Curung and Kintore identified that since income management had come into effect in the community, more money was being spent on food:

It makes shopping easy. I spend more money on food. Other people do too. Some others they don't like it. People with kids like it.

Some people interviewed in Kintore, Titjikala, Ali Curung and Hermannsburg further stated that they supported welfare quarantining because it meant more money was available for kids, the purported aim of quarantining:

People are spending more money on food and clothes. Kids are well fed. Some kids still hungry.

■ Reduction in drinking

A large number of people in Ali Curung and Papunya, and some people in Hermannsburg and Titjikala, cited support for income management was because of reduced alcohol consumption. Evidence as to whether this is actually occurring is inconclusive. In Ali Curung, during the second round of fieldwork after income management arrangements had been put in place, 67 percent of survey participants reported a decrease in alcohol consumption. Almost all of these participants believed that this decrease was due to income management and restricted access to money. This is a noticeable change from the previous survey that reported alcohol consumption levels were the same, despite the introduction of the new NTER legislation. Survey participants commented:

They are drinking little, not too much because some people running out of money. They think about food and clothes for children now.

However, other people in Ali Curung reported that drinking had remained and that gambling was increasing.

In Papunya, Hermannsburg, and Titjikala, a number of respondents stated that welfare quarantining meant people have less cash and were drinking less:

Before the Intervention we used to buy grog ourselves with money from our pocket. People had money to buy more grog, but now no money in pocket.

However, again there were people who reported that income management has not resulted in any changes to alcohol consumption. For instance, other people in Titjikala spoke about the fact that the changes to the days people were paid on Thursday to other days had meant more drinking was occurring. Clearly more research is needed before any conclusive findings about changes in alcohol consumption can be made (see alcohol consumption, page 47-51).



■ Young men are contributing

One of the positives associated with welfare quarantining identified by people in Titjikala is that people who had previously not contributed food to households, particularly young men, were now contributing for the first time. This was reported by the Titjikala store manager, and by community members interviewed:

Before men's money never went into the store. Men were never doing shopping for the family. Young people, mainly young men, were never in the store buying food for their families... Young men were never in the store before and now they are buying food.

■ Reduction in gambling

Some people in Titjikala and Hermannsburg have cited that their support for income management was linked to its impact on gambling. For example, in Titjikala, a woman reported she was in favour of quarantining because: "it stopped our mum spending all her money on cards. Now she is spending half of it on food". Similarly, the Store Managers in Titjikala reported that:

Gambling has gone down. We used to do late night shopping on a Friday night because we knew that card games had gone on and people might have \$5,000-6,000 in winnings to spend. Gambling winnings have dropped off so we are not opening late any more.

However, evidence of the impact of income management on gambling is inconclusive. Moreover, there were other people in the community who reported that income management has not resulted in any changes to gambling.

In Ali Curung, a number of community members reported that gambling was increasing in the community because people were seeking access to more disposable sources of money. Similar comments were made by residential staff on the community who perceived that gambling had increased. In the fieldwork period, the research team in Ali Curung noted that there were groups of people playing cards every day of the fieldwork.

Disadvantages associated with Income Management

■ Not enough discretionary cash

Of the people who were unhappy with the welfare quarantining, a major concern was that people did not have enough discretionary cash to do the things they wanted. This concern was closely linked to the perception that people's income was less under quarantining arrangements, in part due to increased prices in community stores:

Kuya [no good]. Don't like it. No cash in my hand. Only \$40 in my pocket.

The experience of not having enough cash also appears particularly acute for people who were previously employed on CDEP, specifically those previously receiving additional, Top up payments. For example, as men in Titjikala said:

There is not enough payment for cash in my pocket. I work 12 [8] hours a day, from 8 till 4 and I'm sweating for nothing. I was happy for CDEP before but now it's no good.

■ Blanket reform is discriminatory

People in a number of communities were critical of the blanket nature of quarantining, arguing that the measures should be targeted at an individual's behaviour. Without this targeting many respondents felt that the measures were discriminatory. For example, respondents in Titjikala, Yuendumu and Ali Curung criticised the blanket nature of the quarantining, arguing that many people had previously used their money responsibly:

They should have managed money for the people that need it. People used to save money to go away. It's racist. Lots of people have learnt to save money. It's racist, like treating us like kids. It's only for Yapa [Aboriginal people] not for Kardiya [non-Aboriginal people]. They should ask community and the individual should decide. Each community should decide...They shouldn't do it to the pension people, they know nothing.

Had quarantining been better directed towards people who were not behaving responsibly, or who have alcohol, gambling or substance misuse problems, there is some evidence to suggest that Aboriginal people may be more supportive of the measures:

I feel like they got out of hand with the Intervention. They think what they are doing is right, but individuals should be responsible for their actions, not taking on the whole community. There are people that do the right thing. People who are doing wrong should be made accountable.

If people get full money, people spend it wrong way. But me I don't play cards or drink. My money should come straight. I buy tucker for the family because I am a pastor. Some people drinking and playing cards, they should have half / half (have income management). Look at this kid [pointing at naked child]. He got no clothes because his parents are playing cards.

■ Impacts on individual's ability to financially manage

Associated with the critique that income management should not be directed at people behaving responsibly, is that income management reduces people's ability to financially manage their money. People in Ali Curung and Hermannsburg spoke about the lack of control they had over their finances now that income management arrangements had been put in place:

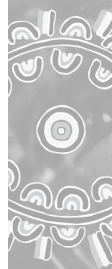
It's not good for me. Sometimes we look for money. Sometimes we don't know where our money is gone to. It's hard to keep a track because it's not in our bank account.

This critique was also made by a number of agencies who suggested that income management should be part of a broader financial literacy strategy.

■ Problems accessing money

A large number of people in Hermannsburg reported that they were unhappy with income management arrangements because of problems in accessing their money, and in dealings with Centrelink:

Money should come here, but still nothing. When this idea came along we had been waiting for our pension. I don't know where my money is. Sometimes comes, sometimes doesn't. This is the third time. I tell them it's the taxpayers' money, not your money. The government in Canberra is like our father. Pensioners shouldn't have to do this. I got no kids or anything.



Community workers in Hermannsburg substantiated these concerns, and offered some insight into the problems experienced by people in accessing their funds:

Some people are not getting all their money. People don't know where their money is. Money doesn't come in. They don't know where it is. One bloke got no money from Centrelink for 4 weeks. Centrelink said he only had \$30. We don't know where the money went. Another lady should get \$60. Last week she only got \$30.

■ Impact on population mobility

Aboriginal people in central Australia are highly mobile, and move between communities for ceremony, sorry business and to access services, amongst other reasons. People in communities of Papunya, Ali Curung, Kintore and Yuendumu, were concerned that Centrelink is not able, administratively, to deal with this highly mobile population:

We can't take cash to other places – you have to tell Centrelink two days before you go to Kintore for them to arrange for money to be there – by that time, you're back. It makes it harder to find out for money. People not sure. It might make it harder for me to travel when my husband sick and when we got sorry business, you know.

The introduction of the proposed key card for income management should help to address these concerns.

■ Lack of choice

Some people were also unhappy about having to use certain stores with the store cards or stores within their local area, where other stores remained unlicensed:

I don't like having to go to the same shop every time. There are lots of shops around that are cheaper. We need more stores to spend that card at. Now we can't buy tucker at the bakery and our money don't go to Murray Downs. Their food a little bit cheaper than the shop. That's the bad thing.

The Australian Government's proposal to place quarantined funds into a keycard style of arrangement, as opposed to a store card, should go some of the way to addressing these concerns.

■ Restricted use of money

People interviewed in Titjikala expressed concern about the inability to use quarantined payments to pay jail fines, unlike the Centrepay scheme which allows recipients the opportunity to voluntarily deduct money for fines. People interviewed in a number of communities also expressed their preference to use quarantined payments to enable people to save for car registration. Given that cars are listed as one of the 'basic needs' items by Centrelink, this may be resolvable. Finally, people surveyed also requested that quarantined money be used for savings. Many men in Titjikala compared income management with their previous ability to use CDEP payments as a communal saving mechanism, where everyone on CDEP could contribute to certain activities. Under income management these arrangements are no longer possible.

■ Lack of understanding

Numerous accounts from communities suggest that initially, people have not understood the welfare quarantining arrangements. However, it appears that this initial lack of understanding about quarantining arrangements has changed over time, with most people increasingly understanding the measures once they have been put in place for a period of time. People in Titjikala, Ali Curung and Papunya also reported that a number of older people had either initially not understood the

quarantining arrangements, or continued not to understand the arrangements. Consistent with these comments, Alice Springs-based agencies expressed concern that a number of sick and aged people were finding the shift onto income management extremely difficult to manage. The patient support coordinator for the Western Renal Dialysis unit commented:

For the group of our clients that are sick and have no transport the arrangements are beyond them. Old and sick people are another group that need a lot of administrative help with the new arrangements...Sick and old people are particularly vulnerable because they are unwell and half their time is taken up with waiting for buses and being on dialysis. They are not flexible and they are having trouble coming to grips with things.

Other concerns about income management

Agencies in Alice Springs, while recognising that there were positives associated with income management arrangements, also listed a number of specific concerns about the arrangements. Some concerns included:

- Difficulty in getting cross-border clients living in Western Australia and South Australia who had been incorrectly income managed off income management arrangements.
- People were contributing to services under income management, such as meals on wheels, that they do not have access to, and no one is refunding this contribution.
- Store cards were being traded for alcohol. Aged people were being pressured for store cards and that store cards were being taken, at reduced value for payments on goods, such as second-hand vehicles.
- The limited products available with store cards and specific goods their clients needed, such as swags or second hand goods, were not available at Kmart, Coles or Woolworths.
- People were being income managed but were not receiving any long-term financial literacy training so that they could develop the skills to be able to manage their finances.
- The numbers of people being put on income management without their knowledge, termed 'auto income managed'. This means that income managed funds will build up in their account.

The Australian Government's plan to put in place a key card arrangement will address some of these concerns. With respect to the concerns about people being auto-income managed, Centrelink provided data that suggests that as at 30 May 2008, a total of 78 customers out of a potential 1050 across the case study communities had amounts of greater than \$800 in their income management accounts. However, it is unclear whether these balances are building in people's accounts because they are having difficulty managing the new arrangements (i.e. because they are being auto income managed) or whether people are opting to save large amounts. Of people who have balances greater than \$800, 30 percent are located in Kintore which is the most remote community surveyed. This could suggest that recipients are saving their money for trips to Alice Springs or may mean that recipients have had difficulty accessing Centrelink staff because of their remoteness.

Further discussion

The results suggest that there is a link between the successful operation of a community store and support for quarantining arrangements. This result is drawn from the favourable responses of Titjikala and Kintore residents to the general operation of their store (see discussion in stores section) and their support for income management. By contrast, people in Papunya reported widespread opposition to the welfare quarantining arrangements and experienced an increase in prices in goods in their store, which both lead towards negative perceptions of the store's operations.

Residents in Titjikala and Hermannsburg valued the store cards process and were generally supportive of income management arrangements. People interviewed particularly identified the capacity to ‘save’ money for trips into town or for the purchase of goods:

Income management means your money builds up and that makes me happy. Might be \$500 or something and then you can go shopping in town with it. Might buy a washing machine or new clothes at Kmart...If you leave money then it builds up, but you can still buy tucker at the store.

Remoteness of the community may play a factor in support for income management arrangements. While people in communities close to Alice Springs, such as Titjikala and Hermannsburg, perceive advantages of store cards, others, such as people living in Kintore, are more dependent on using only the community store.

Data provided by Centrelink on the number of customers using store cards per community seems to suggest that remoteness is only slight factor in determining use of store cards (see Table 12). For example, Kintore has the lowest percentage, 44 percent, of people accessing store cards relative to Hermannsburg, Titjikala and Papunya. The high take up rate for store cards at Papunya community may be related to early dissatisfaction with prices at the community store. Ali Curung should be disregarded from the analysis because of the short time since income management was introduced. Unfortunately the Centrelink data did not identify the amount of times people accessed cards, which might further emphasise that communities close to town access the cards more frequently and are more supportive of the store card initiative.

Table 12: Number of customers issued with a store card by community as at 31 May 08

Community	No of IM customers using store cars	Total number of IM customers	Proportion of store card users to total IM
Ali Curung ¹	<20 ²	123	-
Hermannsburg	192	365	53%
Kintore	72	163	44%
Papunya	177	247	72%
Titjikala	101	152	66%

Source: Centrelink, June 2008

Unintended Consequences

■ Cost shifting to Aboriginal people

The new arrangements have created administrative burdens for many people in communities. People in communities reported time wasted chasing up details of their payments and waiting to see community-based Centrelink staff. There have also been repeated reports of long waiting times spent by people in Alice Springs Centrelink office collecting store cards. As the Patient Support Coordinator at the Western Desert Renal Dialysis Support Unit commented:

Getting a store card is hell and such an administrative burden on people’s lives. You spend endless waiting time at Centrelink queuing to get a store card.

¹ People in Ali Curung had not been subject to IM arrangements for only 6-8 weeks at this time.

² In accordance with Centrelink’s privacy policy the actual value provided was < 20 which can mean any value between 0 and 19.

Centrelink has confirmed that initially wait times were long. They have recently employed additional staff and reduced wait times. Centrelink data supports this and shows the wait times for customers from the period of 26 January to 31 May was 12 minutes, ranging from six to 26 minutes.

The new administrative arrangements associated with Work for the Dole and transition programs are also creating difficulties for some people in communities. Evidence from Tjuwanpa Resource Centre suggests that these requirements have resulted in some people being breached and payments cut off:

The 200 people who got hit did not have to look for work. They had to fill out a Centrelink form which was about 5 pages long. We had to do this for 200 people every week. A few people have lost the plot and have not received payment since last October. I have asked them to bring in their forms but they haven't.

The effect of breaching is to deprive people of their welfare entitlements. The administrative problems that income management customers face may be partly due to Centrelink agents in remote communities not being seen as Centrelink employees and therefore not able to deal administratively with a range of customer concerns. In this context, one advantage to the roll out of the NTER in remote communities is that Centrelink staff are increasing their presence on remote communities and agencies reported extra efforts by Centrelink to reach their clients. For example, one agency reported that Centrelink agents were now attending the renal dialysis unit to visit customers and respond to their issues.

■ Cost shifting to local staff

Local staff are being forced to wear much of the administrative burden associated with shifting people onto new quarantining arrangements. In particular, the licensing of stores and the need to keep comprehensive records of purchases relative to quarantined funds has in most cases created additional workload for store managers. The store manager at one store in Hermannsburg relayed their story of implementation:

We only came in December and the licensing had been done. We were still doing everything by hand and doing all the reporting by cards. Every till transaction had to be recorded on the card. When each customer came in, they had to sign the card. People were screaming and saying we were holding their money. I was resigning every day. The Centrelink people were upset as well. We signed up to be store managers not a Centrelink agent...We really needed another staff member to do the Centrelink work. Centrelink were sick of hearing about our problems. I never got a day off for a month. I still have not done all the paperwork for February and March. Where do we get the extra time to do the extra work?

Store Managers in Titjikala relayed similar experiences arguing that income management meant that stores need to create "124 files for each person in the community" to track their payments and this was impacting on their workload.

As well as Store Managers, other community workers have suggested they experienced an increased workload. The Titjikala CEO commented that all the additional government staff in Titjikala, including the GBM, took up a large amount of council staff time:

We are trying to work with the GBM and the solutions broker. But they waste a lot of staff time, and keep people from doing their work.

Some agencies in Alice Springs have also reported increased workloads from NTER. This is in part because these agencies already have relationships with Aboriginal people who are Centrelink clients. For a variety of reasons it appears that many Centrelink clients take their problems with

income management arrangements direct to welfare agency representatives rather than to Centrelink. Numerous accounts suggest that agencies in remote communities, and also in Alice Springs, have borne increased administrative costs associated with helping people to understand, and resolve problems, under income management arrangements. Agencies have received no additional funding for this extra administrative workload.



Licensing of Stores

Store is better but the prices are too high. People with car go to town to shop. Stores have been getting more food. The shelves are full.

Key findings

1. Where stores were licensed, people reported an improved quality of stock in the store. In Titjikala people reported that the store was already operating successfully.
2. In almost all case-study communities the licensing of stores has been associated with increases in store prices. By contrast, in Kintore some store prices appear to have decreased with the licensing process.
3. The result from one Hermannsburg store suggest that subsequent to income management starting there was an increased expenditure on different food types with a reduction in cigarette purchases (similar findings to FaHSCIA 2008).
4. Yuendumu and Ali Curung reported being placed under pressure by Australian Government representatives to comply with licensing conditions and allow Outback Stores in to manage the stores. Ali Curung residents have also reported being reasonably satisfied with Outback Stores management once in place.

Summary of store licensing

- Supporting legislation came into effect on 18 August 2007; however, a store is licensed at the discretion of FaHCSIA.
- Stores must be licensed to receive managed income. FaHCSIA may grant a community store licence after assessing the quality, quantity and range of groceries available, the finance and governance arrangements, and the store’s ability to participate in income management.
- FaHSCIA may revoke a licence if it thinks a license condition has been breached or that the store is not being operated in a satisfactory manner.
- If a store fails an assessment or has its licence revoked, the minister may declare that the store assets become the property of the Australian Government.
- Outback Stores, a company wholly owned by Indigenous Business Australia, has assumed management in some community stores. FaHSCIA granted a corporate store licence to Outback Stores.
- Table 13 details the survey community licensed store/s and other unlicensed outlets.

Table 13: Survey communities licensed store

Community	Licensed Store	Other Stores
Kintore	Kintore store	
Papunya	Papunya store	
Yuendumu	Undetermined	Mining Store Yuendumu Store/Social Club
Ali Curung	Outback Stores (transferred from Mirrnirri Store)	Warrabri Bakery
Hermannsburg	Finke River Mission store Ntaria Supermarket	
Titjikala	Titjikala store	

Qualitative data analysis

■ Store Licensing has improved the quality of products

In almost all case-study communities where stores have been licensed, people have reported that licensing has improved the quality of stock in the store. People in Papunya, Kintore, Ali Curung and Hermannsburg reported that licensing had improved the quality of products in the store:

The place looks like a shop now, with all the shelves full of tucker and rows for shopping.

That Outback now. That store been changed and inside the store changed. Fresh vegetables. It got shelves. Everything got prices.

People also reported an increase in availability of fresh food and vegetables. Titjikala was the only community with a licensed store that did not report improvements in the quality of stock. People in Titjikala reported that the store had been working well for a while, due to the work of the council, and that licensing of the store had made no real difference to the store's operation.

In Yuendumu, where the store was yet to be licensed and where licensing remains a contentious issue (see discussion below), a number of community people interviewed (including store committee representatives) felt that licensing could improve the operation of the store.

■ Increased prices

In Ali Curung, Papunya and Hermannsburg, the licensing of stores has been associated with increases in store prices. Licensing of the Ali Curung store has, according to the people surveyed, improved the quality of the stock in the store but has also resulted in increases in store prices. Many of the people surveyed identified that the takeover of store management by Outback Stores, which occurred at the time of licensing, had led to an increase in store prices. This was in spite of commitments made to the community that under Outback Stores' management products in the store would be cheaper (see Licensing and pressure on community stores, discussion below). A community member in Ali Curung made the following comment about store prices:

The prices gone up. Only on some items.... I got five items from the shop and it cost \$47, too much. Fresh veggies and fruits are too much. Tin tobacco gone up but cigarettes are down.

The research team also questioned the store manager about the allocation of prices. The manager confirmed that the decisions about prices were set in Darwin and store management had no influence over prices in the Ali Curung store. However, community members reported that these prices are high in comparison with Canteen Creek Outback Store.

People in Hermannsburg also reported increases in store prices. As a larger community in Central Australia, Hermannsburg has the advantage of two stores, which allows for a degree of competition. Both Hermannsburg stores were licensed to provide income management payments. However, in spite of this competition, there were widespread reports of increased prices:

Prices have gone up. Food good, but prices are too high. \$100 in the store is not much. Should really look at the stores to see if there is a way to make shopping cheaper.

Overall both Hermannsburg stores reported an increase in takings since income management came into effect. This could be an effect of increased prices or increased expenditure since income management arrangements started. One store provided figures which showed that more money is being spent on different food types, and a reduction on cigarette purchases (see Table 14).

Table 14: Changes in the takings (in dollars) of Fink River Mission store before and after income management, relative to major product areas.

Feb-Apr	Meat	Fruit	Bread	Groceries	Cigarettes
2007	15,500	6,000	10,500	92,000	17,200
2008	19,000	10,500	14,000	108,000	11,200

The other Hermannsburg store reported a mixed picture in terms of changes to store takings since income management was introduced, with a significant proportion of money being spent on fuel:

The takings didn't go up for quite a while. They have now. They are down about \$6,000-\$10,000 on a weekend. The store cards are reducing our takings on the weekends. I'm not sure what it would be overall... A lot of quarantined money is spent on fuel. For example, \$2,900 of quarantined money has been spent today and \$600 has been spent on fuel.

The high fuel component accords with the reports from community members about the use of store cards in Alice Springs to shop, since the advent of income management. The results of survey do not provide a clear indication of whether it is higher prices or income management that is contributing to high store takings.

Hermannsburg GBM perspective

The Hermannsburg GBM made the following comments about the operation of stores and the issue of price increases: "Prices have increased in one store- largely due to a change in management. Previously, some things were sold below cost, so they have had to increase prices. I think the prices at the stores are still comparable with IGA stores in Alice Springs."

In the case of Papunya, opposition to income management appears to be partly related to the reported price increases at the Papunya store which may mean that people were actually receiving less real income than before income management. The Papunya Store changed managers in late January 2008 – just before the income quarantining measure. A number of interviewees commented that the new store manager put the prices up. For example, a tin of 'Log Cabin' tobacco used to cost \$27; it now costs \$38, representing an increase of 35 percent.

Papunya GBM perspective

The Papunya GBM offered the following perspective on the perception of price increases in the Papunya store: "The new managers started not long after income management started. The previous manager had some strange rules- he wouldn't allow more than one purchase a day, for example. People may have negative perceptions about the store because of the previous manager. The new managers are transparent. Their pricing policy is consistent because there is a certain level of mark-up across the store. The previous manager was selling some stock under priced. There was an initial teething period where people expressed to me that they were not happy with store prices...and a lot of angst at the time the research [by CLC] was conducted but this has eased over time. People are now happy with the store arrangements...Store turnover has increased by 30 percent. Previously there was only one truck per fortnight coming to the store with goods, now its one truck per week."

■ Decreased prices in Kintore

In contrast to the Ali Curung, Hermannsburg and Papunya experience, in Kintore store licensing has reduced the prices on some goods in the store. The Kintore Store Manager commented that one effect of licensing was that, "some prices on food had to come down."

At a community level, people in Kintore reported mixed opinions about whether prices overall had increased, or decreased, since licensing came into effect although it appears that, prices on some goods, such as bread, have decreased:

Maybe price has gone up a little bit. Tobacco nearly \$30 now. Maybe food prices a little bit down.

However, other comments by store committee members suggest that one reason why prices were kept artificially high before was in order to contribute to community development activities in the community:

We want to keep ownership of the store. We keep the profits in the community for swimming pool and Papunya Tula and now dialysis. We want to put store money into the football oval and recreation place.

The Kintore store managers also reported on how the store distributed funds in the community. The price increase rule was removed following licensing. These comments demonstrate the complicated issues associated with store pricing policy.

■ Licensing and pressure on existing community stores

The operation of a licensed store is compulsory for the roll-out of income management in remote communities (unless a system of 'bush orders' is put in place). In this context two communities, Yuendumu and Ali Curung, have reported being placed under pressure by Australian Government representatives to comply with licensing conditions and, more specifically, to allow Outback Stores (the government's preferred provider) to manage the stores (see box for example). Participants in Yuendumu and Ali Curung expressed feelings of coercion and loss of ownership over store licensing negotiations:

No threats should be made. They threatened the Mining Store. That is wrong, there should be no bullying.

Shop needs to be separate from the Intervention. It is owned by our community and should stay that way...we have kept those stores for a long time and it's going to be gone.

It is only going to be for this year. We want to get back to management on our own, but we were worried about the debts. We were bullied into the decision. We wanted to say no. The Business Manager for the Intervention said we had to sign it, because he would build his own store so we just agreed for 6 months or 12 months. Outback told us it would be cheaper but we'll wait and see.

Store licensing is complex and allegations of coercion need to be considered in light of the new legislative power to require a particular store to be licenced and poor governance of many community stores. Historically, stores have been a key institution in communities and residents are sensitive to perceptions of control being taken away (see box below and community reports Meltzer 2008 and Wright 2008).

Experience of store licensing at Ali Curung

Under the licensing accreditation process, Mirirri Aboriginal Corporation (Ali Curung Store) did not meet eight of the criteria required to receive managed income. The significant levels of store debt, estimated between \$40,000 - 70,000, was a principal concern in assessing the store. It was suggested to the Store committee and Ali Curung community that Outback Stores should take over management. In doing so, it would take on the roll of income management (Outback stores is automatically granted a corporate license to operate), in addition to improving functioning of the store, stock levels and diversity, and, quality and quantity of food.

During the first round of fieldwork in Ali Curung, responses to the store changing to Outback stores management was mixed. One third of people thought it was a good idea, one third of people were unsure, and one third were unhappy with new management arrangements. Community members were supportive of changes to stock levels and food quality, but were unhappy with the negotiation process with Outback stores.

According to people surveyed, the GBM was prepared to build another store if the community didn't sign the Outback Store Management Contract (see GBM comments below). Committee members and others in the committee argued that the community was co-erced into signing the management contract:

Once they came in they wanted to take over our store. We said no and they said they would build another shop.

The then store managers who witnessed the signing argued that the committee did not have an opportunity to review the contract and were not explained the details. Concern about Outback Stores' management at Ali Curung has also diminished over time. During the second round of field work in Ali Curung, which took place after Outback Stores had taken over management of the store, people reported a reasonably high level of satisfaction with the store, with 67 percent of people surveyed reporting that the management by Outback Stores was a good thing for community.



Ali Curung GBM perspective

The Ali Curung GBM was asked to comment on the perceptions that pressure was being placed on the community relating to the operation of the store, he had this to say:

“The store is currently in transition to Outback Stores. Already there has been a massive increase in the number of items for sale on the shelves from 210 to 700 items. I came to Ali Curung last year knowing that income management was coming and that we needed a licensing arrangement in place. I spoke to the manager and explained income management. The idea in late 2007 was that the store would prepare itself to be licensed.

On 8 January the store manager left the community very suddenly...The store had no management. Information had also come out about the store operation, it was in debt and couldn't keep afloat. The fuel company wouldn't even sell fuel to it.

A temporary manager stepped in to operate the store with his partner. The store didn't have the capacity to be licensed so I suggested we should bring in Outback Stores. Outback Stores gave a presentation about how the income management arrangement would work. The community members expressed some concerns about Outback Stores taking over the store but they explained that they were not taking over, and would just employ a store manager.

The people managing the store had no experience in store management but were offered training by Outback Stores. Negotiations, at this time, were continuing for the committee to sign an agreement with Outback Stores. Then the Store Committee members said they didn't want Outback Stores in. I got the impression from the committee that they had been pressured to change their mind.

We held a community meeting with the community and the store committee. The community decided they would have Outback Stores in to manage the store for a 12 month trial period.

The big advantage is that Outback Stores have a corporate licence so the store can operate, because the previous store would not have been licensed so income management would not have commenced. My role is to have an entity on the community that can accept income management. I never said that I would set up a store in competition with the Ali Curung store. I absolutely deny that. What I did say was to tell people that government policy is that there must be a licensed store, or some other arrangement in place.”

Community Development Employment Program (CDEP)

People think Work for the Dole is like sit down money. With CDEP people were happy.

Key findings

1. There is widespread opposition to the removal of CDEP in all communities surveyed with 76 percent of people expressing support for CDEP.
2. There is less incentive to work because of the 'random' nature of breaching compared with CDEP 'no work no pay' rules, the lack of pay differentiation between Work for the Dole and welfare, and inability to earn top-up wages. As a result, people in some communities reported that participation had fallen under Work for the Dole arrangements compared with CDEP.
3. The implementation of alternative programs, such as Work for the Dole, has been haphazard. Some people are required to participate in Work for the Dole, while others are not. Some Work for the Dole programs have been well received, while others have not.
4. A number of people have been 'breached' for not meeting new work requirements, involving the loss of income for eight weeks, however, the enforcement of work requirements varies widely between communities. In Titjikala no one has been breached, but many people have been breached in other communities. The survey results suggest the level of breaching is higher than the data provided by Centrelink.

Summary of changes to CDEP

- Remote Area Exemptions were lifted and the phased removal of CDEP was introduced community by community.
- In Central Australia, CDEP ceased in 16 communities, associated outstations and Alice Springs town camps. It remained in all other communities.
- Survey communities CDEP ceased to operate in: Titjikala 28 Sept 07, Kintore 26 Oct 07, Papunya 9 Nov 07, Hermannsburg 9 Nov 07. CDEP continues in Yuendumu and Ali Curung. It was reinstated in 1 July 2008 in all communities.
- Tjuwanpa Outstation Resource Centre received funding for 'transitional activities' to support their existing CDEP activities rather than removal of CDEP altogether.
- Note: A review of CDEP by the Australian Government is currently under way.

Table 15: CDEP or Work for the Dole numbers at survey communities

Community	Participants - Work for the Dole / CDEP
Kintore	10 Work for the Dole
Papunya	12 Work for the Dole
Hermannsburg	8 Work for the Dole + transitional activities
Titjikala	27 Work for the Dole
Ali Curung	92 CDEP
Yuendumu	64 CDEP

Source: NTER Operations Centre, Australian Government

Quantitative data analysis

There is widespread opposition to the removal of CDEP in all communities surveyed. As Table 16 indicates a large majority of the people surveyed across all communities, 76 percent of people (when adjusted for people who did not respond to the question), reported that they wanted to 'keep CDEP the way it was' or that CDEP was 'mostly good'. This finding was particularly high in some communities, for example, all people surveyed in Titjikala (100 percent) responded that the Australian Government should 'keep CDEP the way it was'.

Table 16: Perceptions of changes to CDEP across all survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of respondents
Keep CDEP the way it was	67	63%	71%
CDEP is mostly good	4	4%	4%
Make some changes to CDEP	2	2%	2%
Keep the changes to CDEP	21	20%	22%
No response	12	11%	
Total	106	100%	100%

Qualitative analysis

■ Widespread opposition to the removal of CDEP

In all communities where CDEP was previously in place there was widespread opposition to the removal of CDEP. People in Titjikala, Kintore and Papunya were strongly opposed to the removal of the CDEP program from their community.

People in Titjikala, Hermannsburg, Papunya and Kintore spoke about the important contribution that CDEP had made to their community. For instance, previously in Titjikala over 100 people had been employed on CDEP in a range of different activities including: construction work, fencing, grading, working in the orchard, working in the Arts Centre, working in the Women's Centre, working in the child care program and aged care program. People reported the change in the Titjikala community when CDEP was scrapped:

When CDEP was working people were happy and enjoying working. People were busy working in the community. Now it's all broken- no one is going to work. People are just sitting at home watching TV and getting bored.

CDEP was going really well in Titjikala. People were in lots of different groups doing different work. There was a rubbish mob, a housing mob, people working in the orchard. Now most of these things are not happening. We really need CDEP back again. CDEP was working really well and people were busy all the time.

People in communities where CDEP continues to operate, such as Yuendumu and Ali Curung, also voiced their support of CDEP, while at times acknowledging that some changes are needed to the program.

■ Less incentive to work

Many people interviewed in Titjikala and Kintore said that unlike CDEP, which was regarded as work, Work for the Dole is regarded as being 'sit down money' so people don't feel that they need to

turn up for work any more. People in Titjikala and Kintore commented that participation has fallen on Work for the Dole, relative to CDEP:

I used to be a supervisor on CDEP and we would go collecting rubbish. Then CDEP went and no one wanted to do the job any more. People don't want to work on Work for the Dole. Work-for-the dole is like unemployment benefits, it's just sit down money.

Survey responses indicate that one reason for this lack of participation on Work for the Dole, relative to CDEP, is that participants do not receive any 'top-up' income if they are simply on welfare payments. Therefore, there are reduced incentives for working hard or longer on community driven projects. Many people in Kintore commented on the lower 'wages' received on Work for the Dole compared to CDEP:

Should be proper jobs for Aboriginal people. Work for the Dole is like being a slave.

Another reason for the negative response of people in Titjikala to Work for the Dole, relative to CDEP, may be the strict incentive structure that Titjikala Council used to enforce under its no-work-no-pay rule:

When CDEP was on people used to go into town on payday and come back on the weekend because of the no-work-no pay rule. The rule made people think about their work and they would come back to do their work. Now the no-work-no pay rule is gone so people on Work for the Dole are not turning up any more. No one has been breached so no one needs to work.

Because no one is being breached in Titjikala, people have less incentive to participate under Work for the Dole than under CDEP with the no-work-no-pay rule.

■ Implementation of alternative programs haphazard

The abolition of CDEP has been coupled with a concurrent rollout of Work for the Dole programs and funding of 'real jobs' in targeted communities. People reported continuing difficulties with the implementation of Work for the Dole programs. Overall, there was less flexibility with the types of activities that could be offered. In some programs, people are not turning up to participate in work requirements. In other programs, the supervisors did not have a firm control of arrangements:

Some people are still turning up but they don't know what they are doing. Before they had jobs and they knew what they were doing. Supervisors don't know who is working and what people are supposed to be doing. People don't know either.

People in communities offered a number of specific criticisms of Work for the Dole relative to CDEP. First, it appears that unlike CDEP, Work for the Dole does not allow people to work overtime. This was commented on in Titjikala:

People working extra hours is a problem. For construction workers when they were on CDEP they could be paid top-up. With Work for the Dole you lose money for overtime.

Similarly, in Papunya the Store Manager raised the problem of not being able to pay overtime on Work for the Dole. The Store Manager commented that while the store has five people turning up consistently to work, Work for the Dole really limits the time they can work, because they can only do 15 hours before they start losing income.

Transition arrangements: Hermannsburg/Tjuwanpa experience

Prior to the NTER Hermannsburg and the surrounding outstations had a significant CDEP workforce of around 250 people. Most of these positions were based at Tjuwanpa Resource Centre, just to the west of Hermannsburg, which services all of the outstations. CDEP was officially abolished in Hermannsburg and surrounding outstations on 26 October 2007. However, in reality, employment of people continued under 'transition arrangements'.

The change at Tjuwanpa from CDEP to 'transitional activities' meant there were a number of unintended consequences. The Manager at Tjuwanpa indicated there was less flexibility to provide top-up money for extra work:

"The rangers' skills and abilities meant they were prepared to work above and beyond normal requirements. They were getting extra work from parks and wildlife and other places. The difficulty was to pay them the extra money while being in receipt of a Centrelink payment. Centrelink were taking dollar for dollar. We decided to leave it as it is (not try and give extra payments)."

The Manager also explained the requirements of the new administrative arrangements. Previously, someone could exit CDEP without penalty, but now if someone opts out of 'transition arrangements' they will be breached. Additionally, each person must now fill out a long administrative form each week or risk being breached.

In relation to new 'real jobs', people in Papunya and Titjikala criticised the idea presented to them by government representatives that community members could shift from CDEP into 'real jobs':

CDEP was a real job. The clinic and school jobs are already taken by people. There are already local people in them. We can't just go in and push them out.

People in Papunya also commented that they were frustrated that not many people had actually received 'real jobs' since the NTER was announced.

Real jobs not NTER related: An Ali Curung case study

Ali Curung community has made a determined push for the creation of 'real jobs' over the last few years. The experience of Ali Curung community appears to be that they have had more success in garnering support for these arrangements outside of an NTER process. For example, the community has created the following eight positions for people who were previously on CDEP over the last 12 months:

- Apprentice Health worker – full time
- Cleaning Contract at Clinic – part time
- Clinic Administrator – full time
- Clinic Reception – part time
- Clinic driver/gardener – currently part time, but may go full time
- Two Night Patrol positions – part time
- Additional Assistant Teacher at school – full time

By contrast, only one full-time job has been created at the store through the NTER and a possible ten jobs may be created in Aged Care positions – although the positions were yet to be filled at the time of research, and it appears that funding for these is due to expire on 30 June 2008.

■ Breaching

Participants on Work for the Dole programs must adhere to certain activity requirements, including submitting forms and performing work. Failure to meet these requirements can result in ‘breaching’ and the cutting off of benefits for up to eight weeks. Unlike people in Titjikala where no breaching has occurred, people in Papunya, Kintore and Hermannsburg reported breaching under new Work for the Dole arrangements.

People in Papunya reported that many people had been breached on Work for the Dole and cut off from receiving their welfare entitlements for eight weeks. Most people in Papunya were dissatisfied with the apparent high level of breaching:

I reckon that's a no good system – your family got to look after you [if you've been breached].

The cut off is too hard. CDEP is a good program. People like it because they want to work.

People in Papunya appeared to have no detailed understanding of Work for the Dole rules, or why they had been breached, including people who themselves had been breached.

People in Kintore also reported breaching in the community however, unlike Papunya, people seemed to have more idea about why people were being breached under the Work for the Dole requirements:

Not getting paid properly on Work for the Dole. They cut my pay. Just recently. It was cut because I didn't turn up one time. Not getting money at the moment. I'm not working at the moment. I'm living off my family at the moment. I don't like it. I will try and get a different job after the 8 weeks, don't want to go back to Work for the Dole.

As indicated, breaching means that individuals need to seek the support of their families for the eight week period. For example, one worker in Kintore commented that the effect of breaching is that “people who have been breached are just asking the oldies for money”. Centrelink data suggests that the numbers of participants that have been breached are less than 20 people³ for all of the survey communities from the period 17 September 2007 to 30 May 2008. This requires more analysis as the community response suggests this figure is too low (it may be that people being breached on ‘transitional arrangements’ in Hermannsburg, for example, are being counted in a different way).

Unintended Consequence: The impact of the removal of CDEP on community-based organisations

Community-based organisations, such as the Titjikala Arts Centre, have commented on the negative impact of the removal of CDEP on their organisation:

Before everyone was equal and would help each other. Now people are either on income management and Newstart or part-time on CDEP transition or full-time and off income management...At the Arts Centre this has created different levels amongst a small group of artists and productivity stopped. Lots of artists became passive, like students, and were asking what they should do all the time.

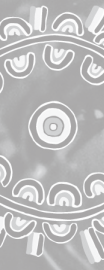
³ Centrelink cannot provide exact figures. Less than 20 means the result is between 0 and 19 people.

The abolition of CDEP has also meant an interruption to business processes of the internationally renowned Gunya tourism business located at Titjikala. Gunya was closed for the 6 months after the removal of CDEP, but has since been re-opened.

Staff involved in the various employment programs that operate in communities have spoken about the problems of trying to move people between different programs. The Ali Curung CDEP manager highlighted the impact this can have on individuals:

The systems don't even talk to each other. I work from CDEP manager and it can't talk to the Centrelink or job network system. So, it's a mess. We had one person who didn't receive any payments over the Christmas break because we had put her on the waiting list but she wasn't on CDEP. Centrelink took the participant off the payments, but because the participant was only on waiting list and I was away, the participant didn't get paid over Christmas from CDEP or Centrelink and there is no way in either systems to back pay.

Tjuwanpa Resource Agency also spoke initially about their fear that as a resource agency that serviced outstations they could not continue to operate without CDEP funding. While this has been resolved in the short-term with the establishment of 'transition' payments, it is unclear how long this arrangement will continue.



Police

Key Findings

1. The majority of people surveyed (75 percent) reported that they were happy with the current police numbers.
2. However, given the variability of results, the overall result underplays the result in some communities. For example, in Titjikala, which has no permanent police presence, over half the people interviewed wanted an increased police presence in the community (note: small sample).
3. People surveyed in case-study communities commented on the importance of community engagement in developing an effective policing strategy, particularly if matters of child safety are to be addressed. People also commented on the important role that Night Patrols can have in promoting safety in communities.

Summary of roll out of additional police

- Additional 50 police were deployed in 18 communities across the NT. In Central Australia additional police were allocated to Willowra, Nyirripi, Impanpa, Utopia, Santa Teresa and Haasts Bluff.
- In addition 10 new custodial facilities will be built across the NT. Two of these facilities will be located in Alpurrurulum and Nyirripi.
- No additional police were deployed in the survey communities.

Quantitative data analysis

The majority of people surveyed (75 percent, when allowing for people who did not respond to this survey question) reported that they were happy with the current police numbers (Table 17). However, in this case the overall survey results underestimate the importance of this issue in some communities (see Table 18). At Titjikala, a large majority of people (58 percent) were in favour of increasing the police presence in the community. Similarly, in Yuendumu 40 percent of people surveyed, and in Ali Curung 32 percent of people surveyed, said that the community needed more police.

Table 17: Perceptions of police levels in communities all survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of those who responded
Police numbers are good as is	77	59%	75%
Police numbers mostly ok	1	1%	1%
Unsure	2	2%	2%
Need more police	23	18%	22%
No response	27	21%	
Total	130 ⁴	100%	100%

⁴The total survey responses are reduced because this question was not raised in 2nd round of interviews at Ali Curung.

Table 18: Perceptions of police levels per community

	Good as is	Mostly ok	Unsure	Need more	NIL
Ali Curung	15 (54)	0	0	9 (32)	4 (14)
Papunya	16 (100)	0	0	0	0
Titjikala	3 (25)	1 (8)	1 (8)	7 (58)	0
Yuendumu	8 (53)	0	1 (7)	6 (40)	0
Hermannsburg	24 (69)	0	0	1 (3)	10 (29)
Kintore	11 (46)	0	0	0	13 (55)

Qualitative data analysis

■ Support for additional policing

A majority of people interviewed in Titjikala were in favour of an increased police presence in the community. People identified a number of benefits from having police located in a community, including helping alcohol-related incidents:

We want police here permanently. It would help keep the drunks out so that kids can go to sleep and get to school. The community would work together with the police.

People pointed to the stress caused because Titjikala is the only community in the region without a police station:

Because there is a police station in Finke and Santa Teresa but not one here, people come here to drink. They drive into the community and drink. It's a party place for visitors.

People in Ali Curung reported that while they were generally happy with current levels of policing they wanted extra police when 'special events' were happening in the community such as a sports weekend, when other communities visit, or in an emergency. People in Ali Curung also discussed the need for more police in Epennara.

In Yuendumu, the Mt Theo acting manager, who has a close working relationship with the police, expressed surprise that more police hadn't been sent to the community:

It was surprising that more police weren't sent here and that it wasn't based on a ratio of population. There is a critical mass of young people in the community. This means that cops here have a lot more to do out of hours than in Nyirripi or Willowra.

There are three police in Hermannsburg and most survey participants suggested that this was a sufficient number. However, the Hermannsburg GBM reported that policing in the community is below the established standard allocations per population because there is a difficulty finding trained Aboriginal Community Police Officers to work in Hermannsburg.

■ Individual policing strategy important

People surveyed in some communities commented on the importance of community engagement in developing an effective policing strategy, particularly if matters of child safety are to be addressed. In Yuendumu, the Acting Manager of the Mt Theo Program, who has worked closely with the police on youth and 'anti-social behaviour', commented that the policing strategy employed by police makes more of an impact in a community, than the actual NTER laws:

My perspective on police doesn't relate to the Intervention but has more to do with the individual personalities. The current Sergeant is excellent and the effectiveness is to do with how they operate in the community. The Sergeant really sets the tone regardless of the laws because he dictates how preventive or proactive the police are rather than just reacting after things go wrong.

Community engagement around the development of a policing strategy is an important issue. A number of criticisms offered of policing in Papunya indicate that liaison between the police and community members could be improved. People in Yuendumu and Papunya also raised the importance of having female police officers in communities to deal with particular incidents.

■ Night Patrol important

People surveyed in Ali Curung, Titjikala and Papunya also spoke about the importance of Night Patrol in keeping the community safe and managing drinking incidents. People in Titjikala commented that the NTER had stopped the operation of Night Patrol in the community for a period of six months:

We need to start up Night Patrol again soon. That's better than police because police can get rough on people. Titjikala had Night Patrol under CDEP but it fell over at the time of the Intervention.

■ Problems with federal police

The use of Australian Federal Police in NTER has been criticised by some communities. People interviewed in Titjikala pointed to the different behaviour of the NT police to Federal police:

We want more police in our community but good ones- not the cheeky ones...Local police from Alice Springs are okay but Federal police are no good, they don't know anything. Alice Springs police know the back roads to catch people with grog but Federal police don't know...Federal police are too bossy and they don't know anything but they don't ask the community to help. Local police are ok they ask for help.

Several NT police interviewed suggested understanding the local protocols of particular communities is an essential part of their policing strategy.



Alcohol

These laws don't solve the problem. What about funding for counsellor or sobering shelter at Ali Curung or programs for stopping grog and drinking, there is no help. The men have a broken spirit.

Key findings

1. A majority of people (57 percent) felt that there was less alcohol consumption in their communities than prior to the NTER. A significant portion (37 percent) thought alcohol consumption was about the same.
2. Reasons given by people surveyed for reduced alcohol consumption include: the introduction of income management, grog running laws, more policing and changes in alcohol consumption patterns.

New alcohol laws

- New alcohol related laws came into effect on 18 August 2007 and alcohol offences on 15 September 2007.
- New offences created for bringing liquor onto, being in possession of, consuming (penalty \$1100 - \$2200, including \$100 on the spot fine) or selling liquor (up to \$74,000 or 18 months jail for the equivalent of 3 cartons of beer or more) in prescribed areas.
- Any alcohol outlet must record name, address and place of consumption for purchases over \$100.

Note: In addition to the NTER changes, many other alcohol changes as part of the Alice Springs Alcohol Management Framework have taken place recently.

If alcohol consumption in communities has decreased, as indicated by these findings, it is not easy to assess to what extent this reduction can be attributable to NTER changes.

With regard to other changes under the Alice Springs Alcohol Management Plan, in October 2006 the following restrictions were introduced:

- Restrictions on the hours of sale for port and wine
- Restrictions on the size of wine and port casks,
- Restrictions on sale quantity, and
- Removal of long neck beer bottles from sale.

Additionally, from August 2007, Alice Springs became a 'dry town' meaning no alcohol could be consumed in public and police assumed new powers to issue on the spot fines and infringement notices.

Following the introduction of these measures, 2007 figures for Alice Springs show that port and wine sales are down 90 percent but beer sales are up 50 percent. More recent figures show that overall pure alcohol sales in Alice Springs are down 17

percent over a two year period in December 2007 and that related alcohol harm is also down (Northern Territory Government 2008).

The extent to which these changes in drinking habits and reductions in pure alcohol sales can be attributed to NTER laws is difficult to assess. However, it is likely to be limited because the above statistics were taken soon after the NTER changes (and before, for example, significant rollout of income management).

The NT Government will shortly undertake a comprehensive review of restrictions under the Alcohol Management Plan which will examine these issues more closely.

Quantitative data analysis

Across all people surveyed slightly more people (57 percent of respondents) felt that there was less, or slightly less, alcohol consumption in their communities than prior to the NTER. A significant portion (37 percent) thought alcohol consumption was about the same and a small minority thought alcohol consumption had increased, or slightly increased (6 percent), see Table 19.

Table 19: Perception of alcohol consumption from survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of those who responded
Less alcohol consumption	72	56%	58%
Same	46	35%	37%
More alcohol consumption	7	6%	6%
No response	5	4%	
Total	130	100%	100%

However, community responses varied considerably (Table 20). All respondents surveyed in Papunya (16), 13 respondents in Yuendumu and 17 respondents interviewed in Kintore reported that people in their community were consuming less alcohol. On the other hand, the majority of people in Hermannsburg and Ali Curung reported that alcohol consumption had remained the same.

Table 20: Perception of alcohol consumption per community

Perception	Ali Curung	Papunya	Titjikala	Yuendumu	Hermannsburg	Kintore
Less	11 (40%)	16 (100%)	7 (58%)	13 (87%)	8 (23%)	17(77%)
Same	16 (57%)	0	3 (25%)	1(7%)	23 (66%)	3 (14%)
More	0	0	2 (17%)	1 (7%)	4 (11%)	0
Nil	1 (3%)	0	0	0	0	4 (18%)

Qualitative data analysis

Reasons for reduction in alcohol consumption

■ Income management

A large number of people in Ali Curung and Papunya, and some people in Hermannsburg and Titjikala, cited that their support for income management was due to reduced alcohol consumption

in their community (see income management, pg 25-26). Evidence as to whether this is actually occurring is inconclusive. More research is needed to support conclusive findings about changes in alcohol consumption.

■ New grog running laws

Some people surveyed attributed reductions in alcohol consumption to new severe penalties for transporting alcohol into prescribed communities (also termed grog-running). People interviewed in Titjikala and Yuendumu reported that most drinkers were aware of the new severe penalties for grog running and were convinced they are making a difference to alcohol consumption:

People are worried about the law and worried about getting picked up.

However, many people in all surveyed communities commented that the grog-running laws were having little effect, in part, because no one has been prosecuted:

There is no difference to how people are drinking. People in Titjikala are testing out the grog laws. People drive back to the community with 8 cartons... People will believe it when someone is caught, then they will slow down but until then they will keep on going.

Survey comments suggest that the police are not generally applying the strict new grog running laws, possibly because the penalties are severe and there are difficulties with prosecution. The mixed responses suggest any reduction in consumption as a result of grog running laws is likely to be limited.

■ More policing: Yuendumu perspective

In Yuendumu, a number of respondents credited a reduction in alcohol consumption with new proactive policing practices, such as road blocks on the Tanami Highway:

People are using different roads but some people are frightened...lot of people saying- we can't bring grog to the community now.

This was confirmed by community workers. For example, the Mt Theo acting manager believed police had become more proactive and were able to undertake additional work due to extra police in the region:

I would say grog consumption has gone down but that would be to do with the increasingly proactive local police and that resulted out of discussions with the Women's Centre and us and other organisations in the community. Since December or October last year, under the new Sergeant, the police have made a concerted and conscious effort to be out on the highway and that was possible with additional police in Nyirrpi. The extra manpower has made it more feasible.

Similarly, the Manager of the Yuendumu Women's Centre, from which the women's Night Patrol is run, pointed to the role of police in decreasing alcohol-related harm in the community:

There has been a huge difference for the amount of domestic violence. We can graph the incidences of domestic violence parallel with the police patrolling the road. When they [the police] don't stop the grog it reflects in the community with domestic violence. When they are out on the highway and stopping cars there is a lot less violence in the community. I don't believe that's purely an NTER measure but more to do with the Sergeant in control and his policing measures.

The feedback from Yuendumu suggests increased policing has reduced alcohol consumption and harm. The extent to which NTER law changes have assisted this is unclear. However, alcohol bans on all Aboriginal land and the roads passing through has meant police have the ability to conduct road blocks well outside communities on Aboriginal land where they couldn't previously.

■ **Drinking the same but less alcohol harm: Hermannsburg experience**

There was a consensus of opinion in Hermannsburg that alcohol consumption has not changed since the NTER was announced. Typical responses included:

Not really changing. People still drinking from the half in their pocket. The grog runners know the time to come. They wait. The grog is still coming in.

There were some comments of possible reductions in alcohol consumption because of income management and policing. However, statements were also made that income management was not a burden to drinking because store cards can be sold for lower values in Alice Springs and income management perhaps provides savings that facilitates travel to Alice Springs. On the policing side, observationally police are increasing their focus on grog runners and they receive increased support from road patrols set up west of Alice Springs.

Clinic workers presented a picture of fewer alcohol related-presentations and reduced alcohol harm occurring over time:

We are still getting a few people turning up for violence, but less than before. We were getting five a day, coming in every night, now about two a day.

Consistent with reduced alcohol harm, some community workers noted a shift in drinking habits away from wine to beer as well as a change in drinking locations. The Manager at Tjuwanpa Outstation Resource Centre, adjacent to Hermannsburg, noted the new prevalence of cans in that area:

We've never had cans at Tjuwanpa and now you see them about. Cans are all along the sides of the road. People are drinking on the road so you don't get caught.

The research suggests that drinking habits have changed in Hermannsburg with a shift to beer and a shift of some drinking to Alice Springs, but overall consumption is not substantially different.

GBM perspective

The Hermannsburg GBM noted that there was still a lot of evidence to suggest that alcohol was still coming through the community but that it was, perhaps, not as bad as it had been in the past.

Changes in alcohol behaviour

■ **Drinking outside community**

In Titjikala and Hermannsburg people reported a shift in drinking to drinking camps outside of the community:

Lots of people are now drinking in drinking camps out of town so its made a small difference to how people are drinking... Sneaky people are still bringing grog in... Drinking is a little bit less now, but still the same.

People in Titjikala identified the movement of people to drinking camps as benefiting the community, as it limited alcohol related violence in the community.

■ **Shift to marijuana: Kintore experience**

In Kintore people reported that although alcohol consumption has decreased, this had been matched by an increase in the consumption of marijuana. People reasoned that this trend was due, in part, to the fact that marijuana was easier to bring into the community, now that the new grog running laws were in place:

Dry country this one. Can't bring grog in here. Now young people bring grass for smoking. More grass now.

Comments from Kintore are consistent with the findings of the Alice Springs based Substance Abuse Intelligence Desk that cannabis use in Indigenous communities had escalated following the roll out of Opal fuel and tougher alcohol restrictions under the NTER (Robinson 2008: 7).

■ **Shifts in the type of alcohol consumed**

Some respondents in Titjikala and Hermannsburg (see above) picked up on the shift in consumption patterns from wine to beer which is occurring more broadly (see Alice Springs survey results above). While the cause of this shift is not rooted in NTER changes, one person in Titjikala stated the benefit of such a change:

People are now drinking VB or Passion Pop instead of monkey blood, because its cheaper. So now they are sober the next day.

GBM perspectives on alcohol consumption

The perspective of most GBMs from the communities surveyed was that there had been no real shift in alcohol consumption in communities. The exception to this was Yuendumu where the GBM reported a significant decrease in alcohol consumption in the community. He reported that there were now very few alcohol fuelled incidents in Yuendumu, in contrast with the past and that the police were focusing more on grog running and drink driving problems.

The Ali Curung GBM noted that the community was so close to liquor outlets that this made shifting alcohol consumption difficult, however he felt that people were being charged for alcohol consumption related activities in the community.

The Papunya GBM noted that alcohol consumption hadn't changed much, although he felt that the police had focused extra effort on policing grog running into the community. One person had been charged with a grog running offence in Papunya. However, they had not received a conviction because it is difficult to establish that one person is responsible for bringing in alcohol, when there are a number of people in a car that contains alcohol.

Finally, the Titjikala GBM reiterated the concern raised by a community member in Titjikala that the change in payments from CDEP to income management has meant that instead of everyone getting paid on Thursday, as happened with CDEP, and drinking in town but then being ready for work on Monday, people are now paid all through the week. This means that there are more trips into town for drinking.

Housing

Key findings

1. Community support for the Community Clean Up (CCU) program is closely linked to the quality and efficacy of the repairs and maintenance undertaken in communities. At Kintore and Hermannsburg, where housing audits have been completed and a reasonable repairs and maintenance program has been undertaken, communities are reasonably supportive of the CCU program. However, at Titjikala and Ali Curung where numerous audits have been undertaken without a substantial repairs and maintenance program or allocated funding are used ineffectually, people reported a high level of dissatisfaction with the program.
2. Communities reported that there was inadequate housing relative to community needs. The overwhelming majority of people surveyed (87 percent) reported that they needed better housing in their community.
3. Community members and staff in Titjikala and Ali Curung expressed frustration in housing building, repairs and maintenance work being shifted away from community-based employment teams to predominantly non-Indigenous contract labour from outside. Accounts from Hermannsburg suggest that communication problems are leading to duplication of repairs and maintenance efforts by council and CCU contractors.

Summary of housing programs

- The Australian Government has allocated \$547 million to the Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program which aims to build 750 new houses in 16 priority communities (3 in the CLC region: Hermannsburg, Lajamanu and Yuendumu). At this stage no new houses have been built.
- The Community Clean Up (CCU) repairs program has also been initiated. The CCU program follows three stages. Stage one is an initial audit to make housing in communities safe. The company employed by the Australian Government to undertake this initial audit was then replaced with a second company that completed a second, separate round of audits. Stage two was basic/minor housing repairs in communities, such as replacing tap washers, and measuring doors and windows in need of fixing. Stage three was an asbestos audit in community houses.
- In Central Australia, many communities had housing surveys and minor repairs and maintenance undertaken as part of the CCU program. Under this program, contractors have been allocated \$10,000 for each house, including labour costs. Table 21 provides detail activities carried out in the survey communities.
- Reports made in May 2008 on the asbestos audit indicate that of the 50 communities surveyed, 45 had been identified as having asbestos in the housing (Minister for Indigenous Affairs 2008).



Table 21: Housing work in survey communities

Stage One: Audits and make safe	All survey communities completed.
Stage two: Basic housing repairs	All survey communities completed
Stage three: Asbestos audits	Hermannsburg – completed Kintore – completed Papunya - completed Titjikala - completed Ali Curung - due 24 June 08 Yuendumu - due 18 June 08.

Source: NTER Operations Centre, Australian Government

Quantitative data analysis

In all communities surveyed people reported that there was inadequate housing relative to community needs. In terms of the quality of the housing, people across all communities reported that houses were overcrowded and many houses require work. As Table 22 shows an overwhelming majority of respondents (86 percent) reported they needed better housing in their community.

Table 22: Perceptions of current state of housing across all survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of people who responded
Ok as it is now	13	9	10%
Unsure	0	0	0%
Could be a bit better	4	3	3%
Need better housing	108	78	86%
No response	14	10	
Total	139	100	100%

Qualitative data analysis

■ Response to CCU program

Community support for the Australian Government’s CCU program seems closely linked to the quality and efficacy of the repairs and maintenance undertaken in communities. Where housing audits have been completed and a reasonable repairs and maintenance program has been undertaken, such as in Kintore and Hermannsburg, it appears that communities are reasonably supportive of the CCU program. In Kintore and Hermannsburg most people were aware of the CCU program and appeared to have benefited from the work, which included minor repairs to houses. By contrast, where numerous audits have been undertaken without a substantial repairs and maintenance program, or where the allocated funding is used ineffectually, such as in Titjikala and Ali Curung, people report a high level of dissatisfaction with the program. People in Ali Curung and Titjikala spoke with frustration about the housing audits undertaken in their communities, with no results- in terms of repairs being undertaken. The GBMs from Ali Curung and Titjikala commented that this result may be partly due to timing of the research, i.e. the research was undertaken before the repairs of housing were scheduled at the communities (see GBM comments below).

■ Housing frustration impact on NTER perceptions in Ali Curung

In the first round of surveys at Ali Curung, there had been at least three teams visit the community under the CCU program. Almost all people interviewed in Ali Curung (93 percent of survey respondents) said that no work had been done on their house. The remaining 7 percent of people surveyed said that only minor work had been done to houses. The survey responses during the second

round of fieldwork continue to support widespread dissatisfaction with the repairs and maintenance undertaken in the community. A survey participant described her household living arrangements:

It's a tin house, no power connected, no toilet and showers. We need fences around our house, a proper house. They should put in more houses, yards so people know where to clear. I need a clothes line. I asked that Matt [GBM] for a new house and when we see the house in ruins. But they won't build anymore. He said his group would come in. But where are they? We need to see it. ACTION!

During the second round of fieldwork in Ali Curung, people continued to voice their concerns about the continual visits from survey teams, without much work occurring on the ground. Responses included:

Six surveys and nothing done. I told the last mob they couldn't come into my house. We never seen plan or nothing, who's coming into the community and when they are coming and what they are doing. Some people just come in, even on weekends they are working and we don't know what they are doing. I work in the office and I still haven't seen any paper work on this. Today I heard they been changing the lock and lost all the keys, someone gone to see that Matt. All those housing crews that come in here are bloody hopeless.

When questioned further, people reported on the painting and fencing crews working in the community and some responses supported this. Although only 18 months earlier, houses at Ali Curung were painted by a CDEP team. Accordingly, a lot of survey respondents were unhappy that they were only undertaking work on the outside of houses:

They're painting over there and fencing there. It'll look good when those government mobs come in but the inside of the house is still a mess. They'll tick the box and say Ali Curung is all clean. They painted those houses only last year on the outside, did anyone to stop, think about the waste of money? We need paint for the inside.

Frustrations about the lack of housing repairs and maintenance remained a critical concern for all of the survey respondents during both fieldwork periods, in spite of the recent activity painting and fencing houses in the community. These frustrations indicate the different perceptions of housing maintenance and repairs at the community level. Many community members considered that more work should have been achieved in the 11 months since the NTER announcement. The promises previously announced by the NTER Taskforce, the Government Business Manager and other government representatives that housing would be fixed have not been followed through in Ali Curung.

■ Housing work no longer community-based

Community members in Titjikala and Ali Curung have expressed frustration that housing building, repairs and maintenance work had been shifted away from community-based employment teams to contract labour comprising of predominantly non-Indigenous workers from outside the communities. In Titjikala it was commented:

Our [community] construction team were already doing renovations on houses. There used to be lots of men working on that with CDEP. Now some of them have got jobs and some don't turn up to work... There's been no new repairs done by the Intervention mob. We have people who can fix things, like windows, why not employ them?

The broader approach of the Australian Government in shifting responsibility for housing building, repairs and maintenance away from communities has also been criticised by Council CEO's in a number of communities. For example, the Titjikala Council CEO stated that:

The community really wanted police and housing. The government trusts its own organisations, rather than community-based organisations... The government is micro-managing the delivery of housing and NT Housing is taking over the delivery of houses. The government doesn't trust locally-based organisations to deliver housing.

In contrast to the concerns about housing work being removed from local teams, the experience in Hermannsburg indicates that a house painting program has been undertaken by the local Work for the Dole team. This Work for the Dole painting program is different however from utilising locally-based repairs and maintenance teams. In many communities these pre-existing locally-based teams continue to do work for councils. The existing housing manager in Hermannsburg gave an overview of some of the problems created by having dual repair processes, one already in the community and the other overlaid by the emergency response:

They did a checklist originally but now there is more work to be done since they did that list. If it's vandalism, we had a policy of paying before it would be repaired. Now things are just being fixed in any case. We've had problems with one lot on the plumbing side of it. They didn't want to tell us what they were doing. So my plumber was instructed to do the same task. With one plumber every house he did we had to follow him around and fix up the work... I feel it would have been better for us to do the work.

These comments suggest that problems in communication between locally-based teams and CCU contractors have resulted in an inefficient duplication of effort.

GBM perspective

Most GBMs reported that housing work had been undertaken in their community but that community members either may not be aware of the work, because it was relatively minor, or that the timing of the research occurred after audits but prior to housing repairs. The Titjikala GBM reported minor repairs had been undertaken in the community but that major problems were yet to be addressed. The Papunya GBM reported there had been three different housing teams through Papunya, as well as regular council maintenance work, and that a separate NGO, Waltja, had also been undertaking housing surveys in the community. The Hermannsburg GBM reported some local Work for the Dole teams had been working alongside CCU teams on housing improvements in the community.

The Kintore GBM reported the CCU teams had been 'helpful and effective' and that people seemed happy with the repairs conducted. This is consistent with the findings of the community members surveyed.

Health checks

Key Findings

1. After some initial concern and uncertainty, most people were supportive of health checks.
2. In some communities clinic staff reported that the NTER health checks were an unnecessary duplication of resources. However, in other communities it appears that the checks picked up children previously not screened by the clinic.

Summary of health checks

- The Child Health Checks are available on a voluntary basis to children in prescribed areas who are aged 15 years or less.
- Child Health Checks have been completed in most prescribed communities. By 15 May 2008, approximately 10,900 child health checks were undertaken, representing 63% of children eligible for checks (DHA and AIHW 2008).
- In central Australia, most communities have received child health checks and there has been follow-up undertaken in some communities (see Table 23 for survey communities). There were no Child Health Checks undertaken at Ali Curung during the research period.

Table 23: Health checks at survey communities

Community	Health check update
Ali Curung	Child Health Checks, which are being undertaken by the NT DHCS, occurred in June 2008. Primary Health Care follow up activity will be undertaken at the same time.
Hermannsburg	A Child Health Check Team visited Hermannsburg during the periods 10-20 July and 25 July – 8 August 2007. Ear, Nose and Throat (ENT) follow-up activity is being undertaken by the NT DHCS.
Kintore	A Child Health Check team visited Kintore during the period 8-24 August 2007. Primary Health Care follow-up activity is being undertaken by the local Aboriginal Medical Service (AMS).
Papunya	A Child Health Check team visited Papunya during the period 8-24 August 2007. Primary Health Care (PHC) and Ear, Nose and Throat (ENT) follow-up activity is being undertaken by the Northern Territory Department of Health and Community Services (NT DHCS).
Titjikala	A Child Health Check team visited Titjikala during the period 17-27 July 2007. Primary Health Care follow-up activity is being undertaken by the NT DHCS.
Yuendumu	A Child Health Check team visited Yuendumu during the period 15-23 August 2007. Primary Health Care follow-up activity is being undertaken by the NT DHCS.

Source: NTER Operations Centre, Australian Government

Analysis of qualitative data

■ Support for health checks

Most people reported that after initial concern, most children in Titjikala, Papunya, Kintore, Hermannsburg and Yuendumu, and a large number of adults, completed health checks. In general, people interviewed seemed positive about the health checks. For example, people in Yuendumu and Kintore commented:



It was right yeah. I felt good about them visiting. They were checking children and that was right.

Health checks good. People supported them here. The doctors explained what was going on. Did the checks through the clinic. People not afraid to bring their kids in to the clinic... Child doctor [paediatrician] has come out.

■ Duplication of resources

In some communities clinic staff reported that the NTER health checks were an unnecessary duplication of resources. For example, the health clinic in Titjikala reported that a month prior to the health checks the clinic had undertaken its own health checks of each child in Titjikala. Clinic staff in Papunya also raised the issue of duplication of health checks, stating that in Papunya children's health checks were up to date and the resources used to complete the health checks would be better directed in other areas. A health worker in Hermannsburg commented on how the lack of integration with existing NT health system processes had led to considerable organisational difficulties:

I've been to a lot of clinics and there is a lot of evidence of how disorganised and inappropriate intervention staff have been.

■ Health checks improving coverage

In contrast to comments of duplication, in Yuendumu the Manager of WYN Health has been supportive of the health checks undertaken, stating that the checks had picked up children previously not screened by the clinic:

I was surprised, actually, how bad our coverage had been of kids. There was a mess up with the school age kids screening that year, nursing staff had a very high turn-over and we hadn't kept track of the population well. The quality of the data didn't look particularly good at Yuendumu but not too bad and kids were seen who hadn't been otherwise.

Similarly, clinic workers in Hermannsburg reported that the health check process reached children not normally checked by the regular clinic:

It's good that the kids are getting check ups because some are missing out. Kids who do not go to school are missing out.

About 80 percent of kids were checked. We did reach a lot of kids who were not getting annual checks – we were only reaching about 50-60 percent of kids.

These comments suggest that NTER health checks expanded the coverage of regular community health checks in some locations.

5 year lease arrangement

It annoyed us. No one consulted with the community. We were really mad. It's not going to be normal. Areas that belong to the government actually belong to us. It's not a good feeling to get up to in the morning that Kardiya [non-Aboriginal] own this and that. We were really mad. Government did it without consultation. The Government didn't talk about it they just put it there and started earmarking everything that belonged to them in our country and didn't consult TOs. Started pushing us away from it. They took control and it doesn't belong to them. It's our country.

Key findings

1. The overwhelming majority of respondents (85 percent) are opposed to 5 year leases. Opposition to 5 year leases included:
 - the leases gave government more control over communities
 - there was no certainty as to what would happen after the leases ended
 - the leases overrode the rights of traditional landowners
 - the leases were put in place without any consultation
 - the boundaries of the leases are inappropriate
2. Most people surveyed reported that they did not know that a five year lease had been placed over their community.
3. The GBMs surveyed reported that the leases had no practical effect on operational issues or processes in communities.

Summary of 5 year leases

- 5 year leases were introduced to some communities on 18 August 2007 and to all remaining communities on 17 February 2008. There are 5 year leases over 65 communities on Aboriginal Land Trusts and Community Living Areas, including all survey communities.
- Lease boundaries are intended to cover the community area, including infrastructure, housing and buildings. The Australian Government is currently working to revise the lease boundaries.
- The Australian Government has the rights to exclusive possession, to repair, demolish or replace any existing buildings, and to terminate the lease at any time.

Quantitative data analysis

Most people in case-study communities reported that they did not know, prior to the survey, that a five year lease had been placed over their community (see discussion below). The overwhelming majority of respondents (85 percent) were against the 5 year leases (Table 24).

Table 24: Perceptions about 5 year leases across all survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of people who responded
No good	78	59	85%
Good	1	1	1%
Mostly good/ should be smaller	3	2	3 %
Unsure	10	8	11%
No response	41	31	
Total	133	100	100%

Qualitative data analysis

■ Lack of awareness about the leases

The majority of people in most case-study communities reported that they did not know that a five year lease had been placed over their community. To some extent, people's understanding about the 5 year lease in place over their community differed depending on the community they were living in and, to a lesser extent their role within the community. In Ali Curung, a majority of respondents (78 percent) had no knowledge of the lease arrangements prior to the surveys. This may be in large part due to the fact that leases are having no real impact on the ground in communities.

In Titjikala, other than those CLC had previously spoken to, nobody knew about the five year lease over the community. By contrast, the majority of people interviewed in Yuendumu knew about the 5 year lease. This is due to the fact that the lease had been discussed in council meetings, at a CLC meeting, and, at least one public meeting during the previous six months. The GBM had also talked to traditional landowners individually in February and March ahead of the surveyor arriving to survey the lease area. However, even in Yuendumu, there were also a number of respondents who did not know about the lease at all.

■ Widespread opposition to the leases

The overwhelming majority of people interviewed in Titjikala, Hermannsburg, Papunya, Kintore and Yuendumu, and all people interviewed in Ali Curung, were opposed to the lease being placed over their community. A primary reason given for this opposition was that people felt the lease gave more control to the government and less to the community:

No good. They take over and they are getting yapa [Aboriginal] people to do this and that. We have to go under their law but they don't understand our law. Some yapa people act like policemen under our law and their good people with a real responsibility but it isn't recognised. Our law never change, our law is always there but this government can't make up its mind. It just wants to control.

People also expressed concern about what would happen after the five year period ended:

They are using the children as an excuse. They are side tracking to get to us. What will happen after 5 years? It won't be Aboriginal land. They are taking over land all over again - repeating history.

People were also opposed to the lease because it disregarded the important role of traditional owners in decision making processes around the community:

This is unfair to the traditional owners. We know we can't go on their land without asking. It's their land, it's their right. It's been in our tradition. It's about showing and having respect for your fellow man.

Many people in communities reported that they were angered by the lack of consultation involved in the government's decision to take leases out over communities. This position echoes earlier concerns of traditional landowners about the placement of five year leases across Aboriginal communities in Central Australia (see CLC 2007b). Finally, survey respondents were concerned that the current lease boundaries cover sacred sites and 'keeping places' for cultural objects that are often located on the edge of communities. The Australian Government is attempting to address these issues through a process of resurveying lease boundaries in prescribed communities.

GBM perspective on 5 year leases

The GBMs reported that they felt that at least some people in each of their communities were aware of the lease, although in many cases this awareness was confined to the leadership of communities or, more specifically, council members in the community. GBMs also reported that the leases have no practical effect on operational issues or processes in communities.

Permits

We need the permit. They can't come in when we got sorry business or men's ceremony. Some people might come in with drugs.

Key findings

1. In communities on Aboriginal land, almost all respondents were opposed to the changes to the permit system (94 percent).
2. Reasons cited for opposing the changes to the permit system included:
 - maintaining the safety of children
 - stopping unrestricted photography and media access
 - stopping strangers and unsavoury people entering communities
 - respect for privacy of people in communities
 - respect for Aboriginal law.
3. GBMs surveyed reported that the change to the permit system is having no noticeable impact in communities.

Summary of changes to permits

- Changes to the permit system came into effect on 17 February 2008 following a review of the permit system on Aboriginal land in 2006. The CLC made a substantial submission to this review (see CLC 2007a).
- Permits no longer apply to 'common areas', airstrips and access roads for major communities. 'Common areas' are defined as areas 'generally used by members of the community but do not include a building or a sacred site'.
- Permits are no longer required for parliamentarians and government workers, anyone attending a court hearing, and it is a defence to stay at a house with the permission of the residents.
- The permit system still applies to outstations and other Aboriginal land.
- The permit system has changed in all survey communities, except Titjikala where the permit system did not apply.
- Note: The current Australian Government has sought to amend these changes to restore the permit system for communities but maintain permit free access for government workers and journalists. The Bill to achieve this is currently in the Senate (see CLC 2008).

Quantitative data analysis

All survey communities, with the exception of Titjikala, are on Aboriginal land. Table 25 shows that almost all people surveyed, 94 percent of respondents were opposed to changes to the permits system.

Table 25: Perceptions about changes to the permits system across all survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of people who responded
No good, scrap the changes	68	58	94%
Keep the changes	4	3	6%
No response	46	39	
Total	118 ⁵	100	100%

Qualitative data analysis: Reasons for maintaining the permit system

People surveyed gave various reasons for maintaining the original permit system. These included maintaining the safety of children:

I'm worried about them taking photos and then going back and making up stories about us mob. And, worried about truck drivers taking our young women.

They also included stopping unrestricted photography and media access which could disturb culturally significant events, including ceremonies and sorry business:

I don't think that tourists should be able to go to public areas like footy field. They always carry cameras and it's rude when they photograph naked kids and people fighting and sorry business.

It will be a problem – any tourist can come through. Last year some bikies stopped and were taking photos and playing cards and painting. They were very rude. We don't want tourists coming to sorry camps and ceremonies. They should stay on the road. We think that permits on Aboriginal land are good and that they should stay.

Other reasons given for maintaining the previous permit system included safety from strangers and unsavoury people:

It's a problem because we are close to the highway. Person might be a paedophile or might be a drug dealer. He or she might want to see and the permit system stopped these people.

Finally, people raised the value of permits with respect to privacy and Aboriginal law. These comments demonstrate that people believe that restoring the permits system is an important priority.

GBM perspective

The GBMs from the communities surveyed reported that the change to the permit system is having no noticeable impact in communities.

⁵ It is important to note that the sample size for this self-evaluation question is slightly smaller as the question was not asked in Titjikala, because it is on a Community Living Area and not subject to the permits system, and was also not asked in the second round of Ali Curung field work.

Government Business Managers

You call him the business manager, but the only business we got here is the shop, art centre and the bakery and what has he done for that? He handed the shop to Outback Stores and not allowed the bakery to get income management. And the art centre, I don't know if he helped them.

Key Findings

1. The majority of people in Titjikala, Hermannsburg, Kintore and Papunya who were interviewed didn't know the Government Business Manager. By comparison, while the significant majority of Yuendumu and Ali Curung respondents knew of the GBM, very few knew about the exact role.
2. For people who were aware of the GBM, perceptions about the work undertaken by GBMs in communities were mixed with 51 percent reporting that they were unhappy with the GBM's work in their community. By contrast, 17 percent of people surveyed reported that they were happy with the work of the GBM.
3. Most of the NTER-related funding provided by the Australian Government in communities has been directed to local government service provision. Only a small proportion of the funding (19 percent) has been directed at programs or infrastructure that can be linked to child safety issues.
4. People in communities wanted the GBM to hold public meetings and keep them better informed about NTER measures.

Summary of the role of GBMs

- GBMs are considered the face of the Australian Government at local community level (NTER Operations Centre 2008).
- Role is to coordinate the various government agencies and NTER activities on their allocated community/ies.
- 51 GBMs have been deployed to cover the prescribed areas. GBMs have been placed in all of the survey communities.

Business management powers

- Legislative business management powers came into effect on 18 August 2007. Under the legislation, the minister has the power, subject to conditions, to: alter funding agreements, direct how services are provided, direct how assets are used by organisations or acquire assets from organisations, appoint observers to attend meetings of organisations including committee meetings, or appoint managers to associations on service-related grounds.
- The Minister can delegate these powers to GBMs (except to suspend councils) but has not used these powers to date.

Quantitative data analysis

Perceptions of the work undertaken by GBMs in communities were mixed. As Table 26 indicates a majority of respondents, 51.3 percent, reported that they were unhappy, or mostly unhappy, with the work the GBM was undertaking in their community. By contrast, 17.4 percent of people surveyed reported that they were happy, or mostly happy, with the work of the GBM. However, a significant number of people, over 43 percent of people surveyed, reported that they did not know the GBM.

Table 26: Perceptions of the work undertaken by GBMs across all survey participants

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of people who responded
Happy with the work of the GBM	4	3	4%
Mostly happy with the work of the GMB	16	12	14%
Unsure/Don't know him	36	26	31%
Mostly unhappy with the work of the GBM	37	27	32%
Unhappy with the work of the GBM	22	16	19%
No response	24	17	
Total	139	100	100%

Qualitative data analysis

Lack of awareness about GBMs

The majority of people in Titjikala, Hermannsburg, Kintore and Papunya who were interviewed, had no understanding of who the Government Business Manager was, or what their role was. By comparison, while the significant majority of Yuendumu survey participants knew of the GBM, very few knew about his role in the community. In Ali Curung, a large majority of respondents (almost 90 percent) were aware of who the GBM was. It may be that the lack of community awareness about GBMs is caused partly because GBMs do not work for a department, or deliver a program, so it is difficult for people in communities to understand their role or what they do.

■ Unhappy with the work of the GBM

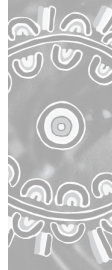
Respondents in Ali Curung and Yuendumu reported that they were unhappy with the work of the GBM in the community. In Ali Curung during the first round of field work, a large majority of people interviewed (68 percent) reported that they were unhappy with the work of the GBM. This perception did not change during the second round of fieldwork. Generally, survey respondents were concerned about the lack of communication between themselves and the GBM. They also reported that they felt uncertain and confused about the role and reporting requirements of the GBM:

He is supposed to be talking to us. He only talks at the office. If he wants to know what's happening, he should talk to the local people. There is no consultation and he is not keeping us informed.

Some residents and staff also noted that valuable work already occurring in Ali Curung had not received much support from the GBM or Employment Broker:

Well, there's lotta stuff happening here. At Ali Curung, we got the garden, the art centre, the internet café, safe house, night patrol and all that. He should be supporting and helping them, if they need extra resources and funding all that.

Similarly, respondents in Yuendumu expressed a general feeling of distrust and dislike for the GBM position. Many people commented that they had seen him driving around but had never exchanged words with him. A number of other people made comparison to the role of Superintendent in the early welfare days:



I've always been against GBM. The first thing is that government put them here and they shouldn't be here. They are like watch dogs for us. It's like welfare days.

However, in the case of Yuendumu it is hard to determine to what extent this unhappiness with the GBM is related to general community opposition to the NTER and controversial store licensing negotiations. The general theme running through people's responses across all communities on GBM activities included that the GBM should be conducting and attending more public meetings and talking to people individually. People reported that they felt that the GBM should be keeping them better informed about the various NTER measures and including them in the process and meetings.

■ **Happy with the work of the GBM**

Kintore was supportive of their GBMs, although most people did not know the GBM. Kintore has had two GBMs. For those that did know the GBM, responses from community members were nearly all supportive:

[The business manager] used to come to Council meetings. He was a good bloke. New one is also good. He is listening to [store committee members] and me and talking to the council.

The responses of community members in Kintore, is consistent with feedback from community organisations that were universally supportive of the work of the GBM. Staff of community agencies commented:

There are more funding opportunities for youth programs. Sometimes [the GBM] might come with a specific project, like a BMX track. With [the GBM], he was good at talking with council and he would suggest how to get the money, then we would send the grant through [the GBM]. There is not too much reporting. [The GBM] has helped writing the proposals the right way so they succeed.

If we ask for child care or something they say no. Now with the Intervention, if the business manager asks for something, they say yes. They are building a women's centre [sic – child care centre] but we have been asking for that for years.

Comments from community members and agencies in Kintore demonstrate how well the role of the GBM can work in communities as a support structure finding funding for locally-based agencies, and as an advocate on behalf of the community.

GBM perspective on building community awareness

The Ali Curung GBM offered the following comments about building community awareness of the GBM role: "For months I have been in the community, looking for ways to explain my role. The first day I was in the community there was a public meeting and I was able to explain who I was. I have since addressed 3-4 public meetings and explained who I am. I also attend all local council meetings and have updated people on what is happening. I also talk to women's groups and men's groups, in the Arts Centre etc. I also talk to families and individuals, just walking around, or at the community store. In Ali Curung there is a community newsletter that goes around and I talk about what is happening in the community and have a special notice board outside the council office where I put information about who is coming to the community etc. I also have an open door policy for anyone who wants to see me".

The Titjikala GBM thought that getting an office in the centre of the community could be a major help in engaging with the community. Some GBMs have been able to negotiate shared space in local council offices, but this does not always occur. Other GBMs spoke about their plans to have more regular community meetings and acknowledged that this was not currently occurring.

■ **GBM redundant because of strong local council and CEO**

In Titjikala, Ali Curung and Yuendumu community members reported that they thought the role of the GBM was redundant because they had a well functioning local Council and CEO. The Yuendumu Council President when interviewed commented that he thought the GBM role was redundant:

I believe it's not necessary to have a GBM here. The Council is quite capable in most areas... The activities should have been given to the Council who we thought was the spokesperson for the community. But that was completely overlooked. It is a completely racist way of dealing with us. A little bit of courtesy wouldn't have gone amiss.

These statements were confirmed by other Yuendumu staff. Similarly in Ali Curung, the art centre manager argued that the work of GBM (organising painting and fencing teams) could be undertaken by a well run council.

Funding Assistance provided by NTER

Some communities have been successful in securing much needed funding for specific community-based programs from NTER. Projects in communities were funded under the 'Flexible Funding Program' (FFP) the 'Tasks of Opportunity Program' (TOP) or as part of 'Youth Diversionary Assistance' (YDA) funding. Tables below detail information provided by the Australian Government on projects funded in the case study communities. Some communities secured more funding than others with total funding allocations ranging from \$2,005,000 allocated to Papunya to \$221,400 allocated to Titjikala.

It is unclear on what basis community needs are being assessed, or projects are being funded. However, much of the funding provided by the Australian Government seems to be directed at local government service provision such as fixing roads and landfills, rubbish collection, dog programs and fences. There is only a small proportion of the funding that is directed at programs or infrastructure that can be linked to child safety issues. A total of \$755,000 (see grey shade in table) of funding has been directed to children or youth services, community violence or men's wellbeing infrastructure. This is around 19 percent of the overall NTER community responsive related funding allocated to the six case study communities (see Tables below).

Table 27: NTER funding provided to Kintore community

Kintore		
FFP	Additional support for construction of pool	\$195,000
	Pool chemical storage shed purchase swimming pool Ph controller	\$11,200
	Additional capital for child care centre	\$65,000
TOO	Construct fence around dump	\$39,304
YDA	Nil	
Total Kintore		\$310,504

Table 28: NTER funding provided to Papunya community

Papunya		
FFP	Rubbish collection and disposal	\$45,000
	Fire trailer	\$30,000
TOO	Fit inline chlorination dosing to water supply system	\$10,000
	Construct ramp into rubbish tip slot	\$10,000
	Place barrier mesh at dumping slot	\$5,000
	Construct fence around dump	\$20,000
	Repair airstrip to all weather capability	\$1,695,000
	Removal of asbestos	\$100,000
YDA	Refurbishment of music studio and new equipment	\$30,000
	Papunya Youth Program- upgrade facilities	\$80,000
Total Papunya		\$2,005,000

Table 29: NTER funding provided to Yuendumu community (and Willowra)

Yuendumu		
FFP	Purchase rubbish truck	\$41,000
	Assist to upgrade reticulation system and fence oval	\$30,000
	Additional construction costs for pool	\$200,000
	Accommodation - Domestic Violence Educator	\$200,000
Yuendumu/ Willowra	Dog program	\$10,000
TOO	Repair community roads	\$30,000
	Construct 2 new tip cells and clean up roadside tip	\$200,000
YDA	Nil	
Total Yuendumu		\$711,000

Table 30: NTER funding provided to Ali Curung community

Ali Curung		
FFP	Fence 27 Houses	\$189,000
	Purchase pre-fabricated shed	\$80,000
TOO	Nil	
YDA	Short term youth development worker	\$40,000
	Renovations to recreation hall for youth program	\$90,000
Total Ali Curung		\$399,000

Table 31: NTER funding provided to Hermannsburg community

Hermannsburg		
FFP	Dog program	\$20,000
	BMX club facilities - extend and refurbish	\$40,000
Hermannsburg & Homelands	Upgrade, extension refurbishment Western Aranda Men's Group Wellbeing house	\$210,000
TOO	Nil	
YDA	Youth program – Air conditioning and basic equipment	\$40,000
Total Hermannsburg		\$310,000

Table 32: NTER funding provided to Titjikala community

Titjikala		
FFP	Nil	
TOO	Dump rehabilitation	\$101,400
	Repairs to public toilet	\$20,000
	Install grids on road	\$100,000
YDA	Nil	
Total Titjikala		\$221,400

Process

They came in and chop-chopped everything up- like CDEP. It was all of a sudden. We didn't know what they were doing. People were scared. They didn't know what was happening to their money...We were really frightened we didn't know what they [the NTER Taskforce] were doing.

Key findings

1. The overwhelming majority of people reported that they were unhappy with the information provided by the government in the roll-out of the NTER (84 per cent).
2. More generally, people were dissatisfied with the overall process of the rollout of the NTER because of:
 - The lack of information flow particularly to younger and older people
 - The lack of consultation before the rollout of significant changes in communities
 - Initial fear about what would happen (including use of the army)
 - Poor conduct of some NTER Taskforce meetings.

Quantitative analysis of survey data

People in communities were critical of the information flow from government about the NTER measures. As Table 33 indicates a large majority of people surveyed, 84 percent of respondents were critical of the information provided by government on the NTER measures. In Ali Curung the criticism of the information provided by government on the NTER was even higher with almost all survey respondents (97 percent) reporting that they were unhappy with the level of information provided by the government on the NTER. Similarly, in Yuendumu, a significant majority of respondents indicated they were unhappy with the amount of information provided by the government regarding the different measures of the NTER.

Table 33: Perceptions about the information provided by government about the NTER

Response	Absolute numbers of people	Proportion of people	Proportion of people who responded
Happy with information provided	6	4	5%
Not sure	14	10	12%
Unhappy with information provided	101	73	84%
No response	18	13	
Total	139	100	100%

Qualitative analysis: reasons for poor process

■ Lack of information

Many survey participants requested appropriate information on the NTER to keep them better informed about NTER measures. Numerous comments were made, such as:

Send us some proper information. We need proper community meetings so that people can understand.

The lack of information flow was backed up by community staff. Talking specifically about younger people, the 'clients' of Yuendumu's Mt Theo program, the acting manager said:

There has been a complete lack of information for those under 25. For those in the 15-25 bracket, the vast majority would have a limited idea about what the NTER is for and any of the measures. The only one they would specifically be able to name is the quarantining though without a detailed idea of what it means.

Various respondents from Ali Curung suggested improving the process for delivering information to the community by:

- Using interpreters
- Holding regular monthly community meetings
- Forming a small group of community elders to work with
- Putting up signs, posters and pamphlets about what is happening
- Working with Ali Curung residents on the new measures
- Walking around the community and talking to people at their houses, and,
- Sitting down and listening.

Community staff also suggested ideas for improvements. The manager of the Yuendumu Women's Centre suggested that more one-on-one conversations with people with translation skills would help people understand the measures:

On measures other than the income management there has not really been very good information. One way to improve this is to have face-to-face conversations. We don't want more visitors but it's the only way. We need the right people not bureaucrats in a line of Toyotas. It can't be adverts and print media, Yapa don't recognise that.

■ Lack of consultation

Aboriginal people from remote communities also reported concern about the speed by which the changes have occurred. The lack of community consultation continues to be a major criticism of the process followed in the roll-out of the NTER:

When they arrived here there was all rushing around talking and not listening to us. They just brought their info talking about that child abuse...They didn't send us anything before. We told that army man to get out. We got angry – we said you got to look around the country there is problems everywhere.

Criticisms by survey respondents have been supported by non-Aboriginal staff in communities, who have long-term experience in working with Aboriginal people. The Acting Manager of Yuendumu's Mt Theo Program commented:

I would say that from the onset of the NTER the lack of consultation and discussion with the community has probably been the main sticking point underlying any of these issues, say permits or leases or quarantining. The manner in which it has been rolled out has led to people to act in a defensive way in order to protect what individuals and families have been doing right.

The Titjikala CEO made similar comments about the process followed in the roll-out of the NTER:

Look, if you don't consult with Aboriginal people you can guarantee your approach is going to fail.

These concerns echo feedback from a listening tour undertaken by CLC in late 2007 (CLC 2007b).



■ Initial fear about the NTER

Many people relayed initial fears at the commencement of the NTER. For example, people in Titjikala were critical of the process followed, and introduction of the early NTER measures. Most people reported being 'scared', 'angry', 'frightened' and 'nervous' at the announcement of the NTER and at the meeting with the NTER Taskforce in Titjikala, accompanied by Norforce and army staff:

I was scared when the NTER Taskforce came. I didn't know what was happening and I was afraid they might take the kids away. Everyone in the community got scared... They didn't give notice to people in the community they just came in like a tornado. People were so scared they just wanted to hide behind a tree.

Some people interviewed in Yuendumu and Titjikala were critical of the inclusion of the army in the roll-out of the NTER:

I was terrified... It really frightened people it was a really bad message bringing the army. We wondered if they were going to take the kids away. They should have explained everything at the beginning.

People in Kintore also reported feeling 'scared', 'anxious' and 'suspicious' when the emergency response personnel first visited their community:

People were scared for the army mob. Might shoot people. Army were looking around the countryside.

In Hermannsburg the army was involved in health checks. There was also some consistent concern from community members about army involvement and one Aboriginal health worker explained the clinic's role in mitigating people's fear about the army involvement:

The checks done with the clinic. Sending the army to go for kids was too much. People thought they would take the kids away. We went around to each family group and explained that they weren't going to take kids away. We explained it in language. We were helping them to do their job. People didn't know what they were going to do.

These concerns are also consistent with feedback from the CLC's listening tour in late 2007 (CLC 2007b).

■ Conduct of NTER Taskforce/Operations Team meetings

Most respondents were critical of the initial the NTER Taskforce meetings. For example, most people in Kintore were critical about their meeting with the NTER Taskforce:

They didn't tell us they were coming. Just arrived. I went to meeting. Not a good meeting. Government stirring up people. Funny people government mob. Things have settled down now. People didn't understand what they were saying.

One respondent in Kintore commented on a side meeting with Sue Gordon, the Chair of the NTER Taskforce:

I met with Sue Gordon. People were shouting 'yes' for income management. But she didn't explain it properly. She wasn't listening to the people. People just saying 'palya' [ok, good] but they didn't really believe it (what they were saying).

The respondent acknowledges that people were looking for help, but they didn't understand what was being offered.

The first NTER meeting held at Ali Curung was attended by the 'survey team' from the NTER Operations Centre, representatives from Tennant Creek and Alice Springs ICCs, and one Norforce member. There were about 50-55 community members present for all or part of the meeting. A loud speaker was not used, because the visit coincided with Community Court Session and the magistrate had requested that the loud speaker not be used because it may interrupt court proceedings. The meeting did not use an interpreter, was presented in English and there were no visual aids to assist the communication process. The group visiting left no material for the community and they told the group they were undertaking a preliminary survey. The results were never given back to the community.

Unintended Consequence: The human cost of poor process

In Titjikala, initial community anxiety about the NTER appears to have manifested itself in people drinking en masse. Many people in Titjikala, and some agency representatives, reported that when the NTER was first announced the community was awash with drinking, in part due to people's fear about the NTER:

The three weeks after the changes people went crazy drinking- they all wanted to die. When Norforce and the doctors came here some people ran away into town. After a while the drinking slowed down.

The health clinic staff in Titjikala also reported drinking levels that were out of control following the NTER announcement:

In Titjikala drinking went out of control so we shut down the clinic. People were getting knifed every day. It happened just after the NTER visited because no one knew what was happening and they were really demoralised.

These reports demonstrate the detrimental human costs associated with the poor process accompanying the roll out of the NTER in communities.

Overall findings

Context

The results of this research offer a divergent collection of perspectives from across the communities on the NTER. Collectively, these views provide a point of comparison and contrast. Individually, each community has a story to tell about their perceived understandings of the impacts of the NTER measures (for more detail see Dore 2008a, 2008b, McDonnell 2008, Meltzer 2008, Shaw 2008, Wright 2008). These stories are shown through the responses to the measures, for example income management. Yuendumu and Papunya community were strongly against the implementation of income management. The Papunya response is influenced by high store prices and both communities' responses are more broadly developed from these communities' lack of support and distrust for the NTER measures and process. Titjikala and Hermannsburg were a lot more supportive of income management, citing the benefits associated with the system. Both communities are close to town and have reasonably good stores. Contextual findings are also highlighted in responses to policing. Residents in Titjikala, which does not have a permanent police presence, were incredibly disappointed that they hadn't received police under the NTER response. The other survey communities, which all had a permanent police presence, were less concerned with increasing policing numbers. Clearly, point in time analysis needs to account for the contextual situations of a community.

The diversity of opinion between communities surveyed is more generally captured in the three key messages from each community identified from fieldwork by the lead researchers (see Table 34). The context of a community at the research point is important to consider within this analysis. These stories across communities vary because of a number of factors: the location and remoteness of a community; the successful operation of the community store and other key institutions; the political positioning of the community and individuals in the community; the success of previous programs, particularly CDEP; strength of community governance and the historical and political context of communities; and, the stage of the rollout of NTER measures.

For example, Titjikala is known as a strong self governing community with a high level of activity in terms of tourism enterprise, an art centre, an organised store, a functioning CDEP and council committed to addressing social issues. Two of the main community messages were against the abolition of CDEP and NTER's impact on the community self governing ability, that is NTER's negative impact on community decisions to implement no-work-no-pay and community-developed alcohol restrictions. The community, in general, valued the role of income management because it is likely to have helped the community address some of the social issues they were already working towards. Ali Curung argued for an improved housing and maintenance program. At the time of research the CCU program just started and the focus was painting houses, which had only recently been done by the community council.

In Ali Curung and Yuendumu, the fieldwork took place at a contentious time when negotiations with Outback Stores were being undertaken for store licensing. A key message from Ali Curung was dissatisfaction with negotiations and concern over reduced decision making roles of a community-owned business. In Yuendumu, the soured negotiations are likely to have led in part to the key message being "we don't want income management". Papunya respondents were also not supportive of income management, citing high numbers of breaching of individuals in Papunya and increasing store prices as main reasons for their lack of support.

In Kintore, people were generally of many measures, leading to a key message of "what intervention?" Hermannsburg residents argued strongly for increased support towards schooling and education



because they felt it remained unaddressed under NTER. At the same time, it was also noted in Hermannsburg that income management had facilitated increased short-term mobility to Alice Springs for short periods to undertake shopping. Hermannsburg’s proximity to Alice Springs is a key factor in this key message.

Table 34: Three key messages from case study communities

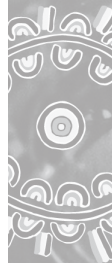
Community	Key Messages
Titjikala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Bring back CDEP ■ Why knock over a strong community? ■ General support for income management
Papunya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ We don’t want income management ■ We don’t want Work for the Dole ■ Decrease in alcohol consumption
Yuendumu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ We don’t want income management ■ We don’t want the five year lease or permit changes ■ The process has been flawed, we haven’t been consulted properly
Ali Curung (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ We are unhappy with store licensing and management arrangements ■ Fix our housing ■ Alcohol laws should be enforced
Ali Curung (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Store prices are too expensive ■ We are getting used to income management ■ Nothing has happened for our children
Kintore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ What Intervention? ■ Intervention is ‘a little bit palya’ (good) ■ Alcohol consumption down, marijuana up
Hermannsburg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Intervention is generally accepted ■ Let’s go to town ■ What about education?

Awareness and impact of measures

A major theme running through the survey was a relatively low level of awareness about the NTER measures. On many questions, such as store licensing, GBMs, and 5 year leases, researchers had difficulties in eliciting responses from survey participants. The general lack of awareness in the community was evidenced by many responses:

I know most of it. Most people I don’t reckon they know what is going on. Most people probably don’t understand. What is the word intervention? We don’t know what it means?

However, awareness and understanding rates for the different measures varied greatly. The lack of awareness was apparent in the lack of responses to questions on some of the measures. For example, a large majority of people had little awareness of the 5 year lease and permit changes. Most people in all communities except Ali Curung had no knowledge of community store licencing. At the other end, awareness for the measures relating to abolishing CDEP and income management was high, while awareness of other measures, such as health checks and tougher alcohol bans was moderate. In a number of cases, the lack of responses or unsure responses to questions on measures was driven by an overarching longer term response that people wanted to ‘wait and see’ how things eventuated on the ground.



While there are many reasons for the low but varied awareness of different measures, including perhaps the lack of information provided by the NTER Taskforce (see process section) and low education levels, there was a strong correlation between awareness of a measure and its impact. For example, the measure with the greatest impact on the community is the introduction of income management. Almost all participants knew about this measure. On the other hand, measures such as health checks and tougher alcohol bans have had a more moderate direct impact on people's lives. Finally, the GBMs noted that the 5 year lease and permit changes had little practical effect on communities and the survey suggested people were largely unaware of these changes.

Given the correlation, it is likely that the impact of a measure is the biggest determinant of awareness of that measure in the community. It is, therefore, likely that awareness of other measures which were untested by the survey, but which have had a limited impact so far, would be largely unknown. This would include measures such as statutory rights in buildings, business management powers, computer checking and suppression of native title.

Overall, given the link between awareness and impact of measures, the theme of lack of awareness suggests that the impacts of the NTER are, in many cases, also moderate. The exception might be the key measure of income management. This is borne out, for example, in Kintore, where the awareness and impact of measures were both found to be low. Only a few NTER measures were actually implemented or are having any practical effect: the removal of CDEP and the introduction of Work for the Dole, income management, housing repairs, health checks and a GBM. In addition, the key measures of income management and removal of CDEP, because of contextual circumstances in Kintore, were only having a limited impact (see Dore 2008a).

Undermining community initiative and good governance principles

A number of survey participants in both Titjikala and Ali Curung argued that NTER had undermined the community's capacity to respond to community issues. This was felt most strongly in Titjikala where the council had initiated a number of rules, such as no-work-no-pay and fines for alcohol drinking in the community, to address social issues. People were angry that these efforts were undermined by NTER initiatives:

They should have left things the way it was. We already had our own rules in our community. The government has just taken over- they have come in over the top of us. They took over our own rules and law.

Further, people in Titjikala argued that the abolition of CDEP impacted on the community's capacity to make decisions on programs in their community. The loss of revenue and decision making power previously granted through CDEP left a good, self governing community with limited ability to enhance community work participation. Work for the Dole is being implemented by outside organisations in Titjikala. Titjikala's own initiatives to address social issues have been undermined by the NTER.

Similarly, people in Ali Curung the NTER is undermining community initiatives. Many survey responses were supportive of the community and government working more closely together, rather than top-down approaches of NTER:

If the government gave us right to fix the problem and we could show them. It won't happen straight way, but neither did the intervention... Our people, Aboriginal people, are very weary of government who is helping to fix problems. If you look at other places where treaties were made and then broken. Aboriginal people need to be given the tools, like law and justice. That was a tool to fix our own problems.

Responses from the Ali Curung community questioned the role of NTER staff to support painting houses, fencing and lunch program when the community had already shown the ability to implement these programs previously. Comments from both communities demonstrate that one implication of the NTER is that strong, self-governing communities have been disempowered by NTER processes. The NTER applied little effort to building or enhancing community capacity and governance abilities within communities and in doing so, undermined existing good practise.

Urban drift

People in some service organisations in Alice Springs noted increasing numbers of Aboriginal people moving to Alice Springs or staying in town for longer periods of time. Tangentyere Council in particular expressed concern about providing services to an increasing number of people living in the town camps.

While not specifically targeted in the survey tool, later research did provide some feedback on this issue in communities. Overall, there was no specific finding from this that the NTER was directly contributing to people permanently moving to Alice Springs or elsewhere. However, there was some evidence of more frequent trips to town for people in nearby communities.

In Hermannsburg the consensus of responses was that more people are spending more time in Alice Springs but the extent to which this could be attributed to the NTER was unclear. The main reason offered for increased town visits was the ease of obtaining and drinking alcohol in Alice Springs:

People are moving to Alice to live in the town camps because there is more grog there. Making trouble in town rather than coming home to the communities.

Other reasons offered were initial opposition to the NTER and Work for the Dole arrangements, sick people needing to access health services, relocating to access education, and using managed income to stay in town (for example, through store cards). One community worker noted the extra pressure urban drift might be putting on families in Alice:

People are in town and using their family support system and quarantined money to stay in town. But they have got no where to live. They are just staying with family.

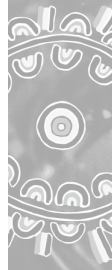
On the other hand, responses from Kintore suggest that people are now taking fewer trips to town because of less discretionary money. No survey participant in Kintore suggested the NTER was taking people to town permanently.

People in Hermannsburg and Kintore acknowledged a broader drift to Alice Springs over the longer term. An authoritative mobility study would more accurately reflect current trends in urban drift (see Foster *et al.* 2007).

Child safety and education

Many people in communities were aware that the previous Government introduced NTER due to the child abuse issues raised in the 'Little Children are Sacred' report (Wild and Anderson 2007). Some agency workers highlighted the sensitivity required when dealing with the issue of child abuse. For example, the Acting Manager of the Mt Theo Program commented:

Our experience with any kind of sexual abuse is that you need close relationships within the community and trusted pathways of communication and confidentiality



and time invested in it. Otherwise people are too fearful or disengage. Resources heading in that direction are the best way to target child sexual abuse along with more education.

This theme was reinforced by Yuendumu clinic a staff member who said that it was unlikely that the NTER approach to health checks would uncover any incidents of sexual assault without respect and sensitivity.

More broadly, many survey participants questioned whether the NTER measures were effective in improving child safety. People in Ali Curung spoke about the need for the communities to be actively involved in resolving child safety issues:

Children are safer, because we dealt with those problems ourselves. We told that Rex Wild and Pat Anderson about the problems and how we fix them.

Before that child safety was improving. Everything been going smoothly even before the Intervention. We were working on getting kids to school. We were working on breakfast and lunch program. What difference do they make? I know because I work at the school and I haven't seen nothing since the Intervention.

The survey method did not specifically address questions on education. This was because few NTER measures can be directly linked to improving education. The relevant initiatives include: nutrition programs (breakfast and lunch), which was already occurring in many communities prior to the NTER, and the 100 percent income management trigger for not sending your children to school, which has not been implemented. Despite this, education and schooling was a theme drawn on by many communities in their survey responses.

In both Hermannsburg and Ali Curung, residents argued that if the NTER intended to support children then it should focus on education and improving educational services. Comments included:

We also are looking at the education. How can we work with that government so our kids are educated proper? That's what we should be working on.

In Hermannsburg, education emerged as a central discussion point in the community report (see Dore 2008). In Hermannsburg, there were comments on both sides that school attendance had been impacted on since the NTER. Comments from people included:

The kids are not going to school. It's the same as before. I want a tougher law for kids to go to school.

Not sure. Kids going to school more. Because they [parents, carers] are worried they will take away welfare.

The Hermannsburg School explained their initiatives to improve attendance and argued that NTER measures were not impacting on attendance but their own initiatives may have improved school attendance. In addition, the school suggested that it would be beneficial to implement the school attendance trigger⁶. This was similarly supported by the Principal at Ali Curung.

Given the responses from communities, it is useful to review enrolment and attendance figures in the survey communities (see Table 35). Attendance figures supplied by the NT Department of Education, Employment and Training for the survey communities show that after the introduction of the NTER, attendance numbers were down in five survey communities, from May 2007 compared to May

⁶ School attendance trigger is management of 100 percent of a parent's income from welfare payments if their children are not attending school regularly. Trials will soon commence.

2008. The exception is Yuendumu where attendance has increased by 16 percent. According to the figures, Papunya school has had a very significant drop in both enrolment (75 percent) and attendance (94 percent). Unfortunately, these figures don't show the variability in the school attendance throughout the week or day, or variability in months. In four communities there has been an increase in enrolment. However, in two communities Hermannsburg and Papunya (relatively close to Alice Springs) enrolments have decreased. The figures suggest that the NTER has not had an impact on school enrolment and attendance figures in survey communities.

Table 35: School enrolment and attendance figures for survey communities May 2007 & 2008

	Enrolments				Attendance			
	2007	2008	Change	% Change	2007	2008	Change	% Change
Alekarenge CEC (Ali Curung)	125	162	37	23%	81	68	-13	-19%
Ntaria (Hermannsburg) School	125	117	-8	-7%	80	76	-4	-5%
Papunya School	128	73	-55	-43%	86	45	-42	-49%
Titjikala School	32	35	3	9%	27	25	-2	-9%
Walungurru	74	80	6	8%	58	41	-17	-29%
Yuendumu CEC	108	124	16	13%	50	59	4	8%

Source: NT DEET 2008

Aside from the NTER, initiatives of schools to improve attendance in the survey communities included: shops not serving children in school hours, 'no school no sport/pool rules', voluntary truant officers, school bus services and teachers collecting students. Additional efforts towards educational and youth services were supported by survey participants across the communities. People in Hermannsburg, Yuendumu, Ali Curung and Titjikala all raised ideas such as increased focus on education, youth programs, stopping underage drinking and increased recreational and after school activities.

GBM perspective

GBMs outlined initiatives for child health and safety that had been undertaken in their communities. However, it is difficult to determine whether these are new, NTER funded activities, or simply funding of existing programs. For example, many GBMs listed the funding of night patrols services amongst the child safety initiatives happening in their community. However, night patrols were already operating in many of the survey communities. Similarly, the funding of school holiday programs or youth programs in Titjikala, Ali Curung and Papunya were activities that were previously funded. Other activities listed by GBMs that could be additional funding, directed at child safety issues included: child protection worker in Papunya, and Hermannsburg safe house and men's wellbeing program.



Conclusion

The survey results present a picture of remote communities being initially shocked and frightened by an 'intervention' but who are gradually coming to grips with its many tentacles and ambitions. Much of the rollout of NTER measures has been haphazard and on the run but slowly a clearer picture has emerged of the shape and extent of different measures on the ground. Overall, Aboriginal people and community-based organisations across Central Australia were deeply disappointed with the process. In many cases, there is a tendency to 'wait and see' how the individual measures take affect in the longer-term, but there is also some clear criticism and support emerging.

Survey responses to individual measures were mixed and often specific to community context and point in time. Generally, the service-based measures, such as health checks, increased policing and housing clean-ups, received solid support. People could see the benefits from increased servicing and increased focus on their communities. On the other hand, the addition of GBM services was not generally supported. Where rights were affected, such as the removal of the CDEP program, the introduction of 5 year leases and changes to the permit system, there was significant reservation about the intent of such measures and they received little support. On the threshold measure of income management, support was evenly divided.

Some broader themes did emerge. The results are diverse and community specific – each community is different. The rollout took no account of that. Where good governance structures and systems existed, they were ignored and undermined. The communities that lost CDEP also lost a degree of community participation and enthusiasm in work. The problematic rollout of Work for the Dole and the 'random' nature of breaching have contributed to confused work incentives. There was no solid evidence of NTER induced urban drift, but there was evidence of more frequent trips to town for people in nearby communities. Many survey respondents questioned whether the NTER measures were effective in improving child safety and education. School enrolment and attendance outcomes have not improved according to NT Government figures. The understanding of NTER measures by residents was generally poor, except where the measure had significant impacts, such as income management. This suggests a lack of information but also that the impact of most NTER measures is modest and that the deeper social issues in communities remain unaddressed.



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Appendix 1: Community Survey

Central Land Council Research on the impact of the Intervention in Remote Communities

Information Sheet (To be read and/or handed to participant)

My name is _____ and I am working for CLC.

The CLC is doing research on the NT intervention in 7 communities across Central Australia. We are asking people how they feel about the changes that are being made, like changes to welfare payments. We can also provide you with some factual information about the changes, if you want it.

The interview will take around 30 minutes.

We will make sure that your name stays anonymous, which means secret, so that no one will know that you have been talking to us.

The Information gathered would be used by CLC to present your stories to the Government and other people (radio, TV, news) to show what effects the intervention changes have had been on Aboriginal people on in remote communities.

Do you have any questions about what were doing?

Do you have any worries about what were doing?

It is your choice to be part of this kind of research. You can stop taking part any time.

Can you help us by taking part in this research?

Consent

Signature of consent _____(participant) Date: ____/____/____

Signature of consent _____(Parent/Guardian) Date: _____
(Signature of consent for parent guardian to sign on behalf of a minor.)

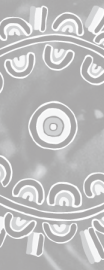
If you have any problems please call Siobhan McDonnell or Jayne Weepers at the Central Land Council on 89516202.

Name (we will only use this for our records and will not publish it in any form) :

Age:

Male/Female:

My payment comes from: Wage/ Centrelink/ Aged Pension/ Work-for-the-dole/ CDEP/ Disability pension/ Other



WELFARE QUARANTINING

1. Do you know about the changes to welfare payments? YES NO

If No- give them some information. Now that you have seen the information, do you understand the changes YES NO

2. How do/will the changes to welfare payments affect you?

3. How do you feel about the changes to welfare payments? Why?

OVERALL DO YOU THINK THE CHANGES TO WELFARE PAYMENTS ARE:			
NO GOOD/ SCRAP THEM	NEED TO BE CHANGED A LOT	NEED TO BE CHANGED A LITTLE	KEEP THE CHANGES GOOD AS IS



HOUSING

4. Have there been any new houses or any repairs and maintenance done on existing houses since the middle of last year? YES NO

5. If Yes, include comments?

6. Has any work been done on your house?

7. Are you happy with your house?

OVERALL DO YOU THINK THE HOUSING ON YOUR COMMUNITY IS:			
OK AS IT IS NOW			NEED BETTER HOUSING



POLICE

14. Are there any extra police in your community or visiting your community?

15. If you have more police, how is that affecting you, or your community?

16. Do you want more police in your community?

OVERALL DO YOU THINK THE POLICE NUMBERS IN YOUR COMMUNITY ARE:			
GOOD AS IS			NEED MORE POLICE

GROG

17. Do you know about the changes to the alcohol laws on Aboriginal land and in Alice Springs? YES NO

If No- give them some information. Now that you have seen the information, do you understand the changes : YES NO

18. How do the changes to the alcohol laws affect you, or people in your community?

19. How do you feel about the changes to alcohol laws? Why?

OVERALL , IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DO YOU THINK THE CHANGES TO ALCOHOL LAWS HAVE MEANT:		
MORE DRINKING	SAME AMOUNT OF DRINKIING	LESS DRINKING

Why?

CDEP

20. Do you know about the changes to the CDEP programs in some communities?

YES NO

If No- give them some information. Now that you have seen the information, do you understand the changes :

YES NO

If CDEP changes have been put in place ask Q 20 and 21. If not go to Q 22.

21. How are the changes to CDEP affecting you or your community?

22. How do you feel about the changes to CDEP? Why?

OVERALL DO YOU THINK THE CHANGES TO CDEP ARE:			
KEEP CDEP SCRAP THE CHANGES			KEEP THE CHANGES

23. If your community has CDEP, how do you think the CDEP program is working?

Why?

24. If your community has CDEP do you think CDEP should be changed?

How?

OVERALL DO YOU THINK CDEP IS:			
KEEP CDEP/ GOOD AS IT IS			MAKE CHANGES

STORES

25. Do you know that all community stores need a licence to receive quarantined welfare money? YES NO

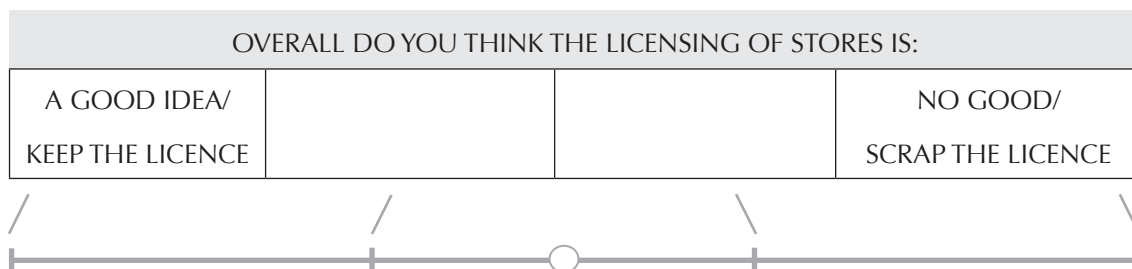
If No- give them some information. Now that you have seen the information, do you understand the changes :

YES NO

26. Do you think licensing makes stores better? Why?

27. Are people on income management happy spending half their welfare payment at the store?

28. Are people eating different food now that their payment is going to the store?



Government Business Managers (GBMs)

29. Do you know that there is a Government Business Manager working with your community? YES NO

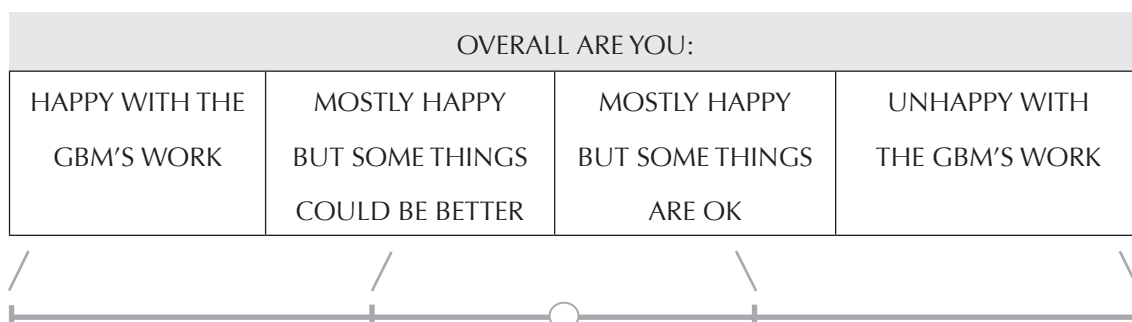
If No- give them some information. Now that you have seen the information, do you understand the role of the Government Business manager? :

YES NO

30. What does the Government Business Manager do in your community?

31. How do you feel about the Government Business Manager? Why?

32. What else do you think the GBM could be doing in your community?



PROCESS

33. Are you happy with the information the government has provided about the intervention changes?
34. How did you feel about the taskforce visiting your community?
35. How else have you received information about the intervention?
36. Do you feel people in your community understand the intervention changes?
37. What could be done so that people understand the changes better?

OVERALL ARE YOU:			
HAPPY WITH THE INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT			UNHAPPY WITH THE GOVERNMENT INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT

OVERALL

OVERALL WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT ALL THE INTERVENTION CHANGES			
GOOD/HAPPY FOR ALL THE CHANGES	HAPPY WITH MOST OF THE CHANGES	UNHAPPY WITH MOST OF THE CHANGES	UNHAPPY/SCRAP ALL THE CHANGES

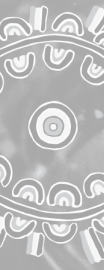
38. The government is looking at keeping some of the intervention measures and scrapping some.
 What should they keep?
 What should they scrap?
39. Do you feel that child safety has improved in your community?



Central Land Council

The Land is always alive..







Central Land Council

The Land is always alive..

