ResearchOnline@JCU

JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY AUSTRALIA

This file is part of the following work:

Turnour, James Pearce (2022) ***Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods for northern Australia*****. PhD Thesis, James Cook University.**

Access to this file is available from:

https://doi.org/10.25903/srmz%2Db347

Copyright © 2022 James Pearce Turnour.

The author has certified to JCU that they have made a reasonable effort to gain permission and acknowledge the owners of any third party copyright material included in this document. If you believe that this is not the case, please email researchonline@jcu.edu.au

Indigenous Economic Development and Sustainable Livelihoods for Northern Australia

PhD Thesis submitted by

James Pearce Turnour B.AgrSci, B.Econ.

College of Business, Law and Governance

James Cook University

March 2022

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the Indigenous peoples of the Wet Tropics of north Queensland and particularly the Eastern Kuku Yalanji First Nation peoples who I most closely worked with. I would like to acknowledge Elders who have kept Indigenous Lore[1] and custom alive and continue to pass it down through the generations. Thank you to directors, staff and members of Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation where I worked for most of the period I was undertaking this research. Through sharing of your life experiences, you have given me a deeper understanding of Aboriginal Lore and custom for which I will always be grateful. Sincere thanks to those involved in the Indigenous Reference Group from the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance (RAPA) for your advice and guidance during my research particularly Joanne Schmider. Working with Indigenous peoples during this research has changed my understanding of the impacts of government policy on Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations, and of the ongoing process of colonisation.

Thank you, to all those Indigenous informants who participated in the focus group and interviews and to non-Indigenous interview informants, for the generous way you participated. This research would not have achieved its aims without your openness and honesty. Your encouragement and interest in the findings of the research is appreciated.

I would like to thank the two supervisors who have been with me since I began this research project. Professor Hurriyet Babacan who became my principal supervisor has been my principal mentor since I began working in academia. She encouraged me to enrol in a masters which eventually became a PhD. She has been a friend and colleague for the past decade always available to talk through challenges and has encouraged me to keep going when at times I might have considered giving up. This PhD would never have been started or completed without her ongoing guidance, encouragement and support. Associate Professor Riccardo Welters has also been there from the beginning supporting and encouraging and providing critical advice to the research. This thesis would not have been possible without their many hours reading numerous chapter drafts and always providing feedback in a constructive and supportive manner. I am deeply grateful to both for the contribution they have made to this research over what has been a decade long endeavour.

[1] Indigenous informants in the case study region described Aboriginal law as L-O-R-E or Lore distinguishing it from western legal systems underpinning Australian, State, Territory and local government laws. When discussing Aboriginal law throughout the thesis it is spelt Lore.

I am indebted to The Cairns Institute, James Cook University (JCU) and the Collaborative Research Network (CRN) with Charles Darwin University for a 12-months stipend. This enabled me to focus on the PhD research fulltime in the first year and broadened my network of researchers particularly engaged in research with Indigenous peoples. Thanks to Associate Professor Felecia Watkin Liu who was my principal supervisor when I began my masters and Dr Anne Stephens who took over as my principal supervisor during my PhD confirmation process. Your support and enthusiasm for my research during these periods is greatly appreciated. I would also like to acknowledge all those government agency and non-government organisations staff and researchers who I have met and discussed Indigenous policy with over the years for your contribution. I would particularly like to acknowledge Professor Allan Dale who I have shared many conversations with over the years about how government policy could be reformed to support regional and Indigenous communities.

Finally, and most importantly I would like to thank my family for their love and support. Thanks to my wife Tiffany and daughter Zoe who have supported me for a decade through the highs and lows of this PhD as we juggled family, work and study commitments. I know that they are glad that it is finished and share my personal joy in this achievement. Thanks to my parents Joan and John Turnour who drilled into me the importance of education and hard work, a commitment to social justice and the need to contribute to the community. Thanks, Mum, for proofreading an early draft of the thesis. I appreciate how lucky I am and am grateful for my family's ongoing love and support.

Statement of Contributions of Others

Nature of Assistance	**Contribution**	**Names, Titles (if relevant) and Affiliations of Co-Contributors**
PhD Supervision	Advice on research design including theoretical frameworks, research methodology, data collection and analysis.	Prof Hurriyet Babacan A / Prof Riccardo Welters Dr Anne Stephens
	Review of early drafts of literature review and methodology chapters.	Prof Hurriyet Babacan A / Prof Riccardo Welters Dr Anne Stephens
	Review and advice on final structure of thesis and content.	Prof Hurriyet Babacan A / Prof Riccardo Welters
Financial Support	Collaborative Research Network Northern Futures PhD Scholarship 2014 stipend and field research support.	The Cairns Institute, JCU
	PhD Research funding thesis editing and production.	College of Business Law and Governance, JCU
Indigenous Reference Group	Advice and support in relation to Indigenous engagement and review of grey literature in the Wet Tropics of north Queensland case study region.	Joanne Schmider Phil Rist Mary Anne Port Robin Bellafquih Alf Joyce
Maps	Production of maps of northern Australia and case study region	Jiban Dahal
Proof Reading and Copy Editing	Proof reading of early draft of thesis	Joan Turnour
	Proof reading and copy editing of final thesis	Virginia Birt

Abstract

This research analyses Australian Government Indigenous economic development policy and an alternative sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) to overcome Indigenous disadvantage within the context of northern Australia. Northern Australia is a vast and diverse First Nations estate with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples estimated to have interest in 78% of the land area (Dale et al., 2013; North Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance [NAILSMA], 2020). The research finds that since the turn of the century government policy has been shaped by Australia's settler colonial history and neoliberalism. This has meant that over the past two decades Indigenous policy has increasingly focused on engaging Indigenous people in mainstream economies and the 'normalising' of Indigenous communities to overcome disadvantage. During this period there has also been a renewed government focus applying neoliberal policy approaches to develop northern Australia. This has included attempts to establish and grow industries by developing markets, supply chains and the right environment to attract private sector investment (Commonwealth of Australia [CoA], 2015).

Postcolonial, neoliberalism and SLA theoretical frameworks are detailed and discussed as they informed the development of the research question, aims and research findings. Case study research in the Wet Tropics of north Queensland was undertaken to provide detail contextual data further informing the analysis of the impacts of government policy on Indigenous development and disadvantage. The research finds that structural power imbalances between the mainstream Australian political economy and First Nation political economies has led to a failure to recognise and respect alternative Indigenous aspirations for development, which is central to poor policy outcomes. These structural power imbalances are reflected in the siloed maze of Indigenous programs generated by government neoliberal public sector management policies and processes, the complex land tenure and planning system and the lack of capacity and capabilities within government and non-government organisations to effectively engage with Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations. Policy is found to be difficult to reform because settler colonial narratives and neoliberal governmentalities combine with vested interests to influence political decision making.

The SLA identified by Indigenous peak bodies and researchers as an alternative approach to northern development is found to be a useful analytical tool if appropriately applied to support Indigenous development. The SLA is a people centred and strength-based approach to supporting Indigenous driven development. The holistic and systematic analysis within the SLA and framework, incorporating a political economy

analysis, was used to reveal the structural nature of Indigenous disadvantage in the Wet Tropics of north Queensland, the case study region. The research finds that, particularly in remote and very remote parts of northern Australia, it is more appropriate for government policy to be centred on sustainable livelihoods than economic development to overcome Indigenous disadvantage.

The research concludes by making a series of recommendations to reform Indigenous and northern Australia development policy within an emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda. The Uluru Statement from the Heart called for structural reforms to Indigenous policy and came out of a deliberative process involving Indigenous people from across Australia. It recommended the establishment of a constitutionally inscribed Indigenous Voice to Parliament, along with a Marrakata Commission to supervise a process of truth-telling about Australia's colonial past and treaty negotiations to recognise Indigenous people's prior sovereignty of Australia. The SLA and framework are discussed as a tool to further develop and implement this emerging First Nations policy agenda. Finally, based on the research findings a series of recommendations are made to improve Indigenous policy.

Table of Contents

Abstract 5
Acronyms 11
List of Tables 14
List of Figures 15
Chapter 1 16
Introduction 16
Background to the Research 19
Research Question and Aims 25
Significance of the Research 26
Thesis Outline 28
Chapter 2. Theoretical Frameworks and Concepts 33
Introduction 33
Postcolonial Theory 34
Key Concepts 36
Colonial Discourses 36
O/other 36
Settler Colonialism 37
Liberalism 38
National Identity and Social Cohesion 38
Racism 39
Indigenous Sovereignty and Land Rights 41
Discourses of Indigenous Identity and Psychological Trauma 43
Decolonisation and empowerment 44
Neoliberalism 45
Neoliberalism in Australia 49
Alternative perspectives on neoliberalism in Australia 51
Summary 53
Chapter 3 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach 54
Introduction 54
Key Concepts 55
Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks 57
Critiques of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Framework 61
Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches in Australia 64
Summary 67
Chapter 4 Research Methodology 68
Introduction 68

Positivism 68
Constructivism 69
Critical Realism 70
Critical Realism Theory and Concepts 71
Developing an Indigenous Research Protocol 74
Indigenous Perspectives on Research 75
Research Methods 77
Literature Review 77
Research Question 78
Research Aims: 78
Case Study Research 78
The Extended Case Method (ECM) 79
Selecting the Case Study Region 81
The Indigenous Research Protocol 82
Data Collection and Analysis 83
Thematic Areas for Case Study Data Collection 83
Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance Data 84
RAPA Region Focus Group 84
Eastern Kuku Yalanji Subregional Data 85
Research Interviews 85
Data Analysis 90
Results and Discussion 91
The Researcher's Position 91
Data Management 94
Chapter 5 Northern Australia Development Context 95
Introduction 95
Area and Demography 95
Indigenous and Western Ontology and Political Economy 99
Industries in Northern Australia 100
Indigenous Employment, Education and Training in Northern Australia 103
Indigenous Interests in Northern Australia 107
Indigenous Policy in Northern Australia 109
Protection Assimilation and Self-determination Policies 109
Neoliberal Public Management in Indigenous Policy 111
An Emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart Policy Agenda 117
Northern Australia Development Policy 118
Governance of the Northern Australia Development Agenda 120

The Northern Australian Indigenous Development Agenda 121
Summary 124
Chapter 6 The Wet Tropics Region Case Study Context 125
Introduction 125
The Wet Tropics Regional Case Study (WTRCS) Boundary 125
Indigenous Corporations in the WTRCS 128
A Brief History of the WTRCS 129
The Eastern Kuku Yalanji First Nation Subregional Context 131
Bama Lore, Mobs and Bosses in EKY Society 132
Bama Lore and the EKY First Nation Land and Sea Estate 134
Bama Lore and Colonisation 139
Colonisation and Lateral Violence 141
The EKY Estate and Land and Native Title Interests 143
Aboriginal Corporations as Centres of Power and a Livelihood Strategy 147
Aboriginal People and Corporations and NPM Governance 151
Summary 154
Chapter 7 Results and Discussion Interviews and Focus Group 155
Introduction 155
Theme 1. Defining Economic Development 155
Theme 2. Opportunities and Priorities for Economic Development 158
Theme 3. Enablers and Barriers to Economic Development 161
Theme 3.1. Cultural Differences and Power Imbalances 163
Theme 3.2. The Impacts of Colonisation and Lateral violence 168
Theme 3.3 Capacity and Capability 170
Theme 3.4. Discrimination and negative stereotyping 172
Theme 4. Roles and Responsibilities in Supporting Development 173
Summary 180
Chapter 8 Eastern Kuku Yalanji Case Studies 183
Introduction 183
Cultural and Natural Resource Management Case Study 183
Land and Sea Ranger Programs 184
Land Management Contracting 185
Eastern Kuku Yalanji Tourism Industry Case Study 189
Return to Country Case Study 195
The Return to Country Approval Process 196
Master Planning on EKY Freehold Lands 198
Chapter 9 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Sensitivity Analysis 204

Introduction 204
Theme 1. Defining Economic Development 204
Theme 2. Opportunities and Priorities for Economic Development 205
Theme 3. Enablers and Barriers to Economic Development 206
Key Concepts Capabilities, Equity and Sustainability 207
Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks 213
SLA Framework Context and Trend Analysis 215
SLA Framework Asset Analysis 216
Theme 4. Roles and Responsibilities in Supporting Development 217
SLA Framework Institutional and Organisational Analysis 217
SLA and Frameworks Strategies and Outcomes 220
Chapter 10 Synthesise, Conclusions and Policy Recommendations 221
Introduction 221
Research Aim 1. 221
Research Aim 2. 231
Research Aim 3. 234
Structural Reforms through an Uluru Statement from the Heart Policy Agenda . 234
From Neoliberal Public Management to Management for Public Value 240
Reforms to Land Planning and Tenure Systems 242
Reforms to Build Capacity and Capabilities within Governments and First Nations 243
Research Aim 4. 243
References 246
Appendix 1 278
Informants focus group and interview thematic questions. 278
Appendix 2 279
INFORMATION SHEET 279
INFORMED CONSENT FORM 280

Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ANAO	Australian National Audit Office
AMU	Abandoned Mines Unit
APO NT	Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CDP	Community Development Plan
CDEP	Community Development and Employment Program
CMA	Cooperative Management Agreement
CNRM	Cultural Natural Resource Management
CRCNA	Cooperative Research Centre for Developing Northern Australia
CoA	Commonwealth of Australia
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
CSC	Cook Shire Council
CYLC	Cape York Land Council
CYPAL	Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal Land
CYWR	Cape York Welfare Reform
DATSIP	Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships
DES	Department of Environment and Science
DSC	Douglas Shire Council
DSDTI	Department of State Development, Tourism and Industry
DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
DITRDC	Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications

DNRME	Department of Natural Resources, Mines and Energy
ECM	Extended Case Method
EKY	Eastern Kuku Yalanji
EPA	Environment Protection Agency
FaHCSIA	Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs Department
GBRMPA	Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority
IAS	Indigenous Advancement Strategy
IBA	Indigenous Business Australia
IEDS	Indigenous Economic Development Strategy
IEF	Indigenous Expert Forum
ILSC	Indigenous Land and Sea Corporation
ILUA	Indigenous Land Use Agreement
IPA	Indigenous Protected Area
IRG	Indigenous Reference Group
Jabalbina	Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation
JCU	James Cook University
LGA	Local Government Area
MFND	Ministerial Forum on Northern Development
NAIF	Northern Australia Infrastructure Facility
NALWTF	Northern Australia Land and Water Taskforce
NAILSMA	North Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NH&MRC	National Health and Medical Research Commission
NLC	Northern Land Council
NPM	Neoliberal Public Management

NQLC	North Queensland Land Council
NTRB	Native Title Representative Body
ONA	Office of Northern Australia
QPC	Queensland Productivity Commission
QPWS	Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service
ORIC	Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations
RAPA	Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance
PM&C	Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet
RNTBC	Registered Native Title Body Corporate
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
TCI	The Cairns Institute
TTNQ	Tourism Tropical North Queensland
TPDD	Tourism Port Douglas and Daintree
TUMRA	Traditional Use and Management of Marine Resources Agreement
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
WHS	Workplace Health and Safety
WTQWHA	Wet Tropics Queensland World Heritage Area
WTMA	Wet Tropics Management Authority
WTRCS	Wet Tropics Regional Case Study
WWASC	Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Shire Council

List of Tables

Table 1: Alternative Perspectives on Australian History 41
Table 2: Comparative Purposeful Sampling Framework 87
Table 3: Indigenous Interview Informants 88
Table 4: Non-Indigenous Interview Informants 90
Table 5: Population of Northern Australia by Indigenous Status and Indigenous Region. 97
Table 6: Engagement in Employment, Education and Training by Indigenous Region 104
Table 7: Indigenous Engagement in Employment/Community Development Program by Indigenous Regions 106
Table 8: Wet Tropics Regional Case Study Indigenous Community Selected Indicators 127
Table 9: Contemporary Eastern Kuku Yalanji Governance 138
Table 10: Regional Aboriginal Organisations Engage in Native Title, Land and or Cultural Heritage Governance and Management within the Estate Claimed by the EKY First Nation 149
Table 11: Eastern Kuku Yalanji Native Title, Land and Cultural Heritage Corporations 150
Table 12: Results Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 1... 156
Table 13: Economic development opportunities/priorities agreed by the RAPA Indigenous Focus Group Theme 2 159
Table 14: Results Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 2... 159
Table 15: Results RAPA Indigenous Focus Group Theme 3 161
Table 16: Results of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 3162
Table 17: Results Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 4... 174
Table 18: Eastern Kuku Yalanji Tourism Businesses 191

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of Northern Australia and Location of Case Study Area. 26
Figure 2. Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis. 58
Figure 3. DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. 58
Figure 4. Northern Australia as Defined by the Australian Government. 96
Figure 5. Discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities in Australia...... 99
Figure 6. Key Industries Contributing to Employment in the Northern Australia Economy. 102
Figure 7. Indigenous Interests in Land in Northern Australia. 107
Figure 8. Indigenous Service Delivery in Queensland 'Bureaucratic Maze'. 117
Figure 9. The Wet Regional Case Study Boundary. 126
Figure 10. Major Industries Contributing to Employment in the Wet Tropics Regional Case Study.. 128
Figure 11. Location of Eastern Kuku Yalanji Clan Estates. 137
Figure 12. Eastern Kuku Yalanji ILUA Map. 145
Figure 13. Summary of approvals process for development on EKY Aboriginal Freehold Pink Zone. 197
Figure 14. Case Study Areas on EKY Pink Zones. 201
Figure 15. Institutional and Organisational Box within Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Showing Western Non-Indigenous and EKY First Nation Domains and Power Relationships.. 219

Chapter 1
Introduction

Australian Government Indigenous[2] policy since the turn of the century has taken a distinctly neoliberal turn, with a focus on addressing Indigenous disadvantage (Altman, 2014; Strakosch, 2015). Supported by some Indigenous leaders and researchers, this largely bipartisan political approach has emphasised the mainstreaming of Indigenous service delivery, welfare reforms and engaging Indigenous peoples in market-based economies for social and economic development (Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership, 2007; Dillon and Westbury, 2007; Hughes, 2007; Pearson, 2000; 2006). Described as a policy of 'normalisation', governments have sought to reshape Indigenous communities to resemble mainstream non-Indigenous communities (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs [FaHCSIA], 2011; Peterson, 2013; Sullivan, 2011a).

The stated rationale for the adoption of this new Indigenous policy agenda by Australian governments has been the assumption that Indigenous peoples share the same aspirations as non-Indigenous Australians, and also the high levels of social dysfunction and disadvantage within Indigenous communities (FaHCSIA, 2011; Prime Minister and Cabinet [PM&C], 2014). After three decades of what was described as a period of Indigenous 'self-determination', some Indigenous leaders, researchers and government inquiries were detailing high levels of welfare dependency, social dysfunction, criminal behaviour and entrenched disadvantage within Indigenous communities (Pearson, 2000; 2006; Queensland Department of the Premier and Cabinet, & Fitzgerald, 2001; Queensland Government, 2002; Wild & Anderson, 2007). There was an increasing belief within governments that there had been too great an emphasis on symbolic issues of reconciliation during this period of 'self-determination' and that a more 'practical' approach was required focused on addressing Indigenous community dysfunction and disadvantage (Dillon and Westbury, 2007; Sanders, 2010; Sullivan, 2011b).

Closing the socioeconomic gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Australia became the focus of government policy, with Closing the Gap targets

---

[2] The term Indigenous refers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia.

established in 2008[3]. This policy emphasis continues today, yet after more than a decade of neoliberal policy reform socioeconomic gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples remain. The gap in life expectancy remains at approximately eight years, with Indigenous males living to 71.6 years and females 75.6 years compared to 80.2 years and 83.7 years respectively for non-Indigenous peoples. There is an approximately 25 percentage gap in employment, at 49% for Indigenous peoples compared with 75% for non-Indigenous peoples. The only areas where there has been some overall improvement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples since 2008 has been in early childhood education and year 12 or equivalent educational attainment in major cities and less remote areas (Australian Government, 2020).

In remote and very remote parts of Australia socioeconomic gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are significantly worse and are not closing. The gap in life expectancy between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples increases to approximately 14 years in remote and very remote areas, with Indigenous males living to 65.9 years and Indigenous females 69.6 years respectively. The gap in employment increases to approximately 40% between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples with as few as 35% of Indigenous people employed in very remote areas. Educational attainment also decreases significantly with remoteness, with only 38% of Indigenous people completing Year 12 or equivalent in very remote areas (Australian Government, 2020). The government's Closing the Gap policy, on its own measures, has failed particularly in remote and very remote parts of Australia (Australian Government, 2020; Productivity Commission, 2016).

The Australian Government over more than a decade has also begun to focus more broadly on the economic development of northern Australia (Council of Australian Government [CoA], 2015; Howard, 2007; Northern Australian Land and Water Taskforce [NALWTF], 2009). Northern Australia is a sparsely populated region dotted with numerous remote and very remote Indigenous communities, where Indigenous people have interests in 78% of the land area (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2017; Dale

[3] In 2008 the COAG set specific targets for Closing the Gap in Indigenous disadvantage:

- To close the life-expectancy gap within a generation
- To halve the gap in mortality rates for Indigenous children under five within a decade
- To ensure access to early childhood education for all Indigenous four-year olds in remote communities within five years
- To halve the gap in reading, writing and numeracy achievements for children within a decade
- To halve the gap in Indigenous Year 12 achievement by 2020
- To halve the gap in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a decade.

et al., 2013; NAILSMA, 2020). It is a region that has experienced periods of significant economic boom followed by long periods of economic statis or even decline (Gerritsen, Whitehead, & Stoeckl, 2018). It is a vast Indigenous estate considered to have significant opportunities for economic development (Chambers et al., 2018; CoA, 2015).

In 2007, the Australian Government commissioned the NALWTF to investigate and report on northern Australia water resource development opportunities (NALWTF, 2009). Since then, the development of northern Australia has remained a policy priority. In 2015, the Australian Government released 'Our north our future: White Paper on developing northern Australia', setting out a long-term vision for northern development. The White Paper adopts a neoliberal framework to support development, focusing on establishing new markets, supply chains and the right environment to attract private sector investment to develop the north (CoA, 2015).

There appears to be an intrinsic assumption, within government Indigenous policy and this broader northern Australia development agenda reflected in the White Paper, that mainstream economic development policies will benefit Indigenous peoples. These assumptions, however, are not supported with evidence as there is contrary research which shows that exogenously driven development, like that envisioned within the White Paper, has led to a growing disparity between the 'haves and the have nots' in northern Australia, many of whom are Indigenous (Taylor, Larson, Stoeckl & Carson, 2011). There is in fact evidence of an asymmetric divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous economies which limits the flow of investments made in mainstream economies to Indigenous peoples (Stoeckl, Esparon, Farr, Delisle, Stanley, 2013). Indigenous people in remote and very remote parts of northern Australia have in fact maintained their own political economies (Anderson, 1985; Brigg, 2007; Povinelli, 1995; Stanner, 1979). They, for a variety of reasons including cultural and historical, may choose not to engage in employment and business opportunities generated through neoliberal economic development (McRae-Williams & Gerritsen, 2010; McRae-Williams & Guenther, 2016).

The neoliberal approach to northern development in the White Paper is contested by some Indigenous leaders, peak bodies and researchers. These Indigenous leaders, peak bodies and researchers are increasingly highlighting the problematic nature of neoliberal policies and economic development for Indigenous peoples (Altman, 2014; Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory [APO NT], 2011; McRae-Williams & Guenther, 2016; Morrison, Yu & George, 2018; NAILSMA, 2013; Strakosch, 2015). The renewed government focus on northern development brought together Indigenous

leaders from across northern Australia to develop their own prospectus and vision for northern development. Their Indigenous prospectus placed Indigenous people at the centre of the northern development agenda and called for an alternate approach to development (NAILSMA, 2013; 2014). Within this context the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) is identified by several Indigenous northern Australian peak bodies as more appropriate to support Indigenous economic development (APO NT, 2011; Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016a; NAILSMA, 2014; Northern Land Council [NLC], 2014). Many Indigenous leaders have rejected the approach to development set out in the White Paper (Chambers et al., 2018; Morrison et al., 2018; NAILSMA, 2014). Given the extensive Indigenous interests in northern Australia, the fact that remote and very remote Indigenous communities are the most disadvantaged and Indigenous policy has taken a neoliberal turn which is also the focus of northern development policy, the region provides an ideal location to research the effectiveness of neoliberal economic development policies and the alternative SLA in supporting Indigenous development and addressing disadvantage.

Background to the Research

Researching Indigenous and northern development policy involved understanding the policy making process (Czarniawska, 2004; Fischer, 2003) and how Indigenous peoples and communities are socially constructed in relation to the dominant non-Indigenous community, often in negative ways influencing policy (Dodson, 1994; Hamilton, 1990; Langton,1993; Macoun, 2011). It was also important not to view policies in isolation, as the impacts of previous policy influence community and government responses to current and future policy (Schneider & Ingram, 2008). It was therefore important to consider the history of Indigenous policy as part of this research.

Postcolonial theory detailed in Chapter 2 provided a lens to understand how European imperial powers colonised the world including Australia from an Indigenous perspective. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples argue that Australia was invaded and that they never ceded sovereignty to the Australian State. A central issue for many Indigenous people is therefore that the Australian people through their governments need to reach a settlement with Indigenous First Nations if the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous peoples are to be resolved (Referendum Council, 2017). Indigenous people, however, make up a small proportion of the Australian electorate, comprising just 3.3% of the Australian population (ABS, 2018). The non-Indigenous community therefore holds much greater political influence in Australia.

Political discourses and narratives that essentialise Indigenous people and communities mostly in negative ways in the minds of the dominant non-Indigenous community have therefore been central to the Australian Indigenous policy making process (Dodson, 1994; Hamilton, 1990; Langton,1993; Macoun, 2011). They formed the basis of government protection and assimilation policies that supported the dispossession of Indigenous people of their land and sea estates in the first half of the twentieth century (Sanders, 2010; Wolfe, 1999). The subsequent change in policy to a period described as 'self-determination' was proceeded by an Indigenous campaign that mobilised non-Indigenous support for Indigenous peoples to be recognised within the Australian Constitution through the 1967 referendum. During the policy period of self-determination that followed the referendum, governments supported greater Indigenous political and economic autonomy (Anderson, 2007; Sanders, 2010) and the history of Australian colonisation began to be rewritten from an Indigenous perspective (Kidd, 1997; Reynolds,1981).

The neoliberal period of Indigenous policy that emerged in the 2000s was also proceeded by changing political narratives that influenced non-Indigenous communities' views in relation to Indigenous issues. Debates about Australia's colonial past and the treatment of Indigenous peoples led to the 'history wars' with contestations over the emerging Indigenous history of British invasion rather than peaceful colonisation (Manne, 2003; Windschuttle, 2003). There was also growing non-Indigenous community concerns about Indigenous land rights following the passing of the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) (Robbins, 2007) and increasing reports of Indigenous community welfare dependency, dysfunction and criminal activity (Hughes, 2007; Johns, 2001; Pearson, 2000). These issues fed into negative stereotypes about Indigenous people and communities, diminishing non-Indigenous support for Indigenous reconciliation and self-determination policies.

Neoliberalism had become established as the dominant rationale for policy making in Australia during the 1980s and 1990s (Beeson & Firth, 1998; Pusey, 1991) and it was these political narratives that set the scene for the neoliberal shift in Indigenous policy. Neoliberal assumptions about policy removed Indigenous disadvantage from its cultural and historical context, treating it as a technical issue with a focus on evidence-based policies through Closing the Gap (Sanders, 2010). The policy turn effectively sought to foreclose the debates about Indigenous rights to self-determination and prior sovereignty within non-Indigenous discourses that had emerged during the policy period of self-determination.

The ‘history wars’ and native title debates highlighted the competing political and economic interests in Australia relating to Indigenous policy. There is significant resistance within sections of the non-Indigenous community and all levels of government to Indigenous histories and claims to prior sovereignty, land rights and self-determination (Robbins, 2007; Turnbull, 2017; Windschuttle, 2003). The normalisation of neoliberalism as a policy rationale and the focus on Indigenous disadvantage and community dysfunction has to a large extent masked these deeper debates about Indigenous dispossession and resistance to colonisation in sections of the non-Indigenous community. This has allowed these ongoing issues for Indigenous peoples to be ignored or subjugated by governments. Central to this research will be identifying competing Indigenous and non-Indigenous political and economic interests, their associated narratives and how these have influenced government policy and development outcomes. The intractable nature of Indigenous disadvantage suggests that these underlying interests and the assumptions embedded within neoliberal policy require further investigation.

Indigenous people’s history of resistance to colonisation continues, most recently demonstrated politically through the release of the Uluru Statement from the Heart[4] (Referendum Council, 2017). Indigenous people have their own discourse and narratives of First Nations history, culture and aspirations for development (Nelson, 2019; Pettman, 1988). Researchers have argued that it is the failure of governments to recognise and effectively engage with and understand distinctly different Indigenous histories, cultures and aspirations for development that is the reason for policy failure. These researchers argue government policy needs to support renewed efforts for Indigenous self-determination as a prerequisite to addressing Indigenous disadvantage (Altman, 2001; 2009; Maddison, 2019; Morphy, 2008). These arguments include that the neoliberal policy approach of mainstreaming and welfare reforms breaches the rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination as set out in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Burns, 2011; Macoun, 2011; Strakosch & Macoun, 2012, UNDRIP, 2007).

[4] The Uluru Statement from the Heart came out of a constitutional convention of 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander delegates following national consultations including 13 Regional Dialogues held around Australia. The statement calls for the establishment of a ‘First Nations Voice’ enshrined in the Australian Constitution and the establishment of a ‘Makarrata Commission’ to supervise agreement-making and truth-telling between Australian governments and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It comes after many decades of Indigenous struggles for recognition and calls for a stronger voice in their affairs.

Mainstreaming has become a term widely used in Indigenous policy over the past two decades and reflects the intent of neoliberal polices. It describes the move away from Indigenous specific programs often delivered by Indigenous representative bodies and corporations, to the delivery of services through mainstream government departments and the contracting out of services previously delivered by Indigenous organisations through competitive processes, often to non-Indigenous organisations. It can also broadly be understood as a government policy intent for Indigenous peoples and communities to become more like similar sized mainstream non-Indigenous communities centred on market-based economies (FaHCSIA, 2011; PM&C, 2014; Peterson, 2013; Sullivan, 2011a).

The neoliberal policy of mainstreaming and rights-based approaches to self-determination are distinctly different approaches to overcoming Indigenous disadvantage. Debates about the merits of each approach continue and have been positioned, ideologically polarised, as left or right. Those on the left ascribe to a self-determination rights-based ideological position (Anderson, 2007; Pearson, 2007; Sanders, 2010) while those on the right are broadly positioned as mainstream neoliberal modernist (Altman 2009; 2014; Sanders 2010). While distinctly different, both approaches consider that Indigenous peoples and First Nations can be accommodated within the context of Western liberalism, the political economy that established and underpins the Australian state (Strakosch, 2015).

This assumption, however, is now being questioned by some researchers (Brigg, Graham, & Murphy, 2019; Maddison, 2019; Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Strakosch, 2015). They point to the Indigenous policy failures of Western liberalism/neoliberalism and suggest that reconciliation and self-determination policies also need rethinking. Central to the Western liberal/neoliberal political economy are notions of individual freedoms, market-based economies, democratic institutions, private property rights, social progress and nation states (Brigg, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Kowal, 2008). These are distinctly different political and economic values to those found in Indigenous political economies where connection to country and kinship relationships reflect more communal and collective responsibilities, where demand sharing is normalised and where decision making is more open and deliberative based on cultural knowledge usually held by Elders (Anderson, 1985; Behrendt & Kelly, 2008; Brigg, 2007; Povinelli, 1993; Stanner, 1979). A political economic analysis therefore further highlights the complexity of Indigenous policy discourses and debates as they are embedded in different Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies. Determining

priorities for development and even what constitutes development is difficult because the policy landscape is value laden and contestable (Agrawal, 1995; Nakata, 2007).

To date Australian Government policy has assumed that Indigenous people must adopt the values of the western liberal/neoliberal political economy. During the period of self-determination, Indigenous institutions including Indigenous representative bodies and corporations were established and forced to adopt the principles of western liberal corporate governance (Trugden, 2000). Since that time there has been numerous Indigenous organisations with statutory responsibilities including local governments, native title body corporates and land trusts and a wide range of Indigenous corporations competing to deliver services including housing, employment, education and health services (Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations [ORIC], 2016).

Neoliberal policies and forms of governance since the turn of the century have been particularly coercive in forcing Indigenous peoples to conform to the policy intent of mainstreaming and the normalisation of Indigenous communities. Welfare reforms have shifted responsibility from the state to the individual for a person's failure to contribute as a productive citizen through the policy of mutual obligation. The cause of Indigenous disadvantage has been recast as a problem of Indigenous peoples and communities and their capacity to contribute as 'mainstream' citizens (Strakosch, 2015). Neoliberal public management (NPM) policy and contracting arrangements have required Indigenous organisations to operate within western neoliberal structures and processes and deliver against government priorities if they are to receive funding to deliver services to communities (Strakosch, 2015; Sullivan, 2015).

This demonstrates that despite the distinct differences between western and Indigenous political economies, government policy continues to try and force Indigenous peoples and communities to conform to dominant mainstream social and economic norms. Indigenous people, however, continue to resist colonisation and advocate for recognition of their prior sovereignty, land rights and their rights to self-determination (Morrison et. al., 2018; Referendum Council, 2017). Indigenous political economies continue to operate, and their associated traditional Lore and custom continue to be followed by Indigenous people particularly in Indigenous regions outside of Australia's major population centres where Indigenous people make up most of the population. Given that these are the areas where socioeconomic gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are the greatest, the continued coercion of Indigenous people through neoliberal policy and governance may be a major reason why these policies fail.

An alternative policy approach recognising prior Indigenous First Nation sovereignty and supporting Indigenous aspirations for greater self-determination, however, has its own complexities. Colonisation has created a hybrid array of Indigenous identities so that Indigenous families, communities and First Nations can have different or competing aspirations (Bhabha, 2004; Paradies, 2006). The earlier policy periods have also created a wide range of Indigenous institutions enmeshed within the mainstream Australian state (Anderson, 2007; Hudson, 2016; QPC, 2017; Trugden, 2000). Reform of the system is therefore difficult, with competing Indigenous aspirations, power imbalances and vested interests within the Indigenous and mainstream political economies. Postcolonial theory and neoliberal theoretical frameworks detailed in Chapter 2 will be used to unpack this complexity.

The SLA and framework has been identified by Indigenous peak bodies and researchers as an alternative approach to support development (APO NT, 2011; Davies, White, Wright, Maru, & LaFlamme, 2008; NAILSMA, 2014; NLC, 2014). It emerged because of a growing recognition that western development, centred on economic growth, was failing to address poverty in developing countries. Poor people in developing countries and Indigenous peoples have access to a range of tangible and intangible resources and claims that they can utilise to generate a livelihood (Altman, 2001; 2003; Chambers & Conway, 1992; Davies, Maru, Hueneke, Grey-Gardner, & Chewings, 2010; Scoones, 1998; 2015). They may also perceive the broader dimensions of what constitutes poverty and wellbeing differently than a narrow measure of poverty within an industrialised economy (Arce, 2003; Measham, Maru & Murray-Prior, 2006; Scoones, 2015). This is reflected in the different values intrinsic to western liberal/neoliberal political economies and Indigenous political economies discussed earlier.

The SLA, however, seeks to integrate the dominant western economic development paradigm, centred on employment and business development, within a framework which also recognises the range of other tangible and intangible assets and claims which are important to making a living in developing rural communities or northern Australian Indigenous communities (Altman, 2003; Davies et al. 2008; Scoones, 2015). It is a people centred strengths-based approach to development. As an analytical tool it is holistic and systematic and has been used to build shared conceptual understandings about development between policy makers, development practitioners and local communities (Stafford Smith et al., 2003). It has been found to be a useful tool in political economic analysis within an international development context (Scoones, 2015). It is therefore detailed as a theoretical framework in Chapter 3 and combined with neoliberalism and postcolonial theory as an analytical lens to aid in understanding the

reasons for Indigenous policy failure. It is also considered as an alternative approach to neoliberal economic development to address Indigenous disadvantage given its support by some Indigenous leaders and peak bodies.

Given the government's focus of developing Australia's north, the research will focus on northern Australia. Northern Australia is defined by the Australian Government as all the Northern Territory, and those parts of Queensland and Western Australia above and directly below or intersecting the Tropic of Capricorn. It also includes Gladstone, Carnarvon and Exmouth, as well as the local government areas (LGAs) of Meekatharra and Wiluna in Western Australia (Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications [DITRDC], 2021). It is a large area with a diversity of Indigenous peoples and communities living in a range of circumstances, from major regional centres and towns to discrete remote and very remote Indigenous communities (Taylor, Payer & Brokensha, 2015). Given the diversity of circumstances it was important to gain an understanding of the macro level structural influences on policy while also understanding the micro level context and its influence on policy outcomes through case study research. The Wet Tropics of north Queensland was identified, due to a range of factors detailed in the Methodology Chapter 4, as the most appropriate place within northern Australia to undertake more detailed case study research (Figure 1).

Research Question and Aims

Within the context of the background above, the key research question and the aims of the study are presented below:

Research Question: Are sustainable livelihoods approaches more appropriate to supporting economic development within northern Australia Indigenous communities than current government economic development policies?

To critically examine this question, this research aims:

1. To critique the dominant neoliberal economic development paradigm and analyse its application within government policy and Indigenous contexts in northern Australia.

2. To explore and critique the sustainable livelihoods approach and its potential to improve Indigenous economic development outcomes in northern Australia.

3. Through place-based case study research, examine the relevance and potential of these approaches in the context of Indigenous aspirations for economic development.

4. Where appropriate, to recommend improvements to current Indigenous economic development policy.

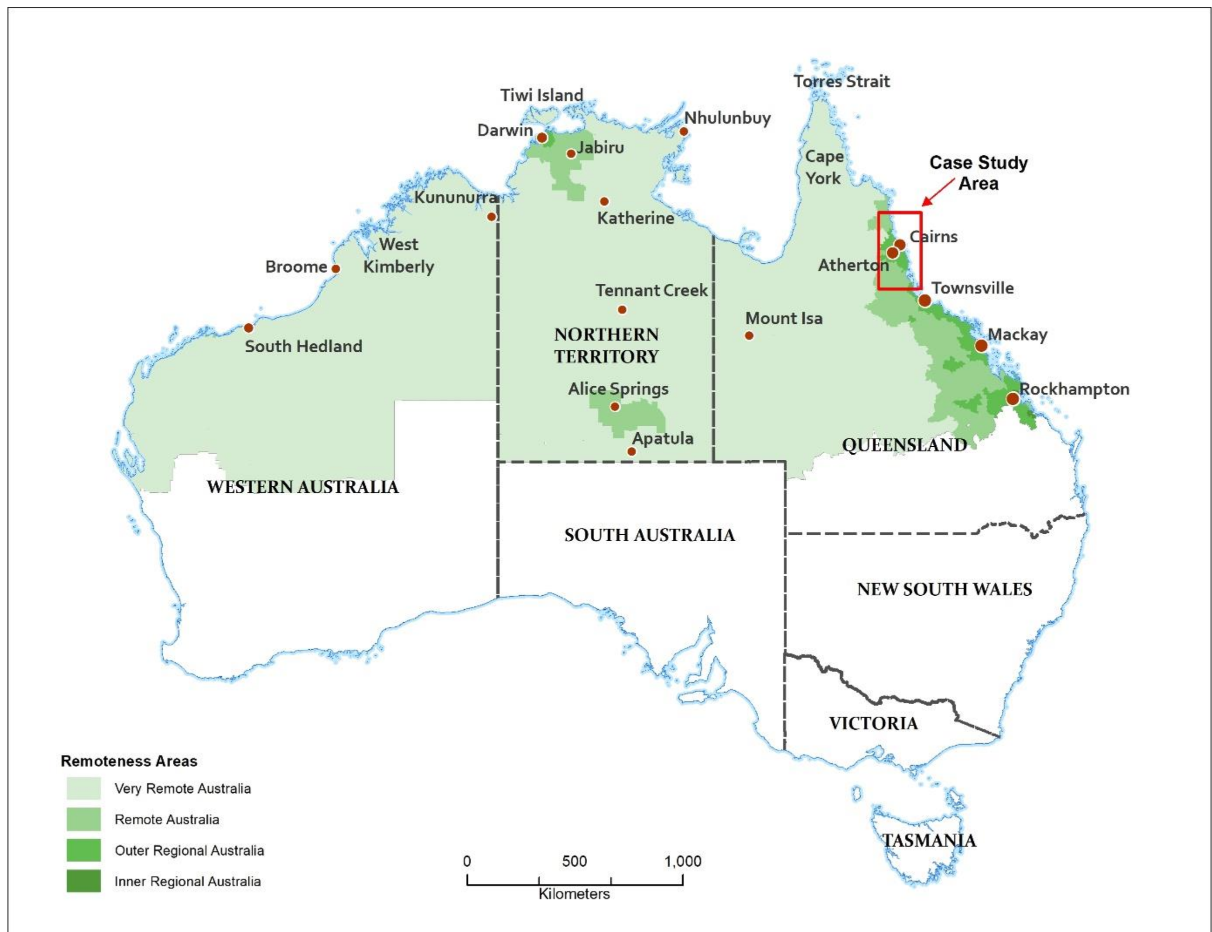

Figure 1. Map of Northern Australia and Location of Case Study Area.

Significance of the Research

The annual Closing the Gap Reports highlight the persistent failure of government policies to achieve their stated aim of reducing Indigenous disadvantage (Australian Government, 2020). Closing the Gap policies quantify Indigenous disadvantage, characterising it as a technical and normative problem to be addressed. This approach ignores deeper critical analysis of neoliberal Indigenous policies, assuming that if Indigenous peoples are engaged in the mainstream economy through economic development, Indigenous disadvantage will be addressed (Altman, 2009; 2014; Morphy, 2008; Strakosch, 2015; Taylor, 2009).

Previous research has detailed the influence of liberalism or its modern version, neoliberalism, on Indigenous policy and problematised the approach through theoretical analysis (Altman, 2014; Brigg, 2007; Kowal, 2008; Sanders, 2010; Strakosch, 2015; Wolfe, 1999). There is a lack of research, however, analysing the political and economic assumptions within neoliberalism policies and their impacts at a localised regional and First Nation scale. This is the scale at which Indigenous political economies operate and therefore where the direct impact of neoliberalism as an economic development

approach on Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations can be researched. This research therefore considers the broader theoretical problematisation of neoliberal policies within a localised Indigenous region and First Nation case study context, prior to considering the efficacy and impacts of these policies on Indigenous peoples and economic development outcomes in northern Australia. This is a gap in current research, which has taken a narrower focus on Indigenous employment or business development often through the lens of a sectoral interest (Bennett & Gordon, 2005; Collins & Norman, 2018; Foley, 2003; Gray & Hunter, 2011; Hindle & Moroz, 2010; Hunter & Gray, 2012; Nikolakis, 2008; Russell-Mundine, 2007; Welters, 2010; Wood & Davidson, 2011) or more theoretically on a liberal/neoliberal analysis of Indigenous policy (Altman, 2014; Brigg, 2007; Kowal, 2008; Strakosch, 2015; Sullivan, 2015; Taylor, 2009).

The sustainable livelihoods approach has been identified by Indigenous leaders and peak bodies as more appropriate to supporting development (APO NT, 2011; Cultural Values Project Steering Committee, 2016a; NAILSMA, 2014; NLC, 2014). It does not assume that Indigenous wellbeing will be achieved through mainstream neoliberal economic development. It takes a holistic and systematic strengths-based approach to development and has been applied as an analytical lens to research Indigenous communities and enterprises (Austin & Garnett, 2011; Davies et al., 2008; Davies et al., 2010). It has also been applied to research natural resource management policy in northern Australia (Greiner, Stanley & Austin, 2012; Nikolakis & Grafton, 2015; Smyth & Whitehead, 2012; Whitehead, 2012). The sustainable livelihoods approach has not been applied to understanding the influence of neoliberal policies on Indigenous development and disadvantage in Australia. Analysing political economies has been identified as important to understanding economic and sustainable livelihoods development within an international development context (Scoones, 2015). This research will therefore fill this gap by applying the SLA to assist in further understanding the problems with neoliberal political economies as they relate to Indigenous policies in northern Australia.

Neoliberalism is increasingly being challenged in relation to its environmental, social and economic sustainability with growing concerns, for example, about climate change and income inequality (Parr, 2014). Western societies like Australia could potentially learn from Indigenous societies if their political economies and related traditional Lores and customs were respected and supported to re-emerge. For example, the benefits of applying Indigenous knowledge to the management of the Australian environment is increasingly being recognised (Gammage, 2011; Russell-Smith, Sangha, Costanza, Kubiszewski & Edwards, 2018). The maintenance of Indigenous knowledge, however, is intrinsically linked to Indigenous political economies through traditional Lores and

customs. The present neoliberal policy approach, through its coercive nature, is continuing a process of assimilation that erodes Indigenous knowledge (Altman, 2014; Strakosch, 2015; Strakosch & Macoun, 2012).

While there is a need to essentialise western or mainstream and Indigenous develop in binary terms as a heuristic tool within this research to help analyse and discuss Indigenous policy. It is critical to acknowledge that Indigenous and western identities and cultures are much more complex and evolving (Appiah, 2018; Carter and Hollinsworth, 2017). There are numerous hybrid Indigenous identities (Paradise, 2006), and the Indigenous development context is extremely complex, encompassing western and Indigenous ontologies and potentially competing aspirations for development. The SLA's capacity to encompass western and Indigenous development within a holistic and systematic analytical framework makes it a useful tool in considering multiple Indigenous aspirations for development. Its capacity to build shared conceptual understandings between multiple stakeholders about development means it could be applied to facilitate trade-offs and manage competing aspirations for development where they exist. Given the approach's support amongst some Indigenous peak bodies in northern Australia it will therefore be considered as an alternative approach to Indigenous development. There is also limited research in Queensland applying the SLA to Indigenous development as most of the previous research has been undertaken in the Northern Territory. The case study research in north Queensland will therefore build on this earlier research and provide further evidence of the strengths and weakness of the SLA as a tool to support Indigenous development in northern Australia.

Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 sets out the postcolonial and neoliberalism theoretical frameworks from academic literature. This provides a basis for applying these theories to the analysis informing understandings about the current drivers of Indigenous policy in northern Australia. Postcolonial theory provides an understanding of the historical context for development and alternate Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives on this history and on the contemporary context informing government policy. This provides a basis for considering how settler colonial discourses (Konishi, 2019; Strakosch & Macoun, 2012; Wolfe, 1999) and new forms of racism continue to influence government policy (Dunn et al., 2004; Gopalkrishnan & Babacan, 2007).

Neoliberalism has been the dominant influence on government policy in Australia since the 1980s (Beeson & Firth, 1998; Pusey, 1991). It is discussed as a framework, ideology and governmentality in relation to the various ways it is influencing Indigenous policy

and implementation (Larner, 2000). Neoliberalism, through New or Neoliberal Public Management (NPM) reforms in Australia, has enabled government departments and agencies to contract out the delivery of goods and services previously delivered by governments (Edwards, Halligan, Horrigan, & Nicoll, 2012; Osborne, 2010; Sullivan, 2018). At the same time, utilising NPM governments have maintained control over people and communities through governmentalities embedded in policies, legislation and contracting arrangements, effectively governing communities at a distance (Lemke, 2001; Rose & Miller, 2013; Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006). The neoliberalism theoretical framework therefore provides a basis for further investigating and understanding how these NPM reforms are supporting and inhibiting Indigenous development. The limitations of an over emphasis on neoliberalism as a policy analysis tool are also discussed, and management for public value is briefly discussed as an alternative policy approach (O'Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006; Sullivan 2015; 2018; Weller & O'Neill, 2014).

Chapter 3 details the SLA and framework as an alternative theoretical framework to support Indigenous development in northern Australia. The chapter discusses the SLA key concepts including capabilities, equity and sustainability. It details the sustainable livelihoods framework for analysis including the livelihoods context, livelihood assets, institutions and organisations, livelihood strategies and outcomes and how these all interrelate to influence development (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Department for International Development, United Kingdom [DFID], 1999; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 2015). The SLA and framework's strengths and weaknesses as an alternative approach to development are considered. Its previous application by researchers and Indigenous peak bodies in northern Australia is discussed. This provides a theoretical lens for the analysis of Indigenous development within the case study region and more broadly across northern Australia.

Chapter 4 sets out the research paradigm, methodology and methods. It details alternative positivist and constructivist research paradigms (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and discusses why critical realism (Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson & Norrie, 2013) is an appropriate paradigm for this research project given its ability to recognise and engage with alternative Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies. Indigenous researchers' perspectives on research in Australia are discussed to contextualise and inform the development of the project's Indigenous research protocol (Dunbar & Scrimgeour, 2006; Janke, 2009; Louis, 2007; Martin, 2008; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009; Nakata, 2007; Nicholls, 2009; Smith, 1999). The research methods are set out, including literature review and case study methods. The Extended

Case Method (ECM) is chosen for the case study, complementing the critical realism philosophy underpinning the research (Burawoy, 1998; Prowse, 2010).

The rationale for selecting the case study region and the development of the Indigenous research protocol including the Indigenous Reference Group (IRG) is detailed. Data collection and analysis techniques are discussed including an Indigenous focus group and the comparative purposeful sampling framework (Patton, 2015). This is used to identify 12 Indigenous and 12 non-Indigenous interview informants. Four thematic areas of data collection for the case study region are identified including:

1. Defining Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods.
2. Identifying opportunities and priorities for economic and livelihoods development.
3. Enablers and barriers to economic and livelihood development.
4. Roles and responsibilities of individuals; groups; organisations; governments in supporting economic and livelihoods development.

The analysis techniques applied to the research data and data management is discussed including analytical induction and theoretical sensitivity (Boeije, 2010). Data triangulation of scholarly and grey literature, focus group, interviews, reflexive journal and case studies is used to ensure robust analysis and to support the research findings (Denzin, 2012). The researcher's position in the research is discussed.

Chapter 5 analyses and discusses the northern Australia Indigenous economic and sustainable livelihoods development context recognising that there are distinct Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontologies and related political economies (Agrawal, 1995; Brigg, 2007; Brigg et al., 2019; Nakata, 2007). The contextual analysis includes demography, major industries and Indigenous interests in land and resources. The historical context is detailed through a discussion of the evolution of Indigenous policy in northern Australia through distinct periods described as protection, assimilation, self-determination, NPM and an emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda (Anderson, 2007; Referendum Council, 2017; Sanders, 2010; Sullivan, 2011a). The chapter also discusses the broader northern Australia development agenda, including the White Paper on developing northern Australia and alternative Indigenous aspirations for northern development incorporating the sustainable livelihoods approach (CoA, 2015; NAILSMA, 2014).

Chapter 6 further details the northern Australia Indigenous economic and sustainable livelihoods development context through case study analysis of the Wet Tropics region of north Queensland. The boundary, demography and history of the region is discussed

prior to a more detailed contextual analysis of the Eastern Kuku Yalanji (EKY) First Nation subregion. The EKY are identified as a self-determined Aboriginal First Nation, supporting a more detailed exploration of the economic and sustainable livelihoods development context from an Indigenous perspective (Jabalbina, 2016). The EKY traditions, Lore and custom known as Ngujakura (Dreaming) are found to be still strong, guiding the EKY people's daily life and shaping people's engagement in the economy and aspirations for development (Anderson, 1985; Jabalbina, 2019; Lorimer, 2001; Turnour, 2019). Structures within EKY society are analysed and discussed through anthropological literature. This research and the contextual analysis demonstrate how EKY peoples continue to emphasise their traditions, Lores and customs centred on their connection to country and kinship relationships in daily life (Anderson, 1985; Blackwood, 2006; Lorimer, 2001; Wood, 2003). It also highlights how they engage with the mainstream economy in the process of maintaining their Lore and custom.

Chapter 7 details the results and analysis of the Indigenous focus group and Indigenous and non-Indigenous informant interviews which were transcribed and analysed separately using NVivo. This data is combined with the northern Australia and Wet Tropics case study contextual analysis detailed in Chapters 5 and 6. Data is triangulated through the discussion to begin to answer the research question with a particular focus on research Aim 1: To critique the dominant neoliberal economic development paradigm and analyse its application within government policy and Indigenous contexts in northern Australia. The four thematic areas of data collection within the Wet Tropics case study region identified in Chapter 4 are used to frame the results and discussion. The analysis identifies a range of problems with current policies that are leading to poor development and service delivery outcomes.

Chapter 8 further explores the current problems with Indigenous economic development policy through three EKY First Nation subregional case studies including: Cultural and Natural Resource Management (CNRM); Tourism; and Return to Country. This case study building on Chapter 6 and 7 continues to answer research Aim 3: Through place-based case study research, examine the relevance and potential of these approaches in the context of Indigenous aspirations for economic development. The case studies further demonstrate how the current government policies are limiting Indigenous economic and sustainable livelihoods development.

Chapter 9 applies the sustainable livelihoods approach and framework as a theoretical lens to the research data to consider its applicability as an alternative approach to development in northern Australia, addressing research Aim 2: To explore and critique

sustainable livelihoods approaches and their potential to improve Indigenous economic development outcomes in northern Australia. Again, the four themes that framed the data collection in the Wet Tropics case study region are used to frame the results and discussion within the chapter. The strengths and weaknesses of the SLA and framework identified through the research are summarised.

Chapter 10 draws together the research findings to answer the research questions and aims. The problems with the current neoliberal Indigenous economic development policy are summarised under the eight themes. The chapter then discusses how Indigenous policy needs to be reformed to improve development and service delivery outcomes. A new approach to Indigenous policy is recommended centred on implementing The Uluru Statement from the Heart. Within this context the SLA and framework is found to be more appropriate to supporting development in northern Australia. It is a people centred, strengths-based and place-based approach with a framework which supports a holistic and systematic analysis of the complexity of Indigenous development. The SLA framework analysis was able to integrate the postcolonial and neoliberalism theoretical frameworks, helping to identify the problems with current policies. It could also integrate new approaches including management for public value and relational contracting to support the reform Indigenous policy. The chapter concludes by making recommendations to improve Indigenous economic development policy, addressing research Aim 4.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Frameworks and Concepts

Introduction

Contemporary Indigenous communities in northern Australia are rooted in Australia's colonial past. This is particularly the case for remote and very remote Indigenous communities originally established as reserves and mission settlements as Indigenous protection and subsequent assimilation policies forced Aboriginal people off their traditional estates (Kidd, 1997; Reynolds, 1981; Wolfe, 1999). Research into Indigenous economies and sustainable livelihoods needs to understand how this past has shaped and continues to influence the present.

Postcolonial theory provides a lens through which Australia's colonial past can be more clearly understood (Johnston & Lawson, 2000; Wolf, 1997). Historians have documented the violent and systematic removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from their land and sea estates (Bottoms, 2013; Kidd 1997; Pedersen & Woorunmurra, 2000; Reynolds, 1981). Postcolonial theory, however, points to deeper aspects of the process of colonisation including how systems of power negatively essentialised Indigenous people racially to legitimise their segregation and the appropriation of their resources. It is a confronting theory because it lays out an alternate violent, racist history of imperial colonialism in contrast to the history taught to me at school or through popular culture, of colonisation as a natural expansion of Western civilisation. The voices of the colonised (see Chakrabarty, 2000; Fanon 1963; 1970; Konishi, 2019; Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Paradies, 2006; Pedersen & Woorunmurra, 2000; Said, 1978; Skeen, 2008; Smith, 1999; Spivak, 2003) paint an alternate history that challenges non-Indigenous peoples to critically question their relationship with Indigenous peoples.

Neoliberalism similarly is an important theoretical framework in understanding Indigenous policy. While Indigenous Australia is shaped by colonisation, Australian political economy has been influenced by neoliberalism since the 1980s (Beeson & Firth, 1998; Pusey, 1991). Understanding neoliberalism in its various forms provides a theoretical lens into contemporary government Indigenous policy and practice. This chapter will therefore also discuss neoliberalism in its various forms. By doing this it will provide a deeper understanding of how neoliberalism has come to influence governments and how policy and practice might be improved (Harvey, 2005; Larner, 2000; Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Consequently, this chapter details two major theories and related concepts identified as central to understanding current Indigenous economic development policy in northern Australia. These theories are postcolonial (Johnston & Lawson, 2000; Schwarz, 2000;

Wolf, 1997) and neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005; Larner, 2000; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Each of these theoretical frameworks is discussed, as they provide a conceptual foundation for the research. They help to frame the research question and aims by providing a lens for critiquing existing policy and practice and pointing to some of the underlying reasons for failures in Indigenous economic development policy and practice.

Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory provides a framework to understand the controlling power of the discursive representation of Indigenous peoples in colonised societies including Australia. As a theory, it emerged from the work of academics from colonised nations who sought to reveal how European imperial powers had constructed native and Indigenous identities and societies as deviant and primitive through their dominant colonial discourses (Fanon, 1963; 1970; Said, 1978; Smith, 1999). Drawing on European structuralist and post structuralist theory, including Marx and Foucault, they deconstructed the European imperial colonial project to understand its impacts on postcolonial societies (Said, 1978; Wolfe, 1997).

Following the sixteenth century enlightenment and the emergence of 'rational' scientific thought, social theories of evolution emerged that classified societies in stages, from primitive hunter-gatherers through feudal agrarian stages of development to advanced capitalist societies reflecting the imperial powers of Europe (Povinelli, 1993; Smith, 1999). This socially constructed a world where European civilisation represented everything that was good while the colonies populated with natives, black and coloured people were exotic, primitive and dangerous (Fanon, 1963, 1970; Smith, 1999). Research played a significant role in dehumanising and establishing native peoples as 'others' in the minds of Europeans. These were significant as they represented 'the native' to a general audience back in Europe, which became the milieu of cultural ideas (Smith, 1999, p. 8). These discourses became a form of domination, constructing in the minds of the coloniser a scientific and moral basis for European imperial colonisation and exploitation while tending to exclude the political status and power accruing to the European colonising state through the exploitation of its colony's resources (Povinelli, 1993; Smith, 1999).

Through the 20th century previously colonised states in Asia, the Pacific, Africa and South America became independent and Indigenous, black and coloured (as referred to in the literature) intellectuals began to reassess, theorise and rewrite the history of colonisation (Chakrabarty, 2000; Fanon, 1963; 1970; Said, 1978). A history previously written by the colonising powers. Postcolonial theory emerged and The Subaltern

Studies Group was influential in its formation[5]. This group sought to promote the systematic study of the subordination in South Asian society of the subalterns, whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way (Chakrabarty, 2000).

The term ‘subaltern’ was originally adopted by Antonio Gramsci to refer to those groups in society subjected to the hegemony of the ruling classes. Gramsci recognised that the history of a nation was reflective of the ruling classes, but he argued that the peasant workers had their own histories that were just as complex (Gramsci, 1971). The Subaltern Studies group in this tradition sought to represent the histories of the subalterns of South Asian society who they felt had long been dominated, not only by colonial European representation but also by bourgeoise national elites who had adopted the institutions of the coloniser (Chakrabarty, 2000). They claimed that in colonial India there remained an autonomous political domain of the Indian people that organised along horizontal affiliations, such as the traditional organisation of kinship, territoriality or class consciousness. They sought to study and represent the histories and voices of these groups as distinct from the hegemonic colonial representations of Indian history (Chakrabarty, 2000; Spivak, 2003).

Postcolonial theory has since evolved, spawning many theoretical, methodological and historical debates amongst academics (Chakrabarty, 2000; Spivak, 2003; Wolfe, 1997). While this includes ongoing debates between structuralist and post structuralist academics, many postcolonial academics have had no problems drawing on a wide variety of theoretical ideas in their efforts to reveal the colonial past and decolonise the future. As Wolfe points out in History and imperialism: a century of theory, from Marx to postcolonialism:

> The distinction between the discursive and the instrumental is a false one; representations dialectically inform the (mis)understandings that permeate practical activity. Postcolonial theory offers suggestive ways for historians to open up some of the discursive and ideological dimensions of the complex field of imperialism, but this should not be allowed to suppress other dimensions. Our goals should be a unified historical field (Wolfe, 1997, p. 407).

---

[5] The subaltern studies group comprised a group of Indian scholars trained in the west who wanted to reclaim their history and rewrite it from the perspective of the Indian underclasses in contrast to the western bias implicit in imperial history. They espoused that there may have been political dominance of countries like India by the west but that the Indian people had their own histories. They established a Subaltern Studies Journal to write histories from the perspectives of these subordinate underclasses to give these groups voices and agency.

Wolfe argues succinctly that postcolonial writers including Fanon and Said had no problem in drawing on the structuralist theories of Marx and Gramsci and the poststructuralist discursive theories of Foucault in their efforts to make visible and heard the voice of the colonised.

Key Concepts

Colonial Discourses

Postcolonial theory has drawn heavily on the philosophy of Michael Foucault who wrote about the way that knowledge is shaped by the production of discourses and how these discourses in turn create the rationality that underpins the power structures within any given society (Hiddleston, 2009). According to Foucault it is through discourses that the world is brought into being as speakers and hearers, and that writers and readers come to an understanding about themselves, their relationship to each other and their place in the world. These discourses ferment subconscious, unspoken rules about what can be known and said and by whom within a discipline or society. The speaker or author of the discourse is then not necessarily the originator as they reflect the circulating discursive knowledge and related norms of society (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2013).

Within any historical period, various discourses compete for control of the subjective knowledge and norms of society, but it is those within society who exercise power who determine which discourses dominate. This dominant group and their discourses determine what knowledge is rendered as truth. These truths then become power as these circulate as common-sense norms within the society (Ashcroft et al., 2013). Colonial discourses in various ways constructed Europe or the West as superior to those natives and Indigenous peoples of the colonies, providing a basis for normalising imperial colonial subjugation and exploitation (Hiddleston, 2009; Said, 1978; Smith, 1999). The discursivity power of the enlightenment and science as part of the process of colonisation is that it strengthens the relationship between knowledge and power by rendering subjective interpretations of Indigenous peoples as scientifically either true or false (Ashcroft et al., 2013).

O/other

Key concepts such as the O/other and othering became established within postcolonial theory to inform our understanding of these colonial relationships (Ashcroft et al., 2013). The other is what is separate to oneself and is central in defining the norms of a society and one’s own identity in relation to these societal norms. Social, cultural, political, economic and scientific discourses established Europe, the West and whiteness as normal in relation to a deviant colonised native, Indigenous, coloured other within

postcolonial theory (Ashcroft et al., 2013; Said, 1978; Smith, 1999). These colonial discourses are then reproduced through a wide range of institutions, including family, education, religious, legal, political and cultural, to create a social context where societies effectively self-discipline and enforce these subjective social norms (Althusser, 1971). The colonised native and Indigenous other is effectively essentialised as deviant from the dominant norms of the west. This subjective othering and cultural essentialising then becomes a basis for a range of materially discriminatory and exploitive practices against colonised peoples and societies (Ashcroft et al., 2013; Fanon, 1963; Smith, 1999).

Colonial discourse of the superiority of European and western society over the primitive Indigenous other were powerful tools in devaluing Indigenous peoples, their culture and political economies within Australian society. These colonial discourses established western ontologies centred on science and liberalism as political and economic norms within Australian society. As a result, there is limited understanding within non-Indigenous Australian society of alternative Indigenous ontologies and related political economies that remain strong within Indigenous communities (Anderson, 1985; Brigg, 2007; Povinelli, 1993; Stanner; 1979). These ontological and political economic differences between western and Indigenous understandings and aspirations for development form a central issue explored through this research. There remain significant power imbalances between western and Indigenous ontologies and related political economies influencing development outcomes. While colonial discourses of racial superiority are no longer acceptable, the superiority of western political economies, rooted in liberalism and its modern form neoliberalism, continue to dominate Indigenous policy. Viewing Indigenous development through a postcolonial lens point to how colonisation continues via discourses centred on liberalism/neoliberalism and economics rather than race (Strakosch, 2015; Strakosch & Macoun, 2012).

Settler Colonialism

Colonisation in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States of America took a form described as settler colonialism, where colonisation involved the removal of Indigenous peoples from their estates to be replaced by a racially white majority (Johnston & Lawson, 2000; Wolfe, 1999). Colonisation in other parts of the world (for example Africa, India and Asia) focused on the exploitation of native labour and resources. In these nation states a formal process of decolonisation has occurred. Settler colonisation is distinct because the settlers came to stay and eliminate Indigenous peoples from their land and sea estates (Wolfe, 1999; 2001).

Settlers arrived in Australia under many different circumstances: forcibly as convicts, in government or military roles, for business or as refugees etc. They tended to retain a more limited allegiance to their home country and were often also portrayed in negative ways as ‘colonials’. These factors produced in many settlers the feeling of being colonised – of being European subjects but no longer European citizens. Settler postcolonial theory has described this phenomenon in the axiom: the settler is both colonised and colonising (Johnston & Lawson 2000, p. 363). The white settler, however, remained an agent of colonial rule over the shrinking Indigenous population and increasingly came to see themselves as Indigenous, developing their own cultural imagery and identities. In Australia their poetry and literature speaks of vast and empty lands and the tales of bushmen, shearers, stockmen, and drovers (Mackellar & Weston, 2010; Paterson, 1993). A common scientific observation of the 18th and 19th century of the ‘dying race’, or the last of the tribe in the case of the Tasmanian Aborigine, supported this process of elimination (Wolfe, 1999). Through these discourses and narratives, the settler simply assumed the place of the disappearing Indigenous peoples without the designation of ‘invader’. Settlement therefore became as much a cultural and symbolic process in the development of the contemporary Australian state as a physical one (Johnston & Lawson, 2000; Wolfe, 1999).

Liberalism

These discourses of human and social development in settler colonial Australia were rooted in European liberalism; a theory of social progress centred on individual endeavour, private property rights and nation states (Brigg, 2007; Brigg et al., 2019; Kowal, 2008; Povinelli, 1993). Liberalism helped normalise Indigenous peoples as having no meaningful relationship or ownership of land and resources. The Australian Aborigine within settler colonial discourses was a primitive nomadic hunter and gatherer, unlike more advanced European societies based on liberalism where individuals productively combined their labour with land through, for example, mining and agriculture (Povinelli, 1993; Wolfe, 2001). These discourses normalised Australia as terra nullius (belonging to nobody) in the eyes of the coloniser, providing the basis for the creation of sovereign private property rights (Povinelli, 1993; Wolfe, 1999; 2001). Liberalism has therefore been central to settler colonial theory and neoliberalism, detailed as a theoretical framework later in the chapter, continues this process of colonisation (Strakosch, 2015; Strakosch & Macoun, 2012).

National Identity and Social Cohesion

Central to the nation states is the notion of citizenship which incorporates legal as well as normative ideas of national identity. Social cohesion is considered important and is a

process that determines who is considered ‘in’ and who is ‘out’ in terms of national identity within the citizenship (Babacan & Herrmann, 2013). Settler colonial discourses of nation building linking liberalism’s ideas of progress, through the combination of land and labour with the opening of frontiers and the development of agriculture, played an important role in building national identity in Australia. Race also played an important role in national identity, with settler colonisation based on the establishment of a white British colony and the elimination of the Indigenous population (Wolfe, 1999; 2001). This was reinforced at the formation of the Australian nation, with the White Australia Policy prioritising immigration of white citizens of Commonwealth countries and Americans which continued until the 1970s (Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

The political and institutional approach of the state to its interpretation of shared history, culture, language and economies remains central to the ideas of a shared national identity and nation building (Babacan & Herrmann, 2013). Notions of a unifying centre, however, are not unproblematic in modern democratic multicultural societies. The desire for social cohesion centred on a nationalistic identity establishes boundaries that do not reflect the cultural diversity of a multicultural nation state, and that become a basis for discrimination when mobilised against minorities such as migrants and Indigenous peoples (Babacan & Herrmann, 2013; Ferguson, 1994). To a large extent non-Indigenous people’s understanding of the Australian state and sovereignty remains shaped by colonial discourses of liberalism and ‘whiteness’. This is particularly the case for older Australians (Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, & McDonald, 2004), as new forms of racism make creating a space for alternate Indigenous notions of sovereignty difficult (Dunn et al., 2004; Gopalkrishnan & Babacan, 2007; Jayasuriya, 2002).

Racism

Racism comes in many forms and it is difficult to provide a precise definition as its expression is evolving and changing. It invariably involves the othering of groups within a nation state based on race, ethnicity and cultural difference (Gopalkrishnan & Babacan, 2007; Jayasuriya, 2002). Racism has been theorised as ‘old racism’ and ‘new racism’. Old forms of racism include the settler colonial history of Australia grounded in the ideas of social Darwinism, often based on physical characteristics of a people (Wolfe, 2001). New forms of racism or cultural racism base discrimination on ideas that minority groups are a threat to social cohesion and national unity, based on characteristics such as culture, religion, values, and way of life. They are more subtle forms of discrimination as they are discourses based on cultural difference rather than race, masking their connection to the old forms of racism which are no longer socially acceptable (Jayasuriya, 2002; Dunn et al., 2004).

Dunn et al. (2004) identified three main aspects of new racism: out groups; cultural diversity and nation; and issues of normalcy and privilege; all of which were found to be somewhat interrelated. Out groups are linked to old racism and ideas that there is the other who do not belong or are a threat to national social cohesion, including Asian-Australians, Muslims and Indigenous peoples. Cultural diversity and nation reflect the ongoing tensions between the ideology of nationalism and what it means to be Australian, and ideas of multiculturalism, Indigeneity and cultural diversity. This particularly relates to notions of national identity centred on white British conceptions of Australia and where alternative Indigenous or multicultural conceptions challenge this ideology. Issues of normalcy and privilege relate to the tendency for those of white British backgrounds to deny or diminish that racism exists and their failure to recognise the privileged position that they have enjoyed within Australian society.

The considerable focus on Indigenous disadvantage and dysfunction in policy discourses has rendered invisible the normative positions of dominant non-Indigenous groups and institutions in the process of discrimination and exclusion. New racism reveals the hegemony of these normative discourses of social cohesion and monoculturalism as a basis for national identity, problematising ‘whiteness’. New racism and whiteness studies therefore turn the critical gaze from the colonised and disadvantaged to the coloniser and the privileged (Gopalkrishnan & Babacan, 2007). This can bring to the fore the role of power, and institutional discrimination and exclusion, as forms of racism. The importance of power and its relationship to knowledge is highlighted because power exists in the common sense, taken for granted understandings of society masking racism (Anthias, 2007). An Australian nation dominated by a British national identity reflected in the institutions of liberalism can be a powerful, seemingly common-sense barrier to Indigenous aspirations for recognition of prior sovereignty and Indigenous cultural diversity (Dunn et al., 2004; Jayasuriya, 2002).

Indigenous Sovereignty and Land Rights

The dominant discourses of social cohesion and national identity reflecting Australia's settler colonial past are distinct from alternative histories viewed from an Indigenous perspective (Nelson, 2019; Pettman, 1988). Pettman (1988) developed a typology that sought to outline some of the differences between the dominant settler colonial and alternative Indigenous discourses of Australian history (Table 1). This typology reflects that Indigenous Australians have continued to maintain their own discursive histories of colonisation and their own identities and culture. Explorers and historians recorded hundreds of different Aboriginal groups who spoke different languages and identified with different geographies in the way that non-Indigenous peoples might conceive a nation state (Blackburn, 2002).

Table 1: Alternative Perspectives on Australian History

Dominant Version	Alternative
Captain Cook 'discovered' Australia	A black history of 50,000 + years
Terra Nullius	Aboriginal sovereignty not yet relinquished
Peaceful settlement	Invasion violence, resistance, defeat
Aboriginal nomads, stone age people	Extraordinarily complex culture
Not 'using' the land	Particular relationships to the land
"succumbed"	Near genocide, resistance, adaptability
'that's history'	Devastating consequences of dispossession still with us
'Progress'	Continuing injustice

Source: Pettman, J. (1988). Learning about power and powerlessness: Aborigines and white Australia's Bicentenary. Race & Class, 29(3), pp. 72.

The Indigenous conception of sovereignty is linked to geography and relationship to land which is distinctly different from western liberalism's conceptions of private property rights introduced through colonisation (Brigg et al., 2019; Povinelli, 1993; Wolfe, 2001). The Indigenous relationship to land is grounded in an alternative Indigenous ontology as

Aileen Moreton-Robinson makes clear. “Our ontological relationship to land, the ways that country is constitutive of us, and therefore the inalienable nature of our relation to land, marks a radical, indeed incommensurable, difference between us and the non-Indigenous” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 11). Indigenous ontology understands land, sea and sky according to a traditional cosmology where all may be referred to as part of a person’s country formed through the actions of an ancestral creator being. This is different from a Western conception of land and sea represented through science (Arthur & Morphy, 2019, p. 25). Indigenous people’s alternative conceptions of land and their relationship to it have been well documented, if never respected (Arthur & Morphy, 2019; Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Povinelli, 1993; Stanner, 1979).

Moreton-Robinson (2015) argues Indigenous people’s ontological relationship to land is one that the nation state continues to seek to diminish through its social, legal and cultural practices. While native title has recognised Indigenous rights and interests in land prior to white settlement within the Australian legal system, this was only after a long-fought battle. Yet the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) has created an Indigenous tenure which Moreton-Robinson argues is incommensurable with an Indigenous ontological relationship with land.

> The legal regime has reproduced the doctrine of terra nullius in order to give place and a sense of belonging to itself and its citizens. According to this regime, it is Indigenous people who belong nowhere unless they can prove their title according to the criteria established by the state. Those who are unable to demonstrate ritual, ceremonial, and the exercising of continuous rights in land do not belong anywhere other than to be positioned within a discourse of citizenship that seeks to erase dispossession through privileging white sameness over Indigenous difference (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 16).

While settler colonial discourses described the Indigenous relationship to land as primitive and non-existent, increasingly scholars are demonstrating the value and complexity of this relationship (see Gammage, 2011; Pascoe, 2014). At the same time there is increasing recognition that much of the Australian landscape after more than 200 years of western agricultural management is degraded and in need of rehabilitation. There is a need therefore for Indigenous people’s connection to country and knowledge of land management to be re-evaluated in considering opportunities for the economic development of northern Australia (Russell-Smith et al., 2018; Russell-Smith & Whitehead, 2014).

Discourses of Indigenous Identity and Psychological Trauma

The establishment of the Australian nation and the process of Indigenous dispossession has left material and psychological impacts on Indigenous people (Dodson, 1994; Foley, 2000; Langton, 1993; Paradies, 2006). Every Indigenous person and family has been impacted by the violent settlement and assimilative policies of the Australian state that controlled every aspect of an Indigenous person's life (Kidd, 1997; Wolfe, 1999). For the first half of the 20th century Indigenous people were classified as full bloods, half castes, quadroon and octoroon, only then was one to have been considered to have achieved full blown whiteness (Wolfe, 2001). Mixed race children were taken from their Indigenous parents as part of the process of assimilation into white Australia (Kidd, 1997; Wolfe, 1999).

Hamilton (1990) identified two distinct discourses of Indigeneity in settler society that developed during the first half of the 20th century and continue to influence discourses on Indigeneity.

> The 'real Aborigine' who was seen to have maintained his culture and whose wisdom could be tapped to help the white society (settlers, explorers, policemen). He was a 'full-blood' Aborigine who was seen to be polite to whites and in return was offered the preservation of his own sphere provided he did not interfere with the operation of white society. Then there was the negative construction of the Aborigine linked to notions of their loss of their essential cultural attributes and their desire to mirror whites and improve themselves. This negative image was applied to 'Mission blacks' and 'educated blacks' who didn't know their place, as well as to half-caste and fringe-dwellers, who seemed to embody the worst fantasies of white Australians – drunkenness, vagrancy, despair and disorganisation (Hamilton, 1990, p. 21).

Overwhelmingly, contemporary discourses of Indigeneity in Australia are founded in notions of deficit, difference and conflict as a remnant of Australia's settler colonial past (Gorringe, Ross & Fforde, 2011). The material and psychological impacts of these racist colonial discourses and policies live on in Indigenous communities (CoA, 1997; Foley, 2000; Huggins, 2007; Paradies, 2006). Franz Fanon (1963; 1970) identified the subconscious impacts of colonisation on native peoples. He argued colonised groups internalise the values and behaviours of the dominant colonising group leading to internalised negative views of themselves and their culture. This creates an internal psychological struggle within the colonised that manifests as conflict within and between Indigenous peoples, or lateral violence (Australian Human Rights Commission & Gooda,

2011). Lateral violence is understood as a "range of damaging behaviours expressed by those of a minority oppressed group towards others of that group rather than towards the system of oppression" (Gorringe et al., 2011, p. 8). When you treat people as inferior or outsiders, they can come to believe they are inferior or outsiders and act in negative ways confirming their inferiority and outsider status (Gorringe et al., 2011; Huggins, 2007).

Subjective notions of Indigenous authenticity contribute to the negative stereotyping of Indigenous peoples (Foley, 2000; Gorringe et al., 2011; Hamilton, 1990; Paradies, 2006). In contrast to simplistic discourses of Indigeneity, contemporary Indigenous Australia has a multitude of hybrid racial, sociocultural and economic identities as a result of its settler colonial past (Bohl-van den Boogaard, Carter & Hollinsworth, 2017; Paradies, 2006). Approximately half of all Indigenous people are in marriage or de-facto relationships with a non-Indigenous partner, with over 80% of children from these mixed partnerships adopting an Indigenous identity (Ross, 1999 in Paradies, 2006). Indigenous peoples live in a variety of circumstances spanning remote communities where most of the people identify as Indigenous through to regional and capital cities where the Indigenous population is a minority (ABS, 2018). These circumstances produce a wide range of Indigenous identities, yet many Indigenous Australians feel stigmatised in different ways by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and communities based on their different notions of what it means to be authentically Indigenous (Carter & Hollinsworth, 2017; Foley, 2000; Gorringe et al., 2011; Paradies, 2006). This psychologically impacts Indigenous people, materially affecting their socioeconomic outcomes in negative ways (Gorringe et al., 2011; Huggins, 2007).

Decolonisation and empowerment

Decolonisation is a complex and difficult task given the legacy of colonisation and the structural power imbalances between the dominant Western and Indigenous political economies that postcolonial theory reveals. Bhabha (2004) theorises a third space at the intersection of cultural differences where new hybrid identities and societies are formed. He stresses the temporal nature of identity and culture and the complexity of the process of decolonisation informed by the varied and complex histories of Indigenous peoples.

Too often in Australia Indigenous issues are couched in binary terms as Indigenous / non-Indigenous masking the complexity of Indigenous identities and their aspirations for development. This has aided the settler state in continuing the process of colonisation and dispossession as the authenticity of Indigenous peoples who aren't seen in these

binary terms are delegitimised through political and legislative processes for example native title. So that while hybrid identities may better reflect the reality of Indigenous Australia particularly in more settled areas there is a resistance to recognise or meaningfully engage with this diversity (Bohl-van den Boogaard, Carter & Hollinsworth, 2017).

Despite colonisation, however, Indigenous people have continued to resist assimilation and have maintained a variety of separate and unique Indigenous identities (Konishi, 2019; Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Paradies, 2006). The process of decolonisation needs to be able to support this through new discourses of diversity and separateness that move beyond simplistic notions of national identity and the need for social cohesion (Babacan & Herrmann, 2013; Dunn et al., 2004; Jayasuriya, 2002). This requires meaningfully addressing what have been called ‘symbolic’ issues of Indigenous dispossession as well as the ‘practical’ impacts of colonisation (Huggins, 2007). To achieve this there are increasing calls to move beyond what has become a bipartisan narrative of conservatives and progressives centred in ideas of reconciliation and recognition in continual attempts to unify Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and place Australia’s colonial history in the past (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Maddison, 2019). These ideas, now deeply imbedded in Australian Indigenous policy, continually seek to sideline Indigenous political resistance and establish the state as a neutral sovereign authority. This is despite the structural power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and institutions and the partisan place, in which the state must find itself in any process of reconciliation (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). Postcolonial theory therefore points to the ongoing contested nature of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations and the need for a more agnostic approach to issues of reconciliation, including support for Indigenous diversity and separateness, for decolonisation to occur (Maddison, 2019).

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a term broadly used to describe a gradual shift in government policy since the mid-1970s away from the Keynesian welfare state to a system of governance centred on privatisation, competitive markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005; Mitchell & Fazi, 2017). It can be understood and analysed in different ways as a policy framework, ideology and governmentality influencing our interpretations and understandings of a policy’s intentions and outcomes (Larner, 2000; Weller & O’Neill, 2014). This section will further define neoliberalism in its various forms so that it can be used as a theoretical lens, prior to considering its influence on Australian Government policy and practice, including Indigenous policy.

Neoliberalism as a policy framework places economic theory at the centre of government policy making and is defined by Harvey as:

> a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit. (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

At its core, neoliberalism as a policy framework establishes the primacy of the individual or individual incorporated entities and competitive markets as central to government policy and service delivery within the nation state. According to neoliberalism, only through competition between agents free of market power and acting rationally based on self-interest can resources be allocated most efficiently, maximising economic growth and in turn, social wellbeing. Through the application of this policy framework neoliberalism has supported a shift in the role of government from the Keynesian welfare state, intervening in the economy through trade and fiscal policies to support employment and create a social safety net, to a focus on deregulation and trade liberalisation to enhance market competition and monetary policy to maintain stable prices (Chester, 2010; Hall, 2011; Harvey, 2005; Mitchell & Fazi, 2017). Governments increasingly rely on market mechanisms and the private sector to deliver products and services to citizens which were previously delivered by governments (Babacan, 2019; Chiu, 2017; Pusey, 2017).

Larner (2000) argues that although originally understood as a macroeconomic policy framework, neoliberalism can also be interpreted as an ideology and governmentality. Analysed in this way neoliberalism reveals the normative assumptions within discourses

about the power of the rational individual operating through competitive markets, and how this ideology has become so pervasive that it has changed public expectations about the role of government and the efficacy of the welfare state (Larner, 2000; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Larner contends that neoliberalism analysed as an ideology and governmentality is much more complex than a top-down macroeconomic framework, highlighting its hybrid and contradictory nature rather than the straightforward implementation of a unified and coherent theoretical framework.

Peck and Tickell (2002) similarly identify the hybrid and contradictory nature of neoliberalism stressing the need for analysis as a process rather than an end state. They highlight the wide-ranging influence of neoliberalism in state restructuring at the national level and models of service delivery at the local level, describing the early neoliberal period of state restructuring through privatisation and deregulation as 'rollback' neoliberalism which has evolved into more technocratic forms of neoliberal governmentalities described as 'rollout' neoliberalism. Through its macro and micro economic influences neoliberalism has become entrenched within government policy, its systems of power and in turn civil society becoming normalised ideologically as a 'commonsense' of the times (Babacan, 2019; Peck & Tickell, 2002).

These 'common sense' ideological discourses of individual responsibility and government inefficiency have supported the denigration of the welfare state, with those dependent on welfare and social services stigmatised as a burden on the broader citizenship (Hall, 2011; Strakosch, 2015). Neoliberal policies' emphasis on balancing budgets and price stability has added to pressures on social services agencies and providers to demonstrate value for money by adopting market mechanisms within service delivery frameworks (Flockhart, 2005). Classical liberalism democratic discourses of individual rights and citizenship have been replaced by the individual as client, consumer and stakeholder making rational choices within a free market (Babacan, 2019; Hall, 2011). There is a need therefore for a more detailed analysis of neoliberalism, with an especially sharp focus on change and shifts in the systems and logics that have dominated patterns of restructuring within government (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

The neo-Foucauldian governmentality critique of neoliberalism is a useful theoretical lens in this respect because it analyses government systems of power. Governmentality is understood in the broad sense of techniques and procedures, through which government directs human and organisational behavior by making a useful distinction between government and governance (Rose et al., 2006). Foucault highlighted that while neoliberalism may seek to limit the role of the government, it involves forms of

governance that force individuals and institutions to conform to the norms of the market. The market is therefore the organising and regulatory principle underlying the nation state, and the role of government is to establish and maintain this market. Issues of equity and fairness are treated as external to market mechanisms, with negative impacts of the market considered externalities. Through this ideological belief in markets the nation state in turn becomes controlled by the market rather than the market by the state (Lemke, 2001). Neoliberal forms of governance may seek to limit the role of government, but they are not opposed to government because government is required to provide the legal framework in which competitive markets operate (Rose et al., 2006).

In classical liberalism the freedom of the individual is the technical precondition of rational government, and government may not constrain such freedoms if it wishes to endanger its own foundations (Lemke, 2001, p. 200). Neoliberalism similarly ties its rationality to the freedom of the individual, but this is no longer a pre-given human natural freedom but an artificially created form of behavior. According to neoliberal theory it is the rational individual who can weigh up the costs and benefits of different choices and, acting through the market, take responsibility for the choices they make for all manner of things including social services like health and education (Lemke, 2001).

The role of government is to create the market for the range of services it wishes to deliver, providing individual consumers with a choice of services. In this way neoliberalism is a mode of governance that shifts responsibility to the individual consumer for making decisions about service delivery that were previously made by government. The theoretical strength of the concept of governmentality is that it enables an analysis of neoliberalism not just as an ideology or political economic reality, but above all as a political project that endeavours to create a social reality that it suggests already exists. It links the reduction of social services delivered by government to an increasing call for personal responsibility by making the social domain economic. These individual principles are similarly applied to organisations, businesses and states (Lemke, 2001).

Neoliberalism, through the adoption of these forms of governance, therefore becomes manifest throughout diverse societal institutions including workplaces, educational institutions, and health and welfare agencies (Babacan, 2019). People are encouraged to see themselves as individuals and active subjects responsible for their own wellbeing. In this way, neoliberalism has socially constructed new identities and disciplinary techniques through which society can be governed at a distance (Larner, 2000; Lemke, 2001; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Rose & Miller, 2013; Rose et al., 2006).

Neoliberalism in Australia

Neoliberalism established itself as the dominant political rationale for policy making in Australia during the 1980s and 1990s (Beeson & Firth, 1998; Pusey, 1991). Championed by the Australian Labor Party under the Hawke and Keating governments and subsequently the Howard Coalition government this coincides with its broader global expansion (Harvey, 2005; Mitchell & Fazi, 2017; Peck & Tickell, 2002). The early period of ‘roll back’ neoliberalism focused on reducing the size and influence of government in society through privatisation, trade liberalisation, competition policy and labour market reforms. During the 1980s the Australian dollar was floated while the Prices and Incomes Accord between unions and the Australian Government supported labour market reforms and trade liberalisation (Beeson & Firth, 1998; Edwards et al., 2012).

During the 1990s privatisation accelerated and ‘roll out’ neoliberalism saw the introduction of NPM governmentalities embedded in ideological discourses centred on the need for continued economic reforms. These discourses increasingly denigrated public sector service delivery with the private sector being characterised as more efficient, providing greater choice, quality and flexibility (Hodge & Greve, 2010; Whitfield, 2010). This supported the transformation of the public sector with senior executive service managers with agency specific technical knowledge being replaced by those trained in NPM (Pusey, 2017). This saw government agencies increasingly embracing business management principles and market mechanisms within service delivery frameworks including competition and contestability, contracting out, client focus, core business, and the application of purchaser/provider principles by agencies (Edwards et al., 2012, p. 37). Public sector expenditure on social services was increasingly being cast as a burden on the economy with value for money and program accountabilities given primacy over the qualitative aspects of service delivery (Babacan, 2019). The provision of services by the public sector was being dismantled with services increasingly delivered by the private sector through purchaser/provider models. While the roll out of neoliberalism was not uniform across sectors and subsectors, policy and regulatory functions were being separated out with a philosophy that whatever can be, should be privatised and outsourced (Chiu, 2017).

Neoliberal public management was designed to strengthen accountabilities within agencies by narrowly defining service delivery targets to improve efficiencies and to cut costs through competitive contracting out of government services and functions to the non-government sector. The narrowing of the agencies’ focus to NPM targets and siloed contracting, however, led to a lack of coordination between agencies and a lack of service integration within communities (Edwards et al., 2012). As a result, new ‘whole of

government' approaches emerged in Australia, designed to strengthen horizontal coordination and integration between agencies. These reforms have renewed the central role of the public sector in the governance system, while maintaining the core principles of NPM within contracting arrangements for service delivery (Edwards et al., 2012). There have also been a range of impacts on non-government providers through the commodification of their services. These include a reduction in organisational capacity, advocacy and social justice approaches as they have been forced into short term competitive contracting arrangements (Babacan, 2019).

Neoliberalism, through the corporatisation of government agencies and NPM contracting of services, has therefore established new forms of governance that now underpin the development and delivery of Australian Government policies and related services, including Indigenous policy and services. These new forms of governance involve multiple networked independent actors contributing to the delivery of public services, with multiple actors and processes informing policy making (Sabel, 2004). These actors include a range of Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations, and businesses engaged in matters related to Indigenous health, education, housing, employment, training, native title, land etc. influencing economic development (Sullivan, 2011b; 2018). Neoliberalism has therefore led to an expansion of the Indigenous non-government and business sectors (PwC Indigenous Consulting, 2018).

While neoliberal governance arrangements ensure the operation of this sector remains controlled by siloed government agencies through NPM governmentalities, inter-organisational relationships and the governance of processes becomes increasingly important because service effectiveness and outcomes rely upon the interaction of government agencies, with an increasingly complex non-government environment comprising service providers, peak bodies and think tanks (Osborne, 2010; Sabel, 2004). Competing organisations with different values and power imbalances become a focus of policy analysis as these need to be managed if the system is to function effectively (Osborne, 2010). Sabel (2004) identified the challenges and complexity facing societies engaged with these new forms of neoliberal governance. This includes the limitations of NPM top-down approaches and the need for more bottom-up citizen centred approaches that increasingly rely on the expanding non-government sector for policy advice and learnings about service delivery. Understanding this complexity, and the influence of ideology and power directed through these neoliberal governmentalities on Indigenous development, service delivery and policy outcomes, will be central to the research.

Alternative perspectives on neoliberalism in Australia

The broad critique of Australian Government policy and practice as being part of a neoliberal hegemony has been criticised as an oversimplification that discourages deeper analysis (Weller & O'Neill, 2014). Weller and O'Neill argue that Australian government policy could better be classified as developmental rather than neoliberal. A developmental nation state: 'maintains an autonomous presence, exercises powerful tools of economic management, maintains a competent and authoritative bureaucracy and is therefore able to exert significant power over non-state economic interests' (Weller & O'Neill, 2014, p. 106). They argue that the state in Australia has applied policies of economic rationality to achieve economic ends that could be described as neoliberal. The application of these policies, however, has not been driven by a neoliberal logic but as a pragmatic way for the state to achieve efficiency outcomes. They point to the fact that when governments have adopted neoliberal policies such as the Howard government's Work Choices labour market reforms, these have been rejected electorally by the broader population. There is a risk therefore that the overemphasis on neoliberalism as a lens of analysis within Australian social sciences limits deeper analysis and understanding of the real world (Weller & O'Neill, 2014).

This is, however, not the case in this research. As Weller and O'Niell acknowledge the state applies policies for economic rationality reasons which can be described as neoliberal. This chapter has detailed the different forms that neoliberalism can take in Australia and how it can be understood as a macro-economic framework, ideology and governmentality to inform policy analysis. While it can be argued that not all Australian government policy is driven by neoliberalism and neoliberal policies can be rejected by the electorate. Neoliberal/ism remains a useful descriptor particularly if these different ways it has come to influence Australia's political economy inform the analysis.

There is already a significant body of research discussed through this chapter which clearly defines the term and its different applications. The purpose of this research was not to debate the use of the term but consider the failures of neoliberal policies in achieving Indigenous outcomes. As this chapter demonstrates neoliberalism in its various forms has been the dominant influencer on government policy in Australia since the 1980s. Chapter 5 will further discuss how it has shaped Indigenous policy since the turn of the century. Therefore neoliberal/ism is used to describe Australia's political economy and government policy in this thesis, notwithstanding that there are limitations when any single conceptual terminology is used to encapsulate the complexity of Australia's political economy and government policy.

Management for public value, an alternative stream in public management theory, has been proposed as more appropriate to support Indigenous development. Public value management theorists view the public sector and government service as different from that of the commercial sector and argue that governing is not about how efficiently a service can be delivered but whether government actions bring net benefits to society (O'Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006; Sullivan 2015; 2018). Sullivan argues that:

> This is a challenging approach but one that may be particularly appropriate for Aboriginal services in remote areas. This is because it can pay attention to intangible values - such as kinship and culture, the satisfaction of living on cultural homelands, a desire for self-governance - that contribute to a sense of subjective wellbeing. (Sullivan, 2015, p. 10)

A focus on management for public value as proposed by Sullivan, as opposed to the current neoliberal approach to Indigenous policy and practice, would reframe the way that governments respond to Indigenous disadvantage. Sullivan proposes new tools within a public value approach to Indigenous policy, including relational contracting and adaptive management to reframe accountabilities (Sullivan, 2015; 2018; Sullivan & Stacey, 2012). Relational contracting and adaptive management emphasises the development of partnerships and reciprocal responsibilities between agencies and service providers through negotiation and collaborative, rather than competitive, transactional approaches to service delivery under rigid NPM contracting arrangements. Management for public value and relational contracting have been identified by researchers as new approaches to support reform of NPM within an Indigenous context (Dwyer, Boulton, Lavoie, Tenbensel, & Cumming, 2013; Sullivan, 2015). They provide theoretical tools that could be usefully applied within the SLA and framework detailed in the next chapter.

While neoliberalism has been extensively criticised for its impacts on the social services sector in Australia (Babacan, 2019; Chiu, 2017) including the Indigenous community sector (Sullivan, 2018), it has also been acknowledged as providing new opportunities for recognition of Indigenous interests (Bargh, 2018; O'Sullivan, 2018). For example, neoliberal reforms to reduce the size of the state in New Zealand since the mid-1980s have provided opportunities for Maoris to increase their collective wealth. The Treaty of Waitangi has been used to advantageously challenge the terms of state privatisation resulting in the Maori asset base increasing from NZ$9.4 billion to NZ$36.9 billion in 2010. At the same time, the neoliberal 'small state' philosophy has created more opportunities for Maori to take greater responsibility for their own delivery of public

services which has, in turn, enhanced self-determination (O'Sullivan, 2018, p. 241-242). The establishment of Maori economic entities has also provided opportunities for Indigenous participation in a wide range of activities that should not be considered neoliberal.

So that while neoliberalism can co-opt Indigenous interests, particularly through the commodification of resources into markets, the process provides broader opportunities for recognition and control of resources by Indigenous entities (Bargh, 2018; O'Sullivan, 2018). In Australia the mainstreaming of government services has also provided opportunities for the growth of Indigenous corporations and businesses. The commodification of the environment through ecosystem services has also provided opportunities for Indigenous enterprise development and employment (Dale, 2014; Russell-Smith et al., 2018).

Summary

This chapter has set out the postcolonial and neoliberalism theoretical frameworks and key concepts identified through the literature review as important influences on Indigenous policy and development in northern Australia. Postcolonial theory was found to provide a useful lens to support understandings about colonisation in Australia and its ongoing influence on Indigenous peoples and development policy and practice. Neoliberalism was found to be the dominant economic theory influencing government policy in Australia including Indigenous policy. Although there was criticism that too great a focus on the negative aspects of neoliberalism could limit analysis of alternative approaches, that was not the approach of this research. These two theoretical frameworks will be applied to the research data to generate deeper understandings of Indigenous economic development policy and practice in northern Australian.

Chapter 3 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

Introduction

The sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) emerged from the literature as an alternative economic development approach in northern Australia (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; 2015). The development of the SLA was driven by a growing recognition within sections of academia, community, development agencies and organisations of the inability of western economic development paradigms to address poverty in developing countries. Proponents of the SLA argue that western economics grounded in industrialised economies did not reflect the realities of life in a developing country's rural community. Within these communities a livelihood can be derived in a range of ways beyond employment in labour market economies and the realities of individual's circumstances are more complex and cannot be understood through simple quantitative measures of employment, incomes and economic growth (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998; 2015).

The SLA provides an alternative approach to development highlighting how neoliberal economic development, discussed in the previous chapter, focused on economic growth within market economies are limiting when applied to rural communities in developing countries (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). Poor rural people in developing countries have access to a range of different tangible and intangible resources and claims to sustain a livelihood. They may also perceive the broader dimensions of what constitutes poverty differently than a narrow poverty line measure of wellbeing often applied in western industrialised economies (Scoones, 2015). Chambers (1995, p. 191) used the Archilochus metaphor of the fox and the hedgehog to note that economies in the developed world, dominated by full-time employees, are like hedgehogs with one big idea and a single source of support. In developing countries, by contrast, people have a portfolio of activities and, like foxes, generate a living with different members of the family seeking and finding different sources of food, fuel, animal fodder, cash and support in different ways in different places at different times of the year. Those living in rural communities therefore have livelihood bases that are much more complex (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

The work of Jon Altman (2001; 2003) in Arnhem Land of northern Australia has demonstrated that Aboriginal people in remote communities similarly rely on a range of sources to generate a livelihood. He theorises Indigenous communities and peoples as engaged in a hybrid economy encompassing their traditional kinship relationships including hunting and gathering, the state and market economies to generate a

livelihood. The SLA has been applied to desert communities in central Australia further demonstrating the complexity of Indigenous livelihoods incorporating kinship relationships and cultural values and norms (Davies et al., 2008). This work is supported by anthropological research in northern Australia that demonstrates that Indigenous peoples generate a livelihood in a variety of ways (Anderson, 1985; Povinelli, 1993). This work similarly points to the complexity of Indigenous livelihoods supporting the application of sustainable livelihoods approaches.

Proponents of SLA argue that reductionist approaches to economics and the biological sciences are limited in their ability to understand and support sustainable livelihoods development within this complexity (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998). What is needed is an approach that integrates these different disciplines to better understand and support development. Sustainable livelihood approaches therefore seek to integrate the dominant economic growth paradigm, centred on business and employment within developed industrialised economies, within a framework which also recognises a range of other tangible and intangible assets and claims, which in many instances are more important in making a living and overcoming poverty in a developing rural community or northern Australia Aboriginal community (Altman, 2003; Davies et al., 2008).

Key Concepts

The importance of multi-disciplinary understanding of contextual complexity is fundamental to livelihoods analysis. The early work of Chambers and Conway (1992) established key concepts including capability, equity and sustainability as central to sustainable livelihoods approaches. The theory and concepts have been further developed, including the following definition:

> A sustainable livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resources base (Scoones, 1998, p. 5).

Capabilities, drawn from the work of Amartya Sen, refers to the ability of an individual to function, to seize opportunities, to make choices and take actions that support their wellbeing. Capabilities are central to livelihoods approaches as they reflect a focus in development on people’s potential to live a full life. Capabilities therefore reflect one’s ability to be adequately nourished, clothed, access healthcare and education and maintain mental health, meaningful relationships and employment. A person’s capabilities influence their ability to live their chosen life and, in turn, their overall

wellbeing. While elements such as education and health may be able to be measured quantitatively, capabilities also incorporate subjective elements of wellbeing which only local people and communities can determine (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998).

Equity is understood in broad terms to refer to a less unequal distribution of assets, capabilities and opportunities especially for those most disadvantaged. It includes an end to all forms of discrimination including against women and minorities (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Issues of equity incorporate access to education, health and a range of other services as well as opportunity for meaningful employment. This can involve tradeoffs, and groups need to be engaged in decisions about equity because different groups can have different understandings about what constitutes wellbeing and a 'good life' (Scoones, 2015).

Sustainability is also a central concept to the SLA and has two components: environmental sustainability and social sustainability (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Within these components there are positive and negative dimensions. Environmental sustainability refers to the impact of the livelihood on the long-term sustainability of the natural resource base. At a local level, for a livelihood to be sustainable, it should not have long term negative impacts on the natural resource base through, for example, depleting soils, clearing endangered habitat or polluting ecosystems. Globally, it should not contribute to a decline in long term global sustainability including climate change (Scoones, 2009). At the same time, a sustainable livelihood can have positive environmental impacts by, for example, protecting soils from erosion and habitat rehabilitation. Social sustainability refers to whether an individual or household can not only gain but sustain an adequate livelihood over the long term. To be sustainable, a livelihood needs to be able to cope with stresses and shocks while maintaining and or enhancing an individual's or households' capabilities. Stresses are ongoing and cumulative such as seasonal shortages or declining resources, while shocks are sudden, unpredictable, and traumatic such as flooding, droughts and epidemics (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998).

The British Government adopted the approach as the foundation for its international development policy following a White Paper in 1997 (Solesbury, 2003). As a result, sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets were developed by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), which set out the approach including core principles, uses and methods of analysis (DFID, 1999). Building on the work of Scoones (1998) (Figure 2), it also developed a framework (Figure 3) as a tool for

analysis. The SLA and framework provide a systematic way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development in order to eliminate poverty. It does this by identifying the different factors contributing to a sustainable livelihood and how these interact and influence each other within the framework (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks

Sustainable livelihoods frameworks have become a recognised tool in the implementation of livelihoods approaches (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Scoones, 1998; 2015). Frameworks identify the wide range of elements that contribute to a sustainable livelihood, and prompt consideration of their interrelationships and how these can influence sustainable livelihood outcomes. This promotes a systematic approach to the livelihood's analysis (Davies et al., 2008) with frameworks acting as a check list prompting consideration of a wider range of issues and a more holistic approach (Scoones, 1998; Smyth & Whitehead, 2012; Whitehead, 2012). A Google search generates numerous examples of livelihood frameworks, with Scoones' original 1998 framework (Figure 2) and the United Kingdom DFID framework (Figure 3) discussed here.

The frameworks have many common elements, both emphasising the importance of context within which people have access to certain assets or poverty reducing factors. These gain their meaning and value through the prevailing institutional and organisational environment. This context, assets and institutional/organisational environment also influences people's livelihood strategies or ways of combining and using assets to achieve people's livelihoods objectives and outcomes. Scoones' framework (Figure 2) explicitly identifies a broader range of issues in the context, including history, politics and terms of trade, and particularly emphasises the importance of institutions and organisations in mediating what livelihood strategies can be pursued, and outcomes achieved (Scoones, 1998). The DFID framework appears cleaner and simpler, with a smaller number of elements and the introduction of an asset pentagon. This pentagon is designed so that its shape can be adjusted to represent the different levels of assets available to people and communities, with arrows added to demonstrate how these assets are trending (DFID, 1999). This can encourage a more technocratic approach to the analysis and has been criticised for allowing the complexity of livelihood assets and processes to be reduced to economic units, and in turn suggesting that these are both comparable and measurable (Scoones, 2015).

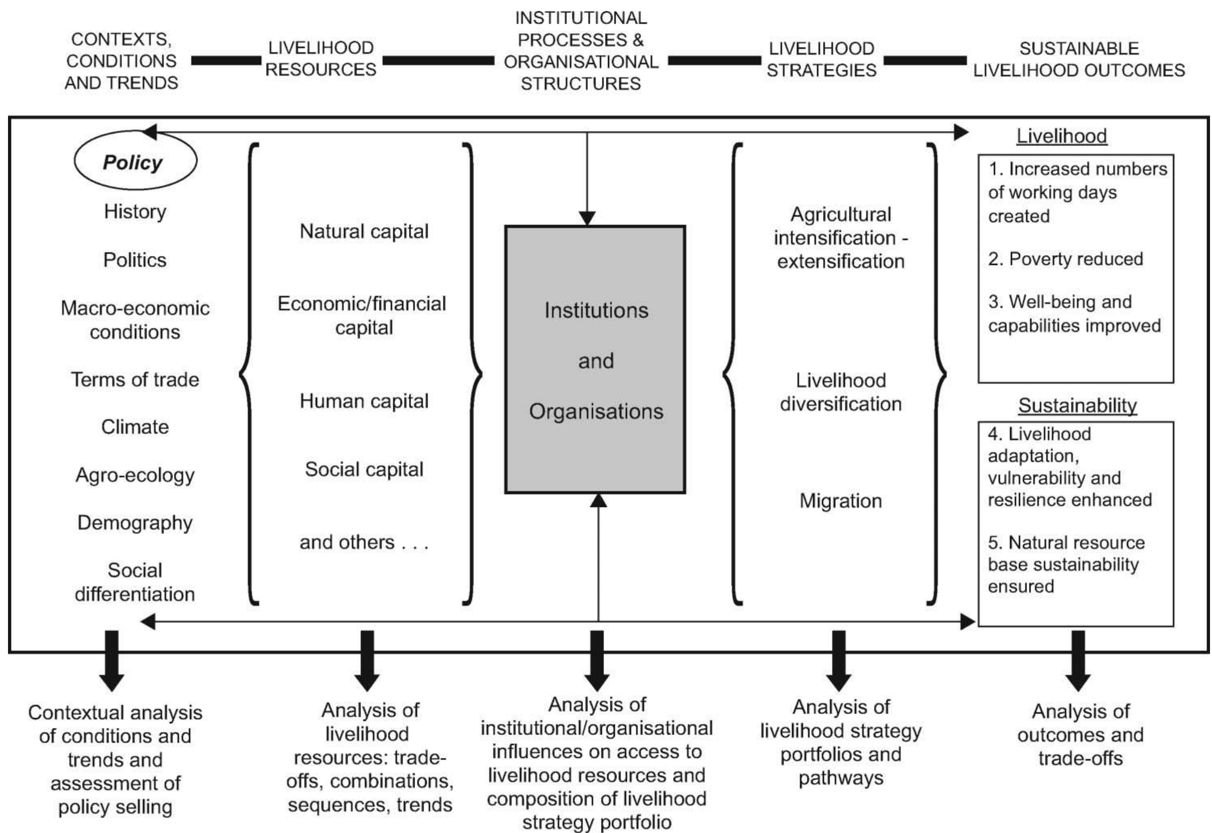

Figure 2. Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis.
Source: I. Scoones, 1998, IDS Working Paper 72, p. 4, Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.

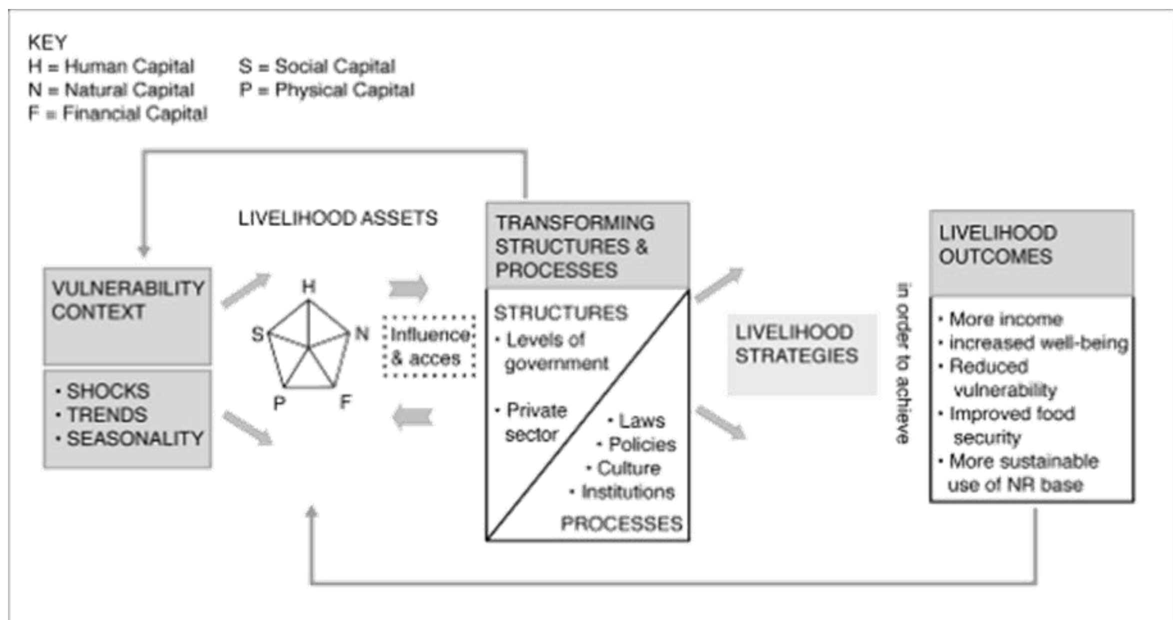

Figure 3. DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.
Source: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets, by DFID, 1999, p. 1.

Both frameworks can be used to support a holistic approach to development by conceptualising factors that influence livelihood strategies and outcomes and their interrelationship. The arrows within the frameworks denote a variety of different types of relationships, all of which are highly dynamic. None of the arrows imply direct causality, though all imply a certain level of influence. The frameworks are centred on people. They do not work in a linear manner and do not try to present a model of reality. They are designed to support a structured and coherent debate about the many factors that affect livelihoods, their relative importance and the way in which they interact. This, in turn, should help in the identification of issues that need to be addressed and entry points for analysis to support the development of sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998; 2015). The different elements of the frameworks are now discussed.

The **Context** or **Vulnerability Context** boxes within the frameworks acknowledge that the contextual and temporal nature of development is important and needs to be understood. This includes the vulnerabilities of communities to shocks and the influence of underlying trends that may need to be managed. These can be thought of as risks that need to be considered and managed (Davies et al., 2008). The context impacts people's assets or capitals and influences how they can utilise them to generate a livelihood. It contains elements that can be considered outside of local people's control such as climatic variability and economic globalisation, although people can become more resilient by building up their stores of assets (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 2015).

This research will consider the importance of both macro and micro level context analysis and related influences on sustainable livelihoods development. It will consider local agency, or what people do, as well as consider the structural context that might be mediating what livelihoods are possible given institutional and organisational arrangements. The relationship between the institutional process and organisational structures and the development context and assets is particularly important in considering government policy and practice, as these can influence livelihood choices and individual agency in positive and negative ways (Batterbury, 2008; Davies et al., 2008; Scoones, 2015).

Livelihood capitals or assets within the framework help build our understanding of capabilities as discussed earlier (Chambers & Conway, 1992). The DFID framework identifies five capitals and has been criticised for encouraging too strong a focus on economic analysis in relation to the contribution of these capitals to making a living (Scoones, 2015). The understanding of these capitals within this research encompasses the broader concept of capabilities. These capitals therefore incorporate not only a

means through which people combine or trade off assets to make a living in an economic sense. They also give meaning to a person's world in the way they are used to create a livelihood and wellbeing and influence an individual's capacity to engage with and to change their world (Bebbington, 1999). The DFID framework identifies five capitals detailed below, while Scoones' framework suggests others could be identified, for example political or cultural capitals (Bebbington, 1999; Scoones, 2015). The five capitals within the DFID framework are:

Human capital – the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies.

Social capital – the social resources (networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood strategies and outcomes.

Natural capital – the natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, genetic resources etc.) and environmental services (hydrological cycle, pollution sinks etc) from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived.

Physical capital – the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, energy, communications etc.) and producer goods (tools and equipment) needed to support livelihoods.

Financial capital – the financial resources to which people have access to achieve their livelihood strategies and outcomes. (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998, p. 7).

Institutional processes and organisational structures within the livelihoods framework are the formal institutions; organisations, policy and legislation, as well as the informal cultural, social and institutional norms that influence access to assets, shape the vulnerability context and, in the end, what livelihood strategies and outcomes are possible (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). Their key role in achieving sustainable livelihoods outcomes is demonstrated by their central location within the framework (Davies et al., 2008). They operate at various levels from the global and national through to the local community and family. This part of the framework directs us to consider how power is exercised both formally and informally through sociocultural institutional and organisational relationships (Scoones, 2015). This involves consideration of both local agency and broader structural barriers and enablers of sustainable livelihoods development. Land ownership and use, for example, is formally regulated by national, state and local government land tenure and planning systems, while people's capabilities, including social and cultural responsibilities, also influence and regulate access and use of land resources (Scoones, 2015).

Livelihood strategies include the range of different activities that people undertake to generate a livelihood and increase their wellbeing. This can include productive activities, investment strategies and reproductive choices. The approach recognises the diverse range of strategies people may engage in to meet their needs at different times (Scoones, 1998; 2015).

Livelihood outcomes listed in the framework (Figure 2 and 3) reflect only some of the possible outcomes, and may or may not be relevant depending on the situation. They may also involve trade-offs between people and groups who have different aspirations and priorities. For example, there may be trade-offs between the level of income, wellbeing and the sustainable use of the natural resource base. These trade-offs can involve subjective choices and conflicts between groups, and livelihood outcomes need to be driven by local people and communities. Establishing and measuring outcomes can be a useful way of working through competing priorities and involving groups in evaluating progress (DFID, 1999).

A sustainable livelihoods framework is therefore a useful analytical tool for livelihoods analysis, encouraging systematic thinking about the different elements within the framework and how they are contributing to, or limiting, livelihoods development and interactions (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 2015). It provides a common language and approach to cross sectoral stakeholder engagement that can support the development of common understandings. Importantly because it is combined with key concepts including capabilities, equity and sustainability which support a holistic and people focused need. It encourages an analysis of poverty from the perspective of the rural poor or Indigenous community for which programs are targeted, rather than from sectoral interests. The application of the key concepts and framework makes it a useful analytical tool, but it is important to remember it is not a linear model of reality and other tools are often required to undertake analysis within the different parts of the framework (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Scoones, 2015). A series of guidance sheets support implementation of the DFID framework, and Scoones has continued to develop livelihood approaches highlighting opportunities and challenges in implementation and suggesting approaches and possible tools for use in its application (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 2015).

Critiques of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Framework

A number of criticisms of the SLA have been put forward by community development practitioners with the key arguments being it is a framework that is technocratic; driven by agendas external to communities and not bottom-up, and failing to draw on community development's participatory thinking and practice (Brocklesby & Fisher,

2003). The approach to the capital analysis within the DFID framework has been a particular focus of criticism as it encourages a classical economic understanding of the assets available to pursue a sustainable livelihood (DFID, 1999). Arce (2003) argues that there is a need to start with what is important to people and local communities which includes acknowledging different identifiers and understandings of social value rather than the limited focus of the capital analysis. As he points out; "a large number of people may not have a 'pure' sense of ownership instilled by an institutional, liberal, market economy. By implication, the term 'capital' cannot apply to them as a yardstick to judge livelihood vulnerability or strength" (Arce, 2003, p. 205). The concepts of capitals may not reflect the different social values that can exist and may be incompatible, yet presented as holistic and uniform within the DFID approach and framework (Arce, 2003).

Early discussions of sustainable livelihoods approaches never addressed SLA's ontological foundations in western scientific disciplines, assuming, as in earlier discussions of postcolonial theory, the superiority of rational scientific thought. The people centred principles and focus on poverty reduction through multi-disciplinary engagement and developing shared understandings of these concepts, should have provided opportunities for these issues to come to the fore through sustainable livelihoods analysis (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). This, however, never really eventuated and issues of knowledge and power remain unresolved within sustainable livelihoods approaches, although they are increasingly being recognised as limitations (Davies et al. 2008; Scoones, 2009; 2015). Davies et al. (2008) suggests the sustainable livelihoods approach needs to be applied with other tools and modes of analysis if it is to take into account issues of power relationships, contestations over assets and differences amongst people in terms of their values and culture.

Scoones (2009) identified four main criticisms or failings of the SLA. Firstly, it has failed to effectively engage with the process of economic globalisation that has continued to drive government policy over the past two decades. This has enabled economists to pigeonhole livelihoods approaches as too complex and not compatible with real world challenges and sectoral decision-making processes. Secondly, the livelihoods movement has mainly been confined to Non-Government Organisation (NGO) practitioners, researchers and consultants working at the micro community level who have failed to connect with broader political and governance debates and the growing influence of more radical agrarian social movements. Thirdly, although sustainability is mentioned in the approach, its application has failed to meaningfully engage with environmental issues, particularly global concerns about climate change. Fourth and finally, the approach was good at providing richer contextual understandings in relation

to present rural livelihoods but has not provided a wider mechanism to look at longer term livelihood futures.

These criticisms point to a need within SLA to engage in understanding the assumptions within the underlying political economy and related knowledge system (Scoones, 2009). Highlighting the present: “influence of neoliberal approaches that assume the end point, with agriculture as a business, driven by entrepreneurship and vibrant markets, linked to a burgeoning urban economy, is the ideal to strive for” (Scoones, p. 184). The current neoliberal approaches to development are a far cry from the SLA origins centred on people and concepts such as capabilities, equity and sustainability discussed earlier.

An analysis of the broader political economy therefore becomes important within the SLA. Scoones (2015, p. 82), drawing on the work of Henry Bernstein, identified six questions that can be added to sustainable livelihood analysis to deepen and extend his earlier analytical framework including:

- Who owns what (or who has access to what)? This relates to questions of property and ownership of livelihood assets and resources.
- Who does what? This relates to the social divisions of labour, the distinctions between those employing and employed, as well as to divisions based on gender.
- Who gets what? This relates to questions of income and assets, and patterns of accumulation over time, and so to processes of social and economic differentiation.
- What do they do with it? This relates to the array of livelihood strategies and their consequences as reflected in patterns of consumption, social reproduction, savings and investment.
- How do social classes and groups in society and within the state interact with each other? This focuses on the social relations, institutions and forms of domination in society and between citizens and the state as they affect livelihoods.
- How do changes in politics get shaped by dynamic ecologies and vice versa? This relates to questions of political ecology, and to how environmental dynamics influence livelihoods. These in turn are shaped by livelihood activities through patterns of resource access and entitlement.

Scoones proposes that these six questions taken together provide a more critical approach to livelihoods study, linking it to broader issues of political economy and systems of knowledge and power influencing agrarian change. Issues of politics and

power embedded in histories and places then become increasingly important in the contextual analysis, bringing to the fore the structural influences of colonisation and neoliberal globalisation, and issues of class, gender and race to the sustainable livelihoods analysis (Scoones, 2015). Meanwhile the macro level influences of globalisation still need to be linked with placed based micro level livelihoods analysis in relation to sociocultural and environmental impacts (Bebbington & Batterbury, 2001). This requires sustainable livelihoods approaches to continue to be imbedded in multidisciplinary approaches that use a range of tools to analyse the causes of poverty and support people and communities to develop livelihood strategies and outcomes that recognise and respect different knowledge systems and political economies.

Finally, a failure to focus on rights and powers were early criticisms of the approach (Carney, 2003). A broader focus on political economy as part of the sustainable livelihoods framework analysis could incorporate a rights-based approach. Bringing a rights-based lens to the transforming structures and processes/institutions and organisations analysis could be particularly powerful in identifying discrimination and supporting more equitable livelihood outcomes (Scoones, 2015). Rights based approaches to issues of gender for example within the SLA analysis would bring to the fore issues surrounding the role of women in communities and organisations highlighting discrimination where it exists. Rights based approaches incorporated within the SLA would similarly emphasise issues of equity in service delivery in contrast to western neoliberal approaches that emphasise economic efficiency in service delivery.

Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches in Australia

In Australia, the SLA has been mainly applied in rangelands and desert communities in the Northern Territory. There has been limited research applying the framework in Queensland and Western Australia. There is also limited research applying the SLA and framework as a political economic analytical tool researching government development policy in northern Australia.

Researchers, as part of The Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre, adopted the SLA and framework to identify and explore livelihoods within different communities in central Australia (Davies et al., 2008; LeFlamme, 2011; Moran et al., 2007). This included exploring the viability of a remote desert community. Viability was found not to be an especially useful term as almost any scale of settlement and remoteness can be made to work if people are prepared to adjust their aspirations and expectations of service delivery (Moran et al., 2007). As part of this research the framework was modified to conceptualise a hybridised space between the external institutional environment and

a private Aboriginal domain. Within this space sustainable livelihood solutions were likely to emerge, as the problems were essentially hybrid and intercultural in nature, with these varying perspectives considered as part of the development of new livelihood strategies. The concept of vulnerability for Aboriginal communities was also modified where government welfare and services (community housing, infrastructure, health, education, etc.) create a different vulnerability context than those experienced in developing nations (war, disease, crop failure, etc.) (Moran et al., 2007).

Davies et al. (2008; 2010) found the SLA was useful in analysing the complexity of Aboriginal desert communities, with human capital, social capital and institutions identified as particularly important to understanding livelihoods. Many Aboriginal people had taken up jobs or developed livelihood strategies based on their cultural relationships and networks. Similarly, a work environment that recognised and accommodated the different cultural values and norms of Aboriginal people was also important to employment. The role of government as an integral part of community livelihood strategies was identified as was the complex relationship between government programs and community cultural values and norms (Davies et al., 2008).

The importance of culture to livelihoods has been explored by LaFlamme (2010) who developed a Desert Livelihoods Framework that identified sustainable livelihood strategies within the context of natural cultural resource management (LaFlamme, 2011). Further work identified the importance of livelihood approaches to improving health outcomes through Aboriginal engagement in land management (Davies et al., 2011). There are increasing benefits and opportunities available by combining livelihood strategies, including grazing, tourism, arts and culture and conservation land management, as part of sustainable livelihood approaches (LaFlamme, 2011). The SLA provides a way to further explore these different livelihood strategies and their practical application and theoretical contexts (LaFlamme, 2011; Measham et al., 2006).

The sustainable livelihoods framework has been applied to researching the success of Indigenous wildlife enterprises in the Northern Territory (Austin & Garnett, 2011). The livelihood capitals informed the field research questions and the framework was used as a theoretical lens to determine enterprise success factors. The buffalo wildlife harvesting business was found to be successful financially, socially and culturally with the framework identifying seven factors that contributed to this success. The framework aided in identifying four main vulnerabilities for the business, three of which were external: market vulnerability, conservation policy and disease, while management succession was identified as an internal vulnerability given the cultural complexity of

operating between Indigenous and western cultures and the history of non-Indigenous management (Austin & Garnett, 2011).

The North Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance (NIALSMA) identified the importance of livelihood approaches to Indigenous land management in northern Australia. The framework was used to explore research and development needs for northern land and water resources through a series of workshops across northern Australia (Greiner et al., 2012). Nikolakis and Grafton (2015) used the SLA as a lens to investigate Indigenous understandings and aspirations in relation to water rights in northern Australia. The framework enabled a broader understanding beyond the economic values of water to be considered, including spiritual and cultural values. There was a need for Indigenous people to play an important role in water allocation decisions to protect economic opportunities and the water dependent cultural and environmental values important to them.

There was support for the SLA within Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory (APO NT) who saw the SLA as a more appropriate way to support Indigenous economic development and employment in remote communities (APO NT, 2011). These peak bodies identified the limitations of current (2011) employment and economic development policy and argued for a SLA and support for social enterprises rather than for a singular focus on creating a job or business. Sustainable livelihoods approaches were also considered central to Indigenous aspirations for development reflected in the outcomes of a Northern Australia Indigenous Experts Forum workshop, and in the subsequent prospectus developed for northern Australia’s economic development (NAILSMA, 2014).

Indigenous people and communities in Northern Australia, like rural communities in developing countries, rely on a range of different strategies to generate a livelihood (Altman, 2001; Austin & Garnett, 2011; Davies et al., 2008). The sustainable livelihoods approach and framework has been applied in the Northern Territory to research a range of issues in relation to Indigenous futures. This has generated deeper understandings in relation to Indigenous employment and entrepreneurship, community sustainability, and rights and interest in resources particularly water. Indigenous peak bodies have similarly identified the SLA as central to supporting future Indigenous economies (APO NT, 2011; NAILSMA, 2014; NLC, 2014). This initial research has demonstrated the usefulness of the SLA and framework as an analytical tool. There is limited application of the SLA, however, beyond the Northern Territory and it hasn’t been applied to a political economic analysis of northern Australia government policy. This research will build on this earlier

work, expanding its application to research northern Australia development policy including through case study research in north Queensland.

Summary

This chapter has detailed the SLA and framework as an alternative theoretical framework to support Indigenous development in northern Australia. The approach, emerging from international development literature, has been applied to researching Indigenous development in the Northern Territory. It has been identified by Indigenous peak bodies as a more appropriate approach to supporting development in northern Australia. The chapter discusses the SLA key concepts: capabilities, equity and sustainability, and the sustainable livelihoods framework including context, livelihood assets, institutions and organisations, livelihood strategies and outcomes, and how these components interrelate to influence development. The SLA and frameworks' strengths and weaknesses as an alternative approach to development was discussed as was its application by researchers and Indigenous peak bodies in northern Australia. This provides a basis for informing the analysis of Indigenous economic development within the case study region and more broadly across northern Australia.

Chapter 4 Research Methodology

Introduction

A research paradigm that supports ethical and rigorous research with Indigenous peoples and that could also be applied to the study of economic development and livelihoods policy was critical to developing the research methodology. Critical realism, which emerged from the work of Roy Bhaskar and has been further developed and applied to the study of economic policy, underpinned the chosen methodology for this research (Archer, et. al, 2013; Easton, 2010; Prowse, 2010).

Research can be positioned along a continuum of paradigms ranging from positivism through to constructivism. Each reflect a different ontological, epistemological, and methodological approach to research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I briefly detail the two ends of this continuum, positivism and constructivism, before discussing critical realism and why it is an appropriate methodology for this research. The development of the Indigenous research protocol is then discussed in the context of Indigenous researchers' perspectives on methodology and methods. The detailed research methods of data collection and analysis is then outlined.

Positivism

Positivism is a research paradigm centred on an ontology that assumes the social sciences are in many ways like the physical sciences. The world exists as an objective entity outside of the researcher and in principle is knowable in its entirety (Della Porta & Keating, 2008). The methodological approach assumes that value free empirical observations can be made of the world to produce an objective truth (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The methodology focuses on establishing hypotheses that can be tested as either true or false, usually through statistical analysis (Lawson, 1997). The researcher therefore assumes the object of the study can be established as a closed system from which they are detached to make 'impartial' observations. The researcher focuses on establishing a rigorous scientific method utilising unambiguous data, concrete evidence and rules to investigate the social phenomena. 'Good' research is said to be able to explain causal mechanisms and produce reliable and repeatable results, so that whenever X event (or state of affairs) occurs then Y event (or state of affairs) occurs (Lawson, 1997, p. 17).

Social contexts, however, are open and always changing and the researcher's engagement itself is an intervention likely to have an influence on the context (Burawoy, 1998; Sayer, 1997). The positivist researcher focus on removing themselves from the

context so that it can be observed 'objectively' while seeking to establish closed systems where results can be controlled often fails to acknowledge this reality (Lawson, 1997). In the context of Indigenous research working across cultures there is a need for reflexive engagement by the researcher about their role and interactions throughout the research, including about issues of power and methods of data collection. Empirical analysis grounded in a positivist methodology fails to acknowledge, capture and analyse these contextual, cultural and systemic factors influencing the research outcomes.

Much current Indigenous policy is underpinned by positivist research, with its focus on closing empirical gaps in social and economic indicators (Altman, Biddle, & Buchanan, 2012). The bipartisan policy narrative is one of 'evidence' based research emphasising objective measures of Indigenous circumstances to inform policy making (Sanders, 2010). Although positivist research may be useful in helping identify and quantify Indigenous disadvantage, it does not necessarily provide information about what caused the disadvantage (Altman et al., 2012). Given these limitations, it alone should not be a basis for making causal inferences on which policy is based.

Constructivism

Constructivism, at the other end of the research continuum, is an ontology where reality is subjective and where there can be multiple meanings and individual interpretations of a situation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). There is no absolute truth, simply a more informed or sophisticated understanding of the world that can be developed. The researcher is focused on understanding the meanings that human beings attribute to social phenomena and how these meanings motivate their actions. The world can therefore be understood not as an objective reality, but as a series of interpretations that people within society give of their position. Social scientists in turn, interpret these interpretations (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 25). The research findings are created because of the interactions within the research, with the conventional distinction between ontology and epistemology disappearing (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The constructivist paradigm's acknowledgement of the different ways that we come to understand and know the world makes it an attractive methodology for Indigenous research. Its emphasis on multiple understanding and the development of shared meaning (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) gives it strong ethical foundations for Indigenous research, providing a research methodology supporting greater understanding of Indigenous epistemologies (Martin, 2008; Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009).

Critical Realism

Constructivism informs critical realism which acknowledges that while there is an external world our knowledge of it is subjective and influenced by social conditioning. Critical realism therefore sits pragmatically along a continuum between positivism and constructivism. It provides an epistemological basis for engaging with theories like postcolonialism and neoliberalism, acknowledging that external social structures and processes in the world influence and shape the social meaning and actions of individuals (Della Porta & Keating, 2008).

Critical realism emerged from the work of Roy Bhaskar, who grappled with what he called the central paradox of science: researchers produce knowledge, which is a social product not divorced from the researcher's own biased and limited experiences of the world in which they are studying. The objects of the study exist irrespective of the research and have what he termed their own structures and powers (Archer et al., 2013). Indigenous communities, people and policy makers similarly exist irrespective of this research project, and our understanding of them as objects of study can only ever be limited.

This aids in addressing the significant ethical dilemmas that can be posed by non-Indigenous people researching within an Indigenous space. Critical realism provides a methodology by which the limits of a non-Indigenous researcher's understanding of an Indigenous space can be acknowledged. This opens a space for reflexive engagement by the researcher around the research questions they are asking and the limits of their understanding (Prowse, 2010). At the same time, critical realism acknowledges the reality of Indigenous ontology and epistemology irrespective of the researcher's experience and theorising.

A critical realist methodology therefore assumes that a researcher can make generalised theoretical claims, but these are always limited by the researcher's subjective realities (Archer et al., 2013; Prowse, 2010; Sayer, 2000). Knowledge evolves with theory, with research playing an important role in continuing to refine and build understanding of the world through empirical data (Archer et al., 2013; Sayer, 1997; 2000). This research, for example, is engaging with and building on established theories in relation to postcolonialism, neoliberalism and the SLA frameworks.

In adopting a critical realism research methodology, it should not be assumed that there is a universal theoretical truth in the same way there is no single objective truth (Archer et al., 2013; Sayer, 2000). Making such assumptions would raise significant ethical issues, particularly in the context of Indigenous research where alternate ontology,

epistemology and axiology need to be respected. In adopting critical realism as a research methodology this research recognises its limitations. It seeks to recognise established theoretical understandings and build on these to improve Indigenous policy.

Critical Realism Theory and Concepts

Within a critical realism paradigm, knowledge is understood to have 'intransitive' and 'transitive' dimensions (Archer et al., 2013; Sayer, 2000). The objects of our study including the physical world and social phenomena such as political economies can have intransitive dimensions. Knowledge as theories and discourses are transitive, although as part of the social world they can also be treated as objects of study. While theories change (transitive dimensions), it does not mean that what they are about (intransitive dimensions) necessarily changes, so there is no reason to believe that a shift from a flat earth theory to a round earth theory was accompanied by a change in the shape of the earth itself (Sayer, 2000, p. 11). The actual world should therefore not be conflated with our experience of it and hence it is misleading to speak of a positivist empirical world (Lawson, 1997).

This research adopts the critical realism paradigm enabling a recognition and respect for Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies. For heuristic purposes these different political economies are often essentialised by policy makers and Indigenous people as western or mainstream and Indigenous as intransient objects. These groups can have different understandings of these political economies structures and powers and how they can influence events and activities. This is important, as it can help researchers understand how a disconnect between government policy makers and Indigenous communities can occur given their different political economic understandings and associated world views. Critical realism as a research paradigm can therefore help us understand why Indigenous people may respond completely differently to an economic development policy than policy makers assume. Our theoretical understandings about the engagement of mainstream and Indigenous political economies can therefore improve while these political economies may not have changed.

At the same time, western and Indigenous political economies have transitive dimensions as they evolve over time. Policy makers and Indigenous peoples' understanding of mainstream and Indigenous political economies and how these influence policy outcomes can therefore also change over time. In fact, knowledge is generated through the engagement of people and objects over time, giving them

transient dimensions. Social phenomena such as political economies can therefore have both intransient and transient dimensions (Archer et al., 2013; Sayer; 2000).

Critical realism further distinguishes not only between the world and our experience of it, but also defines a stratified ontological domain consisting of the real, the actual and the empirical (Archer et al., 2013; Sayer, 1997; 2000). The real is distinguished by two things. First, the real is whatever exists, be it natural or social independent of whether we adequately understand its nature. The second aspect of the real relates to the person's or object's structures and powers or what they could become or do. The actual is what happens when the structures and powers of an object are activated (Sayer, 2000).

When a person works or starts a business they use their knowledge, skills and experience in the world to produce products and services. This can impact and influence others in positive and negative ways. In relation to this research Indigenous policy is dependent on the relationship between governments, First Nations and Indigenous communities and their individual constituents. For example, what happens when economic policy, grounded in a non-Indigenous ontology and epistemology, is applied to an Indigenous community? This could foster empowerment and employment, unlocking the latent knowledge and skills of individuals within the community. If poorly designed and implemented, it could encourage resistance and individual disengagement. What happens is not predetermined and can be influenced by a range of factors. Critical realism provides a research paradigm that can enable us to understand these socioeconomic phenomena.

The empirical is defined as the domain of experience, and can be related to the real or the actual (Sayer, 2000). Observing something makes us more confident that it exists. Statistical analysis of the social and economic conditions of Indigenous communities can give us confidence that inequalities exist. They do not however, fully define the inequality or the structures and powers that cause inequality. The empirical is central to research as it can aid in building our understanding of objects and their structures and powers, and their influences in the world (Archer et al., 2013; Sayer, 1997). Critical realism stratified ontology therefore provides a basis for theorising alternative Indigenous and western ontologies and political economies as objects of study, while acknowledging the limitations of our understandings of these phenomena.

Emergence is a key characteristic of social phenomena, where the interaction of two or more elements or social relationships give rise to new phenomena which have properties that are irreducible to their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their

existence (Sayer, 2000). Researching Indigenous economic development policy involves observing the engagement of Indigenous people and their organisations with a range of other actors within the context of government policy. What Aboriginal people can do in the economic sphere is influenced, if not in some situations determined, by government policy.

Native title for example is a recognition of the traditional Lore and custom of Indigenous peoples within Australian law as a result of the 1992 Mabo High Court decision (Pearson, 2009). Traditional Lore continues to exist as does the common law on which the Mabo case was determined. Native title as a policy and subsequent legislation emerged because of the conjunction of these two legal systems. Native title, however, is not reduceable to traditional Lore and custom or the common law. The stratified ontology and emergence, however, provide a way of understanding and explaining the world that is transparent about the limits of that understanding. Stratification gives the researcher the ability to combine theory with observation to consider not only what we observe, but the world's potential (Sayer, 2000).

Recognising these limits to understanding encourages the researcher to continue to question the assumptions about the objects of study and the context in which they are embedded. As a result, the research continues to critically question social notions of what may be considered true (Archer et al., 2013). If research can identify those understandings in a social group that are false, and therefore the actions informed by them are falsely based, this implies that those beliefs and actions ought to be changed (Sayer, 1997, p. 19). Critical realism therefore encourages an emancipatory approach to research. This is particularly important in an Indigenous context where false negative assumptions about race underpinned colonisation, and where postcolonial theory continues to highlight how hidden assumptions about Indigenous people continue to influenced policy in negative ways (Macoun, 2011; Wolfe,1999).

In the context of researching government policy where economic decisions need to be made about the allocation of scarce resources, critical realism has a sound philosophical basis. Its epistemological foundations, in understanding social phenomena through theory testing and refinement, provide a basis for engaging with a wide range of theoretical understandings of the world. This should not lead to the ethical dilemma of judging the value of world views, but enable theories to emerge of how different world views can engage with each other to inform better policy. Critical realism therefore provides a basis for engaging with structural theories such as postcolonialism and neoliberalism, while recognising and respecting the importance of individual and

community epistemologies and ontologies and how they influence local decision making and policy outcomes (Burawoy, 1998).

Developing an Indigenous Research Protocol

Critical realism therefore provides a sound methodological approach to the research, but a clear set of methods were needed to collect data in line with the research questions and aims. This required the development and application of an Indigenous research protocol that respects Indigenous people's ways of knowing and being in the world. How Indigenous people come to know and understand the world is different from how policy makers do (Agrawal, 1995; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009; Nakata, 2007). Policy making is grounded in western knowledge systems and governmentalities in contrast to Indigenous knowledge systems. Acknowledging and respecting Indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the world was critical to developing the research methodology and methods.

If researchers and policy makers can recognise that Indigenous ontology and epistemology produce different ways of knowing and being in the world, they may better understand Indigenous aspirations for development. This in turn is likely to lead to policy that better supports these aspirations and achieves desired development outcomes (Agrawal, 1995). Chapter 2 discussed theories and concepts that informed the research, including postcolonial theory and its role in expanding understandings about the impact of colonisation on Indigenous peoples. Building on this theory and context, it is important to reflexively engage with the Indigenous research methodology literature to develop an ethical research methodology and methods to answer the research questions.

> Reflexivity is understood to be the capacity of language and of thought – of any system of signification – to turn or bend back upon itself, thus becoming an object to itself. Directing one's gaze at one's own experience makes it possible to regard oneself as other. Through a constant mirroring of the self, one eventually becomes reflexive about the situated, socially constructed nature of the self, and by extension, the other. In this formulation, the self is a multiple, constructed self that is always becoming and never quite fixed, and the ethnographic productions of such a self and the cultural other are always historically and culturally contingent (Foley, 2002, p. 473).

Nicholls (2009) details how reflexivity can be applied as a method of analysis operating on various levels including: (a) self-reflexivity, that identifies hidden assumptions that may underpin the researcher's approach; (b) interpersonal reflexivity, which calls for an evaluation of the interpersonal encounters and the researcher's ability to collaborate with

others; and (c) collective reflexivity, which asks how the frames of the inquiry were determined by the collaboration. Continuing to build my knowledge of the topic and Indigenous perspectives on research supported deeper reflexive practice at these various levels and informed the development of the research methods. Reflexive practice then continued to be central to the research process with these different levels applied through reflexive journaling and the analysis of results.

Indigenous Perspectives on Research

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities have been, and continue to be, extensively researched and to a large extent that Indigenous experience has been a negative one of colonisation and dispossession (Rigney, 1999; Smith, 1999). Indigenous researchers have described how non-Indigenous people come to know, discuss, critique and analyse compared to the way Indigenous people come to know in a local context. Rigney (2001) sets out four stages of Indigenous engagement in science in Australia: (a) Indigenous people as objects of knowledge for western history; (b) the accommodation of Indigenous Australians in western science; (c) the emergence of contemporary critical Indigenous scholarship; and (d) analysing and framing the emergence of contemporary critical Indigenous scholarship. In the context of this history, Rigney identifies resistance as an emancipatory imperative within Indigenous research if Indigenous scholarship is to continue to evolve and emerge. He is one of several Indigenous scholars in Australia and internationally who have emerged to challenge the academy to reconsider its approach to Indigenous research (see Dunbar & Scrimgeour, 2006; Janke, 2009; Louis, 2007; Martin, 2008; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009; Nakata, 2007; Nicholls, 2009; Smith, 1999). They have sought to empower Indigenous researchers and develop Indigenous research methodologies.

These writings provide insights for non-Indigenous researchers engaged in the Indigenous research space. Australian Indigenous researchers know and understand the world as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Island person and as such can bring these unique insights to the methodological space. They share a desire to empower Indigenous people through research, although their approaches can differ. Martin and Mirraboopa (2003), in detailing their Indigenous methodology, highlight the importance of founding research in Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing rather than constructed in relation to another. Their research puts Indigenous ontology, epistemology and axiology at the centre of research methodology. Nakata, rather than stressing resistance or a separate Indigenous research space, emphasises the space between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontology as the ‘cultural interface’ where things

are not clearly 'black or white', Indigenous or 'western' (Nakata, 2007). And despite being a contested space:

> What is important is making explicit the knowledge complexities that Indigenous people confront as they move forward in their efforts to 'decolonise' knowledge, assert Indigenous analysis, reassert Indigenous 'ways of being, knowing and doing', or generate new knowledge to transform Indigenous social conditions. (Nakata, M., Nakata, Keech, & Bolt, 2012, pp. 120-121).

Nakata therefore emphasises the need to understand the complexities facing Indigenous people when considering development, including the power relationships between Indigenous and western knowledge systems.

These Indigenous researchers provide insights into the history of Indigenous research and contemporary methodologies. This research also demonstrates that Indigenous voices are diverse and there are many insiders' views; Indigenous research does not necessarily preclude the western canon (Louis, 2007; Nakata, 2007). Indigenous knowledge, however, needs to be recognised and respected but too often is overpowered or misunderstood by western science and by policy makers (Agrawal, 1995; 2014).

Indigenous knowledge is the different ways that Indigenous people come to know and understand the world around them (Martin, 2008; Nakata, 2007). It is knowledge that is distinct to a geographic location and the Indigenous people of that area. It is knowledge that has been accumulated and passed down through the generations and includes Indigenous knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs and histories (Martin, 2008; Talbot, 2017). Because Indigenous knowledge is embedded in the people, environment and cultures of a distinct location, respecting Indigenous knowledge involves empowering Indigenous people, their culture and institutions (Agrawal, 2002; 2014). It therefore cannot simply be catalogued in a data base and applied removed from Indigenous knowledge holders and its geographic context (Agrawal, 2014).

Indigenous research has come a long way since those early debates with the ethics committees and ethical guidelines that are now an important part of the research process (Dunbar & Scrimgeour, 2006; JCU, 2012; National Health and Medical Research Council [NH&MRC], 2003). Establishing an ethical research paradigm and methodology involved learning about this history. I reflexively grappled with how to respect Indigenous peoples and knowledge while seeking to contribute to policies grounded in government epistemic communities blind to power imbalances between Indigenous and western knowledge systems.

This may seem self-evident within a social science research project. This is not however, often acknowledged or engaged with by policy makers in any meaningful way. This may be one reason why investments in development over many decades have not achieved the desired outcomes. Acknowledging and engaging with Indigenous peoples and their knowledge through this research in a way that recognises and respects this history, and their different ontologies, epistemologies, and power relationships was central to the development of the research methods, including the Indigenous research protocol detailed in the next sections.

Research Methods

The early part of this chapter detailed the rationale for the critical realist philosophical approach and the history of Indigenous research and methodological debates. These theoretical foundations provided a sound methodological and ethical framework to develop the research methods. These include literature review, Indigenous research partnership/protocol, focus group, interviews and case study research and analysis to answer the research questions. Each of the methods is discussed in more detail below.

Literature Review

The lack of progress in Indigenous economic development and the influence of government policy initially sparked my interest in the research topic. An academic literature review was undertaken to refine the topic and establish the research question and aims. The literature review provided new insights into the topic and the research question and aims were designed to build on and address gaps in previous studies (Ridley, 2008). Literature searches were undertaken through databases including One Search, Google Scholar and of academic institutions known to be lead researchers focused on Indigenous economic and livelihoods development. Key search terms included Indigenous economic development, Indigenous business, Indigenous employment and Indigenous livelihoods. Key government Indigenous policy documents, inquiries and reports were also reviewed. It became clear that Indigenous people viewed economics differently and the concept of a sustainable livelihood may better reflect Indigenous people's engagement in the economy.

Three theories emerged as important to critically engage with through the research: postcolonial, neoliberalism and sustainable livelihoods. Researching these theories and their relationship to Indigenous economic development policy became the next stage of the literature review. The breadth of literature in relation to these topics meant that the review was not exhaustive but included major sources to establish the theoretical frameworks (see Chapters 2 & 3). Northern Australia and the Wet Tropics of north

Queensland provided a further geographic focus for the review of literature that has been ongoing as new studies, government policies and reports have emerged through the course of the research. The following research questions and aims emerged from the initial review of literature:

Research Question

Are sustainable livelihoods approaches more appropriate to supporting economic development within northern Australia Indigenous communities than current government economic development policies?

Research Aims:

1. To critique the dominant neoliberal economic development paradigm and analyse its application within government policy and Indigenous contexts in northern Australia.
2. To explore and critique sustainable livelihoods approaches and their potential to improve Indigenous economic development outcomes in northern Australia.
3. Through place-based case study research, examine the relevance and potential of these approaches in the context of Indigenous aspirations for economic development.
4. Where appropriate, to recommend improvements to current Indigenous economic development policy.

Case Study Research

A case study research methodology was chosen to further develop test and refine theoretical understandings in relation to Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods policy to answer the research questions. While the literature review identified structural influences on development, detailed through postcolonial and neoliberalism theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 2, in depth case study research would provide deeper understanding of the Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods context. This would provide a basis for analysing the influence of settler colonisation, neoliberalism and the alternative SLA on Indigenous economic development in northern Australia.

The case study is particularly well suited to research requiring a deep understanding of the context when theorising. It is only through in-depth engagement can the researcher gain a nuanced view of reality (Burawoy, 1998; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Prowse, 2008; Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki, & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2011; Yin, 2009). This was considered particularly important given the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples in northern Australia living in a range of circumstance from regional centres to remote communities. This creates a wide range of economic, sociocultural, and historical

contexts for development, influenced by different factors such as access to markets, infrastructure, resources, knowledge and skills and different histories of colonial dispossession and related power and institutional relationships.

Case study research, however, can take different methodological approaches to a research project dependent on the researcher's philosophical stance (Welch et al., 2011). Drawing on the critical realist philosophy underpinning this research project the methodology sought to generate causal explanations that preserve rather than eradicate contextual richness. "This recognises that explanatory accounts are necessarily context bound given the contingent nature of cause-effect relationships" (Welch et al., 2011, p. 750). Prowse (2010) details a reflexive approach to livelihoods research based on the Extended Case Method (ECM) of Burawoy and the philosophy of critical realism that met these requirements.

The Extended Case Method (ECM)

The ECM (Burawoy, 1998) provides a sound methodological basis for case study livelihood research within a development context (Prowse, 2008; 2010). The ECM was developed as an ethnographic research methodology ground in a reflexive science (Burawoy, 1998; Prowse, 2010).

Extend case method (ECM) reflexive principles:

Understanding reflexivity and its application at various levels was critically important to the application of the four ECM reflexive principles (Burawoy, 1998). These are designed to minimise the power effects inherent in researching and writing about the social world (Prowse, 2010). The first principle is an explicit recognition and understanding that the researcher is also a participant in the research project. Unlike a positivist paradigm where the researcher is assumed to be an impartial observer, the ECM embraces the fact that the researcher and research process itself is an intervention. It is through the interaction of researcher and participants that we gain an understanding of the social context. Because as Burawoy (1998, p. 17) explains, even the most passive observer creates ripples worthy of examination, while the activist who seeks to transform the world can learn much from its obstinacy.

The second principle of ECM is that observations need to be extended over space and time. It is only through extended periods of field research that we can have deep insights into the phenomena we are researching (Burawoy, 1998; Prowse, 2010). By aggregating research data, whether that be through document analysis, interviews or observation, we gradually aggregate situational knowledge into understanding of the social process.

It is important however, for the researcher to recognise that in aggregating data they are making decisions about what they consider to be important. In doing so, the researcher inevitably makes choices privileging some and silencing other experiences and voices (Burawoy, 1998). Reflexivity is critically important, so the researcher is aware of the choices that they are making. Making explicit the values and beliefs that can underpin these choices will be a critical part of the research process, as the researcher considers competing aspirations for development and related policy responses within the context of Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontologies and political economies.

During the research I became Chief Executive Officer of Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation (Jabalbina) within the case study region. I worked with Jabalbina for five years, giving me a more in depth understanding of the challenges of Aboriginal economic development spread over space and time within the case study region. It was critically important, however, that I was reflexively engaged in considering my position and influence on data collection and analysis. My role and interactions influenced development outcomes, which invariably privilege some voices over others.

The third principle of ECM is to extend out from micro-processes to macro-forces. There is a recognition that the local is influenced by the global and that there is a need to reflexively engage in understanding this interrelationship. The literature review has brought to the fore the influence of neoliberalism on policy making in Australia and the impacts of settler colonisation. These theories are materially affecting the design and implementation of Indigenous policy and engaging with these structural macro influences was an important part of this research methodology. At the same time, it is important to manage the risk that macro level processes can be given primacy over local actors. This though should be tempered by an explicit recognition of the capacity and resilience of local social actors and their influence on development outcomes.

The fourth principle of ECM is extending theory. The ECM starts from the perspective that theory already exists, and the objective of the research is not to confirm theory but to interrogate it. Through the research process, theory and data are continually compared and analysed, evolve and are further explored. Research methods are applied as appropriate to understand social phenomena. Theory and data are finally bought together with results presented back to participants. In this way, theory is always evolving with research playing a role in contributing to the discourse and debates that influence social processes and subsequent theory (Burawoy, 1998; Prowse, 2010).

Selecting the Case Study Region

Northern Australia is an area prioritised for economic development by governments with the White Paper on Developing Northern Australia setting out a vision and broad policy framework (CoA, 2015). The area includes a diversity of regions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in a range of circumstances (see Chapter 5). Focusing the research effort on one specific region enabled in depth case study research to be undertaken. This aligned with the critical realism philosophy and ECM because explanatory accounts are necessarily context bound given the contingent nature of cause-effect relationships (Welch et al., 2011).

The macro level policy influences of this northern Australia development agenda would therefore be considered within this regional context. The in-depth contextual analysis and reporting of the chosen region and related findings may then support those working in other regions to generalise depending on their local contexts. It was considered a sounder approach than trying to construct a representative sample to generalise across northern Australia given the complexity of the research topic, the diversity of regions, and limited resources.

The case study region and units of analysis were subsequently chosen following the academic and grey literature review and the development of an Indigenous Research Protocol to undertake field research in line with ethical guidelines (JCU, 2012; NH&MRC, 2003), with the ECM reflexive principles and the resource constraints of a PhD. The literature review highlighted that the sustainable livelihoods approach had already been applied as a tool to research sustainable livelihoods in the Northern Territory. It had gained support from Aboriginal Peak Bodies in the Northern Territory but had limited application in Queensland (see Chapter 3). Applying the sustainable livelihoods approach to a case study in Queensland would build on the literature from the Northern Territory.

The Wet Tropics of north Queensland was a distinct region with Aboriginal communities, a peak body and government administration centred on Cairns where I lived. The Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance (RAPA) representing Aboriginal people in the Wet Tropics of north Queensland had recently finalised a research partnership with The Cairns Institute (TCI), James Cook University (JCU). The partnership agreement identified the need for research into economic development in line with Indigenous research values and ethics (NH&MRC, 2003; RAPA & TCI, 2013).

The Wet Tropics of north Queensland also contains opportunities for Indigenous people to engage in the range of economic and livelihood opportunities available across

northern Australia including tourism, mining services, agriculture and environmental management. It also contains Indigenous people living in a range of circumstances from a major regional centre, rural communities and remote Aboriginal local government areas based on colonial mission settlements. Native title had been determined and land transferred in the region to Aboriginal people providing capital and resources critical to support economic and livelihoods development.

The ECM principles emphasise the importance of extensive longitudinal emersion to understanding Indigenous economic development (Burawoy, 1998; Prowse, 2010). I lived in the region, which would enable more in-depth longitudinal data to be collected. The generalisations that emerged from the regional case study analysis would then be further tested through interviews with policy makers and industry/business stakeholders before being combined with the literature to answer the research question. The Wet Tropics of north Queensland was therefore chosen as the case study region. Units of analysis would be undertaken within this region to inform the case study through consultations in line with the Indigenous Research Protocol.

The Indigenous Research Protocol

The RAPA represented Traditional Owner groups within the Wet Tropics Regional Case Study (WTRCS) (RAPA, 2012). Its partners included Jabalbina, Central Wet Tropics Institute for Country and Culture Aboriginal Corporation and the Girringun Aboriginal Corporation (Girringun), each respectively representing the top third, centre and southern subregions of the WTRCS. Research partnerships provide an opportunity for Indigenous representative organisations to shape the research priorities and engagement of researchers with Indigenous peoples (Dunbar & Scrimgeour, 2006). The RAPA had been building a partnership with TCI at JCU and the project became part of this research partnership (RAPA & TCI, 2013). The research project was focused on Agenda Item 5: Land Tenure and Economic Development within the partnership agreement which linked back to implementation of RAPA's Strategic Plan (RAPA, 2012; TCI & RAPA, 2013).

As part of this broader partnership RAPA supported and informed the design and implementation of the research project for which JCU Research Ethics Application H5448 was approved. An Indigenous Reference Group (IRG) comprising a representative from RAPA's three subregional quorum partners and the RAPA Coordinator was established. I met further with RAPA subregional partners organisations including Girringun and Jabalbina to discuss the research. Through these consultations the Eastern Kuku Yalanji (EKY) emerged as the best sub regional group with which to

undertake further case study units of analysis. The EKY had already achieved a native title determination in 2007 and had significant aspirations and opportunities for economic development. The central region of the Wet Tropics was in the middle of a complicated native title process with conflict between groups and the southern part of the region represented by Girringun supported an EKY subregional focus (Turnour 2019).

Following a presentation to the Jabalbina board with the RAPA coordinator the directors passed a resolution in support of the project (Jabalbina, 2019b). The case study research methods were therefore finalised in consultation with the RAPA reference group and its subregional quorum partners. These Aboriginal organisations supported implementation of the research project and have benefited through the research outputs in line with the values and ethics (NH&MRC, 2003) expressed in the project's ethics application. The original literature review and a focus group for the project informed a RAPA discussion paper used to engage The Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA) on Rainforest Aboriginal people's aspirations for economic development (Cultural Values Project Steering Committee, 2016a). My research with Jabalbina during 2014 lead me to take on the Chief Executive Officers (CEO) role for the corporation where I supported EKY people to pursue their aspirations for economic development and sustainable livelihoods. I reported quarterly to the Jabalbina board, and directors encouraged me to return to complete my PhD after I stood down as CEO in June 2019.

Data Collection and Analysis

The WTRCS and the EKY subregion became the case study units of analysis within northern Australia. The Wet Tropics Indigenous Research Protocol and the research question and aims framed the identification and collection of data at these various scales. Four thematic areas, detailed below, were identified to focus data collection within the case study region and answer the research question. These thematic areas focused the research on key issues identified through the academic literature review, including how economic development and livelihoods are understood or defined from an Aboriginal perspective in contrast to existing non-indigenous understandings of economic and sustainable livelihoods development. They would also flesh out the key opportunities, enablers, and barriers as well as the roles and responsibilities of government and others engaged in the economic development process.

Thematic Areas for Case Study Data Collection

1. Defining Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods.

2. Identifying opportunities and priorities for economic and livelihoods development.

3. Enablers and barriers to economic and livelihoods development.

4. Roles and responsibilities of individuals, groups, organisations, and governments in supporting economic and livelihoods development.

RAPA and Jabalbina made available a large amount of previously unpublished meeting and workshop minutes, reports and planning documents that became a rich source of data for the research project. It was clear that rainforest Aboriginal people incorporated economic development and livelihoods aspirations as part of their cultural and natural resource management (CNRM) and native title agendas (Johnston, 1996; RAP 2014; Turnour 2014-2019). Interviews with informants engaged in tourism and CNRM combined with other data provided in depth cases for analysis at the industry and business scale.

A theme that also emerged from the early review of this grey literature and consultations was that there had been extensive consultation with rainforest Aboriginal people over the past decades about their aspirations, particularly around cultural and natural resource management (CNRM) and native title, but little implementation. It was important therefore not to duplicate, but build on the work that had already been done.

Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance Data

RAPA shared a range of consultation reports from regional summits and workshops of rainforest Aboriginal people during 2010, 2012, 2013 and 2014, and their strategic plan 2012 to 2017. Given the extensive amount of existing unpublished grey literature and research and a growing frustration amongst rainforest Aboriginal people in relation to a lack of implementation, I decided to particularly focus my research interviews with Aboriginal people within the EKY subregion. The grey literature contained consultations with hundreds of Aboriginal people across the Wet Tropics region and on review contained sufficient data to answer research questions under the four thematic areas identified earlier at the broader WTRCS scale. After consultation with the IRG I decided to analyse this grey literature and undertake a focus group at a RAPA Workshop in December 2014 to confirm findings from the initial analysis.

RAPA Region Focus Group

The Wet Tropics regional focus group was designed in consultation with the RAPA Coordinator and the IRG. Due to time limits it was agreed that the focus group discussion would centre around enablers and barriers to economic development and sustainable livelihoods thematic area 3. Results of the initial grey literature analysis around thematic areas 1 and 2 would be presented and discussed with the focus group. It was clear from

the literature review that economic development encompassed an extremely broad range of activities for rainforest Aboriginal people. Five jobs and livelihood opportunities for Aboriginal people in the Wet Tropics were identified through the grey literature review. These were discussed and agreed by the IRG prior to the focus group. The focus group involved 17 Traditional Owners from across the WTRCS. Focus group participants therefore self-selected by attending the workshop. The five economic development and livelihood opportunities identified from the grey literature were presented to the group, discussed, and generally agreed. The focus group was then asked to discuss the following two questions:

- What is stopping Aboriginal people from creating and securing jobs and livelihoods based on these opportunities?
- What needs to be done to overcome these barriers?

Participants discussed how they would like to address the questions and decided to break into four small groups which they felt would be more culturally appropriate and ensure everyone had an opportunity to participate. Small group discussions were then grouped together into themes during a group plenary discussion. The results are reported in Chapter 7.

Eastern Kuku Yalanji Subregional Data

The EKY subregion represented the northern one third of the WTRCS. The EKY had discussed their aspirations for economic development through their native title claim process. Jabalbina approved my access to a range of historical research that had been undertaken with EKY people as part of this native title claim process.

Through the process of reviewing grey literature at the Jabalbina Offices and interviewing EKY people I was encouraged to apply for the Jabalbina CEO role. As a result, I spent five years working with Jabalbina (four and a half as their CEO during which time I reviewed and generated a wide range of data including board papers, reports and strategic and operational plans). I kept a work diary and a reflexive journal. I also undertook interviews with 12 Indigenous people, the majority with connection to the EKY First Nation subregion.

Research Interviews

Purposive sampling techniques were used to identify interview participants (Patton, 2015; Tongco, 2007). Patton (2015, p. 264) describes: “Purposeful sampling as a technique to focus case selection strategically in alignment with the inquiries purpose, primary questions and data being collected.” The academic and grey literature review

and the development of the Indigenous research protocol had made clear that there were different understandings of economic and livelihood development from an Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspective that could influence the effectiveness of policy. The academic and grey literature review also highlighted that there were different scales of governance in northern Australia that influenced development. These included northern Australia, state/territory, local government, and industry and business scales. There were key non-Indigenous informants who operated at and/or sought to influence development at these different scales. Indigenous people also operated or sought influence at these scales of governance, but also regionally, sub-regionally and locally, incorporating family, clans and tribes. Rainforest Aboriginal people and particularly the EKY people identified tourism, CNRM, construction, research and education as priorities for development.

A comparison-focused purposeful sampling technique (Patton, 2015) was therefore used to develop an inclusion exclusion framework. The framework identified Indigenous and non-Indigenous key informants who could provide rich information around these different scales of governance, and from these different industry perspectives in the context of northern Australia, particularly within the case study region (Table 2).

Twenty-four key informants were interviewed and most had knowledge and experience within the case study region across several scales of governance and industries. Informants' governance focus was determined by their employment, representation, and areas of influence. Informants' industry/business experience was determined by their current and previous employment in government, business, and representative organisational roles. Most informants came from the tourism and CNRM government, industry and business sectors due to the nature of the region. Eleven of the 24 informants worked for government and three of these were Indigenous. Thirteen of the 24 worked across the business and non-government sectors with nine of these Indigenous.

Table 2: Comparative Purposeful Sampling Framework

Informants Scales of Governance Experience	Number Indigenous	Number Non-Indigenous	Total Number of Informants
Northern Australia	1	4	5
State/Territory	5	6	11
Local Government	1	1	2
Wet Tropics Regional	8	3	11
EKY Sub-regional	8	3	11
Local	12		12
Informants Industry/ Business Experience	Number Indigenous	Number Non-Indigenous	Total Number of Informants
Tourism	7	5	12
CNRM	7	5	12
Research and Education	2	1	3
Construction	3	2	5
Mining	1	3	4

Semi structured interviews were undertaken with these key informants using questions under the four thematic areas identified earlier (Appendix 1). These Indigenous and non-Indigenous informant interviews were then thematically analysed separately using NVivo to enable comparisons to be drawn between the two groups. Reflexivity as discussed earlier was critical when considering bias in the selection and analysis of informant interviews (Foley, 2002; Nicholls, 2009).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Interviews

Six male and six female informants were interviewed who identified as either Aboriginal and or Torres Strait Islander (Table 3). Participants were initially identified through consultations with RAPA and then a snowball (Noy, 2008) technique was used to help identify other informants following interviews and further community consultations within the context of the comparative purposeful sampling framework (Table 2).

Table 3: Indigenous Interview Informants

No.	Role	Organisation/Industry
1	Project Officer	Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance Traditional Custodian (Waribarra Mamu), Rainforest Aboriginal people of the Wet Tropics biocultural region
2	Executive	Cape York
3	Senior Project Officer	Queensland Department of Innovation and Tourism Industry Development
4	Manager	Torres Strait Region
5	Director Business Owner	EKY Subregional Organisation Construction
6	Ranger	EKY Subregional Organisation
7	Business Owner	Construction
8	Director Business Owner	Cape York Regional Organisation Tourism
9	Director Business Owner	EKY Subregional Organisation Tourism
10	Director Business Owner	EKY Subregional Organisation Tourism
11	Mayor Director	Local Government EKY Subregional Organisation
12	Director	EKY Subregional Organisation

Participants were spoken to face to face or by telephone about the research. They were then provided with the research information sheet and informed consent form and the time the interview was being scheduled (Appendix 2). They then had time to consider the research project prior to the interview. Nine of the twelve interviews were carried out face to face, where the researcher travelled to their community or organisation/business so that the informant felt most comfortable. Interviews were transcribed and informants were provided an opportunity to check transcripts prior to them being analysed with other case study data.

Government and non-Indigenous influencer interviews

Government non-Indigenous interviews were undertaken after the Indigenous interviews were complete. Twelve non-Indigenous informants were interviewed (Table 4). Informants were selected in line with the comparative purposeful sampling framework discussed above (Table 2).

Most informants were known to the researcher and had direct experience with economic development projects in the case study region. This would strengthen the comparative analysis as Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants would be discussing development within the same physical context. To ensure confidentiality participants agreed on how they would be identified. Some informants chose not to identify which agency they were from only their level of government and employment band. Six Queensland Government informants included staff from the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships (DATSIP), Department of Environment and Science (DES), Department of Natural Resources, Mines and Energy, (DNRME) and Department of State Development, Tourism and Industry (DSDTI). Two Australian Government informants were from PM&C and Office of Northern Australia (ONA). Four industry/business informants included representatives of regional development organisations, local government and tourism peak bodies.

Informants were initially asked to participate through an email providing some background on the research and interview. The Research Project Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form were attached with the initial email (Appendix 2). Most interviews were confirmed by email and conducted by telephone or video conferencing as most people were working from home at the time because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Interviews were transcribed and sent back to informants for checking prior to analysis.

Table 4: Non-Indigenous Interview Informants

No.	Agreed Position	Agreed Organisation/Industry
1	Senior Executive	Queensland Government
2	Director	Queensland Government
3	Executive Director	Wet Tropics Management Authority
4	Director Cape York Peninsula Tenure Resolution Program	Queensland Department of Environment and Science
5	Manager	Queensland Department of Environment and Science
6	Manager	Department of Natural Resources Mines and Energy
7	Executive	Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet
8	Director	Office of Northern Australia
9	Representative	Local Government Alliance
10	Professor Regional Development	James Cook University Cooperative Research Centre Northern Australia
11	Industry Leader	Tourism
12	Industry Leader	Tourism

Data Analysis

Two analytical methods were applied to the data throughout the various stages of the research project. These methods were analytical induction and theoretical sensitivity.

Analytical Induction has four stages: incubation, confrontation, generation and closure (Boeije, 2010). In the incubation phase, theory is developed based on the literature. The incubation phase identified postcolonial theory, neoliberalism, and SLA as important theories and concepts informing the research. These theories and associated debates were discussed in Chapter 2 and 3.

During the confrontation phase, this theory is pitted against the information derived from the focus group, interviews, reflective diary, academic and grey literature that came out

of the case study research. This involved the application of the ECM reflexive principles 1 and 2 through a thematic analysis of the data from the Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous government/industry informants' perspective. Themes included defining Indigenous economic development and livelihoods, opportunities and priorities for development, enablers and barriers to development, roles and responsibilities in line with the thematic questions discussed in the interviews and focus group (Appendix 1).

In the generation phase, material generated from ECM analysis is used in the further development of theory as new ideas and hypotheses are proposed. The micro level analysis undertaken within the case study region is extended out considering the macro level forces influencing development across northern Australia in line with the ECM principle 3 (Burawoy, 1998). During this phase answers to the research question begin to be formulated with evidence drawn from the data (Maso & Smaling, 1998, as cited in Boeije, 2010).

Theoretical Sensitivity involves viewing data through a particular theoretical lens and it was used as an important technique to develop creative ideas from the research data (Boeije, 2010). The sustainable livelihoods approach and framework (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998) was used as the lens applied to the northern Australia and Wet Tropics region case study data, enabling the sustainable livelihoods approach to be compared with the existing neoliberal economic development approaches. The ECM reflexive principles were applied through this analysis (Burawoy, 1998).

Results and Discussion

Finally, all data was synthesised and discussed to answer the research question and aims. Data triangulation ensured robust analysis and support for the thesis findings and included scholarly and grey literature, case studies, and interviews (Denzin, 2012). The themes that have emerged during the different stages of analysis were reviewed and integrated to support new theoretical understandings. The suitability of the current Indigenous economic development policies and sustainable livelihoods approaches was critiqued and, where appropriate, recommendations made to improve policy, policy analysis, policy development and policy implementation.

The Researcher's Position

The ECM was chosen for the case study as it explicitly recognises that the researcher is also a participant in the research (Burawoy, 1998). I had a lifetime of experience living and working in northern Australia, which would inform and influence the research. I was also working in the case study region during the research project, actively supporting Indigenous aspirations for economic and livelihoods development. It is important

therefore for me to be explicit about my background and experience and how I reflexively engaged in the research project (Foley, 2002; Nicholls, 2009).

I was born in the Northern Territory in 1966 in the lead up to the 1967 referendum recognising Aboriginal people in the Australian constitution. My parents owned a property where Aboriginal people lived and worked together with my family. We left the Territory when I was four, so I have no memory of this time. My father worked as an agricultural consultant in Indonesia while I was at school and I lived there for four years doing distance education before attending boarding school. I studied agricultural science and economics at The University of Queensland and worked in the Northern Territory and central Queensland before settling in Far North Queensland in 1994.

The northern economy is dominated by agriculture, mining and tourism. I therefore was born into and worked extensively in agriculture; one of the north's major industries during my early career. This included ten years working for the Queensland Department of Primary Industries and as an agricultural consultant including in Cape York Peninsula with Aboriginal organisations and people. I was also actively engaged in politics for over a decade including as a policy and media advisor and Member for Leichhardt within the Australian Parliament. This work has given me an in depth understanding of government at local, state and federal levels, and of the workings of a range of industry peak bodies who seek to influence government.

In 2011 I began working for the TCI at JCU where I was employed as a senior manager and researcher. Post graduate qualifications are particularly valued within the academy and I was encouraged and recognised the need to build my knowledge and skills as a researcher. This research project started as a research masters, which included course work studies into Indigenous research methodologies and research ethics. It eventually evolved into a doctoral thesis.

Through this process my position in the research environment changed. It evolved from university researcher and manager to full time student to eventually working full time as the CEO of Jabalbina, an Aboriginal organisation within the case study region. When I stepped down as the Jabalbina CEO in June 2019, I was able to make time to complete the research project. The research paradigm and methodology within which I was operating supported the choices I was making. As the CEO of Jabalbina, I would not only gain an even greater understanding and insight into the challenges of Indigenous economic development in northern Australia, I would be better placed to ensure my research first and foremost benefited the Aboriginal people with whom I was working. By becoming a more powerful actor within the system I was researching, I had greater

engagement with information and participants, giving me a greater understanding of the challenges of Indigenous economic development. Through the research process, however, I was not only developing my understanding of key theories and issues, but I was also actively engaging in changing the system within which I was working. My own values, beliefs and informants' perceptions of me as a non-Indigenous CEO would influence these engagements and in turn my theoretical understanding (Burawoy, 1998). It was critically important therefore that I reflexively engaged continually through my work and the research process (Foley, 2002; Nicholls, 2009). I engaged in reflexive practice in my role as a researcher. I kept journal notes and discussed key issues with supervisors, IRG and other critical stakeholders.

This became particularly important after June 2014 when I began periodically working out of the Jabalbina office reviewing grey literature, observing operations and undertook Indigenous interviews. Jabalbina subsequently advertised for a CEO and I was encouraged to apply for the position by several Jabalbina directors. I became Jabalbina's CEO in December 2014 on the understanding that I would continue to undertake the research project part time.

Jabalbina went through considerable change following my appointment as CEO. The organisation was restructured to better reflect clan governance, the strategic plan was reviewed, and new programs and enterprises added. These changes involved a range of activities including board, staff, clan and stakeholder meetings and workshops. Reports of activities were written, new grant applications and plans developed. These activities generated meeting minutes, reports, plans, notes etc., which were accessible and became important sources of data. This data reflected Aboriginal people's thoughts, aspirations and final decisions in relation to many aspects of economic development and livelihoods, which is the focus of this research.

While CEO I generated much of this data and supported other's work. In summarising information, I therefore had a capacity to promote some ideas and silence others as Burawoy (1998) acknowledges in the ECM. There were at times tensions between the need to operate within the Australian programmatic and legal systems and traditional Lore and custom decision making. This did not just involve tensions between the dominant western culture and Aboriginal people, but differences of opinion between Aboriginal people who were the focus of the study. Dealing with these tensions involved daily reflexive practice. This practice often raised further questions that generated further consultations with Aboriginal directors, staff and Elders to aid in the decision making finally reflected in documents produced. These methods of data collection and analysis

were applied over years to build up an in depth understanding of the context enabling the research questions to be answered.

Data Management

The research project was undertaken informed by JCU ethics and data management protocols. JCU Human Research Ethics approval H5448 was received for the research project. My move from fulltime to part time study and leave from the research project meant that this ethics approval expired prior to the completion of the non-Indigenous research interviews. A subsequent Ethics approval H7996 was obtained to complete these non-Indigenous interviews. The project has been managed and completed in line with these ethical approvals and JCU data management protocols.

Chapter 5 Northern Australia Development Context

Introduction

Opportunities for Indigenous development sit within a broader northern Australia economic development agenda. This northern development agenda has come back into focus over the past decade with a series of Australian Government initiatives beginning in 2007 with the establishment of the NALWTF and the subsequent development of a White Paper on developing northern Australia (CoA, 2015). This has seen governments invest in a range of institutions and projects to support northern development. This chapter explores this northern Australia development context from an economic development and sustainable livelihoods approach perspective. Building on earlier chapters, it defines the area and discusses the demography, economic and Indigenous policy contexts.

Area and Demography

Northern Australia as defined by the Australian Government includes all the Northern Territory, and those parts of Queensland and Western Australia above and directly below or intersecting the Tropic of Capricorn. It also includes Gladstone, Carnarvon and Exmouth, as well as the local government areas of Meekatharra and Wiluna in Western Australia (Figure 4).

The boundaries and issues around which Australian governments establish and collect data are based on their priorities for northern development. For example, the Australian Government has expanded the boundary of northern Australia since the 2007 NALWTF to now incorporate mining resources basins in Queensland and Western Australia and agricultural regions in central Queensland. As discussed in Chapter 2, knowledge becomes power as it is normalised through discourses and circulates within epistemic communities (Ashcroft et al., 2013; Althusser, 1971; Hiddleston, 2009; Rose et al., 2006). The boundaries that governments establish, what data is collected and how it is amalgamated all create knowledge that shapes the discourses of northern development. The expanded boundaries of northern Australia in the White Paper, incorporating new mining basins and agricultural regions, reflect a focus on sectoral industry interests, not Indigenous interests in northern development.

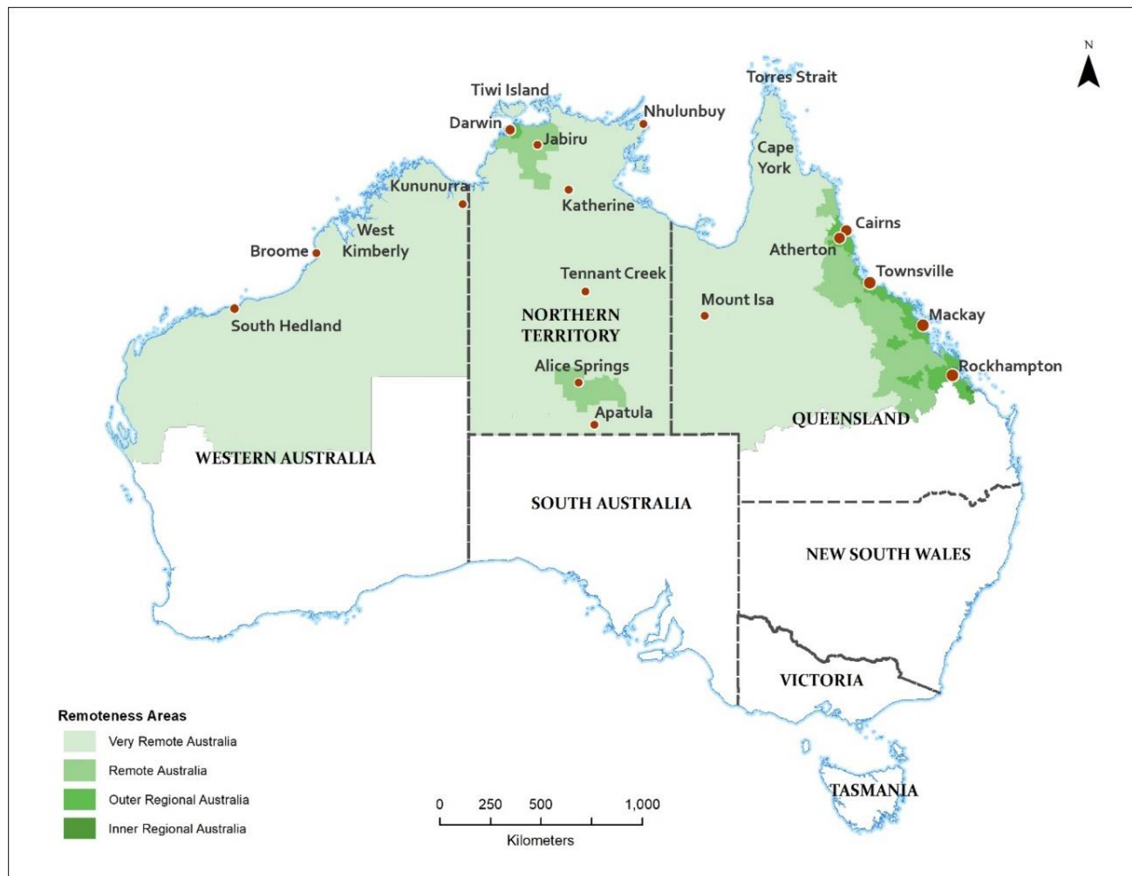

Figure 4. Northern Australia as Defined by the Australian Government.

Indigenous leaders have alternatively conceived northern Australia as a smaller area defined by river basins stretching north of a line between Townsville in Queensland and Broome in Western Australia, in the area covered by NAILSMA and the NALWTF (Morrison et al., 2018). Indigenous conceptions of the boundaries are based on the landscape rather than government and sectoral industry boundaries. Australian governments, however, do not collect data aligned with Indigenous regions and First Nations boundaries.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has sought to collect data that better reflects Indigenous boundaries loosely based on the old Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) boundaries. These do not necessarily reflect boundaries that Indigenous people may conceive but are the best approximation of demographic data available. The ABS 2016 Census data includes 17 Indigenous Regions, which closely

align with this northern Australia Government boundary [6]. These regions are listed in Table 5, which details Indigenous and non-Indigenous population data for each region. Data for the northern Australia Government region is presented, rather than the smaller Northern Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance (NAILSMA) region, to provide the broader government context for policy and program implementation. It should be noted that the Census data for those individuals who did not provide data for Indigenous status are excluded as they risk biasing information (see Markham & Biddle 2017 for a detailed discussion of missing data on Indigenous status in the 2016 Census).

Table 5: Population of Northern Australia by Indigenous Status and Indigenous Region.

Indigenous Status	Non-Indigenous	% Non-Indigenous	Aboriginal	Torres Strait Islander	% Indigenous	Total
Indigenous Region						
Queensland						
Cairns - Atherton	191,758	90%	15,819	4,805	10%	212,384
Townsville - Mackay	332,647	94%	19,351	3,716	6%	355,708
Rockhampton	396,430	95%	20,017	1,089	5%	417,539
Mount Isa	18,667	72%	7,005	164	28%	25,835
Cape York	6,226	47%	5,760	1,281	53%	13,265
Torres Strait	1,128	17%	137	5,390	83%	6,655
Sub Total	946,856	92%	68,089	16,445	8%	1,031,386
Western Australia						
Broome	9,918	69%	4,308	48	31%	14,281
Kununurra	4,537	49%	4,705	19	51%	9,264
South Hedland	44,877	85%	7,756	334	15%	52,966
West Kimberley	2,187	31%	4,851	16	69%	7,053
Sub Total	61,519	74%	21,620	417	26%	83,564
Northern Territory						
Darwin	111,599	91%	11,080	520	9%	123,195
Alice Springs	17,618	80%	4,477	45	20%	22,141
Katherine	7,075	46%	8,194	53	54%	15,320
Apatula	1,906	19%	8,319	42	81%	10,259
Jabiru - Tiwi	2,360	19%	10,256	31	81%	12,642
Nhulunbuy	3,638	28%	9,336	35	72%	13,006
Tennant Creek	1,675	33%	3,461	13	67%	5,152
Sub Total	145,871	72%	55,123	739	28%	201,715
Total	1,154,231	88%	144,847	17,600	12%	1,316,678

Source: Census 2016 ABS Table Builder.

[6] Indigenous Regions are large geographical units loosely based on the former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission boundaries. They are created by combining together one or more Indigenous Areas. The greater population of Indigenous Regions enables the highest level of analysis of attribute data through greater cross classification of variables compared with Indigenous Areas and Indigenous Locations. For the 2016 Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS) 58 Indigenous Regions are defined to cover the whole of geographic Australia. Indigenous Regions do not cross State and Territory borders.

The total population of northern Australia is approximately 1.3 million of which 88% is non-Indigenous with 12% identifying as Indigenous. This compares with Australia's population of approximately 25 million of which 3.3% identify as Indigenous (ABS, 2018). More than 1 million of northern Australia's population live in Queensland, most living in coastal cities, including Cairns, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton and Gladstone, with majority non-Indigenous populations. Darwin and Alice Springs in the Northern Territory and South Headland and Broome in Western Australia are other major population centres with significant majority non-Indigenous populations (Table 5).

Outside of these major regional centres most of the area is sparsely populated with Indigenous people making up the majority of the population in many areas. The majority of discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Australia are located in areas classified as remote and very remote in northern Australia (Figure 5). The Torres Strait, situated at the tip of Queensland, is 83% Indigenous with a comparatively homogenous Torres Strait Islander population outside of the administrative centre on Thursday Island. Discrete Aboriginal communities in Cape York Peninsula, the Northern Territory and Western Australia are similarly racially homogenous populations compared with rural and regional towns and cities in Australia. These are also much younger resident population of Indigenous peoples compared to the rest of Australia (Taylor et al., 2015). They are some of the most disadvantaged communities in Australia based on ABS socioeconomic indicators (ABS, 2019).

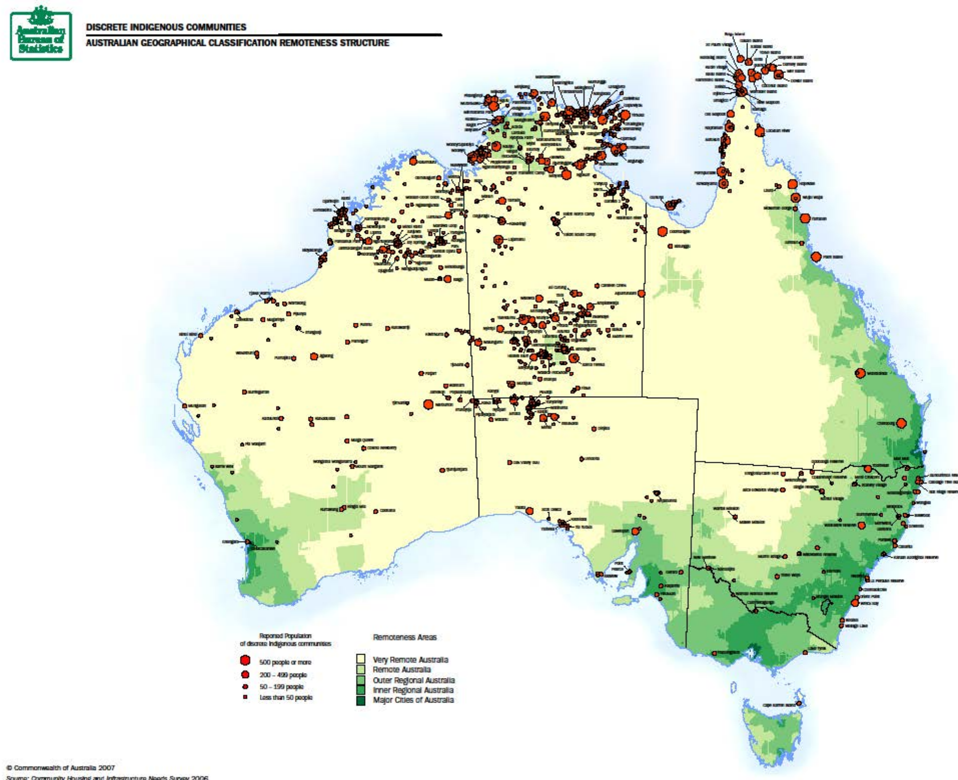

Figure 5. Discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities in Australia. Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2006). Map of Australia - discrete Indigenous communities and the Australian standard geographical classification remoteness structure. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Indigenous and Western Ontology and Political Economy

The formal governance of northern Australia is administered through Australian, State and Northern Territory governments. Indigenous political economies, however, continue to operate amongst most of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population and significantly shape economies in discrete communities where Indigenous people make up most of the population. Indigenous ontology and related political economy is different to western ontology and political economy and this needs to be acknowledged as an important part of the northern Australia development context (Brigg, 2007; Brigg et al., 2019). This includes different understandings of the objectified ideas of land, labour, and capital within the discipline of economics, which do not make sense within an Australian Indigenous ontology (Chakrabarty 2011).

There are systemic power imbalances between these two political economies because settler colonial and neoliberal discourses have normalised dominant western policy and program assumptions about development. This has closed off considerations of alternative Indigenous discourses of development, even though determining what constitutes development can be contested and the UNDRIP, which Australia has ratified,

commits the government to protect Indigenous rights to self-determination (see Chapters 2 & 4). This situation is made more complex by colonisation because while the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies can be theorised simplistically as separate, the reality is much more complex. There are hybrid identities engaged in a contested intercultural governance domain, where formal and informal relationships are continuously being negotiated and renegotiated within and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and organisations (Bhabha, 2004; Smith & Hunt, 2008).

The Indigenous economic development context is therefore much more complex than the current policies' simplified focus on Indigenous employment and business development within mainstream economies, based on neoliberal assumptions about economic development. The SLA does not make these neoliberal assumptions about development but incorporates a broader analysis of capabilities in determining what is important to achieve Indigenous wellbeing. A people centred, strength based, holistic and systematic approach through the SLA framework analysis also enables the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies to be considered in developing livelihood strategies. This includes the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous peoples and First Nations, and issues of power in the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontologies and political economies.

Industries in Northern Australia

The public sector is the largest employer in northern Australia through health care and social assistance, public administration and safety and education and training. Neoliberal public management contracting arrangements have also created non-government jobs in these sectors. Other major non-government sector employers include retail trading, construction, accommodation and food services, and mining. While historically there has been a focus on primary industries development in northern Australia, agriculture, forestry and fishing only contributed 31,186 jobs to northern Australia according to the 2016 census (Figure 6). Data for industries identified as priorities for development by Indigenous peoples including CNRM are not collected in the census (RAPA, 2014).

Primary industries are the major industries in terms of land area with the beef industry estimated to cover 60% of northern Australia (Dale et al., 2020). This is despite concerns about its environmental sustainability and fluctuations in markets (Chambers et al., 2018; Russell-Smith, Sangha, Costanza, Kubiszewski & Edwards, 2018). Farming in northern Australia is mainly confined to coastal and central Queensland and smaller areas in the Northern Territory and Western Australia. Over the past 150 years there have been

numerous attempts to expand farming in northern Australia (Andrews, 2014; Turnour, 2014). The regions relatively infertile soils, variable and highly intense rainfall, intense radiation and soil temperatures and pests and diseases limits agricultural production (Webster et al., 2009). Where agriculture has been successfully developed, including in central and coastal north Queensland, it has been important to start at a manageable scale, learn and adapt to the environment and develop supply chains. Governments have generally contributed significantly through investments in enabling infrastructure and research (Ash, 2014). Smaller scale place-based approaches have been identified as more appropriate to supporting northern Australian agricultural development (Turnour et al., 2021).

The mining industry is the major contributor to the region's gross domestic product. There are major deposits of iron ore, coal, natural gas, bauxite, lead, zinc, uranium and a range of other minerals in northern Australia. Multinational companies working in major resource basins are significant contributors to a number of regional economies (CoA, 2015). Tourism is also a major industry in northern Australia, based on the region's natural values and Indigenous cultures, and reflected in significant employment in retail trades and accommodations and food services (Figure 6). These industries have all been identified through the Australian Government White Paper on developing northern Australia, which identified food and agribusiness, resources and energy, tourism and hospitality, international education, and healthcare, medical research and aged care as areas for future growth (CoA, 2015).

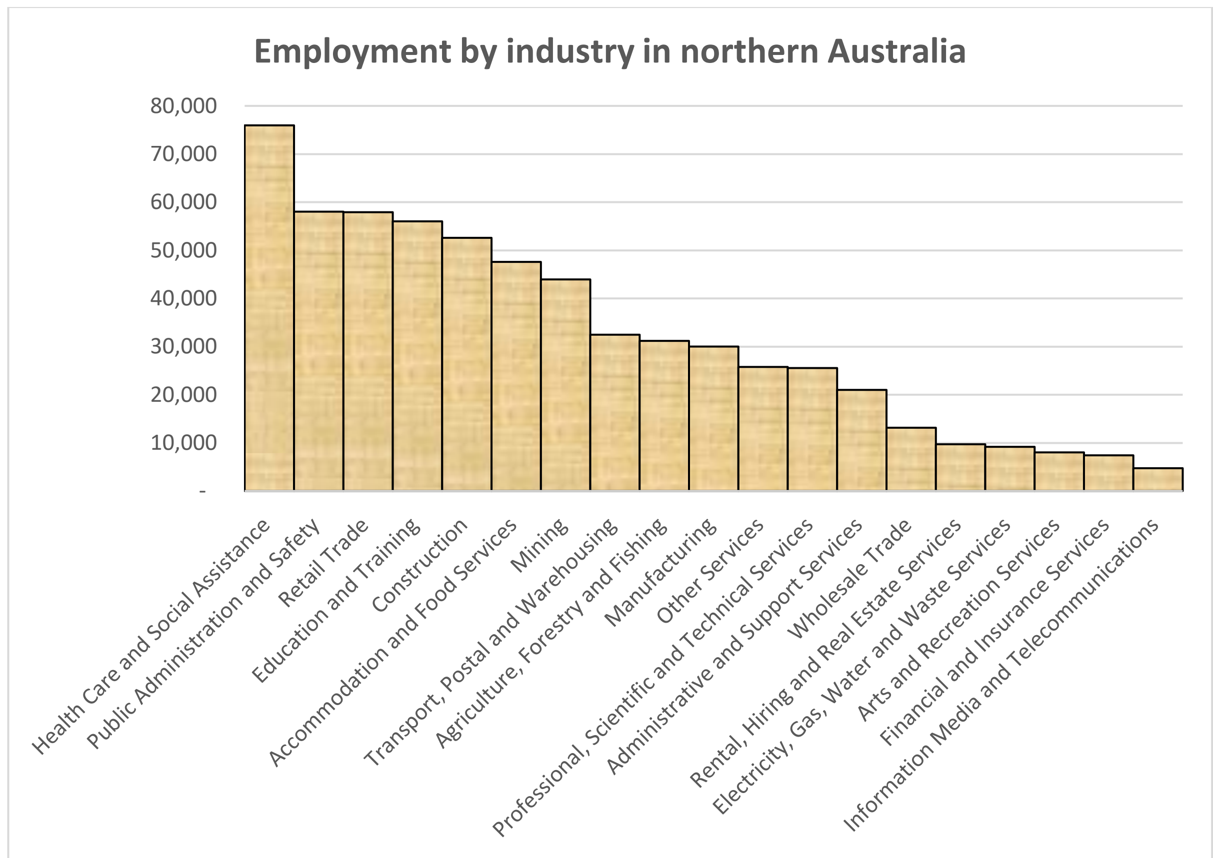

Figure 6. Key Industries Contributing to Employment in the Northern Australia Economy. Source: Census 2016 ABS Table Builder.

Academics and Indigenous peoples have identified other industries for development not included as priorities in the White Paper. These alternative industries based on sustainable land and natural resources management include carbon markets, ecosystem services and renewable energy (Chambers et al., 2018; Dale, 2014; Whitehead, 2012). They could also be important opportunities for economic development and sustainable livelihoods. For example, carbon farming projects are estimated to contribute between $20 and $30 million annually through savanna burning (Russell-Smith et al., 2018). There are opportunities for the expansion of savanna burning and emerging carbon sequestration technologies, with the potential to contribute hundreds of millions annually to the northern Australia economy. These new industries would also contribute ecologically, socially and economically through habitat rehabilitation and expanded employment opportunities for Indigenous rangers.

Indigenous people also generate a livelihood from their customary economy through hunting, fishing and gathering. Case study research in the Northern Territory found that the customary economy accounted for 64% of the Indigenous economy in 1979-80. A new set of data in 2002-2003 with the same people in the same region found it continued to make a significant contribution alongside income support and the sale of art (Altman, 2003). Altman (2001) has argued for a livelihoods approach to Indigenous development based on what he has theorised as a hybrid economy. Here Indigenous people make a living from a mixture of state support, the customary economy and market-based economies, with the mix of livelihood strategies varying between communities. Taking a sustainable livelihoods approach and applying the framework as discussed in Chapter 3 is more likely to identify these additional industries and alternative economies in northern Australia.

Indigenous Employment, Education and Training in Northern Australia

Indigenous people have been found to prioritise employment, education and training differently than non-Indigenous peoples, affecting their engagement. Indigenous people prioritise their cultural responsibilities within the Indigenous political economy over engagement in the mainstream economy (McRae-Williams & Gerritsen, 2010). It is not surprising in this context that Indigenous people in northern Australia were much less likely to be engaged in employment, education and training than non-Indigenous people (42.1% compared with 61.4% - see Table 6). This is particularly the case in remote and very remote areas where Indigenous people make up most of the population, with more than 50% of people disengaged in many of these areas. Indigenous people therefore also have relatively lower levels of educational attainment compared with the non-Indigenous population, further limiting their capacity to engage in mainstream employment (Welters, 2010).

Table 6: Engagement in Employment, Education and Training by Indigenous Region

Indigenous Region	Total Non Indigenous			Total Indigenous		
	Engaged in some way	Not Engaged	Undetermined/Not Stated	Engaged in some way	Not Engaged	Undetermined/Not Stated
Queensland						
Cairns - Atherton	61.0%	27.9%	11.1%	44.7%	47.1%	8.2%
Townsville - Mackay	62.9%	27.5%	9.6%	52.2%	41.7%	6.1%
Rockhampton	54.6%	35.5%	9.9%	52.3%	42.4%	5.4%
Mount Isa	69.1%	16.4%	14.4%	46.1%	48.1%	5.8%
Cape York	64.3%	19.4%	16.6%	38.8%	56.4%	4.8%
Torres Strait	59.9%	16.3%	24.6%	43.4%	43.8%	12.7%
Western Australia						
Broome	70.4%	14.5%	15.2%	43.5%	46.5%	9.8%
Kununurra	69.4%	10.9%	19.6%	30.2%	55.7%	14.0%
South Hedland	72.4%	9.6%	18.0%	50.4%	41.4%	8.3%
West Kimberley	67.2%	12.0%	20.3%	29.0%	59.8%	11.2%
Northern Territory						
Darwin	70.8%	16.5%	12.7%	53.6%	32.0%	14.4%
Katherine	61.2%	13.1%	25.8%	32.5%	57.8%	9.7%
Alice Springs	72.6%	13.4%	14.0%	43.5%	45.9%	10.6%
Tennant Creek	69.9%	12.5%	17.6%	27.8%	60.4%	12.0%
Apatula	64.9%	5.7%	29.0%	23.3%	55.1%	21.7%
Jabiru - Tiwi	63.6%	12.7%	24.0%	27.0%	62.5%	10.5%
Nhulunbuy	76.1%	8.4%	15.6%	29.7%	57.9%	12.5%
Total	**61.4%**	**27.5%**	**11.2%**	**42.1%**	**48.2%**	**9.6%**

Source: Census 2016 ABS Table Builder.

Vern and Biddle (2018) discuss trends in Indigenous employment from the 2016 Census compared to previous censes and conclude that the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous employment remains high in Australia and has changed little since the turn of the century. There was significant variation across geographic regions, with those living in regional and major cities seeing improvements in employment outcomes between 2011 and 2016 compared with remote and very remote areas. While unemployment rates are significantly higher in remote and very remote areas, increases in unemployment were also likely due to the phasing out of Community Development and Employment Program (CDEP) in 2015, as participants in this scheme were counted as employed. Those on the replacement Community Development Program (CDP) were counted as unemployed. Vern and Biddle also found that there had been some improvement in Indigenous women's employment outcomes likely due to the fact their employment is concentrated in occupations that were growing, including health, community services, education, hospitality and retail.

The public sector particularly State and Territory governments were significant employers of Indigenous people with public sector administration, health care and

education the major areas of employment (ABS, 2016). Governments also deliver a range of services through Indigenous community-based organisations that form part of the not-for-profit sector delivering services and representation to Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations. Although not directly employed by governments, the contribution this sector makes to government service delivery, including through employment and building the capacity of Indigenous peoples, is undervalued (Sullivan, 2011b).

There were limited private sector markets for employment in remote and very remote areas and extremely low levels of Indigenous employment in the private sector (McRae-Williams & Guenther, 2016; Welters, 2010). While Indigenous people were historically engaged in the pastoral industry, many have found engagement in the private sector economy, particularly in regional and remote areas, challenging (Bennett & Gordon, 2005; McRae-Williams & Gerritsen, 2010; Nikolakis, 2008; Whitehead, 2012). Within the private sector retail was the main employer in Queensland, mining and construction in Western Australia and construction in the Northern Territory for Indigenous peoples (ABS, 2016). The CDP remained the main way that Indigenous people were engaged in activities within remote and very remote areas (Table 7).

Table 7: Indigenous Engagement in Employment/Community Development Program by Indigenous Regions

Indigenous Region	Total Employment	Percentage Employment	Total CDP	Percentage CDP	Total Indigenous Engagement
Cairns - Atherton	788	85%	136	15%	924
Townsville - Mackay	642	72%	246	28%	888
Rockhampton	293	93%	21	7%	314
Mount Isa	58	27%	156	73%	214
Cape York	500	46%	581	54%	1,081
Torres Strait	284	39%	444	61%	728
Sub Total	2,565	62%	**1,584**	38%	4,149
Western Australia					-
Broome	45	36%	80	64%	125
Kununurra	7	3%	201	97%	208
South Hedland	74	41%	105	59%	179
West Kimberley	22	6%	346	94%	368
Sub Total	148	17%	**732**	83%	880
Northern Territory					-
Darwin	319	92%	29	8%	348
Katherine	43	9%	460	91%	503
Alice Springs	17	24%	55	76%	72
Tennant Creek	10	6%	160	94%	170
Apatula	28	6%	459	94%	487
Jabiru - Tiwi	24	4%	557	96%	581
Nhulunbuy	30	3%	855	97%	885
Sub Total	471	15%	**2,575**	85%	3,046
Total	3,174	39%	**4,891**	61%	8,065

Source: Census 2016 ABS Table Builder.

There is limited data on Indigenous businesses with estimates of between 8,600 and 11,900 Indigenous businesses in Australia (PwC Indigenous Consulting, 2018). This data has not been disaggregated for northern Australia or remote and regional Australia. In 2006, 5.6 % of Indigenous people indicated that they worked in their own business compared with 16.7% for non-Indigenous people. In remote and very remote communities, the figure dropped to 3.3% and 1.9% respectively for Indigenous people but increased for the non-Indigenous population to 21.3% and 17.7% respectively (ABS, 2010). These figures highlight the difficulty Indigenous people face in establishing businesses in remote and very remote communities (Bennett & Gordon, 2005; Nikolakis, 2008). Although figures are not disaggregated for northern Australia or regional and remote locations, the estimated number of Indigenous business owner managers has grown from 3,281 in 1991 to 11,592 in 2016 (PwC Indigenous Consulting, 2018). There is therefore evidence that there is an increasing number of Indigenous people seeking to engage in businesses.

Indigenous Interests in Northern Australia

If we consider Indigenous interests within Australian governments' land tenure systems, NAILSMA (2020) estimates Indigenous people own or have an interest in 78% of land in northern Australia including Indigenous freehold, leasehold and reserve land, and native title interests in pastoral leases (Figure 7). Land is a key asset or capital when it comes to opportunities for economic development. Most of the land in northern Australia is government owned and leased land subject to native title, with only 6.1% privately owned. This is distinctly different from southern Australia where private ownership has extinguished native title in many areas (Dale, 2013).

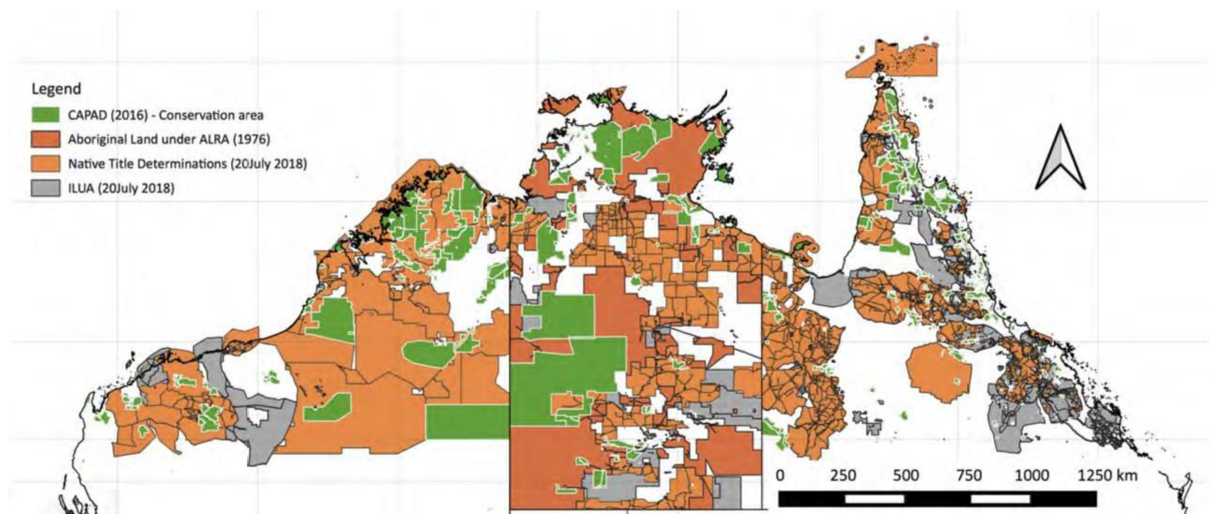

Figure 7. Indigenous Interests in Land in Northern Australia.
Source: Business on Country – Land Use Diversification on the Indigenous Estate, by R. Archer, 2019, Presentation CRCNA, NAILSMA.

The Mabo High Court decision was a watershed moment in the Indigenous struggle for land rights as it confirmed Indigenous interests in land existed in the common law and were not extinguished through colonisation. The Australian parliament subsequently passed the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) providing a process for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to reassert their rights and interests in land and sea country under Commonwealth law. This strengthened Indigenous interests in land and sea country and built on State and Northern Territory government legislation that began to recognise Indigenous interests in land during the 1970s, including the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act, 1976* (NT); *Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority Act, 1972* (WA); *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld). This native title and land rights legislation gives Indigenous people legal rights and interest to either ownership of land or in decision making about land where it

could impact their ability to exercise their native title rights. These land tenure arrangements, however, also create an extremely complex system when considering development with different legislation operating across the Commonwealth, States and Northern Territory. This has limited Indigenous people's ability to create employment and business-related activities on Indigenous owned lands (Dale et al., 2013).

These land tenure and management arrangements provide powerful institutional examples of the ongoing power imbalances between the Australian nation and its Indigenous peoples. The Australian land planning system, through a process of surveying, naming, and allocating ownership and management of parcels of land, systematically dispossessed Indigenous peoples during colonial settlement (Jackson, Porter & Johnson, 2017). The mining, pastoral and more recent tourism industries continue to argue for access to land and security of tenure for agriculture, tourism and mining at the expense of Indigenous peoples. This is reflected in resistance to the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) following the Mabo and then Wik High Court decisions. The Wik decision, which found native title could co-exist with pastoral leases, stoked industry and community concerns and led to the Coalition government's ten-point plan and the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) amendments of 1998 narrowing Indigenous peoples' rights and interest in land (Robbins, 2007).

In recent decades, battles over the environmental protection of northern Australia have also emerged. Conservation organisations have sought to mobilise national and international support for the protection of large areas of land and sea country. This has seen large areas of land that Indigenous people thought could be returned to them become incorporated into protected area estates limiting development opportunities (Dale, 2014; Holmes, 2011). So, while Indigenous people were removed from their traditional estates during the 19th and 20th centuries to allow settlers to pursue economic interest, including mining and agriculture, Indigenous land rights are now increasingly being weighed up not only against economic interests, but against conservation campaigns to expand the national protected area estate across northern Australia.

Where Indigenous lands are being developed, including for business and residential purposes, current approaches to overcoming the complexity of land tenure arrangements centre on providing greater security of tenure through freeholding of land and leasing arrangements for commercial and residential developments (FaHCSIA, 2011; PM&C, 2014; Wensing, 1019). While these arrangements may be appropriate in many circumstances, they are based-on liberalism ideas of private property rights. Whitehead (2012), applying the sustainable livelihoods framework as an analytical tool,

identified regional based planning as an alternative approach to address issues of tenure security for development. The sustainable livelihoods approach and framework encourages a more complex analysis of institutional and organisation structures and processes that may be mediating development. This provides opportunities for considering alternative decolonising approaches to achieving economic development and sustainable livelihoods outcomes that may better respect Indigenous people's rights, knowledge and practices in relation to their land and sea estates (Jackson et al., 2017; Morrison et al., 2018).

Indigenous Policy in Northern Australia

Postcolonial and neoliberal theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 2 provide insights into Indigenous policy in Australia. These theories demonstrate how policy has evolved and changed, influenced by Western non-Indigenous discourses about Indigenous peoples. While the State has sought to reconcile and assimilate Indigenous peoples through settler colonial liberal and subsequently neoliberal logics (Strakosch, 2015), Indigenous demands for recognition of their prior sovereignty, their history of invasion and greater self-determination have remained constant (Anderson, 2007; Referendum Council, 2017).

The following contextual analysis discusses the evolution of Indigenous policy through the period of self-determination and NPM, before discussing an emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda. This emerging agenda demonstrates ongoing Indigenous resistance to liberalism's/neoliberalism's attempts at colonial assimilation. This brief history of more recent Indigenous policy demonstrates a need for governments to seriously respond to the Uluru Statement from the Heart if positive progress is to be made in Indigenous policy.

Protection Assimilation and Self-determination Policies

The early period of colonial settlement has been described as the 'frontier wars' (Reynolds, 1981), or as a period of protectionism and assimilation (Sanders, 2010). It was not until the last part of the 20th century during the period described as 'self-determination' that governments began to respond in a more meaningful way to Indigenous aspirations for recognition as Australia's first peoples (Anderson, 2007; Sanders, 2010).

This policy change began in the 1950s and 1960s with the activism of a coalition of disparate Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. Charles Perkins and a group of students undertook the Freedom Ride in 1965, confronting racism in rural New South Wales, and the Wave Hill Aboriginal pastoral strike in the Northern Territory began in

1966 following the equal wage case. This brought to the attention of Australia's majority urbanised populations the situation facing Aboriginal people in rural Australia. The 1967 Constitutional referendum was a pivotal moment, removing the race clauses from the constitution and providing for greater involvement of the Commonwealth in Indigenous affairs (Anderson, 2007).

This period saw the emergence of an Aboriginal political movement led by Aboriginal people who advocated a set of values, which in different ways coalesced around notions of autonomy, self-determination, sovereignty, and community control (Anderson, 2007, p. 141). Government policy shifted from Indigenous assimilation based on race, however, there remained an assumption that Indigenous people would adopt the values and institutions of the settler state. Indigenous aspirations for self-determination supported by this policy intent became rooted in an expanding number of Indigenous institutions incorporated within the Australian state, including local governments, health, housing, land and native title corporations. A nationally representative Indigenous body, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) was established in 1990. Indigenous people also were increasingly able to access education, health and other opportunities afforded to Australian citizens, leading to a growing professional Indigenous middle class (Anderson, 2007). Indigenous aspirations and capacity to achieve a more autonomous future for Aboriginal and Torres Strait people within the Australian state should therefore have been improving.

These new Indigenous organisations established during the period of 'self-determination', including local governments and Indigenous service delivery organisations, were established in line with western corporate forms of governance. This included competitive elections to determine representation and corporate legal structures in relation to decision making (Sullivan, 2011b). A governance system distinctly different from that operating within Indigenous political economies, which are less structured and open and that emphasise more consensus decision making based around Elders (Behrendt & Kelly, 2008). These norms governing Indigenous people through their traditions, Lores and customs have continued to operate outside of these formal western liberal governance systems (Firth, 2013; Trugden, 2000). This led to changing power structures within communities and contributed to confusing relationships and lateral violence between Indigenous peoples. These western governance structures disempowered Indigenous political economies centred on traditional Lore and custom (Trugden, 2000).

Employment in the colonial economies, particularly pastoralism, also began to disappear during the period of ‘self-determination’ as Indigenous people won the right to equal pay. Some Aboriginal people began moving back onto country, and outstations emerged (Altman, 2001; Referendum Council, 2017). Others removed from meaningful work and receiving welfare were left idle, living together in remote communities or the fringes of towns. Many became welfare dependent and suffered from alcohol and substance abuse, increasing their engagement with the Australian legal system. Trugden summed up the situation in the Northern Territories Arnhem Land:

> When any group of people lose control of the basic things in life, the result is disaster. Normal things become abnormal and the people concerned start to suffer in all sorts of ways. This is the case in present-day Arnhem Land. The 1970s’ dream of self-determination turned into a nightmare in the 1980s and 1990s, and the nightmare is continuing and intensifying. (2000, p. 58)

In Queensland a similar situation of welfare dependency, alcoholism and substance abuse had occurred, leading to a break down in social norms and criminal behaviour (Pearson, 2000). The policy intent of incorporating Indigenous peoples into the Australian state through the adoption of liberalisms institutions within Indigenous communities was failing.

Conservative commentators during the 1990s had also begun reframing discourses about Indigenous Australia through ideological debates about Australia’s colonial history (Anderson, 2007). These commentators, supported by some historians, disputed the more recent negative history of Australia’s colonisation and argued for a more positive view of Australian history (Hughes, 2007; Johns, 2001; Manne, 2003; Windschuttle, 2003). There were also growing concerns in some parts of the non-Indigenous community about Indigenous land rights and native title legislation that had been enacted during this period of self-determination (Robbins, 2007).

Neoliberal Public Management in Indigenous Policy

This change in the non-Indigenous community discourses supported by a conservative Prime Minister paved the way for a return to policies more akin to the settler colonial period of the earlier 20th century where the values of Indigenous protection and assimilation guided policy (Anderson 2007, Sanders, 2010). A new bipartisan period of neoliberal Indigenous policy that emphasised the mainstreaming of government service delivery, engagement in market-based economies and the ‘normalisation’ of communities was emerging (Peterson, 2013; Strakosch, 2015; Sullivan, 2011a).

Addressing Indigenous disadvantage and community dysfunction became the focus of this new policy agenda.

A young Cape York Indigenous leader, Noel Pearson, was becoming influential nationally. He made discourses of individual responsibility central to Indigenous policy reform reflecting broader neoliberal ideologies detailed in Chapter 2 (Pearson, 2000; 2006). The Queensland Government commissioned the ‘Cape York Justice Study’ into criminal behaviour in Cape York Aboriginal communities. This report documented alcohol, substance abuse and a range of criminal behaviours within Cape York Indigenous communities (Queensland Department of Premier and Cabinet & Fitzgerald, 2001). Policies that supported Indigenous aspirations for autonomy, self-determination, sovereignty, and community control during the period of self-determination were increasingly being considered to have failed (Dillon & Westbury, 2007).

The Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in 2002 agreed to trial a new ‘whole of government’ approach to service delivery in eight Indigenous communities. These COAG trials centred on Regional Partnership Agreements and Shared Responsibility Agreements between communities and governments. Governments would work in a more coordinated way and communities and governments were to share responsibility for delivering outcomes within agreements (Gray, 2006). These NPM reforms to government service delivery accelerated with the announcement of the disbanding of ATSIC Australia’s peak Indigenous representative body in 2004 (Gray & Sanders, 2006). ATSIC programs and staff were transferred into ‘mainstream’ government agencies and a new ‘whole of government’ framework for Indigenous policy and service delivery was established. The ATSIC elected representative model was replaced by a government appointed Indigenous Advisory Body, a Ministerial Taskforce, Secretaries group and Indigenous Coordination Centres across regional Australia to coordinate policy and service delivery (Gray & Sanders, 2006; Strakosch, 2015).

In 2007, the ‘Little Children are Sacred Report’ commissioned by the Australian Government into Northern Territory Indigenous communities was released (Wild & Anderson, 2007). This report documented criminal behaviour and child neglect in Northern Territory Indigenous communities. The report lent further support to calls for Indigenous policy reforms and led to the Northern Territory Emergency Response that introduced a range of measures, including alcohol management, welfare reform and land tenure changes, designed to normalise and further engage Indigenous peoples in mainstream economies (Sanders, 2010).

The election of the Rudd Labor government expanded on this approach through the Closing the Gap policy agenda, although it was announced as a 'new approach.' The approach began with an important symbolic change: an apology to Indigenous Australians for past wrongs. Policy and service delivery, however, was largely a continuation and expansion of the Howard government's 'whole of government' reforms which began with Regional Partnership Agreements and Shared Responsibility Agreements. National Partnership Agreements were established between the Australian, State and Territory governments through COAG to tackle Indigenous disadvantage. These included agreements around remote service delivery, education, housing and health. Six Closing the Gap targets with fixed timeframes were established for Indigenous disadvantage to be overcome.[7] A series of seven action areas or 'building blocks' were identified that needed to occur to support reaching these targets (FaHCSIA, 2013).

State and Territory governments worked in partnership with the Australian Government during this period. In 2008 the Northern Territory Government implemented reforms to local governments abolishing fifty-nine local Indigenous community councils and establishing sixteen large regional shires. The introduction of these larger shires and a focus on developing several growth towns was designed to integrate these largely Aboriginal communities and normalise them so they eventually become more like the broader Northern Territory community (Peterson, 2013). In Queensland, a tripartite agreement was struck in 2008 between the Australian and Queensland governments and the Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership to establish the Cape York Welfare Reform (CYWR) trials (Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership, 2007; Pearson, 2000; 2006). The trials involved several programs that fell into four streams: social responsibility, education, economic opportunities and housing reforms, and were rolled out in four Cape York Communities: Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale and Mossman Gorge.

A major focus of the CYWR trials was encouraging engagement in the mainstream economy through these programs. The CDEP was reformed, with additional jobs created

[7] In 2008 COAG set specific targets for Closing the Gap:

- To close the life-expectancy gap within a generation
- To halve the gap in mortality rates for Indigenous children under five within a decade
- To ensure access to early childhood education for all Indigenous four year olds in remote communities within five years
- To halve the gap in reading, writing and numeracy achievements for children within a decade
- To halve the gap in Indigenous Year 12 achievement by 2020
- To halve the gap in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a decade.

in the community. The mobility of community members was encouraged, to take up jobs and educational opportunities outside of Indigenous communities. Business hubs were to be established to support small business development, and land tenure reforms undertaken to enable home ownership and create security of tenure for businesses. An evaluation of the trials found mixed outcomes from the different programs. There had been improvement in employment outcomes in the trial communities because of the conversion of CDEP positions into 103 jobs and the creation of 118 new service delivery jobs through the various programs. The evaluation found limited business outcomes, which it suggested may have been the result of the difficult business environment in remote communities and delays in the establishment of the business hubs (Katz & Raven, 2013).

The federal Labor government in 2011 finalised an Indigenous Economic Development Strategy (IEDS) with Jenny Macklin the Minister for Families Housing Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) in the foreword describing Indigenous aspirations “as the same as all other Australians – to get an education, find a job or start a business, own a home and provide for their families” (FaHCSIA, 2011, p. 2). The IEDS defined the problem of Indigenous disadvantage as an empirical gap between the Indigenous and the broader non-Indigenous community in accessing a range of services and opportunities, and it was assumed that if these gaps could be closed, the strategy would be successful.

The Minister’s foreword and the thrust of the IEDS suggested that in the future Indigenous communities will eventually resemble mainstream Australian country towns with Indigenous people living a similar lifestyle to mainstream Australians. The National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery that underpinned the strategy is explicit in its objectives to transform Indigenous communities, so that they are broadly consistent in terms of services and infrastructure with those provided to other Australians in similar sized and located communities (COAG, 2008; Sullivan, 2011b). Within this context the IEDS identifies a range of strategies, in a development framework, including Strengthening Foundations, Education, Skills Development and Jobs, Business and Entrepreneurship and Financial Security, that must be put in place in Indigenous communities to enable this market to function and for Indigenous people to access it (FaHCSIA, 2011, p. 75). Beyond improving services and infrastructure, the focus for supporting Indigenous economic development was, therefore, engagement in business and entrepreneurship or employment in the mainstream labour market.

The election of the Coalition government in 2013 saw the announcement of another ‘new policy’ titled the Indigenous Advancement Strategy (IAS). It was heralded as a new approach to Indigenous Affairs. The Minister stated in an opinion piece not long after:

> It tackles bureaucratic inertia and waste in Indigenous Affairs in favour of radical reforms focused on achieving results for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people which reflect the government’s priorities of getting children to school, adults into work and safe communities. (Scullion, 21 May 2014).

Like the earlier Labor government’s policy, the IAS assumed that Indigenous peoples should be like mainstream non-Indigenous Australians.

The Closing the Gap targets remained in place and the annual report on progress against these targets, started under Labor, continued (Australian Government, 2020). Under the IAS, ‘whole of government’ coordination and service delivery would be further strengthened as PM&C took on responsibilities for Indigenous Affairs. Implementation centred on nationally competitive grant-based programs that relied on non-government organisations and businesses for delivery in line with NPM governmentalities (see Chapter 2). Program objectives established by the government were centred on three priorities of getting children to school, adults into work and ensuring that communities are safe (PM&C, 2014). The policy reflected dominant non-Indigenous discourses about Indigenous community dysfunction and the need for greater individual responsibility and law and order that had been reframing Indigenous policy since the turn of the century. Resource allocation remained centrally controlled by what was being described as smaller government, with more than 150 programmes collapsed into five managed by one government department PM&C. This was done to streamline government and reduce red tape (Scullion, 13 May 2014). The gaps in socioeconomic outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples remain, particularly in remote and very remote Indigenous communities (Australian Government, 2020; Productivity Commission, 2016).

The bipartisan response to the real despair being experienced in Indigenous communities was therefore neoliberal policies and programs that increasingly sought to force Indigenous people to conform to the norms of non-Indigenous society through NPM governmentalities. Starting with the Howard Coalition government’s COAG Trials, expanded under the Labor government National Partnership Agreements and Closing the Gap Policy and continued through the Coalition government’s IAS, this agenda has sought to normalise Indigenous communities by aligning their aspirations with those of non-Indigenous towns and communities. This agenda has been supported by some

Indigenous leaders and organisations engaged in its implementation. The agenda, however, aligns with the broad neoliberal theoretical framework detailed in Chapter 2, which supports the privatisation of government services through NPM contracting and an increasing emphasis on individual personal responsibility rather than government responsibility for services and outcomes.

The result has been the creation of a ‘bureaucratic maze’ involving all levels of government and Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations funded to deliver infrastructure, products and services. Hudson (2016) mapped the national Indigenous program funding maze, identifying at least $5.9 billion in expenditure by federal, state, territory and the Indigenous not-for-profit sector. This comprised 1,082 programs of which less than 10% had been evaluated. In northern Australia, the community of Roebourne in Western Australia with a population of 1,150 had 67 local service providers and more than 400 programs funded by both federal and state governments. Hudson found many programs were poorly designed and inefficient, with the system riddled with waste and duplication.

The Queensland Productivity Commission similarly found the system to be self-serving and fundamentally broken in its ability to deliver outcomes for remote discrete Indigenous communities (QPC, 2017). It produced a simplified model of the contemporary service delivery in remote discrete Indigenous communities in Queensland, incorporating levels of government, agencies, NGOs and peak bodies (Figure 8). In the CYWR community of Hope Vale (population 1,125) it identified 78 different services, provided by 46 different service providers funded by 44 different funding programs across 11 Queensland Government departments.

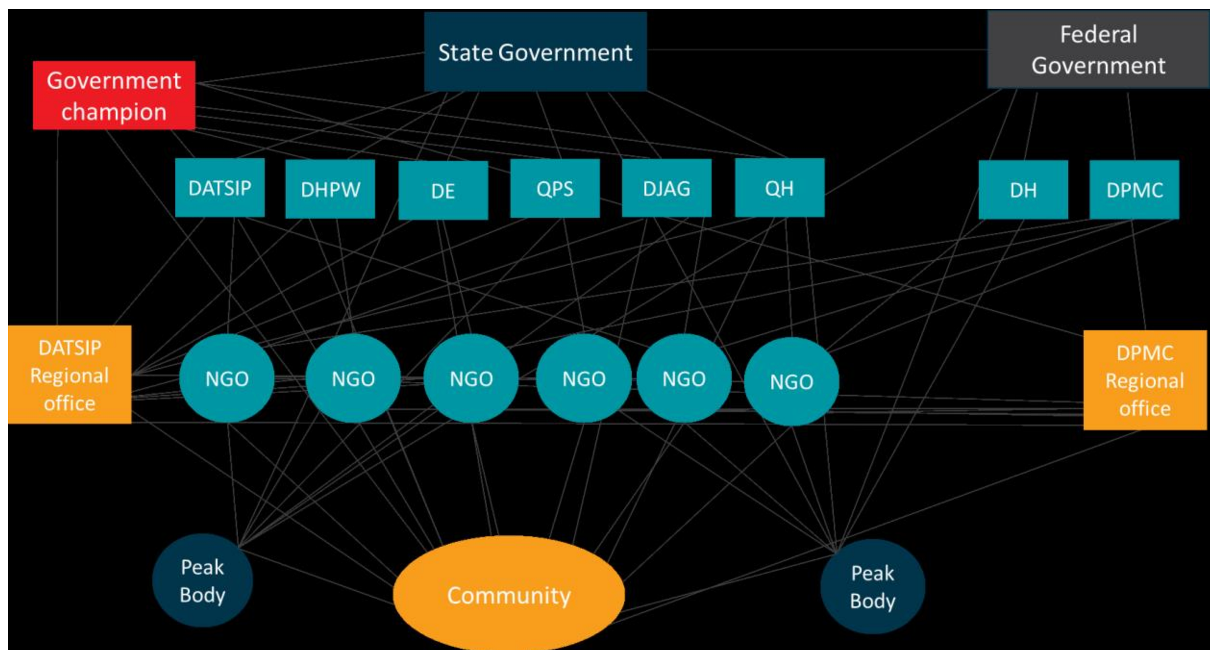

Figure 8. Indigenous Service Delivery in Queensland 'Bureaucratic Maze'.
Source: Service Delivery in Remote and Discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities, by the QPC, 2017, Queensland Government.

The complexity of NPM governance has been identified and discussed by researchers, including the limitations of top-down approaches and the need for more citizen-centred bottom-up approaches (see Osborne, 2010; Sabel, 2004). Despite this there seems to be limited recognition within governments of how NPM governmentalities are contributing to Indigenous disadvantage. This is reflected in the temporal nature of this NPM Indigenous policy agenda because despite the structural consistency of mainstreaming through NPM policies, each new government since the turn of the century has announced their Indigenous policy agenda as a 'new' approach. In doing this both Labor and Coalition governments have made bold statements that their policies were designed to turn a 'new page' in Indigenous relationships to reconcile the past and move forward into some better future (Strakosch & Macoun, 2012). There is, however, no recognition within Coalition and Labor policy discourses that the intrinsic NPM assumptions underpinning their policies are the same and may be a reason for Indigenous policy failures.

An Emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart Policy Agenda

While government policy is now embedded in NPM governmentalities, Indigenous people have continued to campaign for self-determination and recognition of their prior sovereignty. Further recognition within the Australian Constitution has become part of this Indigenous agenda. Responding to these calls, the federal Coalition government in 2015 established a Referendum Council lead by Indigenous people to advise on a new

referendum that would recognise Indigenous people in the Australian Constitution. A series of regional Indigenous dialogues culminated in an Indigenous convention held in central Australia in May 2017 marking 50 years since the 1967 referendum (Referendum Council, 2017). Following this convention, the Uluru Statement from the Heart was released, which is an invitation from First Nations people to “walk with us in a movement of the Australian people for a better future” (Referendum Council, 2017). It calls for a new relationship between First Nations people and non-Indigenous Australians through the establishment of a First Nations Voice to Parliament and a Makarrata Commission to supervise a process of agreement-making and truth-telling.

These calls have opened new debates in relation to Australia’s settler colonial past and Indigenous aspirations for recognition of prior sovereignty and self-determination. As part of these debates the federal Coalition government rejected Indigenous calls for a constitutionally inscribed Voice to Parliament, claiming they did not align with Australian principles of equal civil rights for all citizens, lacked detail and that the policy change would not be supported by the Australian people (Turnbull, 2017). This response emphasising concerns about special Indigenous rights and representation did not reflect the proposals put forward by the Referendum Council. The Coalition government’s response tapped into community fears about social cohesion and special rights for Indigenous peoples, detailed as new forms of racism in the postcolonial theoretical framework (see Chapter 2). The federal Labor Opposition has committed to supporting implementation of the Uluru Statement from the Heart including constitutional recognition of the Voice to Parliament (Albanese, 2021). Governments at federal, state and territory levels are also currently supporting codesign processes with Indigenous peoples to progress other elements of the Uluru Statement from the Heart (Langton & Calma, 2019).

Northern Australia Development Policy

While economic development has been a specific focus of Indigenous policy over recent decades there has also been a broader renewed focus on northern Australia’s development since 2007. Rooted in settler colonial narratives discussed in Chapter 2, this began in the lead up to the 2007 federal election. With the Coalition government struggling in the opinion polls Prime Minister John Howard on the eve of Australia Day in a speech to the National Press Club announced a $10 billion, 10-point plan to improve water efficiency and to address the over-allocation of water in rural Australia (Howard, 2007). The speech, anchored in the imagery of Australia’s pioneering past, included the establishment of the NALWTF to focus on large-scale water resource development for agriculture in northern Australia, reflecting earlier attempts to develop a northern ‘food

bowl' (Andrews, 2014). The Coalition government was defeated later that year, but the taskforce remained and the focus on northern development remained under the Labor government. The NALWTF membership was expanded and broadened, including Indigenous, primary industries, conservation and tourism interests, with a new term of reference and an increased sustainability focus. A CSIRO land and water science review was added to support the work of the taskforce. The taskforce report presented an alternative vision to major agro-industrial development based on dams. It found that irrigation was more likely to be sustainably developed based on many small-scale ground waters fed irrigation systems, which could complement established industries such as pastoralism (NALWTF, 2009).

The bipartisan momentum for northern development has continued since this time. The original vision of large-scale industrial development of the north returned when the Coalition government was re-elected in 2013 and released Our North, Our Future, White Paper on Developing Northern Australia (CoA, 2015). The White Paper sought to set a long-term vision and framework for northern development grounded in a settler colonial narrative and neoliberal policy frameworks outlined in Chapter 2. These narratives are reflected in the Coalition policy document released during the federal election campaign that preceded the White Paper's development. The settler colonial image of a vast untapped land was again conjured up in relation to northern Australia with the Coalition's 2030 Vision for Developing Northern Australia stating: "No longer will Northern Australia be seen as the last frontier: it is in fact, the next frontier" (Coalition, 2013, p. 2). The Australian Labor Parties 2013 northern Australia policy, although using less evocative language, taps into a similar narrative (ALP, 2013).

While settler colonial discourses underpin the northern development agenda, the policy response has been distinctly neoliberal with the emphasis being on establishing markets and enabling business to develop the north. The White Paper stated: "Governments need to focus on making a difference where they are best able and enable business and markets to do the rest" (CoA, 2015, p. 2). The role of government outlined in the White Paper is to create the right investment environment through deregulation and strategic investments in infrastructure, skills, and governance reforms, to support the development of new markets and private sector investment in key industries discussed earlier. According to the White Paper, when this vision is realised, northern Australia will become a gateway to Asia and the global economy, and a hub for foreign capital investment (CoA, 2015).

Despite Indigenous people having an interest in most of the land in northern Australia and the stated priorities of governments to close the gap in Indigenous disadvantage including through economic development, there is limited focus on Indigenous Australians within the White Paper. The Indigenous development priorities are centred on reforms to land tenure to provide private property rights for investment and support for investment partnerships, again aligning Indigenous development with settler colonial and neoliberal development discourses discussed in Chapter 2 (CoA, 2015; McRae-Williams & Guenther, 2016).

Governance of the Northern Australia Development Agenda

The governance of northern Australia is to a large extent directed from southern centres of power in Canberra, Brisbane and Perth. Darwin is the only Australian capital located in the north but because the Northern Territory is not a state constitutionally and relies heavily on the Australian Government for revenue, it is heavily influenced by decisions made in Canberra (Dale, 2013; 2014). These centres of power support separate and sometimes competing governance structures and processes, causing fragmentation of industry and the non-government sector through legislation and NPM contracting arrangements. While the focus on private sector investment within the White Paper, combined with the high cost of doing business in northern Australia due to its remoteness, terrain, and climate, means that it is often only large corporations that have the capacity to raise capital to invest. This means that under neoliberal development frameworks most of the biggest decisions about northern development are made by governments and corporations outside of the region (Dale, 2013). These government and corporate structures and processes consume large amounts of resources, and establish heads of power removed from Indigenous communities. They guide government policies and mediate Indigenous people's ability to engage in economic and livelihoods development. This creates a government and non-government institutional environment that adds further complexity to the Indigenous policy and programmatic environment discussed earlier.

Following the release of the White Paper, however, there have been renewed efforts to strengthen coordination across jurisdictions in northern Australia. The Office of Northern Australia (ONA) within the Australian Government's Department of Infrastructure Transport Regional Development and Communications (DITRDC) is the lead agency for implementing the White Paper development agenda. Its web site detailed governance arrangements through a Northern Australia Strategic Partnership, which includes the Prime Minister, Premiers of Queensland and Western Australia and Chief Minister of the Northern Territory. These governance arrangements also include a Ministerial Forum on

Northern Development (MFND) involving Ministers from the Australian, Queensland, Northern Territory and Western Australian governments and partner government agencies across these jurisdictions.

The ONA was to work closely with 16 Australian Government agencies and The Cooperative Research Centre for Developing Northern Australia (CRCNA) as well as the Western Australian, Northern Territory and Queensland governments highlighting the further the complexity of governance arrangements involved in northern development. The Australian Government has also established the North Australia Infrastructure Fund, a $5 billion lending facility to provide loans to infrastructure projects in northern Australia. It is a concessional loan facility that can finance up to 100% of a project, recognising the unique opportunities and increased risks of investing in the north (North Australia Infrastructure Facility [NAIF], 2020). There has therefore been increased efforts to improve governance coordination across northern Australia even if limited to a narrow range of issues. However, most of the government-based policy making, program design and budget development remains siloed with federal, state and territory governments within southern Australian centres of power in Canberra, Brisbane and Perth discussed earlier (Dale, 2013).

Governments have supported limited involvement of Indigenous peoples in this development agenda. An Indigenous reference group to the MFND to advise on implementation of the White Paper was not established until 2017. This followed growing concern expressed by Indigenous leaders with the White Paper, discussed in the next section. The Indigenous reference group was the first ongoing Indigenous governance structure supported by government as part of the northern Australia development agenda. This group subsequently developed the Northern Australia Indigenous Development Accord, which is a new framework for government engagement in advancing Indigenous economic development in northern Australia. This was endorsed and released by the MFND in 2019. The accord seeks to establish new structures and process to support Indigenous economic development. These include new Indigenous enterprise and employment hubs, feasibility studies, land use and water planning, and recognition of Indigenous knowledge, all designed to support Indigenous economic development (NIAA, 2021).

The Northern Australian Indigenous Development Agenda

The White Paper bears no resemblance to an agenda developed and advocated by many Indigenous leaders following the establishment of the northern Australia Land and Water Taskforce in 2007. It is not surprising then that many Indigenous leaders have

rejected the neoliberal development agenda set out in the White Paper. Joe Morrison as the CEO of the Northern Land Council made this clear in a speech to the Northern Australia Development Conference in 2017 saying:

> We do not intend to engage government on the basis of securing benefit for our communities from the Northern Development White Paper. We come to this engagement with the intention of working with governments to change the existing policy framework for the north's development. This must be changed because it is fundamentally unsound. The White Paper does not address in any form, the substance of an Indigenous position. (Morrison, 2017 p. 2)

An Indigenous Expert Forum (IEF) facilitated by NAILSMA produced a report and subsequently developed an Indigenous Prospectus for Northern Development (NAILSMA, 2013; 2014). These reports and vision developed by the IEF, in contrast to the White Paper, place Indigenous people at the centre of the northern Australia development agenda and takes a rights-based approach to development. The vision states:

> The interdependence of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples within the north Australian landscape necessitates a relationship of equality, expressed as a united purpose founded upon mutual respect.
>
> The rights embodied in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), as endorsed by the Australian Government and reaffirmed at the Rio+20 Forum (20-22 June 2012, Brazil), are fundamental toward building resilient communities and toward enhancing and enriching a reconstructed relationship focussed on improving social, cultural and economic policies for reliable prosperity. The Indigenous prospectus states:
>
> As Australia's first peoples, we are the custodians of our lands, waters and resources on behalf of the whole nation. Our Traditional Knowledge systems and beliefs contribute significantly to the nation's development and are essential to our own self-determination and well-being. For us, our connections to country, family and culture are paramount. In much of this we have common ground, but we have yet to give new expression for a common equitable future.
>
> Our vision is for a future where our custodial responsibilities are distinguished as a national asset, and our associated rights are central to all decisions affecting north Australian communities' lands, waters and resources, for the greater benefit of all Australians. Our unique and enduring values are allowed to enhance

> the entire Australian society and create a prosperous future built upon our own self-determined economic development strategies. (NAILSMA 2014, p. 8)

The IEF report and prospectus sets out an alternate approach to developing northern Australia that is respectful of Indigenous ontologies and related political economies. The NAILSMA submissions to the Australian Parliament Joint Select Committee on Northern Australia, including an Indigenous Prospectus for Northern Development, explicitly identify the sustainable livelihoods approach as more appropriate to support Indigenous economic development (NAILSMA, 2014). The prospectus did not reject engagement in mainstream industries including tourism, agriculture and mining through capitalist markets, but wanted this engagement to be respectful of Indigenous peoples and their political and economic decision-making processes. The NLC and APO NT have similarly supported a sustainable livelihoods approach to northern development (APO NT, 2011; NLC, 2014).

Joe Morrison's speech reflects the aspirations of Indigenous peoples that began to emerge politically in Australia during the 1950 and 60s, and which coalesced around the notions of autonomy, self-determination, sovereignty and community control discussed earlier (Anderson, 2007). These issues remain unresolved for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Reconciliation Council, 2016; Nelson, 2019; Pearson, 2014). This was reaffirmed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people at the 2017 National Constitutional Convention, which released the Uluru Statement from the Heart which said:

> Our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tribes were the first sovereign Nations of the Australian continent and its adjacent islands and possessed it under our own laws and customs. This our ancestors did, according to the reckoning of our culture, from the Creation, according to the common law from 'time immemorial', and according to science more than 60,000 years ago."
>
> This sovereignty is a spiritual notion: the ancestral tie between the land, or 'mother nature', and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who were born therefrom, remain attached thereto, and must one day return thither to be united with our ancestors. This link is the basis of the ownership of the soil, or better, of sovereignty. It has never been ceded or extinguished and co-exists with the sovereignty of the Crown. (Referendum Council, 2017, p. i)

Indigenous people identified, as a key challenge in establishing any new relationship, the structural power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies. The Uluru Statement from the Heart makes clear: "These dimensions of our

crisis tell plainly the structural nature of our problem. This is the torment of our powerlessness” (Referendum Council, 2017, p. i). Indigenous people want a different engagement, by governments with Indigenous communities and nations, that respect Indigenous rights to self-determination and sovereignty grounded in Indigenous Lore and customs.

Summary

There is a stark difference between the current NPM approach to Indigenous economic development policy and the neoliberal agenda set out in the Our North, Our Future: White Paper on Developing Northern Australia when compared with Indigenous aspirations for northern development. Indigenous people who have interests in most of northern Australia want their ontologies and political economies recognised and respected as part of any northern Australia development agenda. They have also identified alternative industries for development not incorporated as priorities in the White Paper, centred on their culture and natural resource management. The failure of current policies to support different Indigenous ontologies, political economies and priorities for development is also identified as a reason why Indigenous people are disengaged from employment, education and training. The Uluru Statement from the Heart is a new emerging Indigenous policy agenda that could support these aspirations if effectively implemented. The statement, however, needs fleshing out and the SLA and framework is a tool that can support the further development of this policy agenda.

Chapter 6 The Wet Tropics Region Case Study Context

Introduction

Northern Australia is an enormous area, which is socially, culturally, environmentally and economically diverse. Understanding economic and sustainable livelihoods development involves political and economic analysis at the macro northern Australia scale, discussed in Chapter 5, and the micro regional, subregional and organisational scales. This chapter will explore the Wet Tropics Regional Case Study (WTRCS) context and the subregional unit of analysis, the Eastern Kuku Yalanji (EKY) First Nation. Continuing to build our understanding of the context through more detailed case study research with Indigenous people is critical to interpreting the data and answering the research questions and aims.

The Wet Tropics Regional Case Study (WTRCS) Boundary

The Research Methodology Chapter 4 discusses my engagement with RAPA and the development of the Indigenous research protocol. RAPA identified a WTRCS stretching over 500km along the far north Queensland coast from north of Townsville to Cooktown (RAPA, 2012). The boundaries of this region were broadly defined by rainforest Aboriginal people who came together in response to the Wet Tropics World Heritage listing. It spans an area of 2.2 million hectares and is broadly defined by the Terrain Natural Resource Management Regional boundary and incorporates the Wet Tropics Queensland World Heritage Area (WTQWHA). This NRM boundary became the boundary of the Wet Tropics Aboriginal Plan or Bama[8] Plan in the region (Wet Tropics Aboriginal Plan Project Team, 2005) (Figure 9).

[8] Bama means Aboriginal in rainforest Aboriginal languages. It is widely used in the region to refer to Aboriginal people.

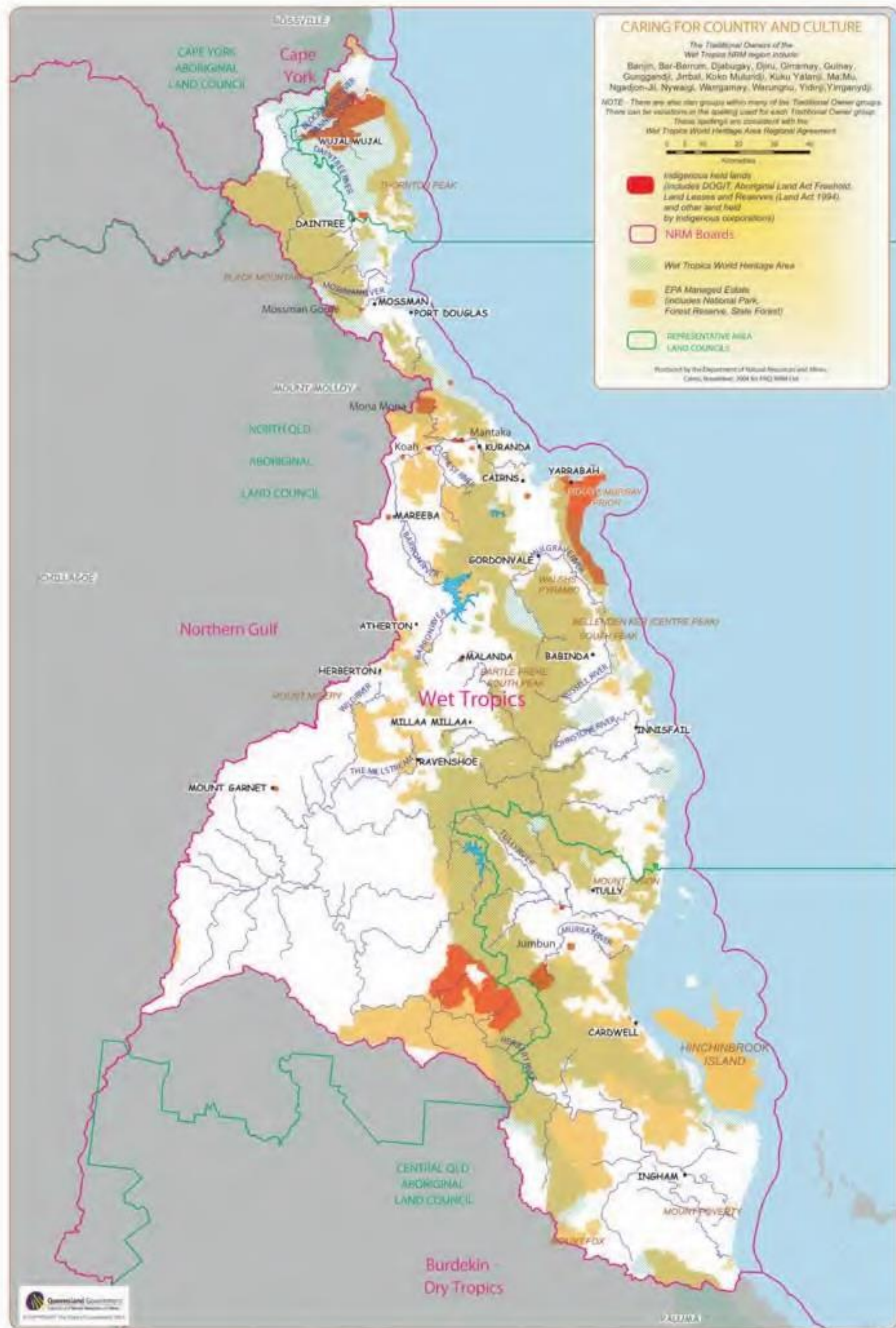

Figure 9. The Wet Regional Case Study Boundary.
Source: Wet Tropics Aboriginal Plan Project Team, 2005, Rainforest CRC and FNQ NRM Ltd. Cairns. Caring for Country and Culture - The Wet Tropics Aboriginal Cultural and Natural Resource Management Plan. Rainforest CRC and FNQ NRM Ltd. Cairns.

According to the 2016 ABS Census approximately 230,000 people live in the region with 25,000 people identifying as Indigenous, or approximately 12% of the population. Indigenous people experience higher levels of disadvantage in the region with 36.5% having Year 12 and equivalent education levels as compared with 51.1% of non-Indigenous people. Only 3.9% of Indigenous people had obtained a bachelor's degree compared to 13.3% of the non-Indigenous population. Indigenous people experienced higher rates of unemployment; 12.6% compared to 4.4% for non-Indigenous people. Major industries by employment in the region are health care and social services, retail trade, accommodation and food services, and education and training, reflecting high levels of employment in government funded services and a private sector reliant on tourism (Figure 10).

The major centre in the region is Cairns with a population of 143,000 people of which 14,000 people or 10% of the population identify as Indigenous. There are three discrete Indigenous communities in the region where 90% of people identify as Indigenous. These are Yarrabah, Wujal Wujal and Mossman Gorge with populations of 2,494, 282 and 91 respectively. Indigenous disadvantage is worse in these discrete Indigenous communities as compared to the larger majority non-Indigenous regional centre of Cairns, including educational attainment, unemployment rates and personal incomes (Table 8 note the population of Mossman Gorge was too small to disaggregate data and is not included in the table).

Table 8: Wet Tropics Regional Case Study Indigenous Community Selected Indicators

Regional Centre	**Cairns**	**Yarrabah**	**Wujal Wujal & Out Stations**
Indigenous population	14,099	2,494	282
Bachelor Degree level and above	5.7%	2.1%	1.4%
Year 12 equivalent attainment	42.8%	27.3%	23.6%
Unemployment	23.3%	47.8%	31.4%
Median personal income	$478	$284	$297
Indigenous language spoken at home	7.8%	8.2%	63.6%

Source: ABS Indigenous Regional Profiles 2016.

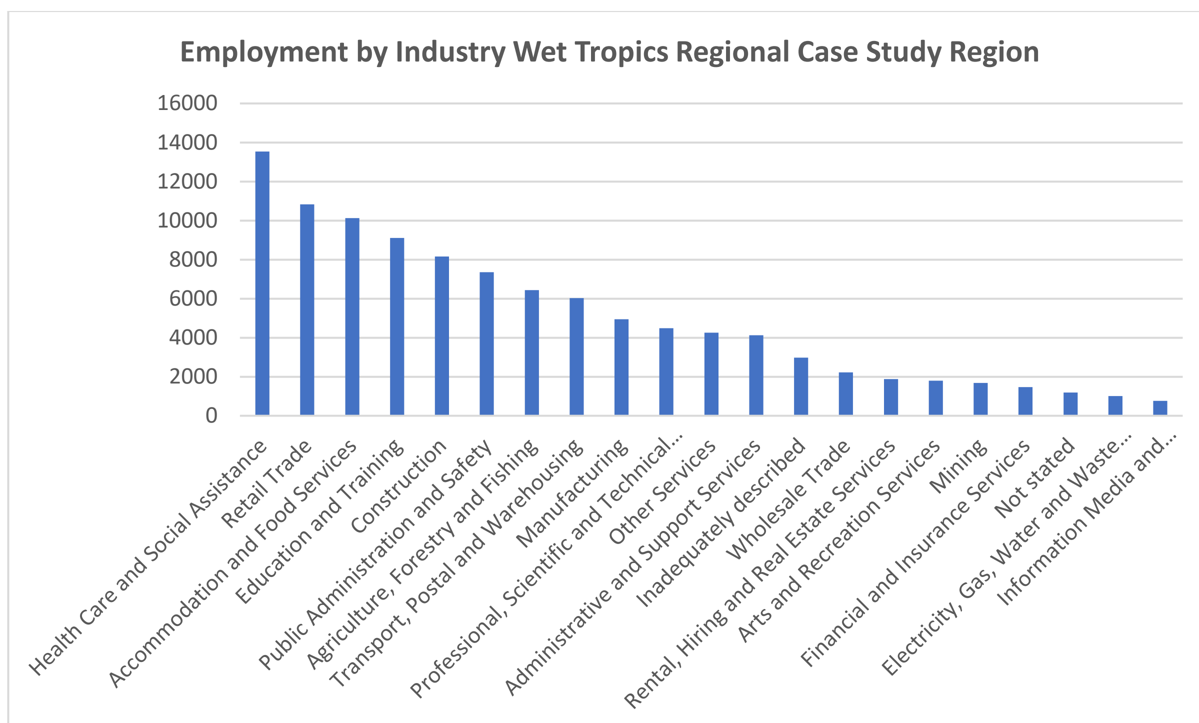

Figure 10. Major Industries Contributing to Employment in the Wet Tropics Regional Case Study.
Source: Census 2016 Table Builder.

These regional figures reflect national Closing the Gap statistics that show that any progress in closing socioeconomic gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is occurring in major population centres where Indigenous people are a minority (Australian Government, 2020; Productivity Commission, 2016). In discrete, remote and very remote Indigenous communities where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people make up most of the population, socioeconomic gaps remain large. There is a need to recognise this diversity in Indigenous communities and tailor policy responses accordingly.

Indigenous Corporations in the WTRCS

Chapter 5 discusses the emergence of Indigenous corporations during the period of self-determination and how NPM policies had led to a bureaucratic maze of government and NGO organisations within communities. Indigenous corporations play an important role in representation, service delivery and development within this maze (Sullivan, 2011b). RAPA was the third structure created by rainforest Aboriginal people in response to the World Heritage listing of the WTQWHA. The two preceding groups were the Rainforest Aboriginal Council and Bama Wabu, which originally emerged as rainforest Aboriginal people came together politically in the late 1980s to oppose World Heritage listing (Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016b). These representative groups established by Aboriginal people brought together traditional owner tribal groups across three broad

sub-regions including ***Northern:*** Eastern Kuku Yalanji, Western Yalanji*,* ***Central***: Djabugay, Gunggandji, Mamu, Mbabaram, Muluridji, NgadjonJii, Yidinji and Yirrganydj, and ***Southern:*** Bandjin, Djiru, Girramay, Gugu-Badhun, Gulnay, Jirrbal, Nwaigi, Warrgamay, Warungu and Wulugurukaba (RAPA, 2012).

As well as RAPA, there were at least 80 other Indigenous legal entities within the WTRCS area at the time of the research. These included 18 registered native title body corporates (RNTBCs), operating pursuant to the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth), five cultural heritage bodies (operating pursuant to the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act 2003* (Qld)) and 18 registered land trusts (operating pursuant to the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld)). The region also featured several long-established community-based Indigenous representative and service delivery organisations and fell into the operational areas of two native title representative bodies (NTRBs), the North Queensland Land Council (NQLC) and the Cape York Land Council (CYLC) (Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016b, p. 7). There were, therefore, a significant number of other rainforest Aboriginal organisations that RAPA and its predecessors were competing with to represent and or to deliver services to Aboriginal people. Indigenous organisations that were successful had a legislative mandate and associated funding, such as NTRBs, or were funded to deliver services by governments. Western discourses and governance structures and processes were therefore influential, through legislation and funding, in shaping the Indigenous political and economic development context.

A Brief History of the WTRCS

Pannell (2008) discusses the history of colonisation in the WTRCS since early settlement in the late 1800s through to the signing of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area Regional Agreement between the Australian and Queensland governments and 18 distinct rainforest Aboriginal groups in 2005 (WTMA, 2005). The values ascribed to the WTQWHA landscape completely changed over the 20th century from settler discourses about the need to clear the scrub for agriculture to discourses about the unique and endangered environmental values of the Wet Tropics rainforest. This led to a change in the political and economic values ascribed to the rainforest with the area World Heritage listed for its environmental values in 1988 (Pannell, 2008).

While non-Indigenous society and governments may have been increasingly valuing the environment, they continued to fail to recognise and value Indigenous peoples and their knowledge. The World Heritage listing document made passing reference to a discredited understanding of rainforest Aboriginal culture based on settler colonial reports (Pannell, 2008). Indigenous rights and interests pushed aside during earlier

periods of colonisation for economic development through logging and agriculture were now being subjugated to the new priority of non-Indigenous society for environmental protection. It is not surprising then that rainforest Aboriginal people opposed the World Heritage listing. Governments had failed to consult and gain consent from affected Aboriginal groups. The 2005 Regional Agreement signing between representatives of 18 rainforest Aboriginal groups, which had taken several years to develop, was to finally give Aboriginal people a greater say in the management of the WTQWHA. The implementation of this agreement, however, never occurred and the Rainforest Aboriginal Council established to support implementation subsequently disbanded (Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016b).

The World Heritage listing of the WTQWHA, and subsequent establishment of the Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA) and Wet Tropics World Heritage Act, rather than empowering rainforest Aboriginal people created further structures and processes that have limited Aboriginal people's ability to access and manage their country according to their own traditions, Lores and customs (Harwood, 2018; Jabalbina, 2019a). The World Heritage listing did not effectively recognise and resource rainforest Aboriginal people's engagement in the listing process or subsequent management of the WTQWHA. Pannell concludes:

> Rather than trying to fit Indigenous peoples and claims within conventional management scenarios, we need to stretch or rethink the cultural frameworks that harbour these conventional understandings. Bureaucratic management regimes which view forests as 'impersonal, passive and context free' are at odds with the charismatic and personalised claims of Indigenous people to forests and forests resources. In order to recognise different ways of understanding and making forest landscapes, we need to use other frameworks than those based on science or founded upon commodity-property systems. Presented in this guise of neutral knowledge, the cool logic of economic efficiency or technical magic of science, current management frameworks work to conceal their own cultural basis and assumptions. (Pannell, 2008, p. 67)

As discussed in Chapter 2, postcolonial theory details how scientific discourses provided a rationale for colonisation by subjugating Indigenous peoples as primitive, enabling the exploitation of land and resources. The WTQWHA listing points to how science continues to provide a basis for subjugating and ignoring Indigenous knowledge, in this case based on scientific discourses about the environmental values of the Wet Tropics that ignored rainforest Aboriginal cultural values and knowledge. Pannell's (2008)

conclusions challenge government agencies to develop new partnerships with rainforest Aboriginal people that respect Aboriginal knowledge, cultural values and aspirations for management of the WTQWHA.

Pannell's call for new frameworks to support Indigenous aspirations for the management of the WTQWHA lends further support to considering the alternative SLA and framework. The institutional and organisational analysis, including structures and processes within the livelihoods framework, was emerging as critically important particularly given the need to better understand the structural nature of the engagement between Australian, state and territory governments and Indigenous peoples. The EKY emerged as a self-determined First Nations group as a subregion of the broader RAPA WTRCS representative group (see Chapter 4). They became a focus of the case study research, reflecting a need to further understand economic development and sustainable livelihoods from a First Nation's perspective in order to answer the research question and aims.

The Eastern Kuku Yalanji First Nation Subregional Context

Researching the EKY First Nation subregion context involved ongoing personal reflexive practice within the ECM (Burawoy, 1998; Foley, 2002; Nicholls, 2009; Prowse, 2010). I reviewed a range of data including two significant anthropological research studies undertaken with EKY Bama (see Anderson, 1985; Lorimer, 2001) and anthropology research and related documents for the EKY native title claim (Blackwood, 2006; Johnston, 1996; Wood, 2003). I also reviewed a range of grey literature including Jabalbina board minutes, Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUAs), and community development and Indigenous Protected Area (IPA) plans, involving workshops and meetings with hundreds of EKY Bama. This research and planning was combined with participant observations recorded in reflexive journal notes and reports during my time working with Jabalbina and interviews with Aboriginal participants. This gave me some understanding of the context, from an EKY Bama perspective, in which government policy was seeking to support Indigenous economic development.

The subregion focus was the EKY First Nation although at times Kuku Yalanji and EKY are used interchangeably, reflecting their use within the source literature. The EKY Bama also often just referred to themselves as Yalanji Bama, although they recognised a clear distinction between East and Western Kuku Yalanji, which were referred to as sunrise and sunset, respectively. Through the five years of research, I came to understand that Kuku Yalanji Lore remains strong and continues to play a central role in life and decision making within Kuku Yalanji society. Understanding and respecting this Lore was

therefore central to achieving sustainable economic and livelihood development outcomes from an EKY First Nation perspective.

Bama Lore, Mobs and Bosses in EKY Society

Kuku Yalanji Lore is known as Ngujakura, which refers to the source, time and place of the creation of all life (Anderson, 1985). “We follow our Ngujakura (Dreaming) which comes from our old people until today and tells us how to look after our bubu (land), our jalun (sea) and our Bama (people) for the future” (Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation, 2016, p. 3). Rainforest Aboriginal people including the Kuku Yalanji assert that their ancestors have lived in their respective territories since the beginning of time and that: “The Law/Lore originating from the ancestral beings at this time is imbued in the wet tropics landscape and provides our [rainforest Aboriginal] plan of life, and our responsibility to maintain the interconnectedness of life, time and space” (Aboriginal Rainforest Council, 2007, cited by Cultural Values Steering Committee 2016c). The Kuku Yalanji like other Australian Indigenous peoples have an ontology and political economy grounded in their connection to country and kinship relationships (Arthur & Morphy, 2019; Povinelli, 1993; Referendum Council, 2017; Stanner, 1979).

The Kuku Yalanji people regularly spoke of Bama Lore as a basis for decision making (Turnour, 2014-2019) and it is referred to in their IPA and strategic plans (Jabalbina, 2016; Jalunji-Warra People & Shee, 2012; Kuku Nyungkal Bama, Hill, Pert, Shee, & the Jabalbina Aboriginal Corporation, 2012; Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalangi Aboriginal Corporation, 2016). Each of the IPA plans had Elders groups or steering committees as their peak decision-making bodies and intermittently there were discussions about establishing an Elders group to advise Jabalbina, the EKY registered native title body corporate and land trust (Jabalbina, 2019). Elders were therefore always referred to as central to Lore and decision making at gatherings and meetings. No Elders groups, however, were functioning when I began the research in 2014 and there was no formal process in a ‘western’ sense for meetings and decision making within the EKY groups that I could observe beyond those constructed by western laws for Aboriginal corporations. The actual process of Bama Lore and decision making was therefore much less formal than the western corporate structures and processes under which Aboriginal corporations are established and run (Behrendt & Kelly, 2008; ORIC, 2018). Bama Lore was therefore not formally written down as some list of rules, but an oral tradition embedded in stories of the landscape and its people held by Elders and handed down through the generations (Anderson, 1985).

> Ngujakura (EKY Bama Lore) rather than being a specific blueprint for life, was more a general and symbolic statement about the form which social life took. Its force, too, was a pragmatic one in that it was involved to secure conformity with an actual set of living rules. However, rules were defined, interpreted, altered, waived (and broken) by humans, generally by older males. In this sense they were not timeless religious edicts, although they may have been cast that way. (Anderson, 1985, p. 114)

Anderson pointed out that Ngujakura was to a large extent ideological in nature because it masked and mystified social reality. Like Anderson I observed that the Lore could be interpreted in different ways by different individuals for pragmatic reasons. This was generally done by dominant individuals who were reported to be mainly older men by Anderson, although in contemporary society I observed that women were often focal individuals when it came to social relations and decision making (Turnour, 2014-2019).

These dominant individuals in contemporary society were not always Elders but established authority or influence through their traditional knowledge and/or ability to marshal resources, mostly from government. They were sometimes referred to as a madja (boss). The resources they owned or controlled could then be shared within their ‘mob’, a term used to describe a social grouping based on kinship relationships and connection to country (Anderson, 1985; Mullins, 2007). Mobbing and bossing can be understood as structures within Australian Aboriginal societies (Mullins, 2007). Mob kinship relationships were not simply comprised of hereditary families connected to specific clan estates but involved broader allegiances that were evolving and shifting over time (Anderson, 1985). These mobs maintained shared identities through shared experiences and responsibilities to each other and their country. Critically, within Aboriginal society one’s survival economically and as a social being depended on contributing to the continuous maintenance of the mob’s shared identity. This meant the sharing of resources on demand within your own mob while resources were rarely shared between EKY mobs (Anderson, 1995; Lorimer, 2001).

Anderson (1985) describes in detail these relationships and their evolution since the early settler colonial period within Kuku Yalanji society. He describes ‘mob’ relationships with settlers such as tin miners and missionaries and later the Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Council (WWASC). Younger Bama members of the family would work directly for a miner generating resources and maintaining relationships that were beneficial to the broader family group or mob. Anderson described how Bama also referred to these settlers as “bosses” although the relationships were mutually beneficial. Key Elders within the

extended family and mob were still the principal decision makers with those working for settlers forming part of a broader livelihood strategy.

Using these strategies family and clan groups accessed new resources and remained connected to country while maintaining their kinship relationships and governance structures. In contemporary EKY society I saw these mob and boss structures reflected in the establishment and governance of Aboriginal corporations. Aboriginal corporations were generally centred on and controlled by one mob unless they were established out of a process that brought groups together to respond to western governance structures. For example, RAPA and the WTQWHA, or through a native title claim to fight for land in the case of Jabalbina (Turnour, 2014-2019).

The intersection of the western incorporate entity with mobs and bosses provides a new way for Aboriginal people to articulate with the dominant western society and maintain traditional kinship relationships. Within the EKY First Nation, the Aboriginal corporation's centred around a mob has become a new model to collectively pursue resources not unlike the relationships with miners, missions and councils described by Anderson (1985). This can, however, be problematic when organisations are funded by governments to deliver services to the broader community but instead prioritise the interest of their mob in line with their cultural responsibilities under Bama Lore.

This Lore and social structure is also problematic in the context of Indigenous individuals, families and organisations pursuing economic development within neoliberal development frameworks and governmentalities as discussed in Chapters 2 and 5. Particularly in the context of NPM approaches to resource allocation and service delivery that encourage competition between mobs through their respective organisations. There are not clearly established formal systems of governance in a western sense under Bama Lore to make decisions and provide security for investment of capital including land. There was also no clear process to determine beneficiaries according to Bama Lore, although there were guiding principles centred on a person's connection to country on which the development was to occur. Neoliberal models of economic development centred on individual entrepreneurship within value free competitive markets make no sense, particularly to EKY Bama Elders who are central to decision making. They are guided by Bama Lore within a society centred on communal ownership of resources and demand sharing within kinship relationships.

Bama Lore and the EKY First Nation Land and Sea Estate

Bama Lore, although not formally written down and at times interpreted differently, operates along some established lines in relation to people's rights and interests in land

and sea country. Wood's (2003) report into the land tenure system of the EKY Bama for their native title claim identified that Yalanji rights and interest in resources are nested in a layered system comprising four levels, which are also like systems documented in other parts of Australia.

The first level is the regional Aboriginal community of south-eastern Cape York and the Indigenous system of customary law practiced over it known as Bama Lore (that is Aboriginal law) not Yalanji Lore. The Yalanji participate in a surrounding Aboriginal moral-legal universe that recognises their rights and interest to lands and seas within the region. The second level is the Yalanji group itself with membership defined by being a descendant of at least one Yalanji parent. These descendants have rights and interest to access and use lands and seas and associated resources. The EKY estate is then roughly divided into six river catchments which make up the third level. These catchments have become the dominant decision-making level in relation to the access to and use of land and resources within the EKY First Nation. Finally, each of the catchments contains a string of several to a dozen smaller clan estates, the holders of which are descendant groups locally referred to as families. Each of these levels of interest is embedded in and supported by those above it so that the EKY land holding system is embedded in a regional system of Bama Lore and custom (Wood, 2003).

Blackwood (2006), in documenting a decision-making model for EKY ILUA authorisations for the 2007 native title determination, details a similar hierarchy of interests. However he, proposes the model of interest from the bottom up rather than the top down, suggesting that EKY Bama would view their interest first at the clan estate and catchment scale. This was my experience because even though people often introduced themselves as Yalanji Bama they understood their interest first and foremost at the family, clan and catchment scale where they tended to operate in extended family kinship groups as mobs, as described earlier (Turnour, 2014-2019). Rights and interests within this land holding system are therefore not fixed but constrained within a layered system. This permits the broadening or narrowing of land interest groupings in response to changing social, economic and demographic conditions. Land and resources were therefore held collectively, with individual rights and interest to access and use mediated by these various layers of interest with an emphasis on catchment group decision making (Blackwood, 2006; Turnour, 2014-2019; Wood, 2003).

The number of family clan estates in the fourth layer of interest detailed above has reduced because of colonisation as people were removed from country and intermarried. The importance of the catchment scale decision making, however, continues to be

reinforced through the governance structures put in place by the EKY Bama to manage the land estate returned to them since their native title determination in 2007 (Jalunji-Warra People, 2012; Kuku Nyungkal Bama et al., 2012; Yalanjiwarra People & Jalalbina Yalangi Aboriginal Corporation, 2016). Through country-based IPA planning they have broken their estate up into three broad tribal groups. These three tribes are the Kuku Nyungkal centred on the Annan River catchment in the northern areas of the estate, the Kuku Jalunji centred on a series of coastal catchments between the Annan River near Cooktown in the north and Daintree River in the South, and the Kuku Yalanji occupying the central and southern part of the estate spreading inland from Wujal Wujal down to the Mowbray Valley in the south near Port Douglas (Figure 11).

Within each of these three tribal group IPA plans there were catchments/clan family groups with their own Elders group or steering committee that were described as the peak decision-making bodies for their land and sea estates (Table 9 p138). This context is important to economic and livelihoods development because Kuku Yalanji people expect people from those catchments and clan estates to be the primary beneficiaries of economic and sustainable livelihoods development on their land and sea estates. They believe other people, particularly Aboriginal people, need permission to do business on their land and sea country. This was captured in the interviews, IPA plans and reflected in Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal Land (CYPAL) negotiations with the Queensland Government over joint management of national parks, and Jabalbina's approach to seeking permission from Elders in relation to enterprise development (Jabalbina, 2019; Turnour, 2014-2019).

> *"Anybody that's coming into Bloomfield Falls, regardless of who they are, black or white, whatever, they should bring business to the Traditional Owners" (Indigenous Informant 8).*
>
> *"We're all territorial … I wouldn't like to go into M___ territory, and she wouldn't like to come into mine. And that's where we feel like we hold power, when we represent our own area" (Indigenous Informant 10).*

Figure 11. Location of Eastern Kuku Yalanji Clan Estates.

Table 9: Contemporary Eastern Kuku Yalanji Governance

Tribal Group	Catchments	Clan/Family Groups	Peak Decision Making Body
Kuku Nyungkal	Annan River	The Kuku Nyungkal clans agreed to share clan estates and meet as a forum to elect an Elders group	Madja Elders Group
Kuku Jalunji	Coastal beaches and rivers between Daintree River and Annan River	Muku Muku Warra; Jajikal Warra; Banabilla-Kangkil Warra; Kulki / Kaba Kada Warra	Jalunji Steering Committee representing each clan and makes decision in consultation with families
Kuku Yalanji	Bloomfield River, Daintree River, Mossman River, Mowbray River	Dikarrba-warra; Wujal-Warra; Buru-Warra; Julay- Warra; Kubirri-Warra.	Dikarraba and Wujal Warra families met together to make decisions; the other three catchments each had its own Elders group to make decisions.

Adapted from Eastern Kuku Yalanji Indigenous Protected Area Plans Stages 1, 2 & 3, by Jalunji-Warra People, 2012; Kuku Nyungkal Bama, 2012; Yalanjiwarra People, 2016.

This land holding system of governance is distinctly different from Western systems of land tenure and governance where ownership and management are clearly defined. Within the Aboriginal system land is collectively held and you need to gain consent from the right people when making decisions about land and sea country (Jalunji-Warra People, 2012; Kuku Nyungkal Bama et al., 2012; Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalangi Aboriginal Corporation, 2016). Economic and sustainable livelihoods development is therefore complex, particularly when you are engaging in western political economies centred on individual private property rights.

Bama Lore and Colonisation

Colonisation has added to this complexity by disconnecting people from land and changing social relationships within society. Eastern Kuku Yalanji Bama, like Indigenous peoples in other parts of Australia, were violently dispossessed and marginalised from their land and sea estates through the process of settler colonisation discussed in Chapter 2. Settlers, including miners, pastoralists, farmers and timber getters supported by the Queensland Government, forced Aboriginal people onto reserves and mission settlements (Anderson, 1985; Bottoms, 2013; Kidd, 1997; Pannell, 2008; Skeen, 2008; Wood, 2003). Like other groups, many Bama were massacred or forcibly removed from their catchment and clan estates. Wood (2003, p. 30) details how a massacre in 1885 of Aboriginal people in the Mossman area following the killing of white settler Sydney Barnard led to a European oral tradition that the Mossman people had been 'exterminated' reflecting broader settler colonial narratives of Indigenous peoples as disappearing races (see Chapter 2). While EKY Bama had a similar oral history of a massacre on the upper Mossman River not every EKY Bama connected to Mossman was killed and today several mobs claim connection to this Kubirri-warra clan estate and river catchments. Following the massacre people fled into mountains surrounding the Daintree River to slowly reappear in the following decades. At the regional and local scale there are therefore different discourses of history that continue to circulate within the EKY and non-Indigenous community (Nelson, 2019; Pettman, 1988).

There exists today a thriving Kuku Yalanji community in Mossman intermarried with Eastern and Western Yalanji Bama and other Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As discussed earlier, being recognised as connected to country at the catchment/clan scale strengthens a person's rights and interests in land and sea resources. These changing social relations and the dislocation of people from country has therefore created different understandings in relation to connection to country and therefore rights and interests in land and sea resources within the catchment/clan estates. As discussed earlier, Bama Lore can also be interpreted differently by dominant individuals and their associated mobs as they compete for recognition and resources (Anderson, 1985; Turnour, 2014-2019).

Colonisation has therefore, helped create a context where claims of connection to country and rights and interest in land and sea resources can be understood and contested in numerous ways. For example, I observed in private conversations significant men expressing a desire to return to a patrilineal system of determining rights and interest in land and sea country. This is despite cognate descent being discussed and agreed during the native title negotiations and woman holding leadership roles within

communities and EKY Aboriginal corporations. There were also conflicting views in relation to an individual family's connection to a catchment and clan estate based on being born and having lived in a community for several generations. While some supported and others disputed these claims, this means today EKY families claim rights in the Mossman area through a range of means including succession principles of residency history, local births and burials, and acquisition of site knowledge (Wood, 2003).

These conflicts over connection occur across the EKY estate with competing views held within mobs who seldom intermix outside of meetings and more formal social events such as weddings and funerals. As a result, competing stories of who is connected and why an individual or family should not be connected are told and retold within these discrete social groups often through the generations. This is because catchment groups and their component mobs remain somewhat self-contained socially, despite increasing intermarriage between them. There is a tendency within communities like Wujal Wujal and Mossman for family and clan groups within each catchment to live together and share social and economic activity primarily with co-members. Thus, the pre-settlement local political, and activity organisation remains a major component of the present structure internal to the Wujal Wujal and Mossman settlements and out station communities (Anderson, 1985; Lorimer, 2001; Wood, 2003).

These local disputes over connection to country are made even more complex as families removed during colonisation to more distant communities including Yarrabah, Palm Island and Woorabinda seek to return or exert interests based on their native title rights following the 2007 determination. People can have different knowledge and understanding of their connection based on their own family's oral histories and discussions with anthropologists through the native title claim negotiations. There can, therefore, because of colonisation, be tensions between local mobs and those stolen generations now living off country. These issues arose particularly when economic resources like land and jobs were being discussed. Some Aboriginal people who remained connected to clan estates living in Mossman and Wujal Wujal for example would question why jobs should be made available to those living off country. Particularly when they considered these Aboriginal people not to have the knowledge of country and when unemployment in their communities was so high (Turnour, 2014-2019).

> They've got connections, but the thing is, they haven't lived there. They haven't been up there. They've only just sort of come up there in the last year to get a

> job. Do you know what I mean? Whereas why give them a job when there's people that have been up there all their lives. (Indigenous Informant 6)

The anthropological and EKY literature including planning documents point to a general agreement in relation to who can claim to be an EKY Bama, and that the catchment layer is the dominant level for decision making about land and sea country and resources. Connection to and rights to speak for these catchment and clan estates, however, was often contested. This was particularly the case when decisions about economic development, jobs and resource allocation were to be made. This made achieving development outcomes difficult and often contributed to a cycle of lateral violence.

Colonisation and Lateral Violence

Throughout my time researching and working with EKY Bama, I was observing or dealing with lateral violence often related to competition between mobs over land and sea country and related resources and these different understandings of connection to country. As discussed in Chapter 2, these experiences are not unique to the EKY First Nation. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commissioner 2011 Social Justice Report details how colonisation leads to lateral violence and discusses the characteristics.

> Lateral violence, also known as horizontal violence or intra-racial conflict, is a product of a complex mix of historical, cultural and social dynamics that results in a spectrum of behaviours that include: gossiping, jealousy, bullying, shaming, social exclusion, family feuding, organisational conflict and physical violence. Our history of colonisation casts a dark shadow across our present. While lateral "violence has its roots in our history, it thrives today because power imbalances, control by others, identity conflict, negative stereotypes and trauma continue to feed it" (Australian Human Rights Commission & Gooda, 2011, p. 64).

Lateral violence is not just an individual's behaviour, it often occurs when several people work together to attack or undermine another individual, family or group. It is important to understand that lateral violence does not just refer to physical violence but also social, emotional, psychological, economic and spiritual violence (Australian Human Rights Commission & Gooda, 2011).

Government policies and programs often lead to lateral violence as Aboriginal organisations and individuals compete for resources and recognition from the western governance system. For example, the Queensland Government's land transfer process under the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld) led to significant lateral violence between

competing mobs and related corporations in Mossman during the research. A consultation process to transfer land in Mossman Gorge to an Aboriginal Corporation as trustee was restarted without any meaningful consultation with the EKY community and affected organisations or other government agencies already working with the native title group. Land transfers under the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld) follow non-Indigenous decision-making processes with culturally inappropriate consultations and community meetings, with a final decision to be made by the responsible Minister. Indigenous interests are also determined differently from native title where traditional ownership is through connection back to apical ancestors living at the time of colonisation. Under the ALA, interests are defined in terms of 'Aboriginal people particularly concerned with the land' which includes Aboriginal people who may have lived in the community for generations because of colonisation but may not be traditional owners (ALA, 1991 (Qld)). The culturally inappropriate ALA consultation process run by the DNRME to transfer land at Mossman Gorge created confusion and lateral violence within the Mossman community. Bama had different understandings of connection to country because of colonisation and different views about who should be beneficiaries of any land transfer. The way that governments run land transfer and native title processes therefore often facilitates lateral violence between mobs and related corporations competing for recognition and resources.

The land transfer in Mossman discussed above demonstrates the power imbalances between governments and First Nation communities and organisations who have no control over these government run processes. There were often several siloed government agencies seeking to undertake projects within the community at any one time. For example, at the same time the DNRME was seeking to facilitate the Mossman Gorge land transfer, the DATSIP was seeking to facilitate a transfer of EKY national parks and the DSDTI was seeking to develop a walking and mountain bike trail. Three different State Government departments through completely disconnected and different government decision making processes were all seeking to engage the same First Nation traditional owner group. The government agency and staff focused on their siloed programmatic project priorities, which may be well intentioned, had little understanding of the broader impact their programs and related projects can have on lateral violence within a community.

This research will demonstrate how government policy operating within the bureaucratic maze detailed in Chapter 5 contributes significantly to lateral violence in Indigenous communities. It is uncoordinated and can facilitate arguments over who is recognised as a traditional owner and therefore who owns resources and should benefit from economic

development. As will be discussed later in this chapter it can shape the structures of Indigenous corporations and who these corporations employ. This is particularly the case as Indigenous governance involving Lore and custom is not properly understood or respected within government structures and decision-making processes. These structures and processes can therefore power up some individuals, mobs and corporations while disenfranchising others further facilitating lateral violence.

Lateral violence and related conflict therefore created a challenging environment in which to pursue economic development and sustainable livelihoods aspirations for the EKY First Nation (Rainforest Aboriginal People, 2014; Tsey, McCalman, Bainbridge, & Brown, 2012; Turnour, 2014-2019). The Australian Human Rights Commission and Gooda (2011) argue that the responsibility to address many of these issues lies with Aboriginal people in communities themselves. While this is true, the NPM governance system and the land tenure and planning systems created a complex bureaucratic environment that often-perpetuated lateral violence (Turnour, 2014-2019).

The EKY Estate and Land and Native Title Interests

The EKY Native Title Determination (QC 94/13) and ILUA package handed down in 2007 recognised native title rights and land interests to be held in trust by Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC and the Jabalbina Yalanji Land Trust (Jabalbina) under Commonwealth and Queensland law. Jabalbina was determined to be the "one stop shop" organisation for EKY Bama by senior Elders and traditional owners in June 2007 at Coconut Grove in the Daintree leading up to the native title consent determination. The name Jabalbina ('home of the ancestors') was given by the senior Elders at this meeting (Jabalbina, 2016). Jabalbina emerged out of a 12-year struggle by EKY Bama for land rights with the support of the CYLC.

The resultant ILUAs cover an area of 230,000 ha including a 126,000 ha area over which native title rights have been determined and 63,000 ha of Aboriginal freehold land. The Aboriginal freehold land comprises 48,000 ha to be managed by Jabalbina as a nature refuge under the Queensland Nature Conservation Act 1992. The remaining 15,000ha of Aboriginal freehold is to be available for residential and economic development for the benefit of EKY Peoples, subject to constraints imposed under *Native Title Act 1993* (Qld), *Sustainable Planning Act 2009* (Qld), *Wet Tropics World Heritage Protection and Management Act 1993* (Cth), *Vegetation Management Act 1999*(Qld) and associated ancillary legislation (Harwood, 2018).

Jabalbina is also responsible for the management of 20 reserves within the EKY estate under the *Land Act 1994* (Qld), 12 as sole trustee, 7 as joint trustee with Douglas Shire Council and 1 as joint trustee with Cook Shire Council. Of these reserves, 8 are for cultural and environmental purposes, 4 for cultural, environmental and recreational purposes, and 8 are for beach protection. In July 2011, Jabalbina was registered as the cultural heritage body for the EKY people's traditional estate under the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act 2003* (Qld). The native title determination and ILUAs therefore meant that the EKY have interests, codified in Australian and Queensland law, in most of the coastal land between Port Douglas and Cooktown (Figure 12).

The EKY Native Title Determination and ILUA package created a mosaic of land tenures and an extremely complex set of native title land and land administrative structures and processes that would need to be navigated if economic or sustainable livelihoods development is to occur on the Aboriginal freehold land. This has become an increasing source of anger and frustration within the EKY community as they have struggled to be able to develop any of their land for economic or social purposes (Wallace, White & Shee, 2011; Harwood, 2018). There is a significant disconnect between EKY Bama's understanding of what the native title determination and land package meant and what the final agreement achieved in terms of their ability to return to live and work on their estate. Eastern Kuku Yalanji Elders and Traditional Owners have always felt a sense of connection to country and ownership of land and sea resources. Many felt that they would be able to return to country, build a house and make a livelihood after the determination. Within their ontology they do not understand the legal structures and processes within Australian and Queensland law and relied on the CYLC as their representative body to negotiate the best outcome. Many EKY clearly did not fully understand or support the final determination, which in the end was a compromise after 12 years of negotiation (Turnour, 2014-2019).

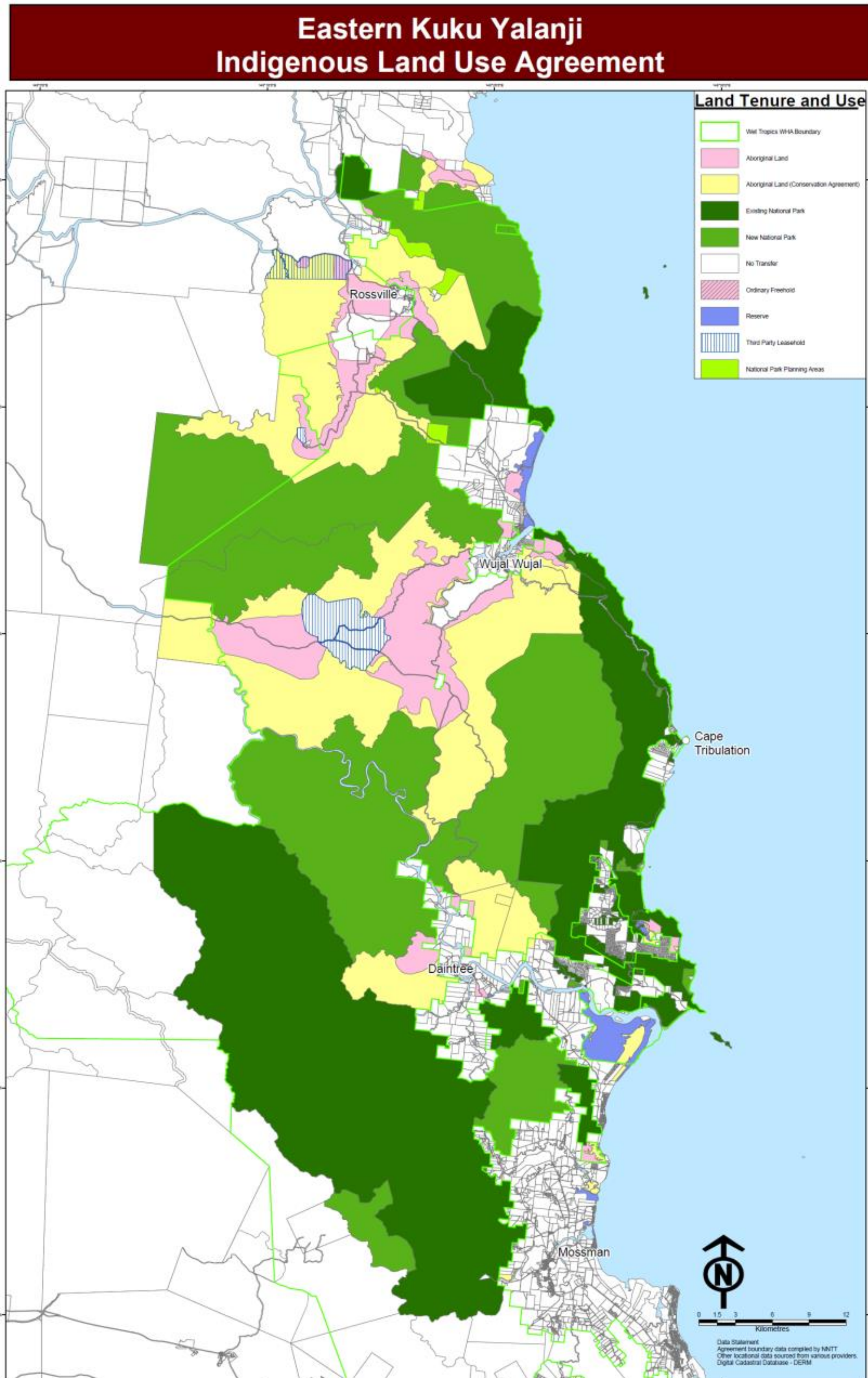

Figure 12. Eastern Kuku Yalanji ILUA Map.

The determination also demonstrates the importance the Queensland Government places on environmental protection over economic development in negotiating agreements like the EKY ILUAs. The EKY ILUAs established an additional 79,000 ha of national park which when added to the 48,000 ha of nature refuge created an additional 127,000 ha within the protected area estate, compared with 15,000 ha made available for EKY economic and social development (Queensland Government, 11 April 2007). As discussed earlier, while Aboriginal people may have been removed from their estates for settlers to exploit the land economically, they are increasingly being prevented from returning to their estates because of non-Indigenous aspirations for environmental protection. This is a significant ongoing tension in the development of northern Australia and fails to recognise the important role that Aboriginal people and their knowledge can make to the rehabilitation and management of the northern Australian landscape (Dale, 2014; Russell-Smith et al., 2018).

The EKY people also claim interest in land and sea country beyond the area currently covered by their native title determination and ILUAs (Figure 12) for which Jabalbina is trustee. The entire area, in which EKY regularly asserted to have interest, stretches from the Mowbray Valley south of Port Douglas to the Annan River south of Cooktown, running east of the Great Dividing Range before spreading west towards Lakeland Downs (Jabalbina, 2019b). The CYLC and NQLC are also the native title representative bodies for areas within the EKY ILUAs, which were not determined in 2007. This adds to the complexity and confusion for many EKY Bama who understand Jabalbina is their representative organisation because of the native title determination and ILUA package (Jabalbina, 2019b; Turnour, 2014-2019).

There were therefore several Aboriginal corporations holding or representing interests in native title and or land under Australian and Queensland law within an estate broadly claimed by EKY people under Bama Lore. While Bama and Yalanji Lore provide a framework for determining interests in land with those claiming connection to catchment and clan estates having the greatest say, there were disputes between families and mobs over connection to these estates because of colonisation, as discussed earlier. At the same time, the western land tenure system and a range of planning and environmental legislation added to the complexity. Compounding all this when considering economic and sustainable livelihoods development was the governance capacity of organisations and the need to compete within an NPM governance system for power and resources to hold rights and interest in land or to deliver services. These competing interests were increasingly being played out between Aboriginal corporations and their associated ‘mobs and bosses’.

Aboriginal Corporations as Centres of Power and a Livelihood Strategy

As discussed earlier, Anderson (1985) has documented how the Kuku Yalanji since early colonisation have engaged with tin miners, missionaries and local governments as livelihood strategies while maintaining their Lore and related land holding system and kinship relationships. Since Anderson's research in the late 1970s and early 80s and Lorimer's in the late 1990s, neoliberalism has reshaped Australian Government policy. This has seen an expansion in the non-government sector through privatisation and the contracting out of services through NPM governmentalities that has created a bureaucratic maze (see Chapter 2 & 5). The complexity of this bureaucratic maze compounds when Bama Lore intersects with the Australian and Queensland legal systems and Indigenous corporations and mobs with often competing claims to represent EKY Bama rights and interests and deliver services.

There are organisations who operate as regional bodies including RAPA as discussed earlier, the NQLC and a group commonly referred to as the Cape York Organisations comprising 11 legal entities including CYLC, Balkanu, Cape York Partnerships and Cape York Institute (Table 10 p149). There were organisations who claimed authority as representing Kuku Yalanji Bama at a subregional or First Nation scale including Jabalbina, Western Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation, Yalanji Joint Venture and Yalanjiwarra Jalanji Marrjamga Aboriginal Corporation. Organisations who claimed authority representing catchments and clan estates including Yuku-Baja-Muluku, Burungu Aboriginal Corporation, Bana Mindilji, Bana Yarralji Bubu, Muku Muku, Dabu Jajikal Aboriginal Corporation and the Kubirriwarra Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation (Table 11 p150). These organisations operate at various overlapping scales, which also reflect the layered EKY land tenure system discussed earlier. There were also a range of other Indigenous organisations delivering municipal, health, housing and other services.

Tables 10 and 11 detail organisations' scales of operation, their main functions, governance and funding. Most organisations pursued government funding although their capacity to secure contracts varied considerably. Most government resources were invested at the regional scale through the NQLC and the Cape York Organisations with Jabalbina, Yuku Baja Muluku and Bamanga Bubu Ngadimunku also securing some government funding within the EKY First Nation estate. Under Bama Lore, however, it is the catchment clan scale where land and sea interests and decision making is vested. There are therefore tensions between these various organisations and scales of governance over representation and resources, which ultimately influences decision making. As discussed earlier the western political economy with its NPM governance,

however, is generally blind to these competing interests and Bama Lore, contributing to lateral violence within communities and poor development outcomes.

Under Bama Lore, Aboriginal people traditionally look outward from their own family clan interests rather than holistically from rainforest Aboriginal peoples, Cape York Peninsula or Kuku Yalanji First Nation interests (Blackwood, 2006; Turnour, 2014-2019). Indigenous corporations may be formed with the best intentions to pursue the interests of the broader group of Indigenous people they were established to represent. However, they must meet the milestones in their agency contract to continue being funded, and under Bama Lore the organisation's leadership also has important kinship responsibilities to their family and broader mob. These organisations can therefore also become motivated by the employment and economic opportunities government funding provides. This is compounded by the fact that the governance of these native title and land corporations has never been effectively funded in line with their statutory responsibilities. RNTBCs receive extremely limited governance support through land councils who can also be competing with RNTBC for resources. There is no specific governance support provided by the Queensland Government to land trusts. Aboriginal corporations including RNTBCs and land trusts therefore focus on generating revenue for their governance and operations through service delivery contracts for government agencies. Indigenous corporations are therefore left to compete against each other for limited resources aligned to government priorities within a bureaucratic maze, which is also blind to the complexity created by colonisation and Bama lore.

Table 10: Regional Aboriginal Organisations Engage in Native Title, Land and or Cultural Heritage Governance and Management within the Estate Claimed by the EKY First Nation

Name and Registration	Scale of Operation	Main Activities	Governance	Govt Funding reported 2019
Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance	Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area and Terrain NRM Boundary	Rainforest Aboriginal people's regional representation on cultural and environment/natural resource management issues	Representative of its three quorum parties Jabalbina, The Central Wet Tropics Institute for Country and Culture Aboriginal Corporation and Girringun Aboriginal Corporation	Nil disbanded
Cape York Land Council	Cape York Peninsula including EKY estate north of the Daintree River	Native Title Representative Body and prescribed body corporate capacity building	Aboriginal board of directors with representative from communities in Cape York Peninsula	$9,902,162 PM&C
North Queensland Land Council	North Queensland including the Wet Tropics Region and EKY estate south of Daintree River	Native Title Representative Body and prescribed body corporate capacity building	Aboriginal board of directors with representatives from 12 wards representing communities across North Queensland	$8,221,101 PM&C
Cape York Partnerships Group	Regional Cape York Peninsula	Indigenous empowerment and service delivery.	Board of 14 Indigenous and corporate leaders	$18
Cape York Institute	National with a focus on Cape York Peninsula	Indigenous policy	Three responsible people	$14,637,524
Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation	Cape York Peninsula	Economic, social and community development	Board of 7 Indigenous people	$1,961,785

Note: Table generated from reports from ORIC, ACNC and Australian Government Grant Connect Reports, 2019.

Table 11: Eastern Kuku Yalanji Native Title, Land and Cultural Heritage Corporations

Name and Registration	Scale of Operation	Main Activities	Governance	Govt Funding reported 2019
Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation (Jabalbina)	Frist Nation with land and sea interests stretching between Port Douglas and Cooktown	RNTBC, land trust and cultural heritage body for EKY Bama	6 directors, male and female representative from three main tribes Kuku Nyungkal; Kuku Jalunji and Kuku Yalanji	$2,482,664
Yalanjiwarra Jalanji Marrjamga Aboriginal Corporation	Catchment/clan based. Centred on Mossman and Daintree river catchments	Seeking recognition as a First Nation Kuku Yalanji native title representative organisation and land trust	7 Kuku Yalanji directors centred on extended family	Nil
Yuku-Baja-Muliku Landowner and Reserves Ltd	Clan based. Centred on Archer Point, Cooktown	Land trust and cultural heritage body	Board of four people centre on an extended family	$1,543,044
Bamanga Bubu Ngadimunku Aboriginal Corporation	Mossman Gorge Community Organisation	Community development and housing	8 directors from Mossman Gorge Aboriginal Community	$593,230
Yalanji Joint Venture Aboriginal Corporation	Springvale Station Lakeland Downs	Cultural heritage and land management	Joint venture between Jabalbina and the Western Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation	$294,500
Dabu Jajikal Aboriginal Corporation	Jajikal clan estate including coastal catchments around the Bloomfield River	Land and sea country management	Clan estate centred on group of families	Auspiced by Cape York Orgs
Burungu Aboriginal Corporation	Catchment/clan based in the upper reaches of the Bloomfield River	Land management and tourism	Clan estate with a number of families/mobs represented on its board	Nil
Bana Yayalji Bubu Bayan Kabanji Inc	Catchment/clan estate Shipton Flats near Rossville	Land management and tourism	Centred on one extended family group	Unable to source
Bana Mindilji Aboriginal Corporation	Clan estate in the Bloomfield catchment	Land management and tourism Dawnvale Station	5 directors representing extended family / mob	Nil
Kubirriwarra Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation	Clan estate centred on the Mossman River	Seeking recognition as the Kubirriwarra organisation	Board of 4 to 10 Kubirriwarra Yalanji directors	Nil Established 2020

Note: Table generated from ORIC, ACNC and Australian Government Grant Connect Reports, 2019.

Aboriginal People and Corporations and NPM Governance

Aboriginal corporations are also forced to operate in line with the norms of western corporate governance. This can provide benefits, including funding, employment and returned access and ownership of land, for Indigenous people and organisations skilled in these NPM forms of governance. Under western corporate governance, directors are elected, meet formally, pass resolutions and deliberations are often held in private, for example board meetings. Aboriginal modes of governance are less structured, and more open. For example, Elders are broadly recognised rather than elected and processes are kept open as the objective is to reach consensus (Behrendt & Kelly, 2008; ORIC, 2018; Turnour, 2014-2019).

These corporate forms of governance can create conflict and tension between organisations and mobs where influential Aboriginal people more skilled in corporate governance achieve outcomes that may not have been achieved under a deliberative Aboriginal process of decision making more aligned with Bama Lore (Turnour, 2014-2019). This can occur through better understanding and management of corporate governance, including board election processes, and having the capacity to lobby and apply for government grants that can be distributed through non-competitive processes (Australian Government 2021; ORIC, 2020). The *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld), as discussed earlier follows non-Indigenous decision-making process. Indigenous peoples and organisations lacking capacity to engage in NPM governance or who simply want to resist government policies are disempowered and coerced to conform to the government's policy priorities, sometimes by Indigenous corporations who claim to represent their interests.

Western modes of governance similarly influence employment within Aboriginal corporations. Aboriginal corporation employees require a distinct set of capabilities for them to be successful within the current western corporate governance environment. As has been discussed, you need leadership and management that knows how to engage and secure resources. EKY Bama have long used non-Indigenous people to mediate their engagement with settler society (see Anderson, 1985; Lorimer, 2001). I was told on numerous occasions by significant EKY people during my employment as the CEO of Jabalbina that Bama needed people like me to help them engage with Waybella (white fellas), their shorthand for the western political economy.

The siloed nature of government program funding through NPM with different contracting and reporting relationships and requirements can shape Indigenous organisational structures and employment in negative ways. For example, in 2014 Jabalbina employed

Environment and Heritage rangers funded by the Queensland Government and Working on Country rangers funded by the Australian Government. These two distinct programs each funded a ranger coordinator and these coordinators and their respective ranger teams had adopted the names of their government program funders as identifiers and operated separately. This help facilitate conflict between ranger coordinators and rangers as these different contracting and reporting relationships maintained separate and competing ranger teams (Turnour, 2014-2019). As the CEO of Jabalbina I worked with the Jabalbina Board and rangers to restructure the ranger program which subsequently employed EKY rangers working under one coordinator on IPA plan priorities (Jabalbina, 2019b). This removed a government programmatic structure that had become embedded in Jabalbina and was contributing to conflict and lateral violence within the ranger team.

Rangers also undertake activities that can be dangerous, such as operating vehicles in remote locations, using chainsaws, spraying weeds, and burning country. By law there is a requirement to document workplace health and safety (WHS) systems and complete risk assessments. Staff need to be appropriately trained and wear personal protective equipment. Where procedures are not followed, there are employment laws, which detail how staff should be counselled and procedures for disciplining and, if needed, dismissing staff. These rules are founded in corporate legal structures that are different from the principles of traditional Aboriginal dispute resolution (Behrendt & Kelly, 2008, p. 97). These processes can be foreign to Aboriginal staff and the community and do not reflect how Aboriginal people manage country as mobs within clan and catchment estates. They also do not acknowledge or respect Aboriginal knowledge, skills and experience in line with Bama Lore. For example, EKY Bama practice cultural burning which involves cool burns distinct from often hotter hazard reduction fires (Hill, Baird, & Buchanan, 1999). Jabalbina recognised this, involving Elders and families with this knowledge when burning their country. Jabalbina rangers, however, were also required to complete formal certified fire training to meet WHS legislative requirements and work with partners including Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service (QPWS). Elders and families who did not have this training were limited in their involvement in burns on the ground that were formally planned and approved within agencies.

The western corporate structure of Jabalbina, legislative requirements and partner funding contracts therefore make managing country along traditional cultural lines difficult. Funding contracts focus on quantifying outputs like the number of fulltime Indigenous rangers employed, hectares of weeds sprayed, length of fencing constructed, area burned etc. Bama staff with higher levels of literacy, numeracy and

experience working with a diverse range of people in mainstream employment have an advantage in this work environment. They may not, however, be the most culturally knowledgeable people of the land and sea resource being managed (Turnour, 2014-2019). The NPM governance systems, however, reward compliance with program and project milestones and require compliance with western corporate policies and procedures, not traditional knowledge aligned to Bama Lore.

Aboriginal staff can have different motivations for work centred on their cultural responsibilities (McRae-Williams & Gerritsen, 2010). Employing people with strong cultural knowledge and connection to a catchment/clan estate can create challenges within this western corporate governance environment that rewards delivery against government priorities. Bama can be motivated when working on their own clan estate but are less motivated to participate and complete tasks when working with other mobs' catchment and clan estates (Turnour, 2014-2019). Jabalbina, as an EKY First Nation corporation, has ranger teams comprised of people from different clan groups and mobs who would not normally work together (Lorimer, 2001; Wood, 2003). Government Indigenous Land and Sea Ranger contracts emphasised full time employment and there were limited positions and a need to work on different clan estates. The Jabalbina Board comprises three tribal groups Kuku Nyungkal, Kuku Jalunji and Kuku Yalanji, and expected that Aboriginal people representative of their different catchment/clan estates be employed within the ranger program. This ensured ranger teams had a Traditional Owner from these different catchment/clan estates present when working on different country in line with Bama Lore.

These different backgrounds, understanding and expectations in relation to work, however, contributed to tension within the ranger program. People were forced to work together who would not normally culturally. Then when people were late for work or did not contribute as much to tasks tensions simmered to the surface. Feelings of connection and responsibility to their mob often played a role in why tension arose, or people were not engaged at work. Staff could be dealing with domestic violence, substance abuse, gossip etc. at home and in the workplace. These issues often fed into or lead to lateral violence, further contributing to the challenges of achieving economic and sustainable livelihoods development (Turnour, 2014-2019).

Summary

This chapter built on the northern Australia context discussed in Chapter 5. It provides a more detailed understanding of the challenges of supporting Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods by focusing on the WTRCS and particularly the EKY people's estate given the complexity of engagement between western and Indigenous ontologies and related political economies. It discusses the EKY people's system of Lore and governance centred on their understandings of connection to country and kinship relationships handed down through an oral tradition significantly disrupted because of colonisation. It highlighted the power relationships between this informal system of governance and the western systems of governance with codified corporate structures and processes distributing power through NPM contracting arrangements. These western governance structures and processes therefore continue to control communities from a distance through neoliberal governmentalities as discussed in Chapter 2.

While Indigenous people are increasingly taking ownership and exerting interests in land and sea resources through Aboriginal corporations, it is those Aboriginal leaders and organisations that understand, influence and often align themselves with government policy priorities that the system empowers. Aboriginal people unskilled in western forms of governance or who decide to resist these structures and processes because they do not align with their understanding of Bama Lore often become disenfranchised. This leads to and perpetuates lateral violence. It is also contributing to the loss of traditional knowledge embedded in Aboriginal systems of Lore and governance. Knowledge that is increasingly being recognised as important to the rehabilitation and management of northern Australia. Aboriginal people and corporations should not have to choose between their Lores and customs and western law to access resources. The current system disempowers many Indigenous people through its power structures and has created a complex bureaucratic maze and communities riddled with lateral violence. This makes pursuing Indigenous economic development difficult if not impossible.

Chapter 7 Results and Discussion Interviews and Focus Group

Introduction

This chapter will continue answering the research question, building on the contextual analysis through discussion of the results of interviews with 12 Indigenous informants and 12 non-Indigenous informants and the RAPA regional Indigenous focus group. These interviews and focus group data will be triangulated with grey literature to deepen understandings of the problems with current Indigenous policy in the WTRCS and more broadly across northern Australia (Denzin, 2012; Prowes, 2008). Indigenous grey literature includes documents that were published by Aboriginal community-controlled organisations including RAPA and Jabalbina. The detailed methodology and methods including Indigenous research protocol is discussed in Chapter 4.

This chapter is particularly focused on further answering Research Aim 1: To critique the dominant neoliberal economic development paradigm and analyse its application within government policy and Indigenous contexts in northern Australia. Four thematic areas of questioning were explored through the informant interviews:

1. Defining Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods?
2. Identifying opportunities/priorities for economic development?
3. What are the enablers and barriers to economic development?
4. What are the roles and responsibilities of individuals, groups, organisations, businesses and governments in economic development?

Throughout the chapter the reporting of results and the problematisation of Indigenous policy is organised around these four themes. Within the discussion of each theme is a summary table presenting the results of the NVivo analysis of the informant interviews. The RAPA Indigenous focus group examined themes 2 and 3 and the focus group results are presented in separate tables within these themes.

Theme 1. Defining Economic Development

Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants made a distinction in relation to how economic development is understood by Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Table 12). Indigenous informants described economic development as more holistic; a collective/communal rather than individual endeavour.

> *I think that's actually one of the biggest issues, because from an Indigenous perspective, when we're talking about development, it's holistic, it's everything. It*

can't be social separate, it can't be economic separate, we can't cut it out because it's so entwined. (Indigenous Informant 2)

Table 12: Results Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 1

Defining Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods interview themes	
Indigenous Informants	**Non-Indigenous Informants**
1. Indigenous economic development is different. 2. Indigenous economic development is more holistic, a collective/communal rather than an individual endeavour. 3. Economic development must respect LORE as distinct from LAW. 4. Jobs and employment are the main measure of progress.	1. Indigenous economic development is different from western models particularly in remote contexts. 2. Engagement in businesses and meaningful employment are the main measures of progress.

This is also reflected in the Indigenous grey literature, which emphasises that Aboriginal people take a holistic approach centred on Aboriginal Lore when considering economic development, incorporating culture, economic, social, environment, education, health etc. This was reflected in the RAPA documents (RAPA, 2012; 2014), EKY IPA planning documents and Jabalbina’s strategic plan, with Bama Lore considered central to achieving this more holistic approach and meeting these communal responsibilities (Jalunji-Warra People & Shee, 2012; Kuku Nyungkal Bama et al., 2012; Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation, 2016). At the WTRCS scale the Rainforest Aboriginal People 2010 Summit Statement made clear that “Development is to occur within the framework of Bama Lore and Custom”. Indigenous informants discussed the importance of Lore as distinct from law in terms of meeting one’s personal as well as community responsibilities within a broad Indigenous context.

Yeah, because L-O-R-E defines how you conduct yourself, and L-A-W defines the governance of economic development. If they don't connect, then one's always going to inhibit the other. (Indigenous Informant 4)

Most non-Indigenous informants, while recognising that Indigenous economic development was different from western models, particularly in remote communities, did not identify the importance of Indigenous Lore and custom in discussing how they would define Indigenous economic development. This was distinctly different from Indigenous informants who all emphasised the importance of Indigenous Lore and custom. Non-

Indigenous informants discussed economic development through the lens of their government agency, business or industry priorities for development. Non-Indigenous informants, while recognising cultural differences, did not predicate economic development on respecting Indigenous Lore and custom as Indigenous informants had emphasised (Table 12).

Indigenous informants emphasised that development needed to follow the right process according to Bama Lore. Elders were identified as important in decision making processes, and that people with connection to the country on which economic development was occurring should benefit from that development. This is distinct from neoliberal approaches to economic development that are centred on commodifying labour through employment contracts and land through freehold property rights, to support the establishment and operation of markets. The way that neoliberalism allocates resources within an economy through markets and measures development in terms of growth is distinctly different from Indigenous political economic systems of decision making and resource allocation.

Indigenous people when discussing economic development identified business and employment as signs of economic development but felt this should not occur at the expense of their Lore and customs (Table 12). The contextual analysis in Chapter 6 reflecting other studies (see McRae-Williams & Gerritsen, 2010) highlighted how Indigenous culture meant that Indigenous people could perceive work differently, have different motivations and therefore engage in employment differently to non-Indigenous peoples. The neoliberal approach to northern development assumes Indigenous peoples will comply with the norms of mainstream workplaces irrespective of their cultural responsibilities. For example, delivering government services centred on NPM contractual arrangements or working in a construction, mining or tourism business require a greater emphasis on the completion of generic tasks than on kinship relationships embedded in Aboriginal culture. Therefore, while Indigenous informants and the grey literature (Jabalbina, 2016; RAPA, 2012) included Indigenous aspirations to engage in western economic development opportunities, the distinct differences between neoliberal and Indigenous economies means that there are inevitably trade-offs when Indigenous land and labour enters market-based economies.

Indigenous policy, however, does not recognise and therefore address the trade-offs Indigenous people need to make in considering employment and business opportunities. Communal ownership of land, conflicting understandings of land interests, kinship responsibilities and trauma and lateral violence because of colonisation also make these

trade-offs extremely complex considerations for Indigenous peoples (see Chapter 6). The higher rates of Indigenous unemployment identified in Chapter 5 and 6 suggest that particularly in discrete, remote and very remote communities where Indigenous people make up most of the population, many people are not prepared to trade off their Lore and custom to engage in employment centred on western neoliberal approaches to development. Given the lack of support within Indigenous policies and mainstream workplaces to work through these issues it is not surprising that many Indigenous people remain disengaged.

Therefore, while there may be expressed shared aspirations for economic development between Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations and governments, there were different understandings of what this meant from an Indigenous and government policy perspective. This is not properly understood by policy makers, or ignored in a focus on achieving mainstream economic development business and employment outcomes. Indigenous people are assumed to be able to separate their responsibilities under Lore and custom and be able to engage in business and employment despite the complexities involved in working across cultures and the impacts of colonisation. A major problem with current economic development policy is therefore a lack of respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Lore and custom in the process of economic development. This is identified as a contributing factor towards the failure of current economic development policy.

Theme 2. Opportunities and Priorities for Economic Development

There was a distinct difference in the way that Indigenous people discussed and prioritised opportunities for economic development. The Indigenous focus group and informant interviews emphasised Indigenous people’s interest in economic development that engaged them with their country and their people (Table 13 & 14). Five broad themes emerged from the economic development and sustainable livelihoods analysis of grey literature that were further discussed and agreed at the RAPA regional focus group (Table 13). Four of these themes reflect Indigenous people’s interests in jobs related to CNRM through Aboriginal corporations, agencies and businesses as well as community development and research. The fourth theme, business and enterprise development, aligned more with neoliberal understandings of economic development as a job or a business.

Table 13: Economic development opportunities/priorities agreed by the RAPA Indigenous Focus Group Theme 2

Opportunities/priorities for economic development agreed by RAPA Indigenous focus group
1. Cultural and environmental governance and administration e.g. jobs in PBCs, subregional bodies, regional bodies, govt. departments etc. 2. Cultural and environmental management e.g. ranger, IPA, working on country jobs. 3. Community development e.g. planning and construction jobs for community infrastructure and housing. 4. Business and enterprise development e.g. self-employment and jobs in small and large businesses. **5.** Research and education e.g. jobs in research and education and related businesses and services.

Table 14: Results Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 2

Opportunities/priorities for economic development identified by interview informants	
Indigenous Informants	**Non-Indigenous Informants**
Tourism, CNRM, construction, research and cattle.	Government services particularly CNRM, carbon credits, renewable energy, mining, and tourism including recreational tourism.

Indigenous people's emphasis on jobs related to CNRM reflected a desire to be engaged in livelihoods that incorporate their responsibilities under Bama Lore to people and country.

> *We all feel the same way. We want to come back to Bubu (country). We want to look after our Bubu. We want our rangers to maintain our rainforests, rivers and creeks, our burial grounds and sacred sites. We want our young people to learn from Elders and take over looking after this Country* (Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation, 2016, p. 10).

Where business opportunities were prioritised, these opportunities again often supported Aboriginal people working on country. Tourism and land management contracting for example were identified by Jabalbina as priorities for enterprise development, following community consultations as part of a review of the strategic plan

(Jabalbina, 2016). The development of EKY cultural tourism would leverage the existing World Heritage listed Daintree Rainforest and Great Barrier Reef tourism experiences. While land management contracting was identified as an opportunity to expand the existing ranger services and create employment on country, particularly through delivering services to local and state governments, Aboriginal people were also keen to return to live and work on lands returned through their native title claim, which could create employment in construction (Jabalbina, 2016). Indigenous interview informants identified similar opportunities in industries including tourism, CNRM, construction, research, and cattle (Table 14). Indigenous people were therefore prioritising economic development opportunities not only to make a living, but to reconnect with their country and work with their people. Indigenous people therefore aligned livelihoods with Indigenous Lore and custom, which they identified as important to economic development in discussing the previous theme.

As discussed in earlier chapters, Indigenous people were forcibly removed from their land and sea estates and subjected to assimilation policies through the process of colonisation. Viewed through this postcolonial lens, Indigenous people’s aspirations for economic and livelihoods development reflects their ongoing desire to reconnect with their country and for self-determination and sovereignty. The assertion of difference, and the importance of holistic and collective/communal approaches grounded in Indigenous Lore within the WTRCS, reflect similar aspirations expressed by northern Australia Indigenous leaders discussed in Chapter 5.

Non-Indigenous informant and Indigenous informant interviews identified some similar industries for further development. Non-Indigenous informants emphasised that development needs to be sustainable in the long term and that communities or organisations that were doing well tend to be engaged in a diversity of activities. They identified a broad range of opportunities for economic development including: primary industries such as horticulture, cattle, fishing, forestry and bush foods; government service delivery through ranger programs; carbon credits; renewable energy; mining; and tourism including recreational tourism (Table 14). They emphasised that there were differences in opportunities between those living in cities and regional towns and those living in remote communities.

Current government policy does not prioritise alternate Indigenous aspirations for economic development particularly focused on CNRM. The White Paper on developing northern Australia prioritises five industries for development, and Indigenous specific policies including the IEDS and IAS prioritise Indigenous engagement and employment

in mainstream businesses and industries not necessarily focused on CNRM. Northern Australian governments have indicated that they wish to undertake a refresh of the White Paper (MFND, 2019, December) and researchers have identified significant opportunities to expand business and employment opportunities in ecosystem services that could incorporate Indigenous aspirations for development based on CNRM (Chambers et al., 2018; Dale, 2014; Russell-Smith et al., Russel-Smith & Whitehead, 2014; Whitehead, 2012). Given Indigenous people have interests in approximately 78% of land in northern Australia (NAILSMA, 2020) and low levels of labour market participation particularly in remote and very remote communities (Table 6 & 7), these alternative industries should be included for further development if governments are serious about Indigenous driven economic development. Supporting Indigenous engagement in these industries would also help prevent the loss of Indigenous knowledge.

Theme 3. Enablers and Barriers to Economic Development

Three broad themes emerged as enablers and barriers to Indigenous economic development from the NVivo thematic analysis of Indigenous interviews including cultural differences and power imbalances, impacts of colonisation and lateral violence and capacity and capability. The RAPA Indigenous focus group identified similar themes to the Indigenous informant interviews although the focus group participants grouped them slightly differently (Table 15 & 16).

Table 15: Results RAPA Indigenous Focus Group Theme 3

Enablers and barriers to economic development focus group themes	
Barriers	**Enablers**
Cultural differences between Bama and western world	Improved governance
Lack of education skills and experience	Education and skills development
Government policies	Strong partnerships
Lack of community infrastructure	Empower Bama
Access to finances and resources	Tourism levy to create long term funding
Confidence and empowerment	Education of mainstream community to change attitudes and stereo types.
Lateral violence	
Lack of networks and partnerships	
Discrimination	
Health of individuals and communities	

Table 16: Results of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 3

Enablers and barriers to economic development interview informant themes	
Indigenous Informants	**Non-Indigenous Informants**
3.1 Cultural differences and power imbalances • The complexity of the system • Government procurement processes • Development approval processes • Welfare system 3.2 Impacts of colonisation and lateral violence • Issue of identity • Working across cultures 3.3 Capacity and capability • Knowledge and skills • Infrastructure • Finance • Health • Remoteness and seasonality	3.1 Making economic development Indigenous driven including: • Time to properly engage and build relationships. • The capacity of departments and officers to meaningfully engage. • Political decision-making driving policy. • NPM governmentalities driving system creating complexity and competition. • Procurement process • Development approval process 3.2 Conflict within the system • Transactional due to competition • Values based between development and cultural and environmental. • Lateral violence 3.3 Capacity and capability • Knowledge and skills • Infrastructure including transport and telecommunications. • Finance 3.4 Negative stereo typing of Indigenous peoples

Some of the three broad themes identified by Indigenous informants are described slightly differently by non-Indigenous informants, as: Making economic development Indigenous driven; conflict within the system; capacity and capability. Non-Indigenous informants also identified a fourth theme, negative stereotyping of Indigenous people, that reflected themes that emerged from the RAPA Indigenous focus group (Table 15 & 16). Non-Indigenous informants used different language reflecting different understandings and emphasised different issues, reflected in the bullet pointed subthemes. Enablers and barriers to Indigenous economic development will be discussed in this section under the three broad themes identified from the NVivo analysis

of the Indigenous interviews. The non-Indigenous interview themes can be incorporated and discussed under these themes with the final non-Indigenous theme, negative stereotyping of Indigenous peoples, also discussed as a separate theme.

Theme 3.1. Cultural Differences and Power Imbalances

Indigenous informants identified cultural differences and power imbalances as barriers to development, reflecting ontological differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and related power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous institutions and organisations. This was discussed extensively by Indigenous interview informants and reflected in the Indigenous grey literature discussed under Theme 1 defining economic development. Indigenous informants and the grey literature therefore identified cultural differences and the lack of respect for Indigenous Lore and custom as a barrier to development. There is a need to acknowledge Indigenous political economies and be respectful of Indigenous Lore and custom to empower Indigenous people and their organisations. Indigenous informants want governments and non-Indigenous people to respect their Lore to enable the creation of businesses and employment through economic development.

Non-Indigenous informants reflected this theme in slightly different language as: making economic development Indigenous driven, and discussed in more detail some of the barriers to achieving this from a government perspective reflected in the sub themes. These sub themes included: time to properly engage and build relationships, and the capacity of departments and officers to meaningfully engage (Table 16).

> *I think it's been the other way around in the past, where government has come in and said that this is what we're going to do here, or whatever. The communities don't want that, so it's failed. I think it's got to come the other way around.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 18)

> *Within the bureaucracy, the people with the courage and the skills and the experience to go out and do this work are rare as well. I think that needs to be nurtured within the bureaucracy before we can do too much more.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 19)

There were a range of other systemic barriers within government to achieving meaningful engagement with Indigenous peoples identified by non-Indigenous informants coded as subthemes. These included tensions within government agencies caused by trying to meet the needs of political decision-making for short term results, the need to design policies in line with NPM governmentalities, and the realities being

experienced by agency staff working directly with communities (Table 16). Non-Indigenous government informants discussed the need for programs and projects to be quickly developed, announced and implemented to demonstrate political commitment and action. This meant that policy was overly driven by short term political decision making rather than long term strategy. Agencies focus on the needs of the Minister and governments, not those of Indigenous peoples.

> *Mal Brough comes through in the Intervention that they will not walk past shit like that anymore. They try and do something about it. And I think Macklin's legacy is probably a bit more rubbery, but it's around women and safety and that sort of stuff. But the Scullion’s legacy, which goes to your PhD, I think Scullion’s legacy will be, yes Indigenous people can and there's no reason why they can't.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 19)

> *But if I went to the minister and said, “Right. well, we're actually not going to get a shovel on the ground for at least three years because I've got to spend two years working with the TOs", they'll just laugh me out the room. They will just laugh me out of the room." We want a yellow machine shifting dirt by the end of the year.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 13)

The negative Australian National Audit Office (ANAO) Report into the Indigenous Advancement Strategy (IAS) was a further example of how political decision-making shaped government responses in Indigenous affairs. The ANAO Report criticised implementation of the IAS as rushed, involving a seven-week time frame with limited community consultation and poor grant administration (ANAO Report, 2017, p. 8). The PM&C response, however, in agreeing to the recommendations was to introduce stronger NPM governmentalities in the administration of grants as one informant detailed.

> *Because we're part of the Prime Minister's department that terrible audit then reflects on the Prime Minister. And so, there was a huge hue and cry over that. And as a consequence, what they did was they put these incredibly burdensome administrative processes around the money. So, most of the people that you would have dealt with were probably spending like eleven- tenths of their time doing that stuff. You know, doing administration around the governance, around the money. So, I had very, very little time to actually go out there, engage with the opportunities.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 19)

The Coalition government's IAS policy had claimed to have collapsed 150 program areas into five to be managed by PM&C, to streamline government and reduce red tape to improve Indigenous policy outcomes which were focused on getting children to school, adults into work and making communities safe (Scullion, 13 May 2014). While the departmental structures had changed, the processes had remained the same ensuring that government, not Indigenous peoples, set the priorities in relation to Indigenous economic development. This was further reflected in the interviews with non-Indigenous informants reporting how NPM program administration generated government silos that lead to decision-making that was distant and disconnected from Indigenous peoples and uncoordinated.

> *And that's, and that's probably another key thing actually, which is the profound disconnect between the processing (in) Canberra and the people or the doers on the ground. Absolutely profound disconnect.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 19)

> *So, getting the governance right is really important, otherwise it's just the usual siloed stuff that happens and you're tripping over each other. You're making mistakes. You get the petty jealousy.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 13)

While non-Indigenous informants identified these systemic problems with the way that governments were administering grants to support development, they also discussed government procurement policies as an enabler. Governments were trying to use procurement processes to support Indigenous economic and business development. The Australian Government had introduced Supply Nation[9] and the Queensland Government had an Indigenous Procurement Policy. Both governments were encouraging Indigenous procurement by setting Indigenous purchasing targets and strengthening requirements within contracts for Indigenous engagement. This agency leadership was important because Indigenous procurement policies were well intentioned but also often unenforceable (DATSIP, 2016). Non-Indigenous informants identified that it was important for agency managers to insert criteria into contracts that supported Indigenous engagement for these policies to be effective.

> *I've added in new criteria there, under the headings, and one is about your level of engagement with Traditional Owners. And that's a new criteria that I want*

---

[9] Supply Nation is a directory of certified Australian Indigenous businesses established in 2009 to connect governments and corporate businesses to Indigenous suppliers (www.supplynation.org.au).

> *projects to be assessed under, which might mean they're involved in design or in demolition works or construction. Also, what element is the contractor looking at, for all opportunities to employ Traditional Owners. So, we're looking at that for procurement.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 14)

While non-Indigenous agency and industry informants identified procurement policies as a success, they were criticised by Indigenous informants. Indigenous informants identified the competitive tendering models of government, with high administrative burdens, as difficult for Indigenous people to engage with. It was also difficult to secure a pipeline of work and there were higher costs in employing a disadvantaged workforce who regularly experienced lateral violence (Turnour, 2014-2019).

> *I know what I'm capable of doing, yet to be able to fit into a government contract, meet their criteria and their framework, or how they set things out, it's very, it's difficult because there's not... I feel they want us to be a part of what they are doing, and what they have on the table, but I think it's difficult for me.* (Indigenous Informant 5)

> *You know my, mate S___, who does labour workforce stuff in the Torres Straits and he often says, you know, it's not a fact that I can get the job done and produce something. It's that continuity of where is the next job that I can bid on competitively. We don't have line of sight to those seven jobs that might happen over the next, you know, 18 months for example, to make informed decisions about our workforce and when to invest in an apprentice and when not to.* (Indigenous Informant 4)

There were, therefore, different views between Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants about the benefits of the government procurement policies. There was general agreement, however, that it was an extremely complex system of government and non-government Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations and businesses being funded and delivering projects that were largely uncoordinated and not Indigenous community driven. The complexity of the system was identified by Indigenous informants as a theme and has been described as a ‘bureaucratic maze’ discussed in Chapter 5 (Hudson, 2016; QPC, 2017). There were approximately 80 Indigenous organisations within the WTRCS (Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016b) and numerous EKY organisations competing, as discussed in Chapter 6 (Table 10 & 11). This complexity was described by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants.

> *I think the barrier is twofold. One is, how do groups actually understand what's out there and what's available to assist and to help? Because it's so scattered*

and across all the different States and then you add in the Commonwealth layer, then you add in IBA and ILSC and everyone goes, I'm confused. So there's so much support and education that's probably out there, but none of it is in one spot. You don't know where to go to. (Indigenous Informant 2)

It seems to me to be disparate things moving without a lot of connectivity. State and Territory governments are doing some things, corporate Australia are doing other things. The federal government's doing other stuff, and there doesn't seem to be a coherent, long-term framework to join the different strategies together. It seems to be quite ad hoc to me. (Non-Indigenous Informant 16)

The northern Australia and WTRCS context and informant interviews therefore painted quite a politicised and bureaucratic Indigenous economic development implementation environment. This is despite the policy documents' attempts to present a whole of government coordinated approach to economic development and service delivery through the White Paper on Developing Northern Australia and the Closing the Gap, IEDS and IAS policies. The RAPA Indigenous focus group and interview results indicate that while neoliberalism may be shaping government structures and processes through NPM grants and contracting arrangements, political decision making often determined who received grants and influenced policies including procurement policy. The minister's and governments ideological priorities were directing resources into areas that did not necessarily reflect Indigenous priorities.

Another barrier to economic development related to development approval processes. The complexity of the development approval processes was identified by Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants as a barrier to Indigenous people's capacity to engage in development on Indigenous land. The EKY people had 15,000 ha of Aboriginal freehold returned to them for community and economic development (see Chapter 6). The development approval process involving WTMA, state planning policy and local government approvals was extremely complex and too expensive to navigate, preventing people from returning to live and work on country in line with long held aspirations (Harwood, 2018; Jabalbina, 2019a; Jabalbina 2019b; WWASC & Jabalbina, 2018)).

I went through that development process, with ___, our IPA Manager previously. I suppose that was quite an in-depth process and that process alone, if you do not have somebody supporting you on the ground to help get that kind of system through Cook Shire, whatever shire it is, they're just going to leave it. They're not

> *even going to move forwards on that because I think the paperwork was so in depth.* (Indigenous Informant 12)

> *There's native title and there's a whole lot of legislation that's been put in place to protect things, but I'm not sure that the pathways have been created to make it easier to be able to work through that and come up with positive solutions.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 20)

The welfare system was another government process that was not supporting economic and livelihoods development. Indigenous informants spoke about the disincentive to get off welfare if they made too much income from a business. Additionally, informants described community development programs as engaging people in meaningless activities and training people with no pathway to employment.

> *So every bit of money we make now, it's always brought up to Centrelink. For tax reasons and everything like that. So we tiptoe on, doing the job.* (Indigenous Informant 10)

> *I think barriers also, having Mypathways and people that go in there and create these, "I will train you, but there's no more here for you." It's that these people are getting certificates left, right and centre but they're not being able to go out and practice that in the communities.* (Indigenous Informant 12)

Theme 3.1 details the cultural disconnect and power imbalances between Indigenous policy and Indigenous people and how this is a barrier to development. This is reflected in a lack of capacity and time for government departments to effectively engage in culturally appropriate ways with Indigenous peoples. This is because they need to respond to political priorities and through NPM governmentalities that prevent effective engagement. Neoliberal forms of governance detailed in Chapter 2, which are supposed to improve accountabilities and efficiencies in terms of government service delivery, did not achieve these outcomes in an Indigenous development context. While agency managers reported trying to use grant and procurement processes to support development, NPM forms of governance create complexity and Indigenous informants reported the difficulty in effectively engaging in these government processes given the disjointed and short-term nature of contracts and funding. Indigenous informants also detailed the complexity of development on Aboriginal land.

Theme 3.2. The Impacts of Colonisation and Lateral violence

Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants identified that the existing neoliberal governance supported conflict and lateral violence and saw it as a barrier to economic

development (Table 15 & 16). Indigenous informants identified that the impacts of colonisation, particularly the removal of people from country, led to different understandings by Aboriginal people of their connection to country and therefore who should make decisions about and benefit from development. Resolving these issues was important to supporting development and preventing lateral violence.

> *There's always challenges around this type of issue in terms of whether it's shared space or is it wholly and solely for one particular family? Probably the biggest challenge for our people is to clearly define who are the appropriate people to work in those certain areas or that will benefit from economic opportunities.* (Indigenous Informant 11)

A similar theme, coded as transactional conflict, was identified by some non-Indigenous informants. These informants identified Indigenous conflict as a barrier to projects achieving positive outcomes. They discussed how governments could become frustrated and blame Indigenous people for the failure of government projects.

> *I don't think they have gotten enough internal structure or decision-making processes to move and make decisions when it needs to be made. They end up doing a lot of in-fighting, and you spin your wheels. And government gets tick off, you're going to move on to other things, other pressing priorities. We'll move on.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 18)

Non-Indigenous informants also reported that some of this conflict was based around competing values been different groups' aspirations for cultural and environmental protection as opposed to economic development. This was discussed in the literature and that there were Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples on either side of these debates (Dale, 2014; Holmes, 2011).

> *There's always diverse views on how you should go about things, and certainly the Cape in particular, probably northern Australia more generally has been a bit of a battlefield there, where you've had people with a genuine interest in preserving the natural environment, campaigning for that to happen, with coalitions formed with Traditional Owners who share that, and then you've got the development at any cost brigade, or school of thought, that see the environment as an expendable asset that should be exploited for economic gain.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 16)

Critical to avoiding this conflict would be addressing the challenges created by short-term politically driven timelines and the limitations imposed on real engagement between

governments and Indigenous peoples and communities created by NPM governmentalities discussed earlier. Addressing these barriers to meaningful engagement and re-establishing Indigenous governance in line with Lore, as discussed earlier, was described by Indigenous informants as essential to the future success of government policy and related programs and projects.

> *Honestly, again, engagement is very important from the outset. If you get that foundation right from the outset, doing business on the country, whether it's through a governance system. For example, J______ or you work for Traditional Owners, you must work that process first, before any business is done on the country. And it's important that you work with those different groups. If you do that, I think half of your issues will be resolved, prior to doing any projects.* (Indigenous Informant 11)

> *I think we need to look at indigenous cultural protocols, and those have to be part of the policy change. It's going to be tough because of the way how diverse Australia is around their cultural protocols.* (Indigenous-Informant 3)

The impacts of colonisation were still being felt within communities because traditional systems of governance and decision-making, centred on Elders and kinship relationships, had been damaged through the process of settler colonisation, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 6. This already makes Indigenous decision making about economic development difficult, but this is compounded when government structures and processes create even more conflict through their transactional nature and the influence of political decision-making and NPM governmentalities. Non-Indigenous informants, however, identified that agency staff could blame Indigenous people for the failure of government programs or projects to be successful rather than agency processes. It is not surprising then that lateral violence was such an intractable problem and a significant barrier to economic development identified with the WTRCS and discussed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous interview informants. Governments fail to understand how their programs contribute to lateral violence, and then blame Indigenous peoples for project and/or program failures.

Theme 3.3 Capacity and Capability

The Indigenous and non-Indigenous informant interviews, RAPA focus group and grey literature all identified human, physical and financial barriers to development (Table 15 & 16) (Jabalbina, 2016; RAPA, 2012; 2014). Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants discussed education, knowledge and skills as barriers in terms of the personal skills needed to run an Indigenous business or get a job. They identified that Indigenous

people often lacked the professional networks and support needed to succeed in business. The health of many Indigenous people was also identified as a barrier to their employment.

> *Health is just a big problem I think and it's just one of the barriers to achieving business economics. I think if you're not healthy you're not going to get up and you're not going to go to work today. You're not even going to think about that because you're thinking about taking tablets, you're thinking about going to the clinic today because I'm sick.* (Indigenous Informant 12)

> *It was every one of the family had to build their own skills in order to have the control. I had bookkeeping and the accounting and the financial stuff. The other family, like K____, she had greater knowledge in the cultural side… We still need professional assistance in order if we're going to expand. Things that I don't know about, like we can run the business, we still need Waybal (white people) to come and help us how to do the marketing and stuff.* (Indigenous Informant 8)

> *I think part of it is just understanding the tourism business. And I know there's some people out there who do that really well, provide training and marketing information. But it is quite a tricky business and people think it's easy, but it's not. And it's just how do you market it? How do you provide a product that people are going to want? How do you modify that product to meet people's expectations? So there's a lot of things around it.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 15)

Infrastructure and financial barriers compounded by remoteness were also identified by the RAPA Indigenous focus group participants and Indigenous and non-Indigenous interview informants. Infrastructure barriers included community and tourism infrastructure, roads, telecommunications, and housing. Financial barriers identified by informants included the limited financial resources available to people in the community because of low incomes; their cultural responsibilities requiring Indigenous people to share resources; and an inability to borrow against Aboriginal land because of its communal ownership. This made it difficult for Indigenous people to find or save capital to start a business and there was limited support available from governments.

> *You know, money funding, is often absolutely required. I think it could be quite easy from a government perspective to find money for infrastructure, but almost impossible to find money to get the business up and running, to fund its cashflow to take on leases to get the support that it needs.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 23)

> *But when you're inside the discreet community, and a high concentration or high population of countrymen, is that they see your success, and then humbug, as to that challenge of communal sharing.* (Indigenous Informant 4)

> *And because of remoteness, there's a statement that was made about there's an absence of economic development, or economic enterprise within communities, so that makes it so hard for indigenous people to be able to survive as well.* (Indigenous Informant 5)

Trust funds and royalty streams were identified as a potential source of investment by Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants. Royalties or income generated from Aboriginal land, however, could also generate conflict. There could be conflicting views over who should benefit from funds and how funds should be expended, leading to lateral violence discussed as a barrier earlier. The focus group identified the need for a tourism levy (Table 15) which the EKY people were also keen to see established to support tourism industry development (Jabalbina, 2019b).

The capabilities and capacities of Indigenous peoples and businesses to engage in economic development were therefore influenced by a range of factors including knowledge and skills, infrastructure, finance, health and remoteness and seasonality.

Theme 3.4. Discrimination and negative stereotyping

The RAPA focus group identified discrimination as a key barrier to economic and livelihood development, discussing how non-Indigenous people stereotyped Indigenous people in negative ways including their employability (Table 15). This was also reflected in the interviews, where informants discussed the challenges of working across cultures, issues of identities and stereotyping of Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous peoples (Table 16).

> *I know that sometimes they think that I'm too involved in white society. And then when I get involved in... When I go back to the Aboriginal, then I've had people say, oh, you're just a black fellow. So I've had that, I've had that on both sides, but you've got to learn, and I've said this to people, it's much easier to be a white man in this system than what it is to be a black person. And I find it a lot easier to be a white person because they only have one culture. And to me that white man's culture is money.* (Indigenous Informant 5)

> *I think that one step forward would be about making sure that people are more aware of what the actual history is rather than what they think that the history is. I think that that would help people understand why, understand the differences*

> *and move towards building that support that will be needed to progress. Whether it's a treaty, whether it's, you know, however they want to. However, it ends up progressing. I think that there needs to be a lot more knowledge increased across the broader community.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 20).

The results of this research therefore also reflect many of the issues identified through the postcolonial theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 2. Non-Indigenous discourses of Indigenous identities are overwhelmingly negative, founded in notions of deficit, difference and conflict. There is a lack of understanding of the history of colonisation within the non-Indigenous community. The hybrid nature of Indigenous identities means many Indigenous people face questions over their authenticity. This history and ongoing issues of discrimination materially impact on Indigenous people’s ability to engage in employment and business. Considering these issues, combined with themes discussed earlier including cultural differences and power imbalances and capacity and capabilities, it is not surprising then that there has been limited progress in achieving Indigenous economic development.

Theme 4. Roles and Responsibilities in Supporting Development

This section will discuss roles and responsibilities of different institutions and organisations involved in or seeking to influence Indigenous economic development within the context of current policy. Interview informant selection was guided by a purposeful sampling framework which included scales of governance (see Chapter 4). Informants therefore had experience across various scales of governance and were asked what they saw as the different roles and responsibilities of various actors. There were a range of actors identified and discussed by informants including Elders and Traditional Owners; land councils and RNTBCs, peak Indigenous organisations; business and philanthropy; local, state and Australian governments. Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants had some different perspectives on the roles and responsibilities of different actors in supporting economic development (Table 17).

Table 17: Results Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Informant Interviews Theme 4

Roles and responsibilities of individuals/groups/organisations/businesses/governments themes.	
Indigenous Informants	**Non-Indigenous Informants**
1. Elders and Traditional Owners are the foundation level of decision making. 2. Land councils and RNTBCs needed to be supportive of Traditional Owners. 3. Peak indigenous bodies including regional organisations needed to be supportive and play a higher-level role in trying to change and better coordinate government policy and implementation. 4. Business and philanthropists were important in providing expertise and investment to support Indigenous development. 5. Governments needed to respect Indigenous knowledge and Lore. Invest in infrastructure and create a policy and legislative environment that better supports Indigenous economies and livelihoods including place-based approaches.	1. Indigenous corporations were described in the following ways: • Land councils and RNTBCs were not functioning effectively and barriers to development. • Lacked understanding of business and often wanted to do everything themselves rather than seek partnerships and build their capacity to run a business. • There is a complex layered system of Indigenous corporations overlapping. 2. Business and philanthropists were important in providing expertise and investment and supporting Indigenous employment. 3. Governments needed to respect Indigenous knowledge and Lore. Invest in infrastructure and create a policy and legislative environment that better supports Indigenous economies and livelihoods including support for place-based approaches.

Indigenous interview informants emphasised the foundational role of Elders and Traditional Owners in decision making about development (Table 17). They expressed concerns that the wrong people and organisations were making decisions influenced by conflicts of interest and non-Indigenous mainstream priorities for development. This was reflected in comments that both Land Councils and RNTBCs had conflicts of interests and were making decisions without engaging appropriately with Elders and Traditional Owners.

> *I know B____ has got great speakers, N ___& G ____, but I think some of their partnership building is very much mainstream. They're very much linked into government providers and state. I think sometimes they can take away what their*

> *aspiration for people are up here, and certainly forget about the people down here. I think they need to be pulled up and somehow these things have to be pulled together in a way that everybody gets the benefit, we're all on the same level.* (Indigenous Informant 12)

> *Again, they need to be guided by Traditional Owners on the ground. They cannot go out on country without talking to Traditional Owners and their job is to be neutral in terms of their representation. For far too long, we've had, in the past, where we've had those certain organisations come in and talk to certain people and have a conflict of interest, in terms of representing our Bama whether it's in _____ or the rest of _____. Again, their role needs to be neutral and strongly support people on the ground.* (Indigenous Informant 11)

The RAPA Indigenous focus group identified improve governance as an enabler of development (Table 15). Improved governance was also a priority identified within the RAPA and Jabalbina Strategic Plans (Jabalbina, 2016; RAPA, 2012). Within the EKY estate, Jabalbina had undertaken governance reform, reducing the size of its board from 12 to six members and strengthening the role of tribal/clan-based decision-making structures identified through IPA plans. Elders groups/steering committees were evolving from having more informal meetings with open representation to more formal representative structures with terms of reference and representation agreed by the larger tribal group and informed by anthropologists. The Jabalbina Board, as trustee of native title and lands, would then be able to make decisions about development and services based on more formal advice from Elders and Traditional Owners, reducing the risks of lateral violence discussed earlier (Jabalbina, 2016; Jabalbina, 2019b).

Several Indigenous informants, however, expressed concern about whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Lore based decision making could be re-established. This reflected concern over the loss of so many Elders and their knowledge, conflicting understandings about cultural authority and the influence of western legal processes and their ability to distort the system. This all contributed to conflict and lateral violence discussed earlier and the further loss of Indigenous knowledge.

> *If this had occurred 40 years ago, I would be far more optimistic than I am now. My concern at this point of time is the loss of Elders with that authorising knowledge, and the next generation are less informed than they ever have been in the past… Let's say we captured 80% of that knowledge and passed it on, and we're sort of making up the other 20%. But it's becoming a little bit clouded, because it's being influenced by L-A-W, you know?...*

> *I think the biggest risk is, we will ultimately compromise the value of our cultural decision-making to participate or conform to a western society set of rules. And whilst that is a way to progress, I think of it's almost like knocking down an old heritage building because it was in the wrong place at the wrong time, so as to build this skyscraper. And then with the wisdom of years, hindsight turn around and go, should we have lost that? Did we lose something because we took the path of least resistance?* (Indigenous Informant 4)

> *Because our Elders have all passed away now, I think we have such a big question around authority. That's a barrier when you're trying to achieve something in the community and there's so many Elders that are saying, "I'm Elders," but they're not. And they're putting their hands up because actually they're not the key role Elders that we should be consulting.* (Indigenous Informant 12)

While there were criticisms of native title bodies, several Indigenous informants also saw land councils and RNTBCs as playing important support roles as suppliers of expertise that Indigenous corporations and businesses might need including legal, anthropology and business services. Other Indigenous informants, and the grey literature, identified that competition and conflict between land councils and RNTBCs over these different roles also inhibited development (Jabalbina, 2019; Turnour, 2014-2019).

> *I think they should be helping with expertise help; you know. Don't come and tell us how to run our business, but help us with how to market, sell ... Not just sell it for one product, sell it for the whole of the group, yeh, Yalanji people.* (Indigenous Informant 8)

In contrast to Indigenous informants, non-Indigenous informants emphasised the role of Indigenous corporations and businesses in development rather than Traditional Owners and Elders (Table 17). They discussed the roles of land councils, RNTBCs and land trusts in decision making about development in line with their legislative responsibilities[10]. Non-Indigenous informants, however, held similar concerns to Indigenous informants about these organisations, including their ability to effectively represent Traditional Owners, competition between organisations and conflicts of interest. There was general dissatisfaction expressed by Indigenous and non-

[10] Land Councils, Land Trusts and RNTBCs have statutory roles and responsibilities to engage with Traditional Owners and support decision making but are not effectively resourced to undertake this role (*Native Title Act 1993* (Cth); *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld)).

Indigenous informants about how land councils, RNTBCs and land trusts were currently performing their roles.

> *I think that's a significant problem in the failure of groups to work openly together. I sometimes scratch my head when I see how some of the organisations work and protect their patch. Land councils sometimes operate like that, some of the regional organisations operate like that, and it's almost as if the old mission process has continued to operate under a different guise. Only now it's the Aboriginal controlled organisations that are acting as the gatekeepers rather than the missions, which is ironic.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 16)

Indigenous informants wanted regional organisations to play a supportive role rather than be doing the business of Traditional Owners. Examples of peak Indigenous bodies or regional organisations that did not have statutory responsibilities include RAPA, Cape York Partnerships, Cape York Institute, Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation (Table 10). They were seen as having a higher-level role in reforming the system, coordinating investments and assisting Traditional Owners navigate through the complexity.

Businesses and philanthropists were seen by interview informants as playing several roles. Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants saw them as important in providing business expertise and support including bookkeeping and marketing for Indigenous businesses. They were also seen as sources of investment.

> *People need to understand that we need the private sector in there because they've got the skills and the knowledge, and they've got the tools to be able to set us up for business.* (Indigenous Informant 12)

Several non-Indigenous informants felt that there was a lack of an understanding of the commercial realities by some Indigenous people, organisations and governments when considering opportunities. Commercial partnerships were identified by these informants as an opportunity to bring investment, knowledge, skills and experience to support economic development. Some Indigenous informants however, expressed a feeling that non-Indigenous businesses were benefiting too much from Indigenous contracts and needed to do more for Indigenous people and businesses. There is a need therefore for clear expectations to be set about roles and responsibilities for effective partnerships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous businesses, communities and First Nations.

> *And we need a consultative approach where industry gets a seat around that table. And with the very clear understanding and the charter and the scope and*

terms of reference that we're all there for the same thing. But at the end of the day, someone's going to put a real commercial spin on it to see whether there's reality in it. Let's sit around, let's talk about it and let's work together to facilitate that end goal. We're happy to do that. (Non-Indigenous Informant 24)

I think I've got a bit of a bad taste in my mouth over private contractors and stuff like that, that they don't get Indigenous people more involved. I think that they need to be more involved in trying to close the gap too. I mean at the end of the day; they're taking money off our land. And so, I think if they take money off the land, then they should give something back, and that's in relation to work or jobs, or skills or development. I think that the private sector should've helped out more. (Indigenous Informant 5)

Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants building on earlier themes saw the role of governments to support Indigenous aspirations for economic development. Indigenous informants emphasised that this needed to be done in line with Indigenous Lore and customs. Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants identified treaties as providing opportunities to create a new relationship between governments, Indigenous peoples and First Nations. These agreements and new governance arrangements would need to be made at different scales including national, state/territory and local, reflecting the place-based boundaries of Indigenous First Nations.

Well, I think it sort of brings us back to the issue of treaty/settlement agreements, you know scale-based settlement agreements, just for want of a better term. Ultimately in my view, they're going to be ... They've got to be with a post-determinationist head, you know that ultimately post determination we're dealing with nations of people. (Non-Indigenous informant 22)

Indigenous informants and non-Indigenous informants identified a role for governments to build Indigenous governance capacity and to ensure the right Indigenous people were engaged in developing these new governance arrangements. They expressed concerns, however, that Indigenous people and First Nations currently lack the capacity to effectively engage in developing treaties, and the wrong Indigenous people and organisations were being resourced to engage in the process.

Treaty, we want treaty, we want our people to have rights again. But once again, it's those key people that you've picked to drive that engagement. There's individuals that have been contracted to do that work that are completely disrespectful to Indigenous communities and that's where those issues will start to arise, and people won't engage any further. (Indigenous Informant 3)

And as you know, in Queensland were going down the treaty pathway, which is great. But are we setting ourselves up to fail? Because we really haven't had a sensible discussion or put enough resources into building capability and capacity over the last 10 or 20 years. (Non-Indigenous informant 13)

Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants identified the need for governments to address barriers to business and employment identified under Theme 3. These included knowledge and skills, access to finance, physical infrastructure, and to break down negative stereo types within the community about Indigenous peoples to address discrimination. Indigenous Business Australia and the Indigenous Land and Sea Corporation (ILSC) were identified by Indigenous informants as failing to effectively support Indigenous businesses to address these barriers.

It's the actual biggest problem. To me, I mean I think if you've got an Indigenous Business Australia or an ILSC, with funds why aren't proponents drawn through that? (Indigenous Informant 2)

Indigenous informants identified that local governments could play a greater role in supporting Indigenous business particularly if they could work more closely with Traditional Owner organisations like RNTBCs and land trusts. They identified local governments as playing an important role in place-based approaches.

Again, I see the councils as a vehicle. We should be there to support and work with Traditional Owners and those little separate entities in those areas. (Indigenous Informant 11)

Look, I think that local government is a definite window into place-based approaches. I particularly see it for the discreet and remote indigenous communities, which are not necessarily operating as place-based approaches to things, it's just easy to understand the concept of place. (Indigenous Informant 1)

There were mixed views amongst non-Indigenous informants about the role that local governments should play in economic development. Some informants supported Indigenous councils playing a greater role in supporting business start-ups. They argued that councils had the capacity to tender for larger government contracts and then subcontract to smaller Indigenous businesses. Other non-Indigenous informants expressed concerns that Indigenous councils were delivering a range of services as a source of revenue that took them away from their core business.

> *So, in the ______ council case they provided, they provided administrative support for a period of time until those business owners understood their legal obligations as a trader. So, they sort of handhold them on the basis that it's, you know, for a limited period of time. They underwrite a number of their start-up costs. So I think _______ you know, underwrote leasing costs for machinery for a piece of machinery for a period of time until the business became profitable and sustainable and you know, went off on their own.* (Non-Indigenous Informant 21)

> *But then the councils then become everything to everybody. And become dependent on this grant money for their revenue. So, they skim it, and they use that money to do this stuff and it just becomes confused. They should be doing what is defined under the local government act, which is roads, rates and rubbish*. (Non-Indigenous Informant 19)

The Indigenous economic development governance system is therefore complex. The NPM governmentalities encourage and supports this complexity in the way that Indigenous peoples are represented, their economic interests held in trust and services delivered through contracting arrangements. The neoliberal ideologies and governmentalities intrinsic to current policy were theorised and discussed as new forms of governance in Chapter 2. Critical to achieving good policy outcomes within these new forms of governance was understanding power within the system. This included the influence of governments as well as competing organisations with different values, and how the overall design and functioning of the governance system was influencing outcomes (Osborne, 2010; Sabel, 2004). Government policy makers and implementers, however, seemed yet to grasp the importance of this analysis in the context of Indigenous policy.

Summary

This chapter continued answering the research question with a particular focus on research Aim 1. Results were discussed under four themes that guided questioning throughout the informant interviews. Theme 1 considered how economic development was defined by Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants. Both agreed that Indigenous economic development was different, particularly in discrete remote and very remote Indigenous communities. Indigenous informants and the grey literature highlighted that Indigenous peoples' decision-making about engaging in economic development, including business and employment opportunities, was predicated on respecting Indigenous Lore and custom. Indigenous people often needed to make decisions about

trade-offs between engaging in employment and business opportunities and their responsibilities under Indigenous Lore and custom. There was a lack of understanding, however, by non-Indigenous informants and within policy, of the importance of respecting Lore and custom in economic development.

Theme 2 discussed opportunities for economic and livelihood development. Indigenous informants prioritised opportunities for business and employment in industries centred on CNRM. This reflects the emphasis placed on Lore and custom in decision-making discussed in Theme 1 as these industries reconnect people to country. These industries, however, are not prioritised within northern development or Indigenous policy which predominantly focuses on mainstream employment and business development. This is a likely reason for the high levels of Indigenous disengagement in employment, education and training reported in the WTRCS and more broadly across northern Australia (see Chapter 5 & 6).

Theme 3 discussed barriers and enablers to development, identifying how the disconnect and power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies is a barrier to economic development and sustainable livelihoods. Political priorities and NPM, combined with power imbalances, prevent effective engagement with Indigenous peoples in a way that respects Indigenous Lore and custom identified as important to development in Theme 1. Worse still, the transactional nature of political decision making and NPM contribute to lateral violence. Governments, however, fail to see how they are contributing to poor development outcomes, often blaming Indigenous peoples for the failure of their programs and projects. A lack of capacity and capability within Indigenous communities, including knowledge and skills, infrastructure, finance etc. as well as negative stereotyping and discrimination of Indigenous peoples, are further barriers to development. These systemic political and NPM barriers to development, combined with capacity and capability constraints and discrimination, contribute to poor Indigenous economic development outcomes and the intractable nature of Indigenous disadvantage.

Theme 4, roles and responsibilities in supporting development, further demonstrated the lack of understanding by policy makers of Indigenous political economies, particularly the foundational role of Elders and Traditional Owners in decision-making about development. Non-Indigenous informants emphasised the role of Indigenous corporations including Land Councils and RNTBCs in decision-making. These corporations run along the lines of western corporate governance, however, were

criticised by Indigenous informants as having conflicts of interest that contributed to them failing to support Elders and Traditional Owner decision making.

Place-based approaches were identified by informants as important to successful development. This would include treaties centred on First Nations, which were identified by some informants as providing a new framework to support Indigenous development. There were concerns expressed, however, that the wrong Indigenous people were being supported to lead these processes and that there had been a lack of investment in capacity building for Indigenous people to engage effectively in treaties. Informants therefore detailed a complex multilayered governance system that was difficult to navigate for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. There were different understandings about roles and responsibilities in relation to organisations and governments expressed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants. These different understanding and conflicts of interest further contribute to the failure of the governance system, leading to poor development outcomes.

Chapter 8 Eastern Kuku Yalanji Case Studies

Introduction

This chapter will further explore Indigenous economic development in the context of current policy and the alternative sustainable livelihoods approach through detailed case studies within the EKY estate. The selection of the case study region and methodology are detailed in Chapter 4. Case study research is particularly well suited to research requiring a deep understanding of the context when exploring critical issues, because it is only through in-depth engagement can the researcher gain a nuanced view of reality (Burawoy, 1998).

Five livelihood or economic development opportunities were identified within the WTRCS through the literature review and Indigenous focus group (Table 13). These align with livelihood and economic development aspirations identified by the EKY people through strategic planning (Jabalbina, 2016). Chapter 6 sets out the context for the EKY case study analysis including information on the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies. Central to achieving EKY peoples' aspirations for development was expanding employment and business opportunities in CNRM and their ability to return to live and work on their Aboriginal estate. The following three case studies: CNRM; tourism; and return to country, further explore these aspirations. This enables the problems identified with current policies in Chapter 7 to be further discussed through concrete examples to aid in answering the research question and aims.

Cultural and Natural Resource Management Case Study

Cultural and natural resource management is identified by Indigenous informants, and within the literature, as a priority for further development. There is a growing protected area estate and demand for environmental and cultural heritage services in industries prioritised for growth including mining and tourism (CoA, 2015; Dale, 2014; Holmes, 2011). Cultural and natural resource management encompasses a wide range of services that Indigenous corporations and businesses can deliver to government and the private sector (Chambers et al. 2018; Russell-Smith et al., 2018; Whitehead, 2012). To better understand these opportunities and improve investment outcomes this case study focuses on Indigenous land and sea ranger programs[11] and fee for service land management contracting. The EKY estate stretches from the Mowbray Valley through to the Annan River and spreads west towards Lakeland Downs (Figure 11). Within this

[11] Land and sea ranger programs refers to Australian and Queensland Government programmatic funding that employed Indigenous rangers within Indigenous corporations.

estate, there were a range of organisations competing to deliver land and sea management services to governments and the non-government sector (Table 10 & 11).

Land and Sea Ranger Programs

Two EKY corporations receive the bulk of Indigenous land and sea management ranger funding to deliver services to governments in the area broadly claimed to be the EKY estate. At least three other EKY corporations within this estate aspire to run their own ranger programs. These corporations represent different scales of governance under Bama Lore, including First Nation and catchment and clan estates. There is therefore competition for ranger funding between EKY organisations representing different scales of governance under Bama Lore (Turnour, 2014-2019).

This research has detailed the importance of connection to country and kinship relationships in determining who should be engaged in cultural and natural resource management under Bama Lore. It has also detailed how there is often competing understandings about connection to country because of colonisation that can lead to lateral violence between competing mobs and their organisations. Governments, however, do not considered Bama Lore in distributing Indigenous land and sea ranger grants. It is those organisations who can effectively engage with government NPM grants or have a regional organisation sponsor that have successfully captured ranger program resources. Many EKY people and organisations have limited understanding of government grants and contracts and therefore cannot engage in these funding opportunities. They may also struggle to maintain employment within a corporation run along mainstream lines (see Chapter 6). This has created power imbalances and inequities between mobs competing for limited resources contributing to lateral violence. This can be a particular problem where an Aboriginal corporation seeks to limit access to land and sea resources by other mobs who have competing claims for Traditional Ownership and management of land and sea resources.

Government agencies, therefore, driven by their own program priorities, and limited knowledge of Bama Lore, have empowered some Aboriginal corporations and mobs at the expense of others. For example, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority (GBRMPA) has entered into a Traditional Use and Management of Resources Agreement (TUMRA) with an Aboriginal corporation which runs an Indigenous land and sea ranger program. This TUMRA limits Indigenous hunting within the GBRMP. This area of the marine park, however, is also claimed by two other tribal/clan groups, who considered it part of their broader catchment/clan estate. Native title has not yet been determined over the area. Under the TUMRA, Indigenous rangers have sought to limit

hunting by members of competing clan groups by working with the GBRMPA to issue infringement notices. This has resulted in lateral violence between members of these competing mobs resulting in prosecutions in a magistrate's court not related to hunting activities (Turnour, 2014-2019). This is an example of how what has been a positive government environmental program that has produced many benefits for Indigenous peoples can also result in negative outcomes for some Aboriginal people, including engaging them in the criminal justice system.

While government agencies report the positive work that ranger program funding delivers, they often have little understanding of how funding can influence power relationships within Indigenous communities and First Nations. Australian and Queensland Government institutions and organisations enacting legislation and delivering funding through government silos overpowers Bama Lore and can lead to negative outcomes, as this case study demonstrates. This is another example of the lack of respect for Lore and custom and the structural power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies identified as a central problem with current policy. There is a need to rebuild Indigenous Lore and governance and for government agencies to support decision making in line with Bama Lore if disputes over connection to county are to be managed and lateral violence reduced. This requires a focus beyond siloed government programs and project priorities embedded in NPM governmentalities, to a focus on empowering First Nation governance in decision-making about land and sea management.

Land Management Contracting

The Jabalbina Strategic Plan identified land management contracting as a priority for business development. An enterprise program within Jabalbina would leverage skills and experience being developed by EKY people within the ranger program and support other EKY contracting businesses and employment. Within the EKY estate there were opportunities emerging for contracting to government and the private sector. For example, the Collingwood Tin Mine was abandoned and there were opportunities emerging to work with the Queensland Environment Protection Agency (EPA) and subsequently DNRME to rehabilitate the site. The site sat on Kuku Nyungkal country at the northern end of the EKY estate near Rossville. The challenges Jabalbina faced in developing the land management contracting enterprise further demonstrate the problems with current policies discussed in Chapter 7.

The Collingwood mine sits within the EKY ILUA area and encompasses a range of tenures (including Aboriginal freehold held in trust by Jabalbina and a forestry reserve

with an occupational lease over it managed by the QPWS and is within the Cape York United Number One Native Title Claim lodged by the CYLC. Land interests and tenure arrangements were therefore complex when considering approvals for works under the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) and *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act 2003* (Qld). There were also competing priorities between the Queensland Government agencies and the Kuku Nyungkal Traditional Owners of the site. The Queensland EPA was focused on rehabilitating the site in line with its legislative responsibilities while the Kuku Nyungkal people saw the opportunity to utilise the abandoned infrastructure to establish a ranger base and community centre and maximise economic development and employment opportunities. While both wanted the site rehabilitated, Kuku Nyungkal interests also saw economic and community development opportunities, while the EPA was focused on environmental protection, not economic and livelihoods development. The simplest way for the EPA to achieve their priorities was to have all infrastructure removed, the tailings dams capped and the site remediated to reduce environmental and workplace health and safety risks to the community.

Cultural differences and power imbalances were therefore a major challenge for Jabalbina in pursuing economic development and employment for Traditional Owners as part of the mine site rehabilitation. After the initial meeting with the EPA, it became clear that they planned to contract out planning and rehabilitation works through a competitive tendering process and wanted to move forward quickly to rehabilitate the site. There was a lack of understanding within agency staff of the need for further consultations with Kuku Nyungkal people and the time this would take if Bama Lore was to be respected. The proposed approach would also leave limited opportunities for enterprise development and employment for Traditional Owners who lacked the capacity and capabilities to tender and compete with established mine rehabilitation businesses.

Initially, Jabalbina had to have the capacity to lobby the EPA to change its planned approach and work more directly with Traditional Owners on the rehabilitation project. Jabalbina attended the mine liquidation auction and purchased some of the mine's old administration buildings, mess hall and accommodation to establish a base on site. This gave Jabalbina and Traditional Owners a base within the Kuku Nyungkal estate and a presence on the site.

The Queensland Government's Indigenous Procurement Policy also aided in achieving improved engagement and economic development outcomes (DATSIP, 2016). There is not a requirement within the policy for Indigenous engagement, but it does provide a framework for Aboriginal corporations and agency staff to advocate for these outcomes

within Queensland Government departments. Following lobbying by Jabalbina and support by agency staff within the EPA and DNRME Abandoned Mines Unit (AMU), who subsequently took responsibility for the site, the approach to rehabilitating the site slowly changed. The AMU worked with Jabalbina to develop an approach to mine rehabilitation that better reflected Kuku Nyungkal aspirations for the site. This included cultural inductions of AMU staff and appropriate planning processes that engaged Traditional Owners. Jabalbina was engaged directly through a range of smaller contracts to support rehabilitation and cultural heritage planning, site and tailings dam monitoring and water releases during the wet season, vegetation management, road maintenance works, fencing etc. Some of these works were also subcontracted to other Traditional Owner businesses. This provided additional employment training and professional development for Traditional Owners, while large scale demolition works were contracted out through competitive tenders.

There were a range of challenges for agency staff and Jabalbina in achieving these outcomes. Agency staff needed to break up contracts into smaller units and were continuously working with their purchasing departments to gain approvals to not put these contracts out to competitive tender in line with government policy. This increased the administrative burden for everybody and made establishing a pipeline of work to provide ongoing employment for Traditional Owners difficult. It was difficult to provide appropriate training and development to staff employed casually because there simply was not a secure pipeline of work. Jabalbina, with its limited capacity, worked to employ Traditional Owners and deliver mine rehabilitation contracts while managing the barriers to development identified in Chapter 7. These included cultural differences and power imbalances with the government agency, the impacts of colonisation and lateral violence and a lack of capacity and capabilities within the workforce. Positive outcomes were being achieved by agency staff manipulating the policy and programmatic environment, while Jabalbina was doing its best to build Traditional Owner capacity and manage lateral violence while delivering against these contracts. The policy and program environment, rather than being supportive of Indigenous economic development and employment, was being manipulated and managed as best it could by agency staff and Jabalbina.

Jabalbina similarly worked with QPWS to develop contracting opportunities within the EKY estate to create Traditional Owner employment. The QPWS were more experienced at working with Traditional Owners and had established purchasing systems in place with Jabalbina through its ranger program. This made contracting administratively less burdensome. It was still a challenge, however, to maintain a

pipeline of work to ensure ongoing employment for Traditional Owners, making training and professional development of casual staff difficult. Achieving positive outcomes required QPWS and Jabalbina management and staff working together to maintain a pipeline of work and overcome the significant challenges to economic development identified in Chapter 7. QPWS were altering their contracting arrangements to enable direct engagement of Jabalbina to undertake small scale maintenance works based on agreed fixed hourly rates. Larger scale projects again continued to be competitively tendered, and Jabalbina, working in partnership with an Aboriginal builder, secured a contract to replace a board walk in the Daintree through this process.

Land management contracting through NPM governance can therefore create opportunities for economic development and Indigenous employment. This case study, however, demonstrates that this requires good will and commitment from agency staff to make it work. The approach that worked aligned with the principles of relational contracting discussed in Chapter 2 (Sullivan, 2015). The standard government approach to contracting, centred on siloed agency and program priorities delivered through competitive tendering, can limit Indigenous business development and employment. Indigenous people and corporations often have other priorities than agencies, operate on different timelines and lack capacity to engage with government procurement processes, and face challenges delivering contracts with a relatively disadvantaged and unskilled workforce experiencing lateral violence. The QPWS and AMU approach that built shared understandings and aspirations for Indigenous employment and business development through a cooperative rather than competitive approach achieved better economic development and employment outcomes for Indigenous peoples. Central to this success was developing trust and cooperative working relationships between agency and Jabalbina staff.

Eastern Kuku Yalanji Tourism Industry Case Study

Tourism is a major industry in the Wet Tropics of north Queensland based on the region's world heritage listed rainforests and reefs (Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016a). The case study analysis identifies a range of government agencies and industry organisations engaged in the planning and development of Indigenous tourism covering the case study region. These included the Australian Government's DITRDC, PM&C, ILSC, Indigenous Business Groups Australia (IBA) and Queensland Government's DATSIP, DSDTI, QPWS, DNRME, and industry organisations including Tourism Tropical North Queensland (TTNQ) and Tourism Port Douglas and Daintree (TPDD). These organisations contribute to a multitude of tourism policies, plans and projects that create a siloed bureaucratic maze in relation to tourism industry development. This makes it difficult if not impossible to pursue more holistic First Nation community driven development identified as important by Indigenous informants and discussed in Chapter 7.

This is reflected in the range of uncoordinated tourism planning and projects undertaken within the EKY estate since the native title determination and ILUA package in 2007. A review of grey literature identified a range of planning documents including a Daintree Yalanji Walking Track Feasibility Study for a catered, 5-day guided 52 km walk through the Daintree Rainforest between Cape Kimberley and Wujal Wujal commissioned by Indigenous Capital Limited, a philanthropic organisation (ARUP, 2008). The Queensland Government has also undertaken an assessment of recreational trail opportunities between the Daintree and Cooktown as part of a broader feasibility study into a 'Great Walk' on Cape York Peninsula following a 2009 Queensland Government election commitment (Department of Environment and Resource Management, 2009). This study was followed by a statutory legislative assessment by the Queensland Government that identified that the following approvals were needed for a trail network to be constructed within the EKY estate:

- The approval of the Jabalbina Land Trust as the owner of a significant portions of the land;
- The trails must be consistent with the Nature Conservation Act 1992 and the management plans for national parks;
- The trails needed to comply with the planning schemes of the Douglas Shire Council and the Cook Shire Council;
- The trail would need to comply with the Vegetation Management Act 1999; and
- Likely the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999.

The report was not able to provide an assessment of the cost of obtaining these approvals or the time required (Queensland Government, 2010). These plans had not been progressed at the time of the research and again demonstrate that development is often driven by government or industry following political announcements rather than by Indigenous nations or communities. It also highlights the legislative complexity of tourism infrastructure development.

There were a range of EKY businesses or organisations identified through the case study research that were engaged in the tourism industry supported by different government agencies and EKY mobs, again highlighting the bureaucratic maze when viewed holistically in the context of the EKY First Nation estate (Table 18). The Mossman Gorge Centre was built by the Australian Government ILSC and is managed by its subsidiary Voyages Indigenous Tourism Australia (MGC, 2021). It is located towards the southern boundary of the EKY estate in Mossman and is a gateway to tourists wishing to explore the world heritage listed Daintree Rainforest and beyond. The centre runs shuttle buses and cultural tours into the Daintree National Park, has a restaurant and meeting rooms, sells art including from the Mossman Gorge Community Art Centre and undertakes hospitality training. It employs 90 staff the majority of whom are EKY people (MGC, 2021). It is a successful business that emerged from the aspirations of EKY Traditional Owners within the Mossman Gorge Aboriginal community to manage tourists entering the gorge and benefit from tourism.

The establishment of the Mossman Gorge Centre, however, has also contributed to ongoing lateral violence. It is not supported by an extended EKY family group or mob running their own tourism businesses. This group refused for many years to use the centre's facilities and shuttle buses for their tours, instead taking tourist directly into the national park in breach of local government bylaws and QPWS permit requirements that closed the road to the Mossman Gorge. The conflict and related lateral violence between EKY mobs is complex, resulting from the history of EKY colonisation. There are arguments over different mobs' connection to country and therefore rights and interests under Bama Lore discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Table 18: Eastern Kuku Yalanji Tourism Businesses

Business Name	Location	Description
Mossman Gorge Centre	Mossman	Indigenous eco-tourism development serving visitors to the Mossman Gorge. Includes café, art shop, training centre and meeting rooms
Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation	Mossman, Wujal Wujal and Rossville	Educational tourism and aspirations to establish campgrounds and trail network
Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Shire Council	Wujal Wujal	Bana Yirriji Art and Cultural Centre including café, training and meeting room; campground and accommodation
Kuku Yalanji Cultural Habitat Tours	Cooya Beach	Walker Brothers beach mangrove and coastal walk cultural walk and tour of Cooya Beach
Walkabout Tours	Mossman and Lower Coastal Daintree	Half and full day cultural guided tours Mossman Gorge and Daintree River lowlands
Janbal Gallery	Mossman	Art gallery and Aboriginal painting workshops
S&S Trike and Harley Tours	Port Douglas	Trike tours around Port Douglas.
Walker Family Tours	Wujal Wujal	Cultural tour of the Bloomfield Waterfall at Wujal Wujal
Yindilli Camping Ground	Buru along the Creb Track	Campground and guided cultural walking tours
Bana Yarralji Bubu	Rossville	Camping and educational tourism experiences
Jujikal Aboriginal Corporation	Wujal Wujal	Educational tourism

Note: Table adapted from EKY Tourism Strategic Plan, 2018; Jabalbina Tourism Planning Workshop, 2018.

These underlying tensions within the EKY community are not well understood by agencies engaged in the management of the national park or local community. I observed numerous meetings where issues about these competing Aboriginal tourism businesses accessing the national park were discussed. Some members of the Mossman EKY community sought support from the Douglas Shire Council (DSC) and Queensland Government to prevent the competing mob's tourism businesses from entering the national park. The conflict continued for several years, and the competing EKY tourism business only started using the centre's facilities and shuttle bus for their tours after interventions from state and local governments. The underlying conflict between these mobs, however, has not been resolved and often manifests when

decisions need to be made about land and sea ownership and management around Mossman (see for example Chapter 6 section: Colonisation and Lateral Violence). The long-term aspirations to have the Mossman Gorge Centre devolved to community ownership and management is complicated by this ongoing conflict and competition between mobs and their related organisations.

Jabalbina made a significant effort following a strategic plan review in 2016 to prioritise tourism development. This would involve engaging Jabalbina directly in tourism through its ranger program and supporting individual EKY tourism businesses. Mountain biking had emerged as a new tourism opportunity and Jabalbina received funding from QPWS for a trail network concept plan that incorporated four-wheel driving, mountain biking and walking trails centred on Wujal Wujal. After three IAS applications Jabalbina also secured 12 months funding in 2017 to support tourism enterprise facilitation, which it used to employ an enterprise manager. This IAS funding encouraged IBA to engage a tourism business consultant who worked with Jabalbina's enterprise manager to review previous planning documents and undertake further consultations with EKY people, local governments and industry stakeholders to develop the EKY Tourism Strategic Business Plan. Jabalbina subsequently secured further funding from IBA for campground master planning and funding from the Queensland Treasury Gambling Community Benefit Fund to construct toilets at Twin Bridge and Buru Kija camp grounds as part of plans to develop a broader trail network. The DES in 2020 funded further tourism planning within the EKY estate to support CYPAL National Parks joint management negotiations and has since announced the construction of an EKY cultural centre to be built at Kulki (Cape Tribulation).

The Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Shire Council (WWASC) is also engaged in tourism industry development and received funding from the Queensland Government to construct the Bana Yirrigi Wujal Wujal Arts and Cultural Centre including a gallery, workshop and coffee shop. Wujal Wujal is located in the centre of the EKY estate along the Bloomfield Track and the centre is designed to cater for passing traffic. The WWASC, working with DATSIP, also undertook further town planning during the period of the research. This identified areas for tourism infrastructure development but was not coordinated with the IBA-funded EKY tourism strategic planning being undertaken by Jabalbina. The Queensland DSDTI subsequently funded the WWASC to construct tourism accommodation infrastructure. The WWASC also constructed a tourism hub in the centre of the community. Jabalbina and WWASC did attempt to work together to support tourism industry development during the period of the research. Staff changes, the

competitive nature of funding and lateral violence, however, all contributed to the eventual failure of this planned cooperative approach.

There were several smaller EKY family-based tourism businesses operating across the EKY estate including Mossman, Wujal Wujal, Buru and Rossville (Table 18). These businesses provided a variety of experiences including camping and cultural tours to tourist and school groups. They were also engaged at times by Jabalbina and WWASC to undertake smoking ceremonies and cultural inductions for agency and business staff visiting or working on the EKY estate who wished to respect EKY cultural protocols. Some of these smaller businesses had accessed government and philanthropic support to become established, including through IBA (Turnour, 2014-2019). A number had been part of a Bama Way tourism drive between Cairns and Cooktown and relied on non-Indigenous partners to market their experiences. Some also had established partnerships with an education tourism company which bought high school students to the EKY estate during the dry season. Most of these smaller tourism businesses outside of Mossman operated seasonally, closing during the wet season when there are road closures and tourist numbers decline. While there were established EKY businesses, there were also several individuals and families who indicated a desire to establish a tourism business during the case study research. Many of these businesses lack capacity and capability, including knowledge and skills, infrastructure, finance etc. identified and discussed within Chapter 7, to grow and expand (Jabalbina Tourism Workshop, 2018).

The Queensland Government during the research also began developing the Wangetti Trail. This $41 million investment would establish an ecotourism mountain bike and walking trail between Palm Cove and Port Douglas. It therefore transverses the estates of two Aboriginal First Nations, the EKY First Nation and their southern neighbours within the WTRCS. Native Title has not been determined where the trail is to be constructed and there is an ongoing native title process seeking to resolve boundary issues. The Queensland Government is seeking to involve Traditional Owners in the construction and ongoing management of the trail including cultural tours. It was meeting with Traditional Owner groups and prioritised Traditional Owner business engagement and employment in the tender documentation to construct the trail. The construction of the trail and the engagement process run by the Queensland Government, however, is contributing to increasing tensions between Traditional Owner groups. There is ongoing tension between the time needed and resources required to undertake appropriate consultations and engagement with Traditional Owners, and the political expectation to deliver the project once it was announced (Turnour, 2014-2019).

There is therefore significant EKY aspirations and government effort going into supporting tourism enterprise development and employment within the EKY estate. The Australian Government has made a significant investment in establishing the Mossman Gorge Centre, which is now employing and training EKY people. The centre is still owned and managed by the ILSC through its subsidiary Voyages. The Australian Government has also made some investments in supporting tourism industry development through the IAS and IBA in Jabalbina and smaller family EKY tourism businesses. The Queensland Government, through a range of government departments, is making investments through WWASC and Jabalbina in tourism including planning and infrastructure investments. This policy and government effort, however, is focused on individual business and enterprise development through agency-siloed grants and contracts, making it uncoordinated at the broader scale of the EKY First Nation estate. This may seem unimportant to individual agencies focused on project and contract management but is significantly limiting tourism industry development.

Tourism is centred on the land and sea resources of EKY people, which are collectively owned through a layered system of connection to country with an associated system of rights, interests, and responsibilities under Bama Lore. There are often different understandings of these rights and interests because of colonisation, that can lead to competition between groups and lateral violence. EKY people also lack capacity and capabilities to engage in business development. The barriers and enablers to economic development identified and discussed in Chapter 7 (Table 15 & 16) are therefore all influencing and mediating EKY tourism industry development. A place-based holistic and coordinated sustainable livelihoods approach to development that addresses these barriers could significantly improve Indigenous tourism economic development outcomes as discussed in Chapter 9.

Return to Country Case Study

This case study explores how current policy approaches are mediating domestic housing and business development on EKY Aboriginal freehold lands. A key aspiration of Aboriginal people within the WTRCS was a desire to return to live and work on their tribal/clan estates (Jabalbina, 2016; RAP, 2014). Domestic construction and small business activity is a key driver of economic activity within the mainstream Australian economy. Providing opportunities for Aboriginal people to construct houses and develop businesses on Aboriginal freehold lands returned after native title and land determinations should therefore be a real opportunity to support Indigenous economic development.

Under the Eastern Yalanji, Queensland and WTMA (Freehold Grants) ILUA approximately 15,000 hectares of Aboriginal freehold land (the 'Pink Zone') was available to accommodate, as far as possible, the domestic, community and commercial infrastructure requirements of the EKY people and associated services and activities, subject to planning approvals (Queensland Government Crown Law, 2007) (Figure 12). The overwhelming aspiration of many EKY people is to be able to return to live and work on this land (Jabalbina, 2016). Despite this, under current policy approaches, no domestic housing leases had been established or houses constructed after more than 10 years post the EKY native title determination and ILUA package (Harwood, 2018). This has not stopped Traditional Owners exercising their native title rights and seeking to reconnect with their traditional estates. Prior to the determination EKY families began returning to live at Buru (China Camp) with several permanent houses and camps built on this clan estate. Since the determination, there have also been semi-permanent camps built on clan estates at Shipton Flat, Trevathan and Cow Bay.

Return to country is a priority within the Jabalbina Strategic Plan and efforts continue to be made to support these aspirations. There are many benefits that can flow if this aspiration is achieved including returning Aboriginal land and sea management practices to the WTQWHA and creating employment through tourism and construction as infrastructure and businesses are established, while overall community wellbeing and outcomes could be improved by reconnecting people to country. An under resourced governance system weighted down by a complex array of government policy and legislation, however, makes return to country as envisioned within the ILUAs impossible. The reason for this becomes clear through the case study.

The Return to Country Approval Process

Under the Eastern Yalanji Queensland and WTMA ILUA, the EKY people agreed to exercise their native title rights and interests on the Pink Zone according to a Co-operative Management Agreement (CMA). These CMAs permit native title holders to undertake some activities in the WTQWHA that would not otherwise be allowed, but these activities must be carried out in accordance with an agreed community development plan (CDP) and associated activity guidelines (AG) (Harwood, 2018, p. 4).

Following the 2007 EKY determination and ILUA package, WTMA received funding to work with Jabalbina as the EKY RNTBC and land trust to develop the CDP and finalise the activity guidelines. Rather than make a CDP for the entire Pink Zone, pilot study sites were chosen with the intent to later standardise the process. A CDP was developed for each of these sites:

1. Trevathan
2. Kalkandamal (Woobadda top and bottom sides)
3. Mungumby
4. Kada Kada (Cow Bay)

The approval process for development on the Pink Zone is detailed below (Figure 13). The pilot CDPs were completed by WTMA and Jabalbina but were not developed further. Although the funding that WTMA received was for ILUA implementation, it only undertook planning to the point where its mandate ended (Figure 13). The further planning and development approvals and funding for construction were considered the responsibility of EKY peoples and Jabalbina. Although the funding was committed by the Queensland Government for ILUA implementation, WTMA received the funding not Jabalbina. WTMA therefore focused on its narrow environmental management priorities rather than the broader needs of Traditional Owners, including building the capacity of Jabalbina as a relatively newly established Aboriginal corporation.

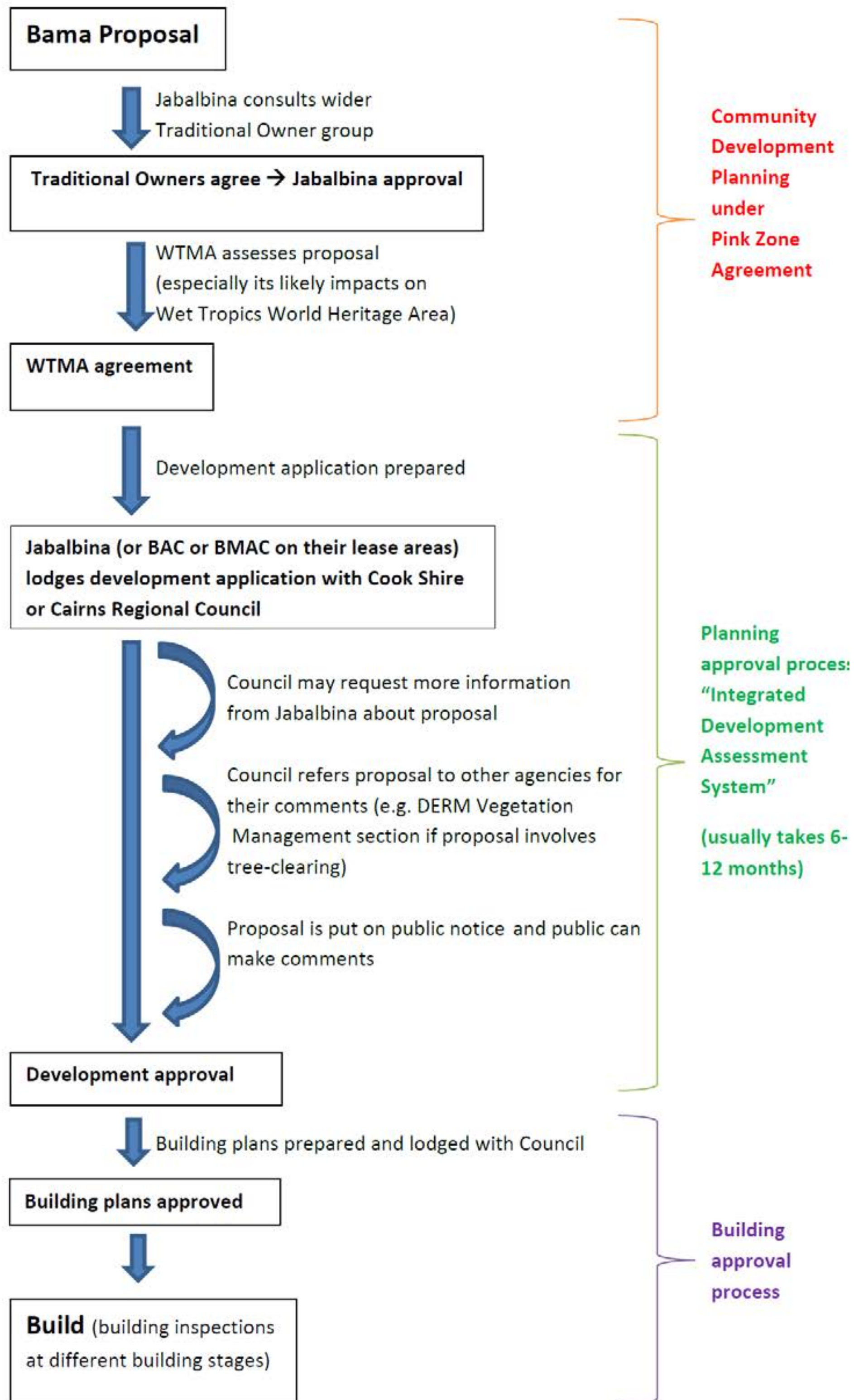

Figure 13. Summary of approvals process for development on EKY Aboriginal Freehold Pink Zone.

Source: *Community Development Plan Kaba Kada Cow Bay for the Pink Zone Cooperative Management Agreement*. Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation. Unpublished Report.

The process left many EKY people disappointed and frustrated. They had already had years of meetings through the native title negotiations and had sat down again with government through the CDP process detailing aspirations for housing and business development for which there was no funding (Turnour, 2014-2019). There was a general lack of understanding of the complex development approval process amongst EKY people. Those EKY people who had moved back onto country had not consulted the CDPs, which covered only a very small area of the pink zones. Most simply found a spot on country where they knew they had family clan connections then moved in with an old caravan or built simple shacks with timber posts, old iron and tarpaulins, with most people ignoring all the approval processes agreed under the ILUAs signed in 2007 (Turnour, 2014-2019).

Three families who sought to engage with the planning and development approval processes received significant support from the Jabalbina IPA manager. The Centre for Appropriate Technology also provided pro-bono planning and development approval support towards the establishment of a lease and infrastructure on Shipton Flats (Wallace et al., 2011). This work and further attempts by Jabalbina to establish a healing centre at Shipton Flats highlighted the complexity of the approval process and the prohibitive costs of trying to undertake individual developments on pink zones. Existing development approval processes were therefore complex and government policy and programs provide no meaningful support to Aboriginal people wanting to return to live and work on Aboriginal freehold lands (Turnour, 2014-2019).

Master Planning on EKY Freehold Lands

By 2018 more people were registering interest in returning to live on country and were seeking approval from Jabalbina to lease a block to build a house and run cattle or conduct tourism. Jabalbina had established a simple expression of interest form for Traditional Owners to complete and register interest, the vast majority of these were on the Kuku Nyungkal estate. Jabalbina, however, did not have resources to support individual planning and development approval processes particularly given the prohibitive costs of individual developments, for example estimated at $50,000 for a healing centre (Harwood, personal communication 2018).

There was a growing need therefore to look again strategically at how EKY people could return to country. The Jabalbina Board approved the engagement of a planning consultant to review EKY aspirations, the current planning processes, and provide advice on the next steps including costs estimates for community and housing development on pink zones (Jabalbina, 2019b). Since the native title determination, the

Douglas and Cook Shire Councils had rewritten their planning schemes incorporating the CDP that were undertaken by WTMA and Jabalbina in 2010. The revised schemes did not match EKY aspiration to return to live and work on country although the Douglas Shire had amended its draft scheme following a submission from Jabalbina. The new Douglas Shire scheme incorporates Return to Country Precincts recognising the pink zones within the Douglas Shire plan. What development was allowed within these precincts, however, was still to be determined (Harwood, 2018).

Subsequent workshops facilitated by Jabalbina in Mossman, Wujal Wujal and Shipton Flats and attended by 39 Traditional Owners again highlighted the strong interest in returning to country. Traditional Owner aspirations, however, differed. Some Traditional Owners wanted 99-year leases while others simply wanted security to be able to move back onto their country. All were concerned that land was not lost from the EKY estate if leases were approved for individual EKY people. EKY Traditional Owners wanted to ensure that the land they had fought to get back could not be sold to non-EKY people if a 99-year lease was granted. The workshops highlighted the challenges of development across three different shires; Douglas, Wujal Wujal and Cook, as each had different planning schemes. This was particularly the case for tourism where experiences were interlinked. The Wujal Wujal Master Plan completed by DATSIP, for example, identified social housing expansion on land which Traditional Owners identified for tourism development through Jabalbina's planning consultations (Harwood, 2018), another example of the uncoordinated way that engagement was being undertaken with Aboriginal people and organisations.

The Queensland Government during this time was also consulting on new planning legislation, the *Planning Act 2016* (Qld), to replace the *Sustainable Planning Act 2009* (Qld). For the first time in the history of planning law in Australia, the *Planning Act 2016* (Qld) now includes a provision which requires the consideration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's knowledge, culture and tradition as an integral part of advancing the purpose of the Act. Specifically, the Act requires all entities, which perform functions under the Act, to perform the function in a way that advances the purpose of the Act, including "valuing, protecting and promoting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, culture and tradition" (*Planning Act 2016*, (Qld) s.5(2)(d)) (Harwood, 2018, p. 3).

The Queensland Government subsequently released an Innovation and Improvement Fund grant to support implementation of the new planning legislation. Jabalbina, with the support of a planning consultant, saw the new planning legislation as an opportunity to

secure funding to pilot a new Indigenous planning process (Matunga, 2013) to progress development on the EKY Pink Zone. According to Matunga (2013, p. 6)) Indigenous planning includes four components:

1. The existence of a group of people, e.g. tribe, clan or nation who are linked by ancestry and kinship connections.
2. An inextricable link between the people and with traditionally prescribed custodial territory that the group claim as theirs, i.e. lands, waters, resources and environments.
3. An accumulated knowledge system about the place, environment, resources, and its history including a set of ethics that governs the interactions between people, place, environment and/or land.
4. A culturally distinct set of decision-making practices and approaches that includes how these are applied to actions and activity agreed upon by the kinship group through their own institutional arrangements.

These four components underpin a community-based approach to planning. The ultimate goal of a community-based approach to planning in this instance is self-determination, i.e. using community knowledge, values, practices and approaches to enhance their collective (and individual) social, economic, cultural and environmental wellbeing. To apply these principles to the EKY estate a project was developed that would integrate this Indigenous planning process within a framework that also integrated with Australian, Queensland and local government legislation. Planning consultants would work with an EKY project officer to undertake a case study on EKY pink zones through a five-stage process:

Stage 1. Community aspirations

Stage 2. Technical analysis

Stage 3. Create a master plan to reflect aspirations and site attributes

Stage 4. Create planning instruments for each of the local government planning schemes

Stage 5. Discussion paper: operationalising section 5(2)(d) of the Planning Act 2016.

The funding was only available to local governments so although the planning would be undertaken on land held in trust by Jabalbina, it formed a partnership with the WWASC to apply for funding. The WTMA, Cook Shire Council, Douglas Shire Council and

Queensland Government agencies agreed to sit on a steering committee with the WWASC and Jabalbina to inform and learn from the process. Two case study sites on pink zone within the EKY estate were identified to apply the planning process (Figure 14).

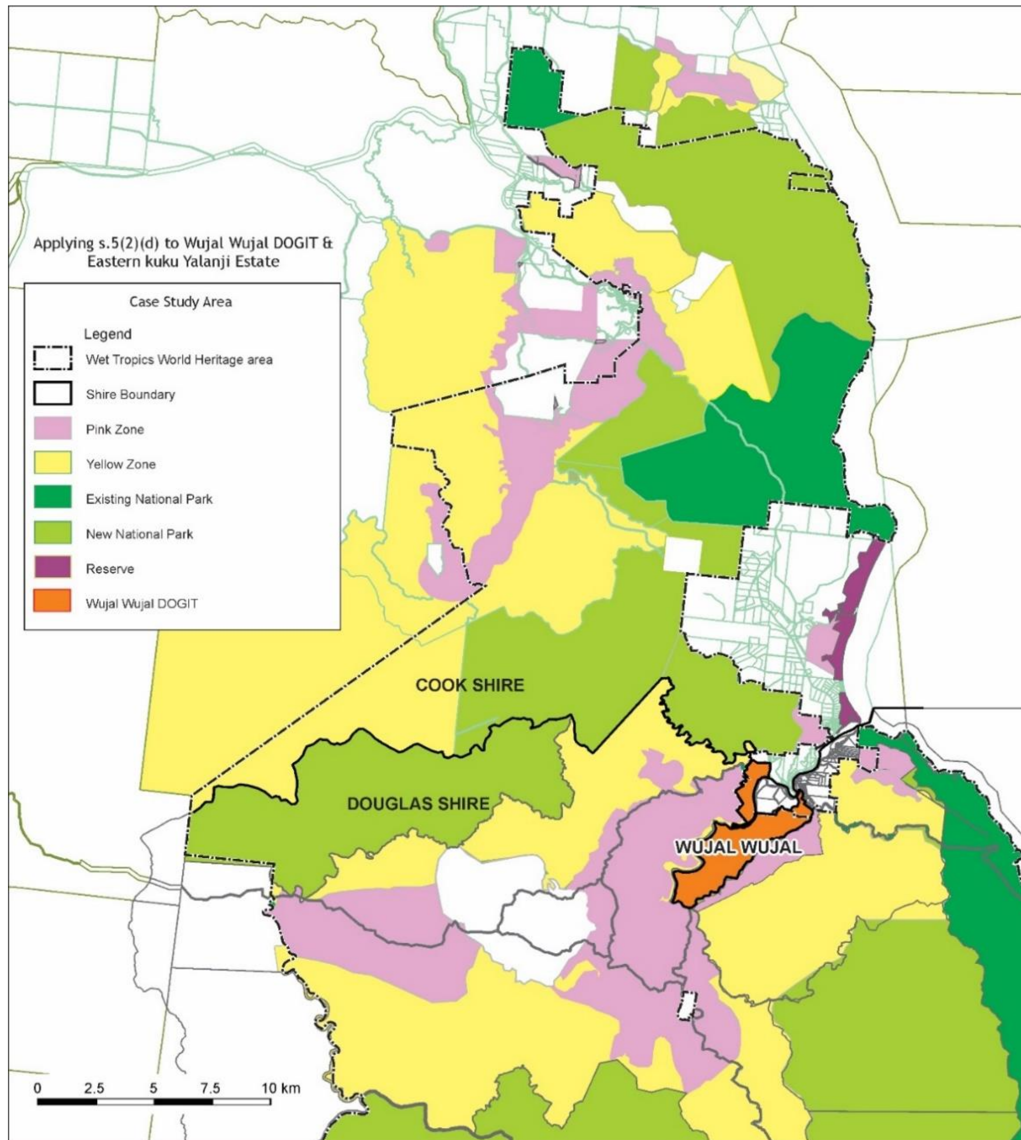

Figure 14. Case Study Areas on EKY Pink Zones.
Source: *Applying s.5(2)(d) of the Planning Act 2016 to the Wujal Wujal DOGIT and Eastern Kuku Yalanji Estate*. Background report to the Jabalbina Board, by S. Harwood, 2018.

The project would also include a discussion paper because, although Jabalbina was undertaking the project to support EKY people's aspirations to return to live and work on their Aboriginal freehold lands, the funding guidelines related to the implementation of the new Queensland Government Planning Act 2016. There was not funding available to support Jabalbina and EKY people return to live and work on their country. Jabalbina therefore wrote an application that fitted with the Queensland Government's generic guidelines for an Innovative Planning Grant aimed at improving planning in line with the new Planning Act 2016 (Qld) and in particular the application of the section related to valuing, protecting and promoting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, culture and tradition (s.5(2)(d)).

Developing the application took considerable effort as it required quotes from planning consultants and approvals from the Jabalbina Board, WWASC, Cook Shire Council (CSC), DSC, WTMA, and Queensland Government agencies. When completed it sought approximately $400,000 to complete the 5-stage master planning process and was submitted in mid-2018. Unfortunately, the project application was unsuccessful in the competitive round of grant funding. The Queensland Department of Local Government, however, thought the project had merit and asked Jabalbina to work with the WWASC to develop an approximately $200,000 pilot project and resubmit for funding in early 2019. Unfortunately, management staff changes occurred at the WWASC in the second half of 2018 and it was becoming increasingly difficult to engage with the council. I also tendered my resignation in February 2019 and the planning consultant who had assisted in developing the proposal left the region in 2019. This again highlights how limited capacity and changes in staffs within organisations can significantly impact development (Turnour, 2014-2019).

This case study again highlights the complexity of development on Aboriginal freehold lands and the way that current policy relies on NPM approaches to support implementation of government policy. In this case the implementation of the new *Planning Act 2016* (Qld) was being supported through a competitive Innovative planning grants program. There was no strategic engagement with Aboriginal people or corporations to support implementation of the new intent of the Act, which requires the consideration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's knowledge, culture and tradition as an integral part of advancing the purpose of the Act. The cost of planning on individual lots is prohibitive and Jabalbina was left to apply for a generic grant to seek assistance to implement an innovative approach to planning it had developed in consultation with a planning consultant. The 2007 native title determination and ILUAs had set land aside for EKY peoples' social, community and economic development, but government legislative planning and funding frameworks were making achieving these aspirations by EKY people impossible.

Chapter 9 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Sensitivity Analysis

Introduction

This chapter will present the findings in relation to the SLA and framework detailed in Chapter 3 as an alternative approach to supporting development. It will do this through a sensitivity analysis using the SLA and framework as a lens to further analyse the contextual data, RAPA Indigenous focus group, informant interview data and EKY case studies discussed previously. The results will be discussed under the four themes that framed the Indigenous focus group and informant interviews along the lines of Chapter 7, that analysed and discussed the current policy approach. This chapter will focus on the suitability of the alternative SLA and framework to support Indigenous aspirations for development. Its usefulness as a tool to address the problems with current policies will also be considered. The detailed methodology and methods for this sensitivity analysis, including the Indigenous research protocol, is discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter will therefore continue to answer the research question, with a particular focus on Aim 2: To explore and critique sustainable livelihoods approaches and their potential to improve Indigenous economic development outcomes in northern Australia.

Theme 1. Defining Economic Development

Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants agreed that Indigenous economic development is different. Indigenous informants described it as more holistic, a collective/communal rather than an individual endeavor. They emphasised the importance of respecting Indigenous Lore in the process of economic development and the role of Elders in decision making. Non-Indigenous informants said that Indigenous economic development is different from western models particularly in remote contexts (Table 12). Informant interviews reflected the findings of the contextual chapters 5 and 6 that found that Indigenous peoples and organisations had different understandings and priorities in relation to development that were influencing development outcomes.

A strength of the SLA is that it recognises that development needs to be understood more broadly than through the assumptions intrinsic to current NPM policies. As discussed in Chapter 3, the definition of a sustainable livelihood is much broader than the current policy's narrow focus on mainstreaming service delivery and engaging Indigenous people in mainstream employment and businesses to overcome disadvantage:

> A sustainable livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resources base. (Scoones, 1998, p. 5)

A strength of the SLA definition is that it considers what constitutes a sustainable livelihood in broad terms by linking it back to human wellbeing through its definition and conceptual underpinnings, including capabilities, equity and sustainability. A livelihood can encompass a job or a business within a market-based economy, but it can also encompass a range of other tangible and intangible assets and claims that Indigenous people may access to make a living, including through their cultural practices (Altman, 2003; Davies et al. 2008). If a SLA is applied to Indigenous economic development policy governments cannot simply make mainstream assumptions about what is best for individuals or society in terms of wellbeing. Instead, policy makers and development practitioners need to take a people centred approach and consider this from an Indigenous community and First Nation's perspective.

The sustainable livelihoods framework provides an analytical tool to support this analysis. It can be applied in a participatory way to develop shared conceptual understandings by researchers, policy makers, development practitioners, Indigenous peoples, businesses and communities. It therefore supports policy makers to set aside intrinsic assumptions within NPM about the benefits of mainstream employment and business development within an Indigenous community and First Nation context, opening opportunities to consider alternative Indigenous ontologies and political economies within the context of development. This is more likely to lead to a decolonising approach to development, as discussed in Chapter 2, enabling Indigenous aspirations for recognition of prior Indigenous sovereignty and support for self-determination through the implementation of an emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Theme 2. Opportunities and Priorities for Economic Development

The Indigenous focus group, building on a grey literature review, agreed five thematic areas that were opportunities or priorities for economic development (Table 13). Indigenous and non-Indigenous interview informants similarly identified a variety of opportunities and priorities for development (Table 14). Indigenous informants and case studies particularly emphasised the need to develop employment and businesses in industries that would reconnect Indigenous people with their culture and country

including CNRM, tourism and return to country through construction (Jabalbina, 2016; RAPA, 2012; RAP, 2014). The northern Australia contextual analysis also discussed that many Indigenous leaders and researchers had identified the expansion of CNRM industries as a significant opportunity for northern development (See Chapter 5). A problem identified with current NPM policies is that they fail to recognise these alternative Indigenous priorities for development or the importance of Indigenous Lore and custom when considering development. The SLA, unlike NPM policy approaches, does not assume that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have the same aspirations for development (FaHSIA, 2011; PM&C, 2014).

In northern Australia, while some Indigenous people are engaging in mainstream market-based economies through business and employment, many – particularly those in discrete, remote and very remote communities – have remained disengaged, choosing instead to remain on the CDP and welfare (Table 6 & 7). The SLA broader definition of what a sustainable livelihood may entail enables a wider range of development opportunities to be considered. The sustainable livelihoods framework also provides a tool to analyse the tradeoffs Indigenous people may need to make and therefore why they may be disengaged. The SLA and framework therefore are tools to analyse why Indigenous people may be disengaged and to consider alternative economic development and sustainable livelihood strategies for communities and First Nations.

Theme 3. Enablers and Barriers to Economic Development

Analysis of the indigenous focus group data and informant interviews identified four broad themes as enablers and/or barriers to development: cultural differences and power imbalances; impacts of colonisation and lateral violence; capacity and capability; and negative stereotyping of Indigenous peoples (Table 15 & 16). The problems within current Indigenous policies discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 are systemic and have become intractable. Their structural nature, embedded in ideological settler colonial and neoliberalism discourses, makes viewing Indigenous disadvantage through a dominant western political and economic lens seem like common sense. This is particularly the case if you are a policy maker and program implementer working within a system which has turned these ideological assumptions into self-perpetuating NPM governmentalities that determine your work priorities and those of your Indigenous ‘clients’.

As discussed, the SLA definition, key concepts and framework support a broader analysis of Indigenous disadvantage. This can reveal alternative Indigenous discourses and political and economic understandings of the nature of disadvantage and

development from an Indigenous perspective, if applied appropriately. It is important to remember, however, that the SLA and framework emerged from a non-Indigenous ontology. Care needs to be taken in its application to ensure that it is empowering of Indigenous ontology and political economies. It is important therefore to develop a shared understanding of the definition, including the key concepts capabilities, equity and sustainability as part of an SLA framework analysis, to prevent an overly technocratic application of the approach.

Key Concepts Capabilities, Equity and Sustainability

A focus on analysing Indigenous development and disadvantage through the lens of the sustainable livelihoods concepts, including capabilities, equity and sustainability, can aid in further identifying problems with current policies and identifying alternative policy approaches. Analysing capabilities within the sustainable livelihoods approach forces policy makers to consider what it is that would support individuals within a community to live a full life including one's ability to be adequately nourished, clothed, access healthcare, education, and to maintain mental health, meaningful relationships and employment (Chambers & Conway, 1992). These are all issues that are a focus of current policy in a very technical sense (FaHCSIA, 2011; PM&C, 2014). Importantly, however, capabilities also incorporate subjective elements of wellbeing, necessitating consideration of the importance of Indigenous Lore and custom in relation to these issues and Indigenous peoples' wellbeing. Current policy either ignores these intangible aspects of Indigenous wellbeing or they are overpowered by the structural power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies identified as a problem with current policy in the previous chapters.

The WTRCS context and interviews demonstrated that important to supporting Indigenous wellbeing is Indigenous peoples' abilities to make decisions informed by their Lore and custom. This includes having the ability to recognise and respect connection to country and maintain kinship relationships. This research, however, demonstrates how current policy, rather than supporting Indigenous people's ability to function and make decisions within this context, has a narrower focus that can force Indigenous peoples to make trade-offs that can be detrimental to their wellbeing and perpetuate conflict and lateral violence within communities. This does not mean that Indigenous peoples are not interested in employment or business development but that these opportunities need to be appropriately considered in the context of empowered Indigenous governance and that these jobs and business opportunities may need to be structured differently. The SLA and framework analysis can aid in revealing these issues and designing alternative policy approaches. It would build the capacity of Indigenous

individuals, their institutions and organisations to make decisions and drive development that recognised and respected Indigenous ontology and political economies, thus addressing a major problem identified with current policy.

The analysis of issues of equity can also aid in understanding and addressing enablers and barriers to Indigenous development identified through this research. Within the sustainable livelihoods approach equity refers to a less unequal distribution of assets, capabilities and opportunities, especially for those most disadvantaged. It also includes a need to end all forms of discrimination including against women and minorities. This requires a broader political and economic analysis of Indigenous policy and the development of northern Australia. Analysis of these issues further highlights the structural nature of Indigenous disadvantage. Indigenous peoples' rights and interests have not been treated equally since colonisation when they were removed from their land and sea estates to facilitate mainstream approaches to economic development by white settlers. This research has demonstrated how more recently Indigenous rights and interests have been ignored or subjugated, for example as governments have moved to protect the environment through World Heritage listings and the establishment of protected area estates in the WTRCS. The return to country case study in the previous chapter highlighted how funding for EKY ILUA implementation was directed to the priorities of WTMA rather than the broader socioeconomic aspirations of EKY Bama.

The analysis of Indigenous policy and the White Paper discussed in Chapter 5 highlighted that the economic development of northern Australia remains overwhelmingly exogenously driven by a neoliberal development agenda (CoA, 2015; Dale, 2013). This is producing an increasing disparity between the haves and the have nots, many of whom are Indigenous (Taylor et al., 2011). Taking a sustainable livelihoods approach and considering equity as an issue in the development of northern Australia brings to the fore who benefits, which is currently ignored within Indigenous development policy and the broader development of northern Australia. The White Paper on developing northern Australia simply assumed that the benefits of major projects will trickle down to local communities, when this has not been the history of northern development (CoA, 2015). In fact, there is evidence of a profound asymmetric divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous economic systems in northern Australia that will require structural change to overcome (Stoeckl et al., 2013). Stoeckl et al.'s empirical study of financial flows between Indigenous and non-Indigenous economic systems in a remote river catchment in northern Australia demonstrated that increasing incomes of Indigenous people raises the incomes of non-Indigenous peoples but that the reverse is not true. Exogenously driven economic development as envisioned in the White Paper

is therefore unlikely to materially benefit Indigenous people particularly those living in remote communities.

An analysis of the demographic assumptions within the White Paper highlights the significant challenges facing policy makers with a diversity of economies and populations within northern Australia and the need for contextualised research, which considers various development outcomes (Taylor et al., 2015). The SLA and framework with its focus on detailed contextual analysis, combined with a strength base assessment of livelihood assets and how institutions and organisations mediate development, provides a framework for systematically considering economic development opportunities and their potential to provide sustainable livelihood outcomes that meaningfully benefit Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations.

The revised framework developed by Scoones (2015), incorporating six political economy questions, can further focus the analysis on identifying issues of equity and the problems of structural power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies (see Chapter 3). This is demonstrated when these questions are used to further analyse current policy within the EKY First Nation subregional case study detailed below.

Who Owns What? The WTRCS contextual analysis, interviews and case study results detailed how the EKY were dispossessed from their land and sea estates through colonisation but are slowly having land returned through native title and land claims. Most of the land covered by the EKY 2007 ILUA package, however, remains under the control of the state as national park protected areas. Only 15,000ha of Aboriginal freehold in the total ILUA area comprising 230,000ha was made available to EKY peoples for economic and social development. The return to country case study demonstrates how government policy and legislation is also preventing social and economic development on these lands. So that while the EKY may appear to own or have interests in a large area of land, this is constrained by the policies and laws of the Australian and Queensland Governments. These native title and land interests are also collectively held in trust by Jabalbina or represented by the Cape York Land Council who have limited resources to engage with Traditional Owners to make decisions about economic and livelihoods development and any necessary trade-offs. Within the discrete EKY Aboriginal communities of Wujal Wujal and Mossman Gorge the land and the majority of infrastructure including housing is held in trust by either the Queensland or local Governments.

Who does what? To a large extent the EKY have been kept marginalised from their land and sea estates. The QPWS and WTMA have continued to manage the day-to-day operations of national parks, and local governments reserves within the EKY estate. Jabalbina have a ranger program funded to manage an EKY Indigenous protected area covering 48,000ha. Housing within the Wujal Wujal community is managed by the WWASC, and within the Mossman Gorge community by the Queensland Government.

Tourism, the region's major industry, built on the region's environmental and cultural values, is dominated by non-Indigenous businesses and employment. The EKY tourism case study detailed EKY peoples interests in the tourism industry. It highlighted the siloed and therefore fragmented approach governments were taking to tourism industry development under NPM policy approaches. This encouraged competition between EKY businesses and organisations which at times led to lateral violence. It also prevented a more strategic engagement by governments at a place based First Nations scale at which EKY Lore and custom operate. The informant interviews and the SLA case study analysis therefore suggests that tourism industry development facilitated at this First Nations scale rather than through siloed government programs would lead to a more coordinated approach to government investment in tourism, and greater engagement of EKY people in tourism business and employment.

Who gets what? Indigenous informants and the EKY case studies detailed a strong desire of the EKY peoples for tourism and CNRM industry development. The region's environmental and cultural values are estimated to contribute more than $2.7 billion annually to the Wet Tropics regional economy through tourism, management and research (Deloitte Access Economics, 2013; Esparon, 2013). The EKY estate covers approximately one third of this region and includes the Daintree Rainforest and Port Douglas, a major access point for tourists to the Great Barrier Reef. Little of this economic benefit flows to rainforest Aboriginal peoples including the EKY peoples (Cultural Values Steering Committee, 2016a). Most of the protected area funding is expended through the QPWS although they have established more Indigenous identified positions within the region. The EKY, through their strategic plan and tenure resolution negotiations with the Queensland Government, have indicated a strong desire to eventually manage the protected area estate themselves (Jabalbina, 2016; Turnour, 2014-2019). There are therefore ongoing tensions between management agencies and EKY people over the management of their estate and their ability to undertake economic and residential development on their lands.

What do they do with it? The EKY First Nation, like other Indigenous peoples in Australia, experience higher rates of unemployment and lower incomes particularly in remote Indigenous communities like Wujal Wujal, where the unemployment rate was 29.7% and the medium household income was $403, compared with 5.1% and $1,169 in the neighbouring majority non-Indigenous community of the Douglas Shire (ABS Census 2016). A large proportion of EKY people living within the boundaries of their traditional estate are therefore on CDP or welfare payments and live-in social housing. In Wujal Wujal, most people were employed in public administration and safety (39.1%) or health care and social assistance (15.6%). This compared to the neighbouring Douglas Shire where tourism was a major industry with 14.2% employed in accommodation, 6.4% in café and restaurants and 3.6% in scenic and sightseeing transport (ABS Census, 2016).

How do groups interact? Indigenous informants emphasised the importance of Indigenous Lore and custom to decision making. Many EKY people remain guided by their traditional Lore and custom centred on kinship relationships and connection to country (Jalunji-Warra People & Shee, 2012; Kuku Nyungkal Bama et. al., 2012; Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation, 2016). Policies driven by political decision-making and NPM governmentalities provide little support to Indigenous people to consider and manage any trade-offs required when engaging in employment or business. Neoliberal public management contracting arrangements have created siloed and fragmented engagement between agencies and Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations. This has led to increasing governance complexity and competition between Indigenous corporations and mobs. This has contributed to increasing conflict and lateral violence within communities, identified as a major problem resulting from existing policies through the case studies, Indigenous focus group and informant interviews.

How are political changes shaped by ecologies? Indigenous people have fought hard to have their interest in land recognised by the settler colonial state. Indigenous people were originally removed from their traditional estates to allow white settlers access to land for mining, agriculture and forestry. Many of these areas were the most economically productive of the original EKY estate and were cleared and became freehold private property, extinguishing Indigenous people’s rights and interests in the region’s most economically productive lands. Those areas remaining available for native title and land claim were less productive timber reserves, pastoral and old mining leases. They were also largely undeveloped and therefore became a focus for environmental protection by conservation groups. This has meant that governments, while returning

lands to Indigenous peoples through native title and land dealings, are prioritising conservation outcomes on these lands, limiting Indigenous people's capacity to develop their lands for residential and economic purposes.

Asking these broader political economic questions within Scoones' revised framework, places an additional focus on issues of equity and power within the sustainable livelihood's framework. It is clear from this analysis that while EKY peoples aspire to take back control of their land and sea estate and become economically independent following their native title determination, real power and decision making remains with the Australian and Queensland Governments. At the same time most of the economic benefits flowing from their World Heritage listed estate flow to non-Indigenous businesses and employees. The SLA, through its ability to focus on equity, can therefore further reveal the problems with current policy, making them more likely to be addressed by governments.

The concept of sustainability has been central to livelihoods approaches since their inception. Sustainability is often thought of in terms of environmental sustainability, but livelihoods approaches incorporate social and environmental sustainability. This broader focus is important because the WTRCS contextual analysis, informant interviews and case studies identified how environmental policy and legislation is currently preventing Indigenous people from returning to live and engage in economic development on their traditional estates. This goes to issues of equity and capabilities discussed earlier, so the current narrow focus of government policy in relation to the environment should not be considered sustainable. It limits Indigenous people's capabilities, including their ability to maintain their connection to country and make decisions about land and sea management and development in line with their Lore and custom, identified as important to Indigenous wellbeing.

To be sustainable, a livelihood needs to maintain or enhance the natural resource base as well as the capabilities of individuals. Indigenous knowledge is important to maintaining Indigenous people's capabilities and is increasingly being recognised as critical to the management of the Australian landscape. It needs to be incorporated within environmental policy if management is to be sustainable. The broader focus on social as well as environmental sustainability within the SLA can therefore help reveal the failure of current policy to recognise and value Indigenous knowledge in relation to CNRM. This is particularly the case in relation to the failure of current environmental policy to support Indigenous people's aspirations to return to live and work on their traditional estates, as discussed in the return to country case study. The sustainable

livelihoods key concepts outlined in Chapter 3 and discussed above provide a broader political economic lens through which to view Indigenous development policy. They are interrelated and can support each other in determining whether a policy approach will generate sustainable livelihood outcomes for Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations.

Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks

Sustainable livelihood frameworks provide a further tool to assist in livelihoods analysis and understanding how to achieve improved policy outcomes. This research has demonstrated the enormous complexity involved in Indigenous economic development and related policy responses to overcoming Indigenous disadvantage. There is the challenge of determining what constitutes development as policy is engaging with alternative Indigenous ontologies and political economies. This is complicated further by the legacy of trauma and lateral violence created because of colonisation and how this continues to be perpetuated through current policies. The case study has demonstrated how colonisation has left Indigenous peoples with different interpretations of their Lore, influencing decision-making about economic development. There are also multiple hybrid Indigenous identities and aspirations for development. This, combined with the bureaucratic maze created by siloed government agencies and NPM governmentalities, all adds to the complexity and contributes to the intractable nature of Indigenous disadvantage. The sustainable livelihoods framework provides a tool to sort through this complexity and help develop more appropriate policy responses.

The sustainable livelihoods framework sets out the main elements influencing development and how they interact to mediate sustainable livelihood outcomes. This includes the development context, assets or capitals, institutions and organisations, livelihood strategies and outcomes (see Chapter 3). This provides a holistic lens or checklist through which to analyse different Indigenous sustainable livelihood strategies and outcomes. It highlights a range of issues impacting on economic development outcomes and, importantly, how they interact to mediate development. The sustainable livelihoods framework's capacity to support understandings of relationships between the different elements necessary to support development emerge as a significant strength of the sustainable livelihoods framework analysis. Not only were issues identified, but how they interact to mediate economic development emerged as key learnings from the sustainable livelihoods framework analysis. Used by multidisciplinary teams and as a participatory tool with communities the SLA can help sort through complexity and develop shared understandings about the different factors that influence economic development and livelihood outcomes.

This, however, only occurs if the framework is applied appropriately. There has been criticism of the sustainable livelihoods framework for taking an overly technocratic approach that can continue to analyse poverty based on neoliberal political economic assumptions (Scoones, 2009; 2015). Given the structural power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies there are risks therefore that the sustainable livelihoods framework may similarly be applied inappropriately within an Australian Indigenous context. It is important to remember that the SLA, while recognising economic development in broader terms, is still embedded in a western ontology. Structural power imbalances and the intrinsic assumptions about development within NPM discussed in Chapter 2 need to be recognised and managed if serious consideration is to be given to Indigenous ontologies and related political economies during the analysis. The institutional processes and organisational analysis at the centre of the sustainable livelihoods framework, if undertaken appropriately, can reveal these structural issues and identify new approaches. This research therefore suggests that the analysis of institutional processes and organisational structures is a good place to start when applying the sustainable livelihoods framework as an analytical lens. This analysis will be discussed further under Theme 4, Roles and Responsibilities in Supporting Sustainable Livelihoods Development.

A key criticism of the current mainstream NPM Indigenous policy approach is that it fails to carefully consider the development context, treating development as a technical issue removed from its cultural and historical context (Altman, 2001; 2009; Maddison, 2019; Morphy, 2008; Taylor, 2009). Applying an SLA and framework requires policy makers and program managers to consider the broader context within which they seek to implement economic development projects. This includes themes that emerged from the focus group and interviews, such as ‘cultural differences and power imbalances and the ongoing impact of colonisation and lateral violence’ on decision-making about development (Table 15 & 16). It also includes the ability of Indigenous individuals, organisations and communities to engage with government programs and services designed to support development. Recognising these as significant contextual issues encourages policy makers to seek to understand how they may be mediating development in a particular place through their influence on livelihood assets, and how institutional processes and organisational structures may be contributing to maintaining this negative context for development. The sustainable livelihoods framework analysis forces a systematic consideration of the development context from an Indigenous perspective. There is no systematic analysis of the Indigenous community context under current neoliberal policy and program implementation.

SLA Framework Context and Trend Analysis

Many new programs including the IAS were designed removed from the community context and then rolled out through competitive tendering processes, assumingly based on neoliberalism ideological discourses and related governmentalities that this is the most effective and efficient way to deliver services and allocate scarce government resources (PM&C, 2014; ANAO, 2017). Many Indigenous peoples and community-based organisations or businesses best placed to engage communities and deliver services may lack the capacity to engage in these government tendering processes. The government's IAS is based on NPM competitive grants and contracting arrangements, however, and simply assumes that Indigenous peoples, organisations and communities can and must engage with these structures and processes if they want to receive funding, deliver and or access services. National or state based competitive grants directed from Brisbane, Perth or Canberra (Dale, 2013) simply ignore local contexts and the capacity of local Indigenous communities and organisations to engage in development opportunities.

Understanding the Indigenous context, particularly the importance of kinship relationships and connection to country and how this has been impacted by colonisation within a local context, has been identified as critically important to successful policy, program and project implementation. There can be different understandings of connection to country embedded in different clan and family discourses of Aboriginal Lore and colonisation. Having Indigenous connection to country recognised by Australian and Queensland Government law, through the Native Title Act 1993 (Cth) or the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld), can be critical to determining who benefits from economic development. Government decisions about land ownership, resource allocation and development can therefore lead to the conflict and lateral violence discussed in the contextual analysis, interviews and case studies as Indigenous people and organisations compete for recognition and resources (Australian Human Rights Commission & Gooda, 2011). This can occur at different scales and it is therefore critically important to seek to understand local Indigenous political economies and appropriately engage as part of program and project design and implementation.

The contextual analysis also provides an opportunity to consider issues like seasonality, identified by Indigenous informants as important to economic development outcomes (Table 16). The WTRCS experiences a distinct wet and dry season. During the wet season (November to April), cyclones and flooding can significantly limit economic activity. This is particularly the case for remote communities like Wujal Wujal, which is cut off by flooding at some stage most years. This is an important context to understand

when planning policy, programs and projects, one that may not be well understood by government decision makers in Brisbane, Perth and Canberra.

Trends are also considered within the sustainable livelihoods framework's contextual analysis. The analysis of northern Australia and the WTRCS trends highlights the growing interests Indigenous people have in the land estate in northern Australia and the WTQWHA since the introduction of native title. This includes the trend for much of these newly acquired Indigenous interests in land to be bound up in protected areas including within the WTRCS and EKY estate (see Chapter 6). The tensions between Indigenous peoples and policy makers in relation to the limitations placed on Indigenous people's ability to practice their culture and to generate a livelihood from protected areas becomes more obvious when considered within the broader context of colonisation. While settler colonial theory details how Indigenous people were removed from their land estates to allow white settlers to pursue economic interests, now that native title is enabling Aboriginal people to get land back, conservation interests are excluding or limiting their ability to manage their land and sea estates (Dale, 2014; Holmes, 2011; Pannell, 2008). The SLA's explicit focus on context encourages further analysis and consideration of these issues and trends.

SLA Framework Asset Analysis

Another strength of the sustainable livelihoods framework is its systematic analysis of livelihood assets or capital. The asset analysis is important in understanding gaps that need to be addressed or opportunities that may be available from the stock of livelihood assets or capital Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations possess. The Indigenous focus group and informant interviews identified a range of assets that Indigenous people identified as lacking and are needed to support economic development. These included financial, human and physical resources necessary to gain employment and manage a business. They also identified a range of assets they possessed, including cultural and natural assets, that they wanted to leverage through tourism and CNRM enterprises and that were further discussed through the case studies. The analysis within the livelihoods framework therefore provides for a systematic assessment of the assets or capital needed to support sustainable livelihood strategies and outcomes.

In considering how these assets might be strengthened or accessed, the framework positions these livelihood assets between the context and the institutional processes and organisational structures, as these can mediate and influence access to these resources or assets. This aids in breaking down silos as the development of individual capitals is

not seen in isolation from the others and can be influenced by the context and the institutional and organisational environment. Colonisation and lateral violence for example may have a significant influence on the levels of social capital within a community (Bennett & Gordon, 2005). While supporting the further development of human capital may not simply involve the rollout of education and training programs or new health services. These services will need to be appropriately designed and implemented, taking into consideration underlying conflict and lateral violence within the community because of colonisation. Cultural considerations may also need to be taken into consideration in the design of these services if they are to be taken up by community members. While it may be the situation within a small community that members may simply not want to develop the knowledge and skills to undertake jobs or activities required to support some forms of development, this could be for a range of historical reasons or cultural reasons, and simply providing services or applying punitive welfare measures to encourage engagement will not achieve the expected policy and program outcomes. Instead, Indigenous people in the short term at least may prefer to engage outsiders to undertake this work so that they can secure resources for more of the work they may choose to undertake, like working on country, ranger, land management contracting and tourism jobs. The SLA provides a framework to systematically analyse this range of capitals and how they interact and are influenced by the development context and institutional processes and organisational structures currently lacking in NPM policy approaches.

The sustainable livelihoods framework analysis therefore not only undertakes a stocktake of assets but enables an analysis of the risks to assets from the context, and an analysis of how the current institutional and organisational environment may be influencing and mediating access to assets. This is important, as many Indigenous assets are collectively owned, and access is mediated through Indigenous knowledge about traditional Lore and custom. The asset analysis can therefore further highlight the importance of strengthening Indigenous governance to support appropriate decision-making and access collectively owned assets to achieve sustainable livelihood outcomes.

Theme 4. Roles and Responsibilities in Supporting Development

SLA Framework Institutional and Organisational Analysis

At the centre of the sustainable livelihoods framework is the institutional processes and organisational structures box (Figure 2 & 3). The approach therefore encompasses an analysis of the governance system mediating economic development. This was

highlighted as increasingly important in understanding and managing these NPM forms of governance in Chapter 2 (Osborne, 2010; Sabel, 2004).

The sustainable livelihoods framework institutional and organisational analysis bring to the fore the cultural differences and power imbalances between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies identified as a barrier to development. The EKY First Nation subregional case study has demonstrated that there are two distinct but overlapping domains of governance with their own structures and processes mediating economic and livelihoods development. The western NPM governance system comprises government and a non-government sector that includes Indigenous and non-Indigenous businesses, not for profit organisations and individuals operating guided by the laws of Australian, State, Territory and local governments. The Aboriginal domain comprises Aboriginal First Nations, tribes, clans, families and individuals, and related traditional Lore and customs which often operate through mobs that seek to mediate who owns and can access and utilise resources. This creates a complex bureaucratic maze of Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations delivering service to Indigenous peoples and communities, identified as a problem more broadly across northern Australia (see Chapter 5).

Figure 15 is a schematic diagram of the institutional processes and organisational structures box within the sustainable livelihood's framework (Figure 2 & 3). It incorporates two domains of governance operating within EKY First Nation communities and their different legal structures. The arrows highlight the significant power imbalance between the First Nation and western non-Indigenous domains. Analysing and understanding these two governance domains and their interaction is critical to understanding the power relationships between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies within the EKY First Nation and how this is mediating economic development outcomes.

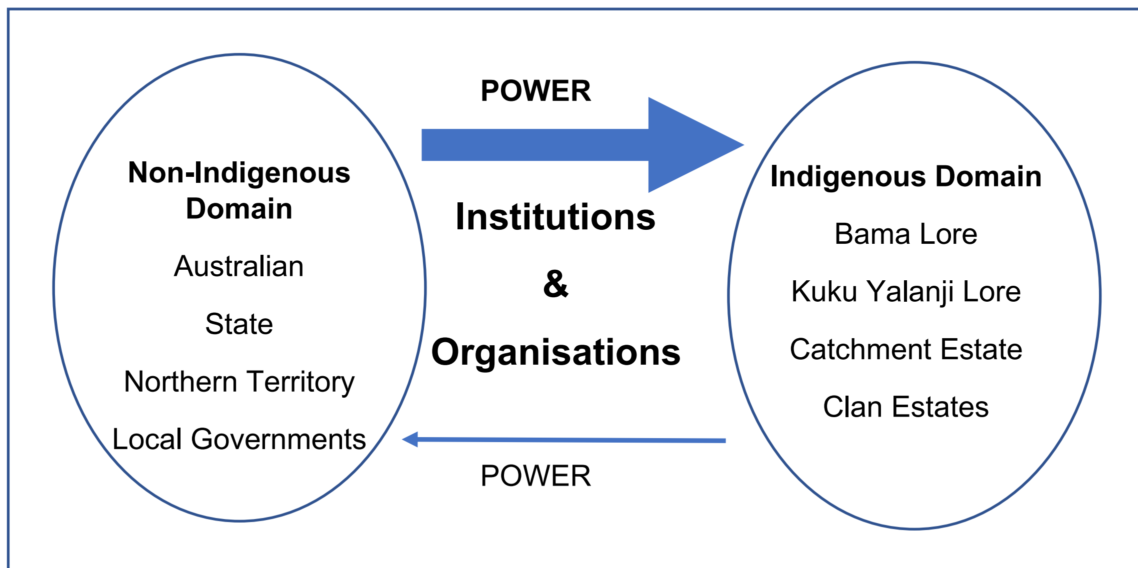

Figure 15. *Institutional and Organisational Box within Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Showing Western Non-Indigenous and EKY First Nation Domains and Power Relationships.*

Mapping the Indigenous and non-Indigenous institutional and organisational environment separately using these different domains as lenses within the sustainable livelihoods framework can help in understanding and addressing these structural issues. The EKY people's case study demonstrates there has already been significant work done by anthropologists, researchers and by Aboriginal peoples through their native title and country-based IPA planning process and through the organisations they have established. There is therefore significant information available through academic and grey literature to provide a basis for policy makers, program managers and development practitioners to start to map the institutional and organisational environment in which they may be seeking to support sustainable livelihoods and address Indigenous disadvantage. This can also be combined with a participatory process with Indigenous First Nations and communities to gain an even deeper understanding of the Indigenous political economy in a particular place.

The sustainable livelihoods framework can then aid in building an understanding of Indigenous engagement in mainstream market-based economies by viewing this economy through the lens of the Indigenous domain. This can provide a different perspective on the levels of Indigenous engagement and at what scales individuals and organisations engaged may be drawing their power. Viewed through this lens the research highlights that the majority of government funding is going to organisations at the regional scale with more limited funding to the First Nation and clan scales of governance (Table 10 & 11). Indigenous informants emphasised that the power to make decisions about development within the EKY estate, however, rests at the catchment

and clan estate level. Governments seeking to support development therefore need to ensure that there is appropriate engagement at this scale if a development is to be supported and not lead to lateral violence. The sustainable livelihoods framework institutional and organisational analysis can therefore help policy makers gain a deeper understanding of a policy, program, project or service from an Indigenous First Nation and community perspective. This can aid in the design and implementation of improved policies and programs.

This is important, as postcolonial theory points to the risks of native and Indigenous elites adopting the institutions and organisations of the coloniser, effectively leaving many Indigenous people still disenfranchised (see Chapter 2). These were concerns expressed by Indigenous informants and observed through the case study research, as government funding influenced the different levels of power different organisations and their related nations, tribes/clans and mobs possess within Indigenous regions and communities (See Chapter 6, 7 & 8).

SLA and Frameworks Strategies and Outcomes

The strategies and outcomes of taking a SLA and framework analysis are therefore much broader than the narrow focus of neoliberalism centred on economic growth through the development of businesses and employment within market based economies. Issues including wellbeing, equity and sustainability are not treated as externalities, but as outcomes that are central to the SLA and framework (Figure 2 & 3). This is distinctly different to the current NPM policy approach and more aligned with Indigenous aspirations for development. The SLA and framework's broader focus enables mainstream employment and business development and alternative Indigenous livelihoods to be considered in a way that recognises and respects Indigenous Lore and custom. This is critical to engaging Indigenous people in employment and business opportunities. The SLA and framework definition, key concepts and framework have therefore been demonstrated to be more appropriate to supporting Indigenous development than current economic development policy approaches.

Chapter 10 Synthesise, Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Introduction

Indigenous economic development policy over more than a decade has not achieved its stated policy objective to progress on Closing the Gap in a range of socioeconomic indicators between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Australian Government, 2020; Productivity Commission, 2016). Indigenous peak bodies and researchers have identified the SLA as an alternative approach to supporting development in northern Australian Indigenous communities. The RAPA strategic plan and partnership with TCI prioritised research into economic development within the Wet Tropics of north Queensland which became the case study region, and the research question and aims and methodology including Indigenous research protocol was developed.

Postcolonial theory and neoliberalism theoretical frameworks provided insights into how contemporary Indigenous policy is shaped by the dominant mainstream political economy in Australia. These theoretical frameworks and the alternative SLA and framework were combined with the research data through a process of analytical induction and theoretical sensitivity analysis to generate the research findings. This chapter provides synthesise of the findings of this research in relation to the research question and aims. The first synthesis focuses on problematising current Indigenous economic development policy, addressing research Aim 1. The second synthesis provides an analysis of what needs to change considering the role of the alternative SLA, addressing research Aim 2. The place-based case study research central to research Aim 3 informs this analysis. The final sections addressing research Aim 3 and 4 draw on both syntheses and bring the findings of the research to conclusion. They discuss how policy needs to be reformed and make a key set of recommendations.

Research Aim 1.

Research Aim 1 focused on critiquing the dominant neoliberal economic development paradigm and its application within government policy and Indigenous contexts in northern Australia. This critique involved reflexive practice that brought together the postcolonial and neoliberal theoretical frameworks with the northern Australia and WTRCS contextual analysis, the Indigenous focus group and informant interview data in Chapter 7. The EKY CNRM, tourism and return to country case studies in Chapter 8 further highlight how current policy is limiting development in a local First Nation context.

The problems with current policy are summarised and discussed under eight themes below.

1. Current Indigenous policy fails to meaningfully recognise and respect distinctly different Indigenous peoples' ontologies and First Nation political economies, limiting development and leading to a loss of Indigenous knowledge.

The EKY case study analysis, Indigenous and non-Indigenous interviews and academic and grey literature reviews found that Indigenous economic development is different to mainstream economic development. Indigenous peoples have different perspectives on economic development and what is important for individual and community wellbeing. Indigenous informants and the grey literature emphasised that central to wellbeing is maintaining kinship relationships and connection to country incorporating one's cultural knowledge and Indigenous systems of governance. Indigenous governance operates at the scale of the First Nation, incorporating tribal and clan estates linked to geography and kinship relationships, and involving decision-making at the scale of the catchment/clan estates (see Chapter 6). First Nation governance is therefore place-based, operating at scales and through processes not reflected in or supported by Australian, State and Territory Government Indigenous policies.

Northern Australian Indigenous leaders understand this and have called for an approach to economic development that places Indigenous peoples and their rights to self-determination at the centre of the northern Australia development agenda. They set out an alternative vision for northern Australia that recognised and valued Indigenous peoples and their unique relationship to land and water resources while creating a prosperous future built on First Nation self-determined economic development strategies (see Chapter 5).

Despite this government Indigenous policy discussed in Chapter 5 has been shaped by neoliberalism over the past two decades. The national Indigenous representative body ATSIC was abolished in 2006 and responsibility for Indigenous policy and service delivery was transferred to mainstream government agencies. Interview informants and the grey literature highlight how political priorities and NPM governmentalities, not Indigenous peoples, communities or First Nations, now shape Indigenous policies. Indigenous policy did not effectively engage with or respect alternative Indigenous ontologies or political economies. The dominant mainstream neoliberal political economy centred on competitive markets and economic growth in fact subjugates and renders irrelevant First Nation ontology and political economy. This structural neglect of Indigenous peoples' alternative political economy and lack of meaningful engagement

or respect for First Nation governance was found to be a consistent failure of government policy. This reflects a continuation of discredited settler colonial policies and represents new forms of racism discussed in Chapter 2.

This lack of respect for First Nation ontologies and political economies is reflected in Indigenous policy and the broader northern Australia development agenda. It is the central problem with current government policy. The focus group, interviews and case study demonstrate how this is contributing to a loss of Indigenous knowledge. First Nation peoples remain disconnected from their traditional lands and lateral violence reduces the transfer of Indigenous knowledge between generations because of ongoing community conflict and dysfunction.

Indigenous knowledge is increasingly recognised as having not only social and cultural value, but also economic value. It provides tools to rehabilitate and manage the Australian landscape more sustainably (Gammage, 2011), creating opportunities for new industries including ecosystem services, bushfoods and traditional medicines (Chambers et al., 2018; Dale, 2014; Russell-Smith et al., 2018; Russell-Smith & Whitehead, 2014). These new industries, which rely on maintaining and enhancing Indigenous knowledge, were identified as priorities for development by the Indigenous focus group and interview informants. They have not been prioritised for development by governments, reflected in the White Paper on Developing Northern Australia (CoA, 2015). An outcome therefore of the failure of Indigenous policy to recognise and respect Indigenous ontologies and related political economies is not only a continuation of Indigenous disadvantage, but a loss of Indigenous knowledge. Australia is losing an important national asset and marginalising Indigenous peoples and communities from participation in new industries that could be further developed, including through market-based economies.

2. Structural power imbalances between non-Indigenous and First Nation political economies limit meaningful engagement of Indigenous peoples and communities in development.

The failure to recognise and respect Indigenous ontologies and First Nation political economies is underpinned by a structural power imbalance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies. The codified institutional and organisational power of Australian governments is overwhelming compared to the informal institutional and organisational structures and process of Indigenous First Nations (see Chapter 6, 7 & 8). Non-Indigenous interview informants discussed how political concerns about how a government might be 'viewed' by the electorate, and the personal interests of different

Ministers, influenced government policies. Policy responses were not driven by culturally competent engagement with affected communities to determine priorities and actions. Instead, policy priorities were established based on non-Indigenous assumptions about how an Indigenous community should function and Indigenous peoples should behave. Neoliberal Indigenous policies, including Closing the Gap, IEDS, IAS and CYWR trials discussed in Chapter 5, explicitly assume that Indigenous people have the same aspirations and therefore priorities as non-Indigenous people. They are explicit about the type of behaviours to which Indigenous people are expected to conform. They need to get a job, own a home, send their children to school and live-in safe communities to close the socioeconomic gaps in Indigenous disadvantage (FaHCSIA, 2011; PM&C, 2014). Indigenous people, however, can have different understandings of employment, homeownership, and educational priorities, based on their own Lore and customs.

Indigenous policy implementation involves a maze of siloed government agencies working along timelines that prevent culturally appropriate engagement with Indigenous peoples and communities and any consideration of their priorities and needs. Neoliberal public management therefore forces agency staff, Indigenous peoples, organisations and businesses to conform to the priorities and norms of the mainstream non-Indigenous political economy, without regard for the impacts this may cause at the Indigenous community or First Nation scale. Governments through NPM governmentalities effectively try to control Indigenous people and communities from a distance.

Resources to support Indigenous economic development were therefore not driven by Indigenous priorities but government priorities. These resources were also distributed through government structures and processes that operated at different scales and across different boundaries than those of Indigenous First Nations and their catchment and clan estates. Policy research and analysis is conducted, and data is collected aligned to these mainstream political and economic structures and scales of governance, further reinforcing their power in the political and policy process and disempowering Indigenous peoples and First Nations.

The power imbalances within the system therefore often require Indigenous people to make trade-offs between their Lore and customs and employment, training, and business development opportunities. This limits economic development where Indigenous peoples are not prepared to make these trade-offs. This structural failure to empower policy to respect First Nation Lore and custom therefore leads to poor outcomes for a range of reasons. Firstly, decisions may not get made because there are often competing understandings about who the correct decision makers should be and

competing aspirations for a service or development. Secondly, decisions may be made by Indigenous leaders and mobs more skilled in engaging in the mainstream political economy which are not more broadly supported within the Indigenous community or First Nation. This can be the case because most of the funding, and therefore power, within Indigenous corporations is found at the regional and subregional level, whereas decision making power under Indigenous Lore is strongest at the catchment and clan estate level (see Chapter 6 & 7). Thirdly, where a service or development is not supported by appropriate Lore-based decision-making, Indigenous peoples may simply choose not to engage with the service or the jobs and other business opportunities that may flow from the service or development. Finally, many are excluded from participation in the economy if they do not have the capabilities to engage and navigate these mainstream economic structures and processes.

These power imbalances and the disregard for Indigenous political economy and related Lore and custom intrinsic to current policy, are a major reason for policy failure. Neoliberal government policies therefore contribute significantly to the gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in employment, education and training, particularly in discrete Indigenous communities in northern Australia detailed in Chapter 5 and 6. The power of the dominant mainstream neoliberal policy narratives of Indigenous disadvantage and community dysfunction that other Indigenous peoples, however, masks this reality and perpetuates this policy approach. Governments fail to see the ideological nature of neoliberal Indigenous policy and how it clashes with and subjugates an alternative Indigenous ideology.

3. Neoliberal public management governmentalities are resulting in a siloed maze of Indigenous programs and services contributing to poor development outcomes.

Neoliberal reforms to Indigenous policy have led to the corporatisation of government departments and the privatisation and contracting out of government services through NPM. The contextual analysis, informant interviews, grey literature and case studies discussed how this has created a governance system where Indigenous policies are implemented through narrow program priorities to improve accountabilities, and through competitive contracting and purchasing processes to improve efficiencies. Where non-competitive processes are used, vested interests and political decision making are a problem. Government agencies need NGOs and businesses to supply infrastructure, products and services to communities, creating a wide range of grants, contracting and purchasing opportunities for organisations. Contracting and purchasing agreements

focused these organisations on narrow government priorities and timelines. The result is a complex governance system of uncoordinated, siloed government departments narrowly focused on political and agency priorities and administrative processes.

This system, by forcing agency staff and service providers into narrow silos focused on government priorities and administrative processes, limits their capacity to focus on Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nation priorities and needs. This includes their ability to offer culturally appropriate representation, programs and services to Indigenous peoples. The competitive nature of the system can also mean that service providers have had to cut costs to win contracts, creating tight budgets that further limit their flexibility to respond to Indigenous employee and community needs. The NPM contracting arrangements are therefore central to the structural power imbalance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies discussed earlier. These governmentalities facilitate the control of Indigenous peoples and communities by government at a distance. This exacerbates the dismissal of cultural knowledge through the rules underpinning procurement processes and the delivery of services to Indigenous communities and First Nations (see Chapters 7 & 8).

This complexity is compounded by the way that Aboriginal people have learnt to use Indigenous corporations to articulate with the mainstream economy in pursuing their own Indigenous political and economic needs (see Chapter 6 & 8). Indigenous corporations that have proliferated under liberal self-determination and NPM policies are intercultural structures that too often have become sites of contestation and competition within the Indigenous political economy. The EKY First Nation case study highlights how discrete Indigenous mobs were increasingly establishing their own Aboriginal corporations to represent their interests and compete for government resources. The NPM governance system encourages these Indigenous corporations to compete amongst each other for power and resources. Those Indigenous leaders and organisations skilled in western corporate governance and who aligned their priorities with the mainstreaming priorities of governments are empowered. This, however, can disempower and disenfranchise other Indigenous people, preventing them from being effectively represented or from equitably accessing government services. The intercultural nature of the Indigenous corporation and the way they are being used by Indigenous people to articulate with the mainstream political economy therefore further adds to the complexity created by NPM.

4. Neoliberal government policy and legislation has created a complex planning and land tenure system that prevents development on Indigenous-owned lands.

Private property rights are central to liberal/neoliberal political economies as they create a secure tenure to invest capital and labour within a market-based economy. Neoliberal Indigenous policy has therefore focused on establishing individual private property rights on Indigenous lands for residential and business purposes with leases of a minimum of 40 years but preferably longer (Wensing, 2014). Under Indigenous Lore and custom, however, land is communally owned and Indigenous people with connection to a particular piece of land are expected to be the decision makers and beneficiaries of economic development. Codifying individual private property rights to create a secure land tenure on Indigenous land is problematic and requires a well-resourced planning process to ensure informed consent by Traditional Owners (Harwood, 2018).

This is complicated further as colonisation has created different understandings by Indigenous peoples of their connection to country and interests in land (see Chapter 6). The *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth) and *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld) have empowered NTRB, RNTBC and land trusts to make decisions about Indigenous land rights and interests. Indigenous interview informants, however, detailed concerns about these organisations' conflicts of interests and capacity to do this in line with Indigenous Lore and custom within their legislative responsibilities. The EKY First Nation subregional case study, grey literature and Indigenous informants also detailed the complexity and costs of this development process on Aboriginal owned land (see Chapters 7 & 8). While land had been returned to the EKY people following the 2007 native title determination and ILUA package, Jabalbina as the RNTBC and Land Trust lacked the capacity to support appropriate planning and decision making in line with EKY Lores and customs. There were also a range of Commonwealth, Queensland and local government legislative planning requirements for development approvals that were beyond the capacity of Aboriginal corporations, business and individuals to address, and the costs of engaging planning consultants is prohibitive.

Most of the land returned to Aboriginal people in the Wet Tropics of north Queensland is also considered of high conservation value, and government's desire to achieve conservation outcomes further adds to the complexity and restrictions on land use by Aboriginal peoples. Academic and grey literature identified similar tensions between the aspirations of Indigenous peoples for economic and sustainable livelihoods development and non-Indigenous aspirations for development and conservation outcomes in other parts of northern Australia (Dale, 2014; Holmes, 2011).

5. Government policy is a significant contributor to conflict and lateral violence in Indigenous communities limiting socioeconomic outcomes.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous informants and the EKY contextual analysis identified conflict and lateral violence within Indigenous communities as a significant barrier to employment and business development. Neoliberal approaches to political and business decision-making create priorities, timelines and processes that are culturally inappropriate and support conflict and lateral violence. As already discussed, program and project implementation through NPM governmentalities encourages competition between Indigenous people and organisations for resources and to represent Indigenous communities and First Nations. Indigenous people disadvantaged and traumatised because of colonisation operating within an alternative Indigenous political economy may already be in conflict (see Chapter 6). Governments and businesses pursuing their own priorities, NPM governmentalities and timelines therefore feed into and contribute to this conflict and lateral violence.

Neoliberal approaches to development aligned with government, not First Nation priorities, structures and processes, do not provide time and resources to support culturally appropriate decision-making to resolve any conflict between Indigenous peoples and mobs. Indigenous people and organisations aligned with government priorities and/or more skilled at NPM governance may be empowered, disenfranchising other people and mobs while governments fail to see their role in creating the conflict and lateral violence that is limiting socioeconomic outcomes. Non-Indigenous informants reported that governments can become frustrated and blame Indigenous people for project failures (see Chapter 7).

6. There is a lack of capabilities and capacity within government to support Indigenous development.

Interview informants discussed the limited numbers of people within government agencies who were culturally competent and could understand the problems from an Indigenous community or First Nations perspective. People with these capabilities were described as rare and in need of nurturing. Interview informants questioned whether governments had the ‘inclination, time and patience’ required to support these people to meaningfully engage with First Nations communities. As discussed earlier, agency staff operate within a system where there is a general lack of value placed on Indigenous ontologies and First Nation political economies. This supports a general lack of understanding within agencies because people are controlled by NPM governmentalities focused on government priorities and administrative processes limiting government’s

capacity to meaningfully engage. People who genuinely try to make a difference therefore can become burnt out quickly. The lack of First Nation perspectives and Indigenous knowledge within government agencies and industry perpetuates a cycle where Indigenous policy issues are viewed through a monocultural lens shaped by settler colonial and neoliberal ideologies and governmentalities discussed in Chapter 2.

7. Indigenous people and organisations lack the capabilities and capacity to effectively engage in economic development.

Neoliberal public management similarly systematically undermines the building of capabilities and capacity by Indigenous people, organisations and businesses. The system encourages organisations to compete, not cooperate, contradicting the needs of First Nation's communities, where cooperation and conflict resolution is often required to progress development on communally owned lands. Colonisation has disempowered Indigenous governance that needs to be rebuilt before informed decisions can be made by First Nations about development. Staff working in Indigenous organisations and businesses having to manage the competing priorities of Indigenous people, communities, First Nations and governments can therefore also become burnt out and leave, as discussed in the tourism case study. The overall resilience of the system is reduced as the capabilities of staff and capacity of organisations that were being developed within Indigenous corporations and businesses is lost (see Chapter 7 & 8).

The Indigenous focus group and interview informants identified a range of specific capabilities and capacity issues Indigenous people faced in engaging in business and employment. These included a lack of knowledge, skills and experience to work or run a business in the mainstream economy. Many Indigenous people also lacked the networks and professional support to run a business. There were also remoteness and a range of financial and physical infrastructure capacity constraints that were barriers to economic and livelihood development.

8. Policy is difficult to reform because settler colonial and neoliberal discourses, combined with vested interests, influence political decision making.

Interview informants identified the need to continue to educate the broader Australian society about Australia's settler colonial past, and the Indigenous focus group discussed racism and discrimination as barriers to economic development. Postcolonial theory points to how Australia's settler colonial history has established an Australian national identity centred in liberalism/neoliberalism ideals including individual responsibility and social progress. This identity and ideals are central to normative understandings of who is a responsible citizen in Australia (see Chapter 2 & 5). These ideals continue to be

mobilised through non-Indigenous political discourses that other Indigenous peoples and communities as deviant and dysfunctional and not conforming to the expected norms of Australian society (Macoun, 2011; Strakosch, 2015). Discrimination is no longer based on race but on resistance to cultural diversity which is mobilised as a threat to national unity, while those with white settler Australian identities fail to see their privileged position within society and how this is maintained through the liberal institutions of the state (Dunn et al., 2004). This highlights the inherent contradictions within liberalism where the state is supposed to protect the freedom of the individual. This, however, does not appear to be the case where individual freedoms do not align with the values of the neoliberal state (Altman, 2014; Brigg, 2007; Brigg et al., 2019; Strakosch, 2015).

These non-Indigenous political discourses supported the expansion of NPM into Indigenous policy as detailed in Chapter 5. The key features include welfare reforms, the mainstreaming of Indigenous service delivery, contracting out, siloed, narrowed and targeted programs, and the engagement of Indigenous peoples in market-based economies. More recently these discourses have been mobilised to reject the Uluru Statement from the Heart (Referendum Council, 2017). The federal Coalition government rejected Indigenous calls for constitutional recognition through a Voice to Parliament, claiming they did not align with Australian principles of equal civil rights for all citizens, lacked detail and that the policy change would not be supported by the Australian people (Turnbull, 2017). These developments demonstrate the ongoing influence of non-Indigenous discourse on political decision making about Indigenous policy in Australia.

There are also significant vested interests in the governance of northern Australia including from mining companies, pastoralists, and others who seek to influence government policy for their own gain and to the detriment of Indigenous interests (Dale, 2014; Robbins, 2007). There are also environmentalists who, in seeking to protect northern Australia, exclude Indigenous peoples from their land and sea estates (Dale, 2014; Holmes, 2011; Pannell, 2008). Finally, the large number of established Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations funded to deliver Indigenous policy and services gain status from existing NPM policy frameworks, making them difficult to change. Indigenous peoples have had to adopt the structures and processes of the neoliberal state to pursue their rights and interests through a wide range of Indigenous corporations. There were estimated to be 80 Aboriginal corporations within the WTRCS representing and delivering a range of services to Indigenous peoples and communities. Within the EKY First Nation estate, a range of regional, subregional and tribal/clan-based organisations were identified (Table 11). Many of these organisations have existing funding and

businesses supporting Indigenous jobs. They may have competed against each other to get this funding (see Chapter 6 & 8). Colonisation has also established a wide range of hybrid Indigenous identities and aspirations for economic development (Bhabha, 2004; Paradies, 2006). Developing a shared Indigenous approach to drive change even at the First Nation scale is therefore difficult given the structural nature of the problems discussed earlier and the way that current policies perpetuate lateral violence within communities.

Research Aim 2.

Research Aim 2 critiqued the sustainable livelihoods approach and its potential to improve Indigenous economic development outcomes in northern Australia. The SLA was investigated as an alternative approach to supporting development in northern Australia through a theoretical sensitivity analysis (Boeije, 2010). Chapter 9 details the results of this analysis which found the SLA and framework to be a more appropriate approach to supporting development. The benefits of applying the SLA and framework to address the problems with current policy identified in the previous section are summarised under the following three themes.

1. The SLA and framework enables economic and livelihoods development to be Indigenous driven because it is a people-centred and a strength-based approach.

The key problem with Indigenous policy discussed in the previous section is its failure to recognise and respect alternative Indigenous ontologies and political economies because of structural power imbalances. The SLA definition starts from the perspective of Indigenous peoples and their capabilities and assets. It is therefore a strengths-based approach that focuses on a holistic understanding of Indigenous wellbeing when considering livelihood strategies and outcomes. If appropriately applied, it therefore has the capacity to aid in addressing the first four problems with Indigenous policy including respecting Indigenous ontologies and political economies, addressing power imbalances and the complexity inherent in NPM and the land planning and tenure system (see Chapter 9). Meaningfully making policy Indigenous driven is critical to the implementation of new policy approaches discussed in the next section.

2. The SLA definition and key concepts capabilities, equity and sustainability better align with Indigenous people's definition of and aspirations for development and can be used to build shared understandings about development between governments and First Nations.

Indigenous informants defined economic development as more holistic, collective and community driven which was also reflected in the WTRCS grey literature. They emphasised that development be respectful of Indigenous Lore and custom. This was important in considering a livelihood including engagement in employment and business opportunities in the mainstream economy. The application of the SLA concepts capabilities, equity and sustainability when analysing Indigenous development can encompass this broader understanding of Indigenous wellbeing centred on respecting Lore and custom. The SLA and framework analysis therefore challenge neoliberal policy assumptions which essentialise notions of wellbeing and economic development in neoliberal terms. This further reveals the lack of respect for Indigenous ontologies and political economies, power imbalances and complexity created by NPM and the planning and land tenure system identified as problems 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the previous section.

The SLA definition and key concepts capabilities, equity and sustainability therefore provide a broad conceptual basis to build shared understandings between Indigenous peoples, First Nations and governments. An analysis of capabilities supports a strength-based approach which can incorporate different Indigenous understandings of wellbeing grounded in the need to respect Lore and customs. Issues of equity consider who benefits from development, highlighting the failure of neoliberal policy approaches to deliver benefits to Indigenous people. This is particularly the case when analysed using Scoones (2015) revised framework incorporating a series of six political economy questions. At the First Nation scale a consideration of equity also incorporates issues of the distribution of resources in line with Indigenous Lore and custom. Aboriginal Lore regulates Indigenous people’s access and interests in resources which can also lead to the inequitable distribution of resources. Some First Nation or catchment and clan estates may be more resource rich than others and kinship relationships can distort the equitable distribution of government resources within communities (Gerritsen & Straton, 2007). An analysis of capabilities and equity within the SLA can highlight these issues making them more likely to be understood and addressed by First Nations and governments.

A focus on sustainability within the SLA incorporates an analysis of social as well as environmental outcomes. The EKY case study highlighted that governments during native title and land dealings were focused on environmental outcomes that limited Indigenous peoples’ engagement with their land and sea estates. The SLA broader focus, including social sustainability, supports a consideration of Indigenous culture and knowledge linked to environmental sustainability missing from current policy approaches. The SLA key concepts can therefore, support more meaningful

engagement and build shared understandings between Indigenous communities, First Nations and governments in relation to economic and livelihoods strategies and outcomes. Strengthening engagement and building shared understandings based on mutual respect between Australian governments and First Nations is central to addressing all the problems identified with current policy in the previous section.

3. The SLA framework provides a useful tool to analyse and reform government Indigenous policy and support program implementation.

The SLA framework identifies the different elements contributing to development including the development context, assets, institutions and organisations. It can be used to systematically analyse these elements and their interactions to identify sustainable livelihood strategies and likely outcomes. This enables the complexity of the development context, the stock of assets and related access issues and institutional and organisational arrangements to be worked through in a holistic way. This holistic and systematic approach can be useful in identifying local capability and capacity constraints within governments, Indigenous organisations and peoples, identified as problems 6 and 7, that limit development, in the previous section. As an integrating framework it also provides a further basis for developing shared conceptual understandings between Indigenous peoples, development practitioners and governments.

The institutional and organisational analysis detailed in Chapter 9 highlighted the differences between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economies and the imbalance of power in the relationship (Figure 15). The current dominant neoliberal policy approach supports no such analysis. It simply assumes that Indigenous development and service delivery should be driven by the prevailing government's political priorities and implemented through NPM governmentalities, identified as problems 1, 2 and 3 with current policy in the previous section. The SLA and framework were therefore found to be useful theoretical tools, better able to encompass Indigenous aspirations and support development than neoliberal policy approaches. This research in fact suggests that it is more appropriate to describe Indigenous aspirations for development, particularly in remote and very remote Indigenous communities, in terms of sustainable livelihoods rather than in terms of economic development.

The SLA and framework, however, could be of limited value if applied in an overly technocratic way that did not respect Indigenous knowledge and alternative political economies (see Chapter 3). It is unlikely that all the problems with current Indigenous policy would have been revealed or understood without also viewing policy through the lens of the postcolonial and neoliberal theoretical frameworks. This particularly relates

to problems 2, 5 and 8 in the previous section and how governments exercise power through neoliberal governmentalities, and how settler colonial narratives continue to other Indigenous peoples and support new forms of racism. Postcolonial theory also reveals the ongoing impacts of colonisation on Indigenous peoples, including the complexity of hybrid Indigenous identities and how this contributes to problem 5, lateral violence. The holistic nature of the SLA framework incorporating an institutional and organisational analysis, however, enables these different theoretical frameworks to be integrated (see Chapter 9).

Research Aim 3.

Research Aim 3 involved place-based case study research which examine the relevance and potential of current policies to achieve their stated outcomes and the alternative SLA in the context of Indigenous aspirations for economic development. The contextual analysis of northern Australia and the WTRC detailed in Chapter 5 and 6 highlight the diversity of circumstances facing Indigenous peoples across northern Australia. There are many First Nations and Indigenous identities with varying experiences of colonisation and different levels of availability and access to the assets or capital needed for development. There is therefore a need for First Nation place-based approaches to development that can respond to these varying needs and circumstances.

The Wet Tropics of north Queensland, incorporating the EKY First Nation estate, was identified as the case study region (see Chapter 4). Its detailed contextual analysis helped reveal the problems discussed earlier under Aim 1, and the benefits of taking a SLA discussed under Aim 2. Bringing this analysis together with the theoretical frameworks and the northern Australia contextual analysis in Chapter 5, the following reforms to Indigenous policy emerged.

Structural Reforms through an Uluru Statement from the Heart Policy Agenda

The problems with current Indigenous economic development policy summarised under Aim 1 earlier in the chapter require systemic structural reform if they are to be addressed. The first step to achieving this must be rebalancing the power relationships between Australia’s First Nations and the dominant mainstream neoliberal political economy. This requires support for First Nations to rebuild their institutions and organisations so that they can make decisions that respect contemporary understandings of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Lore and custom and recognise that First Nation Lore and custom will continue to evolve within modern democratic states looking to uphold the UNDRIP. The outcome of this rebuilding process must, therefore, be First Nation governance that

empowers Indigenous peoples to work through the impacts of colonisation and supports the ongoing maintenance of and respect for Indigenous knowledge.

Indigenous peoples never ceded sovereignty to Australia and continue campaigning for recognition of colonial injustices and a new relationship with non-Indigenous Australia (see Chapter 2 & 5). Indigenous leaders, in the Uluru Statement from the Heart, have set out a new policy agenda to establish this new relationship and invited people *to* 'walk with us in a movement of the Australian people for a better future' (Referendum Council, 2017, p. i). This new policy agenda, if adopted and implemented in a way that respects First Nation Lore and custom, could go a long way to addressing the problems identified within this research with current Indigenous policy. A constitutionally inscribed Voice could provide ongoing advice to parliament on Indigenous policy while treaties could provide a framework to improve engagement at a First Nation place-based scale that encompasses Indigenous Lores and customs in decision making. Truth telling could continue to educate the broader Australian community about Australia's settler colonial history, encouraging non-Indigenous discourses in support of the voice and treaty-making policy processes.

The Uluru Statement, however, lacks a detailed implementation plan, and new approaches to government administration will be required given the failings of NPM identified through this research. The SLA can incorporate Indigenous aspirations for development and the framework is a useful tool to support the reform of Indigenous policy and program implementation as discussed in the previous section. It can be a useful approach in supporting implementation of a new Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda.

The Australian Government, after rejecting calls for a constitutionally inscribed Indigenous Voice to Parliament (Turnbull, 2017), has established a process to co-design with Indigenous peoples a statutory Voice to Parliament (Langton & Calma, 2019; Langton, Calma & the Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). The Queensland and Northern Territory governments are also moving forward with treaty and truth telling processes in response to the Uluru Statement from the Heart (Eminent Panel, 2020; Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020; Referendum Council, 2017). There are risks, however, that these processes will not produce real change given the structural power imbalances identified as a problem with current policy, and the inherent difficulties in changing the system because of vested interests.

Indigenous informants expressed concerns that the wrong Indigenous people, organisations or businesses may be engaged to lead these treaty processes (see

Chapter 7). Postcolonial theory points to how Indigenous elites can adopt the institutions and organisations of the coloniser (see Chapter 2) and this research has highlighted how NPM governance has empowered some Indigenous leaders and organisations and disenfranchised others contributing to lateral violence (see Chapter 6, 7 & 8). First Nation ontologies and political economies therefore may still not be respected as an outcome of a new Voice, treaty and truth telling policy agenda if not appropriately implemented, leading to another failed process.

The SLA and framework as discussed in Chapter 9 can aid in revealing these issues, supporting the design of this new Uluru Statement from the Heart policy. The SLA is a people centred, strength based, systematic and holistic approach capable of incorporating macro level political economic and micro level community influences on development. Previous research has identified the need for additional tools to support the SLA analysis (Davies et al., 2008) and the SLA framework can also be used to integrate other theories and tools to support development (Scoones, 2015). The institutional and organisational analysis was identified as the best place to start this analysis given the structural nature of the problems identified (see Chapter 9). The neoliberal and postcolonial theoretical frameworks were useful in building understandings about the problems with current Indigenous policy. Neoliberal public management and a postcolonial theoretical lens could therefore be applied, through the SLA framework institutional and organisational analysis, to inform the development of new policy. The application of public value theory, particularly relational contracting and adaptive management have also been identified by researchers as potential tools to aid in supporting policy development and implementation (Dwyer et al., 2013; O'Flynn, 2007; Sullivan, 2015; 2018). The SLA and framework can therefore be used to integrate a range of theories and tools to improve policy and outcomes discussed further in the next section under reforms to NPM.

The Australian Government's Indigenous Voice Co-Design Interim Report presented two options for a national statutory Voice and options for a diverse range of structures for regional and local voices. It made clear that the Voice or voices will not replace but align with existing bodies, and relationships may evolve over time (Langton, Calma & Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). The consultation process continues, and it must be up to Indigenous peoples to determine the final structure of any national Voice or regional and local voices. It is of concern, however, that the Interim report appears to be moving away from a focus on re-empowering First Nations to a more regional and local community focus reflecting structures imposed through colonisation.

First Nations and prior sovereignty were important concepts within the Referendum Council's report on the Uluru Statement from the Heart. 'First Nation' is mentioned 120 times and 'sovereignty' 60 times in the 175-page report (Referendum Council, 2017). The Coalition government's interim report on the Indigenous Voice co-design process mentions 'First Nation' 14 times and 'sovereignty' 3 times in the 239-page report, on each occasion referring to other reports or a foreign First Nation assembly (Langton, Calma & Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). In effect these issues are only mentioned in passing in the Australian Government Voice Co-Design Interim Report, despite the importance of the recognition of First Nations' prior sovereignty to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples during the Referendum Council's consultations (Referendum Council, 2017). This research also identified the importance of meaningful engagement with First Nation political economies if Indigenous disadvantage is to be addressed. Postcolonial theory detailed in Chapter 2 demonstrates the importance of language and discourses in the othering and dispossession of Indigenous peoples. It is critical that any statutory Indigenous Voice addresses these issues, and it is of concern that issues of prior sovereignty are not explicitly included in the discourses underpinning the Voice co-design process.

Acknowledgement of Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander peoples' prior sovereignty as First Nations would provide a break with previous policies and through treaties create a process for Indigenous people to rebuild their governance structures and process. Government support for a level of Indigenous separatism and autonomy may be necessary to rebuild Indigenous governance as part of this decolonising process (Maddison, 2019). Across northern Australia there are processes to negotiate treaties with First Nations underway in Queensland and the Northern Territory, while Western Australia claims to have already signed Australia's first treaty through an agreement with the Noongar Nation (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation [ANTaR], 2019; Eminent Panel, 2020; Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020).

The Queensland Labor Government has embraced the ideas flowing from the Uluru Statement from the Heart through what it has called a 'tracks to treaty' process (Queensland Government, 2019). It established an eminent panel to make recommendations on the process which included: a rights-based approach to reaching treaties based on the *Human Rights Act 2019* (Qld) and the UNDRIP; the establishment through an Act of the Queensland Parliament of a First Nations Treaty Institute as an independent body to lead the tracks to treaty process; and a First Nation Treaty Future Fund to resource the process over at least a decade (Eminent Panel, 2020). It has also responded through a Local Thriving Communities policy, as a structural reform that will

establish new place-based pooled funding and new accountability frameworks for service delivery at the discrete Indigenous community level.

The Local Thriving Communities policy encompasses some of the characteristics of a SLA being a place-based and strengths-based approach. It is, however, centred on remote and discrete Indigenous communities reflecting the structures and process established by the Queensland Government through colonisation (QPC, 2017; Queensland Government, 2020). It does not explicitly focus on the scale of the First Nation, limiting its capacity to recognise and respect Indigenous Lore and custom. There is a risk therefore that it will not address the problems with neoliberal policies identified earlier including the structural power imbalances, complexities and vested interests supported by NPM.

In Queensland the Cape York Organisations[12] supported by Australian Government funding are also advocating for support around the Pama Futures agenda. The Cape York Institute through a non-competitive process received a grant of $9 million to develop Pama Futures Regional Governance in 2019 (Australian Government, 2021). Pama Futures has proposed a governance model similar to the Queensland Government, focused on discrete Aboriginal communities with limited structural links to First Nation governance through a Cape York Peninsula Regional Authority (Cape York Partnerships, 2018; Cape York Partnerships & Cape York Land Council, 2018). Indigenous informants and the grey literature, however, highlighted significant concerns held by Indigenous peoples and First Nations about the Cape York Organisation's Pama Futures agenda.

Noel Pearson's advocacy was important in demonstrating Indigenous support for the neoliberal turn in Indigenous policy that has occurred over the past two decades (Pearson, 2000; 2006). The Cape York Organisations have played a central role in the implementation of Australian and Queensland Government policies including welfare reforms, economic development and native title and land claims. Investing in Indigenous organisations that align with government priorities over the past two decades, however, has not closed the socioeconomic gaps in Indigenous disadvantage. This again demonstrates one of the problems with NPM, in the way it empowers Indigenous leaders and organisations that align with government priorities and can disenfranchise others.

[12] The Cape York Organisations refer to a group of 11 entities, the main ones being the CYLC, Cape York Partnerships, Cape York Institute and Balkanu who work together to advocate for and deliver services to Indigenous communities in Cape York Peninsula.

Governments therefore need to seek to understand and consider the broader Indigenous political economy when responding to Indigenous conflict, not simply focus on their political and agency priorities. The SLA framework analysis in Chapter 9 provided an example of how the EKY political economy could be understood in relationship to the mainstream political economy (Figure 15). This analysis points to the need for the relationship between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous political economy to be much better understood by policy makers if Indigenous conflict and lateral violence is to be addressed and appropriate policy responses developed.

The Northern Territory has the most ambitious treaty negotiation process, establishing a treaty commission with a discussion paper embracing First Nations and prior sovereignty (Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020). It is taking two years to consult on First Nations Treaties, recommending the six stage British Colombian process from Canada as comprehensive, simple to understand and a proven process that can be adapted. Importantly it focuses on rebuilding First Nation governance prior to beginning negotiations including:

- Creating a formal governing body;
- Ensuring that its land tenure is secure and there are no disputes;
- Ensuring that its land borders are not disputed; and
- Setting a process to determining citizenship; noting that it will be up to each First Nation to determine its own method of conferring citizenship and different First Nations may select different methods (Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020, p. 72)

It initially involves building Aboriginal capabilities for self-governance and on resolving disputes prior to entering negotiations based on First Nations. It also focuses on building the capabilities of the Northern Territory Government to negotiate and the need for recognition of equality of power in the negotiation process, central problems identified with current policy approaches by this research. There are four potential phases to the treaty negotiation process with each representing a more advanced level of self-determination. The fourth phase reflects treaties agreed in British Colombia which have taken up to two decades to negotiate.

Phase 1: Legally Enforceable Local Decision-Making Agreements with First Nations
Phase 2: Local Government Body
Phase 3: Regional Authority
Phase 4: First Nation Self-Government (Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020).

There are therefore a range of different policy approaches being taken by Australian, State and Territory governments to progress the Uluru Statement from the Heart agenda. Only the Northern Territory Government appears to have a adopted a process that is likely to fully address the structural problems this research has identified with current neoliberal government policies. In Queensland policy approaches are focused on Indigenous communities rather than First Nations, limiting the level of self-determination that can be achieved. The QPC recommendations and Local Thriving Communities policy align with Phase 1 and Pama Futures Phase 3 of the Canadian approach detailed in the Northern Territory Treaty Commission discussion paper listed above.

From Neoliberal Public Management to Management for Public Value

Within an Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda, neoliberal forms of governance need to be reformed to meaningfully devolve greater power and responsibility to Indigenous communities and First Nations. As discussed, NPM procurement processes have created a complex network of NGOs delivering services to governments and Indigenous peoples and communities. Research in Australia and New Zealand has also demonstrated that Indigenous people can benefit through the commodification of resources like land, water and carbon and the establishment of markets for these natural resources (Bargh, 2018; Dale; 2014; O'Sullivan, 2018; Russell-Smith et al., 2018). Neoliberalism has therefore provided some business and employment opportunities for Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations. The current centralised political and programmatic control of Indigenous policy and implementation aligned with non-Indigenous structures and processes, however, has also created a complexed bureaucratic maze rather than an effective governance system to support Indigenous development. It needs to be reformed to address the problems identified earlier and to effectively empower place-based First Nations governance and support Indigenous people's aspirations for self-determined development in line with the UNDRIP (NAILSMA, 2014).

The SLA framework institutional and organisational analysis in Chapter 9 highlighted the need for new forms of governance to address the power imbalances and complexity identified as problems with current neoliberal policy (Figure 15). Management for public value has been identified by several researchers as a new paradigm to improve Indigenous policy and programmatic outcomes (Dwyer et al., 2013, Sullivan, 2015; 2018). It is a theory that could be applied within the SLA framework to support reforms to the governance system. It involves a shift in government policy and administration from a narrow focus on issues of efficiency and accountability in NPM, to a broader focus on how governments can create public value (see Chapter 2), where determining public

value emphasises a more pragmatic approach to establishing the collective preferences of citizens than the aggregation of individual preferences through market mechanisms involved in NPM (O'Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006). It provides a mechanism for the inclusion of Indigenous political and economic values, including Indigenous knowledge, within government policy if they are recognised as integral to the creation of public value.

Addressing the power imbalances and impacts of colonisation through applying a public value approach to Indigenous policy, however, requires the development of place-based policies and programs at the Indigenous First Nation scale where Indigenous Lore and custom operate. This is the scale where an Indigenous First Nation citizenry can determine the public value of a development in relation to its own Lore and custom and any trade-offs this may entail. It is also the scale at which governments and NGOs, including Indigenous corporations, can be held accountable to this citizenry for policy and service delivery outcomes. Multiple accountabilities including citizens as overseers of government, customers as users and taxpayers as funders is a strength of public value policy approaches (O'Flynn, 2007, p. 361). Within this context the SLA and framework can be applied as tools to build shared understanding between governments, Indigenous communities and First Nations about determinants of public value when considering economic and livelihoods development strategies.

Establishing appropriate scales of governance for policy and service delivery is also critical to the development of more appropriate relational contracting arrangements. Relational contracting and adaptive management approaches to Indigenous program and policy implementation are distinctly different to classical contracting under NPM. They are a more appropriate form of contracting where governments lack the knowledge and understanding of the citizenry for which they are seeking to deliver services, and where more flexible and adaptive approaches are required to address problems like Indigenous disadvantage. They involve a collaborative approach to the development of a long-term contractual arrangement where shared principles and goals can be negotiated and agreed. The development of the contract is designed to build relationships of trust and shared commitment which are maintained and built on through ongoing governance arrangements as part of the contract. The contracts are therefore more flexible and adaptive as parties continue to work together to pursue shared goals (Dwyer et al., 2013; Sullivan, 2015). This is distinctly different to the more formal competitive and transactional approach of NPM.

The SLA framework analysis discussed in Chapter 9 helped identify the problems with neoliberal Indigenous policy discussed earlier. Management for public value and

relational contracting (see Chapter 2) provide further tools that can be incorporated within the SLA and framework to reform NPM governance, creating an opportunity to support new First Nation citizen centred forms of governance and service delivery. This would also reduce conflict and lateral violence within communities, as appropriate scale based relational contracting would reduce competition and conflict between Aboriginal corporations.

Reforms to Land Planning and Tenure Systems

Current Indigenous policy is focused on supporting development by strengthening security of tenure on the expanding Indigenous estate through establishing private property rights in the form of leases. As the SLA analysis demonstrates this involves trade-offs with Indigenous traditional Lore and custom as land is collectively owned through a layered system of rights and interests as discussed in the WTRCS, Chapter 6. Establishing individual private property rights conflicts with this layered system of rights and interests.

The Return to Country case study in Chapter 8 discusses an alternative Indigenous master planning framework that engages communities in the planning process to support Indigenous self-determination in relation to land planning and tenure outcomes (Harwood, 2018). Indigenous land tenure was not the focus of this research and others have undertaken more in-depth studies of land planning and tenure issues to support development on Aboriginal land that is respectful of Indigenous Lore and custom (see Wensing, 2019). The SLA and framework analysis, however, undertaken through this research and case studies identifies the need for strong Indigenous First Nations institutions and organisations to work with Indigenous peoples through this planning process. Investments in strengthening First Nation governance therefore also need to be made to resolve complex planning and tenure issues that are currently limiting development on Indigenous lands. This could, for example, include realigning government statutory boundaries including NTRB and local governments to better align with First Nation boundaries and land interests. The EKY estate, for example, was spread across three local government areas and two NTRB, increasing the complexity and expense of development on Aboriginal lands. Expanding the WWASC boundary to incorporate all the EKY freehold estate held in trust by Jabalbina could support the development of a culturally appropriate statutory local government plan. The NTRB boundaries in the WTRCS are also aligned to local government boundaries rather than First Nation boundaries, and should be realigned to First Nation boundaries. In addition to these investments in governance reform there is also a need for significant investments in the technical master planning required to address the range of other

federal, state, territory and local government planning requirements discussed in the case study (see Return to Country Case Study Chapter 8).

Reforms to Build Capacity and Capabilities within Governments and First Nations

Non-Indigenous informants identified the lack of individuals within agencies who can meaningfully engage with communities in relation to development. There is a need to support and encourage individuals working in this space and to build the capabilities of others within agencies to be able to work more effectively with Indigenous peoples, communities and First Nations. Providing opportunities for non-Indigenous agency staff to be seconded to Indigenous organisations could help build understanding and strengthen cultural competency. This could also aid in building the capacity of Indigenous corporations, which was identified as a barrier to development by informants and through the case studies. Non-Indigenous informants discussed how agency staff are increasingly contract managers with little understanding of the challenges of delivering services or undertaking development on Indigenous lands. Employing more Indigenous people would also improve cultural competency of government agencies.

Finally, there is often a lack of assets or capitals available to Indigenous individuals, communities and First Nations to support development. Interview informants, for example, identified a lack of infrastructure including roads, telecommunications and housing, access to finance and human resources to support their businesses. These issues will vary between different First Nations and communities and these capacity constraints may also need to be addressed to support development. The SLA and framework holistic and systematic analysis, including of assets, supports the identification and understanding of these issues within a place-based First Nation context. This provides further evidence to support a SLA centred on First Nations to address the diversity of Indigenous circumstances across northern Australia.

Research Aim 4.

Research Aim 4 focused on making recommendations to improve current Indigenous economic development policy. The following recommendations in relation to current neoliberal Indigenous policy and the alternative SLA in response to the research question and aims are made:

1. The Australian Government address the structural power imbalances between Indigenous First Nations and governments through a new Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda.

2. That government responses to the Uluru Statement from the Heart remain true to the 2017 Referendum Council Report's intentions, by incorporating the language of prior sovereignty and First Nations within Australian Government policy.
3. That government's capabilities and capacities to meaningfully engage with Indigenous people and First Nations through the new Uluru Statement from the Heart policy be strengthened through structural institutional and organisational reforms and the attraction, retention and training of suitable staff including Indigenous staff.
4. To enable meaningful recognition of Indigenous prior sovereignty and self-determination, that the Northern Territory approach to treaty negotiations be made available to all Indigenous peoples and First Nations across northern Australia to inform these structural reforms. This includes the four possible phases of treaty negotiations:

   Phase 1: Legally Enforceable Local Decision-Making Agreements with First Nations

   Phase 2: Local Government Body

   Phase 3: Regional Authority

   Phase 4: First Nation Self-Government (Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020).
5. That where appropriate, government statutory and administrative boundaries and data collection be realigned to reflect appropriate scale based Indigenous region and First Nation boundaries through Voice and treaty negotiations.
6. That Indigenous people be resourced to rebuild their institutions and organisations within these new regional and First Nation administrative boundaries in a way that respects Indigenous Lore and enhances Indigenous knowledge in line with the UNDRIP.
7. That the SLA and framework be applied as an analytical tool through a participatory place-based approach to support implementation of this new policy agenda as it better reflects Indigenous aspirations for development in northern Australia.
8. That postcolonial, neoliberalism and management for public value theoretical frameworks be incorporated within the SLA framework analysis to support implementation of the new policy approach.
9. That in implementation of the SLA and framework, government pays particular attention to ensure it is inclusive of hybrid Indigenous identities, and at times competing Indigenous interests, when engaging with First Nation citizenry and organisations.
10. That government resources be pooled and transition to being delivered through this new place-based Indigenous region and First Nation governance system, replacing government siloed NPM structures and processes.

11. That management for public value and relational contracting replace NPM and classical principal agent contracting in negotiating agreements between governments and First Nations and organisations within these new Indigenous governance arrangements and boundaries.
12. That in discrete, remote and very remote First Nation and community settings where Indigenous people make up most of the population government policy focuses on sustainable livelihoods development rather than economic development, as the SLA better reflects Indigenous aspirations for development.
13. That 'truth telling' as part of the new Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda be used to continue to educate the non-Indigenous community about Australia's colonial history and its impact on Australian Indigenous peoples and communities, as a way to combat new forms of racism and engender support for the new policy, given the influence of non-Indigenous narratives on Indigenous policy.
14. That the refresh of the White Paper on Developing Northern Australia ensure that the White Paper is realigned to focus on Indigenous aspirations for development and to respect Indigenous Lore and custom given the extensive Indigenous interests in northern Australia.
15. That Indigenous CNRM become a priority industry for development within the White Paper and a focus for research by the Cooperative Research Centre on Developing Northern Australia.

These fifteen recommendations are supported by the evidence presented through this thesis. The current neoliberal Indigenous policy agenda is demonstrated to be not working, while the alternative SLA and framework is demonstrated to be a more appropriate approach to support development. The emerging Uluru Statement from the Heart policy agenda provides a framework for an Indigenous led reform of current policies. The SLA can be applied to support this agenda's further development and implementation. Although the Australian Coalition government rejected Indigenous calls for constitutional recognition through a Voice to Parliament, this broader agenda continues to be advocated by Indigenous leaders, organisations and First Nation communities. The Australian Government is moving forward with consultations on a legislated Voice, and Queensland and Northern Territory governments are in the process of establishing treaty and truth telling processes about Australia's colonial past (Langton & Calma, 2019; Northern Territory Treaty Commission, 2020; Queensland Government, 2020; Turnbull, 2017). This research has demonstrated the value of the SLA to support this broader self-determination policy agenda.

References

Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory [APO NT]. (2011). *Creating and supporting sustainable livelihoods: A proposal for a new remote participation, employment and enterprise development scheme: A response to the Australian Government Review of Remote Participation and Employment Services*. Darwin. Retrieved from http://www.amsant.org.au/apont/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/APONT-Submission-to-the-Review-of-Remote-Participation-and-Employment-Services-FINAL.pdf

Agrawal, A. (1995). Dismantling the Divide Between Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge. *Development and Change*, *26*(3), 413-439. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.1995.tb00560.x

Agrawal, A. (2002). Indigenous knowledge and the politics of classification. *International Social Science Journal*, *54*(173), 287-297. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00382

Agrawal, A. (2014). Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge: Some Critical Comments. *Antropologi Indonesia*, *55*. https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v0i55.3331

Albanese, A. (2021). *Indigenous Voice Must Be Heard for Nation to Be Whole* [First Published: The Australian Newspaper, Tuesday 27 April 2021]. Retrieved from https://anthonyalbanese.com.au/media-centre/indigenous-voice-must-be-heard-for-nation-to-be-whole-27-april-2021

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and the State Apparatuses. In *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*, (pp.127-193). London & New York: Monthly Review Press.

Altman, J. (2001). *Sustainable development options on Aboriginal land: The hybrid economy in the twenty-first century* (Centre for Aboriginal and Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper No. 226/2001). Canberra: Australian National University. Retrieved from https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/40104/2/2001_DP226.pdf

Altman, J. (2003). People on country, healthy landscapes and sustainable Indigenous economic futures: The Arnhem Land case. *The drawing board: An Australian review of public affairs, 4*(2), 65-82. Retrieved from https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/76737/2/altman.pdf

Altman, J. (2009). *Beyond Closing the Gap: Valuing diversity in Indigenous Australia.* CAPEPR Working Paper No. 54/2009. Canberra: Australian National University. Retrieved from https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/147808/1/CAEPRWP54_0.pdf

Altman, J. (2014). Indigenous policy: Canberra consensus on a neoliberal project of improvement. In C. Miller & L. Orchard (Eds.), *Australian public policy: Progressive ideas in the neoliberal ascendency* (pp. 115-132). Policy Press.

Altman, J., Biddle, N., & Buchanan, G. (2012). Survey Analysis for Indigenous Policy in Australia: Social Science Perspectives. In H. Boyd & N. Biddle (Eds.), *The Indigenous hybrid economy: Can the NATSISS adequately recognise difference?* Retrieved from http://epress.anu.edu.au/titles/centre-for-aboriginal-economic-policy-research-caepr/survey-analysis-for-indigenous-policy-in-australia/pdf-download

Anderson, I. (2007). The end of Aboriginal self-determination? *Futures: the Journal of Policy, Planning and Futures Studies, 39*(2), 137-154. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2006.01.002

Anderson, J. C. (1985). *The political and economic basis of Kuku-Yalanji social history* (PhD Thesis). The University of Queensland.

Andrews, K. (2014). A *Circular Conundrum: 150 years of cropping and complexity in north-west Australia* (Unpublished PhD thesis). Australian National University. https://doi.org/10.25911/5d626c77980a1

Appiah, K.A. 2018. *The lies that bind: rethinking identity*. Profile Books Ltd., London.

Arce, A. M. (2003). Value contestations in development interventions: Community development and sustainable livelihoods approaches. *Community Development Journal, 38*(3), 199-212. https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/38.3.199

Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. & Norrie, A. (2013). Critical realism: essential readings. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315008592

ARUP. (2008) *Daintree Yalanji Walking Track Feasibility Study* (Unpublished report). Commissioned by Indigenous Capital Limited.

Ash, A.J. (2014). *Factors driving the viability of major cropping investments in northern Australia – a historical analysis*. Australia, CSIRO.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2013). *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts* (3rd edition). London: Routledge.

Ashley, C., & Carney, D. (1999). *Sustainable livelihoods: Lessons from early experience.* London: Department for International Development. Retrieved from https://www.shareweb.ch/site/Poverty-Wellbeing/resources/Archive%20files/Sustainable%20Livelihoods%20-%20Lessons%20From%20Early%20Experience,%20Caroline%20Ashley,%20Diana%20Carney%201999.pdf

Arthur, B., & Morphy, F. (Eds.). (2019). *Macquarie Atlas of Indigenous Australia*. Macquarie. eBook ISBN: 9781760785946.

Austin, B. J., & Garnett, S. T. (2011). Indigenous wildlife enterprise. *Journal of Enterprising Communities, 5*(4), 309-323. https://doi.org/10.1108/17506201111177343

Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS]. (2010). *Population Characteristics Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians.* Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Jim/OneDrive/AAA%20PhD/Statistics/ABS%20Population%20Charateristics%20INdigenous%20Austalians.pdf

Australian Bureau of Statistics. [ABS]. (2018). Estimates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians from the 2016 Census. Retrieved 19/9/2021 from https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples/estimates-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-australians/jun-2016

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2019). *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey.* Retrieved from https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples/national-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-health-survey/2018-19

Australian Government. (2020). *Closing the Gap Report*. Retrieved from https://ctgreport.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/pdf/closing-the-gap-report-2020.pdf

Australian Government. (2021). Grant Connect - Australian Government's grants information system. Retrieved from https://www.grants.gov.au/

Australian Human Rights Commission & Gooda, M. (2011). *Social Justice Report 2011.* Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner.

Retrieved from https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/publications/social-justice-report

Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation [ANTaR]. (2019). *Treaty in Western Australia*. Retrieved from https://antar.org.au/sites/default/files/treaty_in_western_australia.pdf

Australian National Audit Office [ANAO]. (2017). *Indigenous Advancement Strategy*. Report No. 35, 2016-17. Retrieved from https://www.anao.gov.au/work/performance-audit/indigenous-advancement-strategy

Babacan, H. (2019). Demonstrating Value for Human and Social Services Investment. *The International Journal of Community and Social Development, 1*(4), 273-294. https://doi.org/10.1177/2516602619884483

Babacan, H, and Herrmann, P (2013) Nation state, social cohesion and cultural diversity. In H. Babacan & P. Herrmann (Eds.), *Nation State and Ethnic Diversity. Global Political Studies*. (pp. 19-36). New York: Nova Science Publishers. Retrieved from https://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/25189/

Bargh, M. (2018). Māori political and economic recognition in a diverse economy. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh & I. Altamirano-Jimenez (Ed.), *The Neoliberal State, Recognition and Indigenous Rights: New paternalism to new imaginings.* CAEPR: ANU Press. http://doi.org/10.22459/CAEPR40.07.2018

Batterbury, S. (2008). *Sustainable Livelihoods: still being sought, ten years on.* African Environments Program, Oxford University Centre for the Environment. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237467916_Sustainable_livelihoods_still_being_sought_ten_years_on

Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and capabilities: a framework for analyzing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty. *World Development, 27*(12), 2021-2044. Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.589.495&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Bebbington, A. J., & Batterbury, S. P. (2001). Transnational livelihoods and landscapes: Political ecologies of globalization. *Ecumene 8*(4), 369-380. https://doi.org/10.1177/096746080100800401

Beeson, M., & Firth, A. (1998). Neoliberalism as a political rationality: Australian public policy since the 1980s. *Journal of Sociology*, *34*(3), 215-231. https://doi.org/10.1177/144078339803400301

Behrendt, L., & Kelly, L. (2008). *Resolving indigenous disputes: Land conflict and beyond*. Alexandria, NSW: Federation Press.

Bennett, J., & Gordon, W. (2005). Social Capital & the Indigenous Entrepreneur. *Australian Prospect. Summer Edition, 2006*. Retrieved from https://australianprospect.com.au/system/files/articles/20051206_bennet_gordon.pdf

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The location of culture*. London & New York: Routledge.

Blackburn, K. (2002). Mapping Aboriginal nations: The 'nation' concept of late nineteenth century anthropologists in Australia. *Aboriginal History*, *26*, 131-158.

Blackwood, P. (2006). *Draft Decision-Making Model Eastern Kuku Yalanji ILUA Authorisation*. (Report to Cape York Land Council).

Boeije, H. (2010). Analysis in qualitative research. SAGE.

Bohl-van den Boogaard, T., Carter, J., & Hollinsworth, D. (2017). “Cause we”re gonna lose big time’: Indigenous resource negotiations in settled Australia. Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography, 99(3), 304–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.2017.1294856

Bottoms, T. (2013). *Conspiracy of silence: Queensland's frontier killing-times*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Brigg, M. (2007). Biopolitics meets Terrapolitics: Political Ontologies and Governance. in Settler-Colonial Australia. Australian Journal of Political Science, 42(3), 403-417. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361140701513554

Brigg, M., Graham, M., & Murphy, L. (2019). Toward the dialogical study of politics: hunting at the fringes of Australian political science. Australian Journal of Political Science, 54(3), 423-437. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2019.1625863

Brocklesby, M. A., & Fisher, E. (2003). Community development in sustainable livelihoods approaches – an introduction. *Community Development Journal, 38*(3), 185-198. https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/38.3.185

Burawoy, M. (1998). The Extended Case Method. *Sociological Theory, 16*(1), 4-33. https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2751.00040

Burns, M. (2011). Closing the Gap between policy and "law": Indigenous homelands and a working future. *Law in Context, 27*(2), 114-134. https://eprints.qut.edu.au/42110/

Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership. (2007). *From Hand Out to Hand Up: Cape York Welfare Reform Project, Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale, Mossman Gorge, Design Recommendations*. Retrieved from https://apo.org.au/node/1807

Cape York Partnerships. (2018). *Pama Futures Cape York Summit December 2018* (Report). Retrieved from https://issuu.com/cyinstitute/docs/pf009_summit_report_2018_email

Cape York Partnerships & Cape York Land Council. (2018). *Pama Futures. Empowerment and development agenda to close the gap in Indigenous disparity in Cape York Peninsula:* Submission to the Commonwealth Minister for Indigenous Affairs and the Queensland Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships. Retrieved from https://issuu.com/cyinstitute/docs/180312_capeyork_partnership_submiss?e=8659167/65731877#

Carney, D. (2003). *Sustainable livelihoods approaches: progress and possibilities for change. (*p. 64). London: Department for International Development. Retrieved from https://www.eldis.org/document/A40347

Carter, J and Hollinsworth, D. 2017. Teaching Indigenous geography in a neo-colonial world. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 41: 182-197.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000). Subaltern studies and postcolonial historiography*. Nepantla: Views from South, 1*(1)*,* 9-32. Duke University Press. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/23873

Chakrabarty, D. (2011). Can political economy be postcolonial? A note. Pollard, J. (Ed.), *Postcolonial economies*. (pp. 23-62). ProQuest Ebook Central https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Chambers, I., Russell-Smith, J., Costanza, R., Cribb, J., Kerins, S., George, M., James, G., Pedersen, H., Lane, P., Christopherson, P., Ansell, J. & Sangha, K. (2018). Australia's north, Australia's future: A vision and strategies for sustainable, economic, ecological and social prosperity in northern Australia.

Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies. 2018; 5: 615-640 https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.259

Chambers, R. (1995). Poverty and livelihoods: whose reality counts? *Environment and Urbanization, 7*(1), 173-204. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/095624789500700106

Chambers, R., & Conway, G. (1992). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/775

Chester, L. (2010). Actually Existing Markets: The Case of Neoliberal Australia. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *44*(2), 313–323. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20778675

Chiu, O. (2017). The impact of economic rationalism on the Australian public service: From 1991 to the present. In A. Yeatman (Ed.), *Economic rationalism in Canberra: Twenty-five years on: Working Papers in the Human Rights and Public Life Program No. 5*; pp. 22-29. Sydney: Whitlam Institute, Western Sydney University. Retrieved from https://www.flipsnack.com/Whitlam/economic-rationalism-in-canberra-25-years-on.html?p=22

Coalition. (2013). The Coalition's 2030 Vision for Developing Northern Australia. Liberal Party of Australia. Barton ACT. Retrieved from https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/2550511/upload_binary/2550511.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22library/partypol/2550511%22

Collins, J., & Norman, H. (2018). Indigenous entrepreneurship and indigenous employment in Australia. *Journal of Australian Political Economy, 82*, 149-170.

Commonwealth of Australia [CoA]. (1997). *Bring them home, National Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children and Their Families.* Retrieved from https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.pdf?_ga=2.206460692.629232789.1599711618-1992587309.1597123492

Commonwealth of Australia [CoA]. (2015). *Our north, our future: White paper on developing northern Australia.* Australian Government. Retrieved from

https://www.industry.gov.au/data-and-publications/our-north-our-future-white-paper-on-developing-northern-australia

Council of Australian Governments [COAG]. (2008). *National Indigenous Reform Agreement*. Canberra.

Cultural Values Project Steering Committee. (2016a). *Which Way Australia's Rainforest Culture: Valuing the Values – economic development and sustainable livelihoods*. (Discussion paper about Rainforest Aboriginal peoples' aspirations for economic development and sustainable livelihoods related to the cultural values of the Wet Tropics region and World Heritage Area). Compiled by Jim Turnour with and on behalf of the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples and Cultural Values Project Steering Committee: Cairns, Australia.

Cultural Values Project Steering Committee. (2016b). *Which way Australia's rainforest culture: Towards Indigenous-led management*. (Discussion paper about Rainforest Aboriginal peoples-led management of the cultural values of the Wet Tropics region and World Heritage Area). Compiled by Allan Dale, Iris Bohnet and Rosemary Hill with and on behalf of the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples and the Cultural Values Project Steering Committee: Cairns, Australia

Cultural Values Project Steering Committee. (2016c). *Which way Australia's rainforest culture: Relisting the cultural values for world heritage*. (Discussion paper about realising the national and international recognition of the Rainforest Aboriginal cultural values of the Wet Tropics region and World Heritage Area). Compiled by Ro Hill, Ellie Bock and Petina Pert with and on behalf of the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples and the Cultural Values Project Steering Committee: Cairns, Australia.

Czarniawska, B. (2004). *Narratives in social science research*. London: Sage.

Dale, A. (2013). *Governance challenges for northern Australia*. Cairns: James Cook University. Retrieved from https://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/29868/2/29868_Dale_2013.pdf

Dale, A. (2014). *Beyond the North-South Culture Wars: Reconciling Northern Australia's Recent Past with Its Future*. Springer.

Dale, A., Keith, C., Matz, J., & MacLean, B. (2020). *Securing outcomes and measuring progress: A preliminary report into agricultural development and tropical health*

servicing northern Australia. Cooperative Research Centre for Developing Northern Australia.

Dale, A., Lane, M., Taylor, B., McAllister, R., Ozwald, M., Heyenga, S. & Measham, T. (2013). *Land tenure in northern Australia: opportunities and challenges for investment.* Charles Darwin University.

Davies, J., Campbell, D., Campbell, M., Douglas, J., Hueneke, H., LaFlamme, M., Preuss, K., Walker, J., & Walsh, F. (2010). *Livelihoods inland: Promoting health and wellbeing outcomes from desert Aboriginal land management*. DKCRC Report 78. Alice Springs: Ninti One Limited. Retrieved from http://nintione.com.au/resource/dkcrc-report-78-livelihoods-in-land_health-and-wellbeing-from-desert-alm.pdf

Davies, J., Campbell, D., Campbell, M., Douglas, J., Hueneke, H., LaFlamme, M., Pearson, D., Preuss, K., Walker, J., & Walsh, F. (2011). Attention to four key principles can promote health outcomes from desert Aboriginal land management. In McGregor, M. & James, C. (Eds), (Special issue) *Livelihoods in Desert Australia*. *The Rangeland Journal, 33*(4), 417-431. https://doi.org/10.1071/RJ11031

Davies, J., Maru, Y., Hueneke, H., Grey-Gardner, R., & Chewings, V. (2010). *Outback livelihoods: employment, sustainable livelihoods and development in Anmatjere region, central Australia*. Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre Research Report, 61. Retrieved from https://www.nintione.com.au/resource/dkcrc-report-61-outback-livelihoods_employment-sustainable-livelihoods-and-development-in-anmatjere-region-central-australia.pdf

Davies, J., White, J., Wright, A., Maru, Y., & LaFlamme, M. (2008). Applying the sustainable livelihoods approach in Australian desert Aboriginal development. In Stafford Smith, M. (Ed.), (Special issue) *Desert Knowledge. The Rangeland Journal, 30*(1), 55-65. https://doi.org/10.1071/RJ07038

Della Porta, D., & Keating, M. (2008). *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511801938

Deloitte Access Economics. (2013). *Economic contribution of the Great Barrier Reef*. Retrieved from

https://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/resources/a3ef2e3f-37fc-4c6f-ab1b-3b54ffc3f449/files/gbr-economic-contribution.pdf

Denzin, N. K. (2012). Triangulation 2.0. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 6*(2), 80-88. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689812437186

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (3rd edition)*,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

Department for International Development United Kingdom [DFID]. (1999). *Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets*. London. Retrieved from http://www.efls.ca/webresources/DFID_Sustainable_livelihoods_guidance_sheet.pdf

Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships [DATSIP]. (2016). *Queensland Indigenous (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) Procurement Policy.* Retrieved 21/9/2021 from https://www.dsdsatsip.qld.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-torres-strait-islander-partnerships/business-economic-development/queensland-indigenous-procurement-policy#:~:text=The%20Queensland%20Indigenous%20(Aboriginal%20and,government%20procurement%20contracts%20by%202022.

Department of Environment and Resource Management. (2009). *Cape York Recreational Track Network. Feasibility Study Report for Daintree Planning Node.* Queensland Government.

Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs [FaHCSIA]. (2011). *Indigenous Economic Development Strategy 2011-2018.* Canberra. Australian Government. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/youthpol/en/equest.fileutils.dochandle?p_uploaded_file_id=500

Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs [FaHCSIA]. (2013). *Closing the Gap, The Indigenous Reform Agenda*. Canberra, Australian Government.

Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications [DITRDC]. (2021). *Developing Northern Australia Map*. Retrieved from https://www.infrastructure.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/developing-northern-australia-map.pdf

Dillon, M. C. & Westbury, N. D. (2007). *Beyond Humbug: Transforming Government Engagement with Indigenous Australia*. Australia: Seaview Press.

Dodson, M. (1994). The end in the beginning: Re(de)finding Aboriginality (1994 Wentworth Lecture). *Australian Aboriginal Studies 1*, 2-13.

Dunbar, T., & Scrimgeour, M. (2006). Ethics in Indigenous research – connecting with community. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry, 3*(3), 179-185. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-006-9018-1

Dunn, K., Forrest, J., Burnley, I., & McDonald, A. (2004). Constructing Racism in Australia. *The Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *39*(4), 409-430. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2004.tb01191.x

Dwyer, J., Boulton, A., Lavoie, J. G., Tenbensel, T., & Cumming, J. (2013). Indigenous Peoples' Health Care: New approaches to contracting and accountability at the public administration frontier. *Public Management Review*, *16*(8), 1091-1112. https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2013.868507

Easton, G. (2010). Critical realism in case study research. *Industrial Marketing Management*, *39*(1), 118-128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.indmarman.2008.06.004

Edwards, M., Halligan, J., Horrigan, B., & Nicoll, G. (2012). *Public sector governance in Australia*. ANU E Press. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h92b

Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries.* United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Eminent Panel. (2020). *Supplementary Advice and Recommendations from the Eminent Panel on Queensland's Path to Treaty*. Retrieved from https://www.dsdsatsip.qld.gov.au/resources/dsdsatsip/work/atsip/reform-tracks-treaty/path-treaty/treaty-eminent-panel-may-2020.pdf

Esparon, M. (2013). *The role of certification in advancing the sustainable tourism agenda: A case study of ECO certification scheme in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area (WTWHA).* (Unpublished PhD thesis). James Cook University, Townsville, Australia.

Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth* (Richard Philcox, Trans.). New York: Grove Press. (English translation copyright 2004).

Fanon, F. (1970). *Black skin, white masks*. (Charles Lam Markmann, Trans.). London: Pluto Press.

Ferguson, Y. (1994). Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Polities Great and Small. *Mershon International Studies Review, 38*(2), 241–246. doi:10.2307/222717

Firth, A.R. (2013). *Getting it right for the future: Aboriginal Law, Australian Law and Native Title Corporations*. (PhD thesis). Melbourne Law School, The University of Melbourne.

Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/019924264X.001.0001

Flockhart, A. (2005). Raising the profile of social enterprises: the use of social return on investment (SROI) and investment ready tools (IRT) to bridge the financial credibility gap. *Social Enterprise Journal*, *1*(1), 29-42. https://doi.org/10.1108/17508610580000705

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *12*(2), 219-245. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363

Foley, D. (2000). 'Too white to be black, too black to be white'. *Social Alternatives, 19*(4)*,* 44-49. *https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.200107192*

Foley, D. (2003). An examination of Indigenous Australian entrepreneurs. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, *8*(2), 133-151.

Foley, D. E. (2002). Critical ethnography: The reflexive turn. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 15(4),* 469-490. doi:10.1080/09518390210145534

Gammage, B. (2011). *The biggest estate on earth: how Aborigines made Australia.* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Gerritsen, R., & Straton, A. (2007). Coping with a tragedy of the Australian Aboriginal common. In A. Smajgl & S. Larson (Ed.), *Sustainable Resource Use: Institutional Dynamics and Economics* (pp. 162-177). Earthscan.

Gerritsen, R., Whitehead, P., & Stoeckl, N. (2018). Economic Development Across the North. In Russell-Smith, J., James, G., Pedersen, H., & Sangha, K. K. (Eds.), *Sustainable land sector development in northern Australia: Indigenous rights, aspirations, and cultural responsibilities* (pp. 53-84). ProQuest Ebook Central. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Gopalkrishnan, N., & Babacan, H. (2007). *Racisms in the new world order: realities of cultures, colours and identity*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Gorringe, S. D., Ross, J., & Fforde, C. (2011). *'Will the Real Aborigine Please Stand Up': Strategies for Breaking the Stereotypes and Changing the Conversation.* AIATSIS Research Discussion Paper No. 28. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Retrieved from https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/research_pub/gorringe-ross-fforde-dp28-real-aborigines-stereotypes_0_2.pdf

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. Q. Hoare & G. Nowell-Smith (Eds., Trans.). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gray, B. (2006). *Council of Australian Governments (COAG) Trial Evaluation – WADEYE Northern Territory*, WJG & Associates Pty Ltd. Retrieved from https://bowden-mccormack.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/coag_nt1_0.pdf

Gray, M., & Hunter, B. (2011). *Changes in Indigenous labour force status: establishing employment as a social norm?* CAEPR Tropical Issue No. 7/2011, Australian National University. Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/162631564.pdf

Gray, W., & Sanders, W. (2006). *Views from the top of the 'quiet revolution': Secretarial perspectives on the new arrangements in Indigenous affairs*. CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 282/2006, Australian National University. Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/162631497.pdf

Greiner, R., Stanley O., & Austin, B. (2012). *Sustainable Indigenous livelihoods from north Australian land and water resources – towards a research and development agenda and implementation strategy*. Darwin: North Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance Ltd. http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.16360.70409

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research, 2*(163-194), 105.

Hall, S. (2011) The Neo-Liberal Revolution. *Cultural Studies, 25*(6), 705-728. DOI: 10.1080/09502386.2011.619886

Hamilton, A. (1990). Aborigines, Asians and the national imaginary. *Australian Cultural History, 9,* 14-35. Retrieved from

https://www.academia.edu/934537/Fear_and_desire_Aborigines_Asians_and_the_national_imaginary?auto=citations&from=cover_page

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Harwood, S. (2018), *Applying s.5(2)(d) of the Planning Act 2016 to the Wujal Wujal DOGIT and Eastern Kuku Yalanji Estate*. Unpublished Report to the Jabalbina Board.

Hiddleston, J. (2009). *Understanding postcolonialism*. New York: Routledge.

Hill, R., Baird, A., & Buchanan, D. (1999). Aborigines and Fire in the Wet Tropics of Queensland, Australia: Ecosystem Management Across Cultures. *Society & Natural Resources, 12*(3), 205-223. https://doi.org/10.1080/089419299279704

Hindle, K., & Moroz, P. (2010). Indigenous entrepreneurship as a research field: developing a definitional framework from the emerging canon. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal, 6*(4), 357-385. doi: 10.1007/s11365-009-0111-x

Hodge, G., & Greve, C. (2010). Public-Private Partnerships: Governance Scheme or Language Game? *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *69*(s1), S8-S22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8500.2009.00659.x

Holmes, J. (2011). Contesting the Future of Cape York Peninsula. *Australian Geographer*, *42*(1), 53-68. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2011.546319

Howard, J. (2007). *A national plan for water security*. (Speech to National Press Club). Canberra. Retrieved from https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressrel%2FK81M6%22;src1=sm1

Hudson, S. (2016). *Mapping the Indigenous program and funding maze*. Sydney. Centre for Independent Studies. Retrieved from https://www.cis.org.au/app/uploads/2016/08/rr18-Full-Report.pdf

Huggins, J. (2007). Human Rights in Australia: First Things First. In N. Gopalkrishan & H. Babacan (Eds.), *Racisms in the new world order: realities of cultures, colours and identity*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Hughes, H. (2007). *Lands of Shame: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander' 'homelands' in Transition*. Centre for Independent Studies. Retrieved from https://www.cis.org.au/app/uploads/2007/06/sp9.pdf

Hunter, B. H., & Gray, M. C. (2012). *Determinants of Indigenous Labour Supply Following a Period of Strong Economic Growth*. CAEPR Working Paper No. 81/2012, ANU. Retrieved from http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2012WP81.php

Jabalbina. (2016). *Jabalbina Strategic Plan 2017 to 2021*. Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation.

Jabalbina. (2018). *Tourism Workshop Report*. Unpublished Report Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation.

Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation [Jabalbina]. (2019a). *Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation Submission to the Wet Tropics Management Authority Plan Review*. Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation.

Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation [Jabalbina]. (2019b), *Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation Board Papers 2007-2019*. Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation.

Jackson, S., Porter, L., & Johnson, L. C. (2017). *Planning in indigenous Australia: from imperial foundations to postcolonial futures*. Routledge.

Jalunji-Warra People & Shee, R. (2012). *Bama Ngulkurrku Wawu Wawurrku Bundangka Bubungu Jalunbu: Healthy Mob, Healthy Land and Sea. Eastern Kuku Yalanji Indigenous Protected Area Management Plan Stage 2*. Mossman: Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation. Design by Jacqui Smith – www.cix.com.au

James Cook University [JCU]. (2012). *James Cook University, Best Practice in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research.* Queensland: James Cook University.

Janke, T. (2009). *Writing up Indigenous Research: authorship, copyright and Indigenous knowledge systems*. Sydney: Terri Janke & Company. Retrieved from https://www.terrijanke.com.au/writing-up-indigenous-research

Jayasuriya, L. (2002). Understanding Australian Racism. *Australian Universities' Review, 45*(1), 40-44.

Johns, G. (2001). The failure of Aboriginal separatism. *Quadrant, 45*(5), 9.

Johnston, R. (1996). *Kuku – Yalanji Native Title Interests: Negotiating Settlement of Land Use and Outstation Development, "Bubu First, Business After"*, Report to the Cape York Land Council.

Johnston, A., & Lawson, A. (2000). Settler colonies. In H. Schwarz & R. Sangeeta (Eds.), *A companion to postcolonial studies*, (pp. 360-376). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Katz, I. & Raven, M. (2013). Evaluation of the Cape York Welfare Reform Trial. *Indigenous Law Bulletin. 8(*7), 19-23. Retrieved from http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/IndigLawB/2013/29.pdf

Kidd, R. (1997). *The way we civilise: Aboriginal affairs, the untold story*. University of Queensland Press.

Konishi, S. (2019). First Nations Scholars, Settler Colonial Studies, and Indigenous History. *Australian Historical Studies*, *50*(3), 285-304. https://doi.org/10.1080/1031461X.2019.1620300

Kowal, E. (2008). The Politics of the Gap: Indigenous Australians, Liberal Multiculturalism, and the End of the Self-Determination Era. *American Anthropologist*, *110*(3), 338-348. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2008.00043.x

Kuku Nyungkal Bama, Hill, R., Pert, R. L., Shee, R., & the Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation. (2012). *Caring for Kuku Nyungkal Country. Eastern Kuku Yalanji Indigenous Protected Area Management Plan Stage 1.* Cairns: Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation and CSIRO.

Australian Labor Party [ALP]. (2013). *Growing the North: A Plan for Northern Australia*. Australian Labor Party. Barton, ACT.

LaFlamme, M. (2010). *Sustainable desert livelihoods: A cross-cultural framework*. Working Paper 69. Alice Springs: Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre. Retrieved from https://www.nintione.com.au/resources/rao/sustainable-desert-livelihoods-a-cross-cultural-framework/

LaFlamme, M. (2011). A framework for sustainable rangeland livelihoods: In M. McGregor, & C. James (Eds.), *The Rangeland Journal*, *33*(4), 339-351. https://doi.org/10.1071/RJ11023

Langton, M. (1993). Rum, Seduction and Death: “Aboriginality” and Alcohol. *Oceania*, *63*(3), 195-206. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.1993.tb02417.x

Langton, M. & Calma, T. (2019). *The government is committed to an Indigenous voice. We should give it a chance to work*. The Conversation. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/the-government-is-committed-to-an-indigenous-voice-we-should-give-it-a-chance-to-work-126683

Langton, M. & Calma, T. & Commonwealth of Australia. (2020). *Indigenous Voice Co-Design Process: Interim Report to the Australian Government*. Retrieved from https://voice.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-01/indigenous-voice-codesign-process-interim-report-2020.pdf

Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, *63*(1), 5-25. https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2000.11675231

Lawson, T. (1997). *Economics and reality*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203195390

Lemke, T. (2001). ‘The birth of bio-politics’: Michel Foucault’s lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy and Society*, *30*(2), 190-207. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140120042271

Lorimer, F. (2001). *Ngayku bubu / My bit of dirt. Themes of belonging, difference and separation among Kuku-Yalanji of the Bloomfield Valley in Southeast Cape York, Australia*. (PhD thesis). University of Sydney.

Louis, R. P. (2007). Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research. *Geographical Research*, *45*(2), 130-139. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-5871.2007.00443.x

Mackellar, D., & Weston, H. J. (2010). *My country*. Omnibus Books.

Macoun, A. (2011). Aboriginality and the Northern Territory Intervention. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *46*(3), 519-534. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2011.595700

Macoun, A., & Strakosch, E. (2013). The ethical demands of settler colonial theory. *Settler Colonial Studies*, *3*(3-4), 426-443 https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2013.810695

Maddison, S. (2019). The Limits of the Administration of Memory in Settler Colonial Societies: the Australian Case. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *32*(2), 181-194. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-018-9303-0

Maddison, S., & Strakosch, E. (2019). Whose politics and which science? Rethinking the discipline in the context of Australian settler colonial relationships. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *54*(3), 372-377. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2019.1625860

Manne, R. (Ed.). (2003). *Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal history*. Black Inc.

Markham, F. & Biddle, N. (2017). *Indigenous Population Change in the 2016 Census.* Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. Australian National University. Retrieved from https://caepr.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/CAEPR_Census_Paper_1_2018.pdf

Martin, K. (2008). *Please knock before you enter: Aboriginal regulation of outsiders and the implications for researchers*: Teneriffe, Brisbane: Post Pressed.

Martin, K., & Mirraboopa, B. (2003). Ways of knowing, being and doing: A theoretical framework and methods for indigenous and indigenist re-search. *Journal of Australian Studies*, *27*(76), 203-214. https://doi.org/10.1080/14443050309387838

McRae-Williams, E., & Gerritsen, R. (2010). Mutual Incomprehension: The Cross Cultural Domain of Work in a Remote Australian Aboriginal Community. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, *1*(2), 2-27 https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2010.1.2.2

McRae-Williams, E., & Guenther, J. (2016). *Our North, whose future: What is the scope for Aboriginal workforce development?.* In Developing Northern Australia Conference 2016: Above the line-unleashing the North's potential (pp. 33-46). Association for Sustainability in Business Inc.

Measham, T., Maru, Y., & Murray-Prior, R. (2006). *Outback livelihoods: defining and linking social and economic issues affecting the health and viability of outback regions*. DKCRC Working Paper (No. 6).

Mitchell, W., & Fazi, T. (2017). *Reclaiming the state*. University of Chicago Press Economics Books.

Moran, M., Wright, A., Renehan, P., Szava, A., Rich, E., & Beard, N. (2007). *The transformation of assets for sustainable livelihoods in a remote Aboriginal settlement*. Alice Springs, Australia: Desert Knowledge CRC. Retrieved from https://www.nintione.com.au/resource/DKCRC-Rep-28-Transformation-of-Assets.pdf

Moreton-Robinson, A., & Walter, M. (2009). Indigenous methodologies in social research. In M. Walter (Ed.), *Social Research Methods,* (pp. 1-18). Oxford.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2015). *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. University of Minnesota Press.

Morphy, F. (2008). Redefining Viability: Aboriginal Homelands Communities in North-east Arnhem Land. *The Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *43*(3), 381-396. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2008.tb00109.x

Morrison, J. (2017). Keynote Speech, Northern Australian Development Conference. Retrieved from https://www.nlc.org.au/uploads/pdfs/Morrison_Keynote_Northern_Australian_Development_Conference_Cairns-062017.pdf

Morrison, J., Yu, P. & George, M. (2018). 2-Way Country – Challenges for Inclusive, Equitable, and Prosperous Development in North Australia. In Russell-Smith, J., James, G., Pedersen, H., & Sangha, K. K. (Eds.), *Sustainable land sector development in northern Australia: Indigenous rights, aspirations, and cultural responsibilities* (pp. 1-8). CRC Press, Taylor and Francis Group.

Mossman Gorge Centre. [MGC]. Mossman Gorge Centre Web Site. Retrieved 18/9/2021 from https://www.mossmangorge.com.au/

Mullins, P. (2007). Mobs and Bosses: Structures of Aboriginal Sociality. *Australian Aboriginal Studies, 2007*(1), 31-42.

Nakata, M. (2007). The cultural interface. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 36*(5)*,* 2-14. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1326011100004646

Nakata, M., Nakata, V., Keech, S., & Bolt, R. (2012). Decolonial goals and pedagogies for Indigenous studies. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1*(1).

National Health and Medical Research Council (Australia) [NH&MRC]. (2003). *Values and ethics: guidelines on ethical conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research.* Canberra: The Council

National Indigenous Australians Agency [NIAA]. *Northern Australia Indigenous Development Accord*. Australian Government. Retrieved from https://www.niaa.gov.au/resource-centre/indigenous-affairs/northern-australia-indigenous-development-accord

Nelson, T. (2019). Rewriting the narrative: Confronting Australia's past in order to determine our future. *NEW: Emerging Scholars in Australian Indigenous Studies*, *4*(1), 20-26. https://doi.org/10.5130/nesais.v4i1.1530

NH&MRC (2003). Values and ethics: Guidelines for ethical conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research.

Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and Indigenous participation: critical reflexive methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *12*(2), 117-126. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570902727698

Nikolakis, W. (2008). *Determinants of success among Indigenous enterprise in the Northern Territory of Australia* (Doctoral dissertation). University of South Australia. Adelaide. Retrieved from http://arrow.unisa.edu.au:8081/1959.8/48854

Nikolakis, W., & Grafton, Q. (2015). Putting Indigenous water rights to work: the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as a lens for remote development. *Community Development, 46*(2), 149-163. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15575330.2015.1009922

North Australia Infrastructure Facility [NAIF]. (2020). *Investment guidelines*. Retrieved from https://naif.gov.au/about-naif-finance/investment-guidelines/

North Australian Land and Sea Management Alliance Limited [NAILSMA]. (2013). *An Indigenous prospectus for northern development: setting the agenda. A policy from the second forum, North Australia Indigenous Experts Forum on Sustainable Economic Development*. (Policy Paper). Knowledge Series. Issue 020/2013. Retrieved from https://nailsma.org.au/uploads/resources/KS-020-NAIEF-2-Indig-prospectus-position-paper_0813_171113_144348.pdf

North Australian Land and Sea Management Alliance Limited [NAILSMA]. (2014). *An Indigenous prospectus for northern development: Effective engagement, resilient communities, secure futures.* (Submission) Parliament of Australia: Joint Select Committee on Northern Australia. No. 177.

North Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance Limited [NAILSMA]. (2020). *Business on Country diversification strategy – for enterprise, economic development and health and productive lands and seas.* CRCNA. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Jim/OneDrive/AAA%20PhD/Literature/Governance/NAILSMA%202020%20Business%20on%20country%20diversitication%20strategy%20-%20for%20enterprise,%20economic%20development%20and%20health%20and%20productive%20lands%20and%20seas.pdf

Northern Australia Land and Water Task Force [NALWTF]. (2009). *Sustainable development of northern Australia.* Report

Northern Land Council [NLC]. (2014). Northern Land Council Submission to the Joint Select Committee on Northern Australia. No. 165.

Northern Territory Treaty Commission. (2020). *Treaty Discussion Paper*. Retrieved from https://treatynt.com.au/news/2020/treaty-discussion-paper

Noy, C. (2008). Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 11*(4), 327–344.

Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations [ORIC]. (2016). *Snapshot of ORIC.* Retrieved from https://www.oric.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/10_2016/Snapshot%20of%20ORIC_as%20at%2030%20June%202016.pdf .

Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations [ORIC]. (2018). *The Rule Book*. Commonwealth of Australia. Retrieved 15/8/2021 from www.oric.gov.au

Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations [ORIC]. (2020). *Register of Indigenous Corporations*. Commonwealth of Australia. Retrieved from www.oric.gov.au

O'Flynn, J. (2007). From new public management to public value: Paradigmatic change and managerial implications. *Australian journal of public administration*, *66*(3), 353-366. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8500.2007.00545.x

Osborne, S. P. (2010). Introduction: The (New) Public Governance: a suitable case for treatment? In S. P. Osborne (Ed.), *The New Public Governance?* (pp. 17-32). Routledge.

https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/3343001/mod_resource/content/0/Anexo%20sem%20t%C3%ADtulo%2000582.pdf

O'Sullivan, D. (2018). Māori, the state and self-determination in the neoliberal age. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh & I. Altamirano-Jimenez (Eds.), *The Neoliberal State, Recognition and Indigenous Rights: New paternalism to new imaginings.* CAEPR: ANU Press. http://doi.org/10.22459/CAEPR40.07.2018

Pannell, S. (2008). Aboriginal Cultures in the Wet Tropics. In *Living in a Dynamic Tropical Forest Landscape* (pp. 59-70). Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444300321.ch4

Paradies, Y. C. (2006). Beyond black and white: Essentialism, hybridity and indigeneity. *Journal of Sociology, 42*(4), 355-367. https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783306069993

Parr, A. (2014). *The wrath of capital: Neoliberalism and climate change politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pascoe, B. (2014). *Dark Emu*. Broome, Western Australia: Magabala Books.

Paterson, A.B. (1993). *Banjo Paterson: collected verse*. Penguin Group Australia.

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation m*ethods: integrating theory and practice (Fourth edition.). SAGE.

Pearson, N. (2000). *Our right to take responsibility*. Cairns, Qld: Noel Pearson & Associates.

Pearson, N. (2006). *Welfare reform and economic development for Indigenous communities* (Occasional Paper 100). St Leonards, NSW: Centre for Independent Studies. Retrieved from https://www.cis.org.au/app/uploads/2015/04/images/stories/occassional-papers/op-100.pdf

Pearson, N. (2007). White guilt, victimhood and the quest for a radical centre. *Griffith Review*, *16*, 34.

Person, N. (2014). *A rightful Place: Race, Recognition and a More Complete Commonwealth,* Quarterly Essay: Black Inc. Melbourne.

Pearson, N. (2009). *Up from the Mission: Selected Writings*: Black Inc. Melbourne.

Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode, 34*(3), 380-404. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00247

Pedersen, H., & Woorunmurra, B. (2000). *Jandamarra and the Bunuba resistance*. Magabala Books.

Peterson, N. (2013). Community Development, Civil Society and Local Government in the Future of Remote Northern Territory Growth Towns. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, *14*(4), 339-352. https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2013.804868

Pettman, J. (1988). Learning about power and powerlessness: Aborigines and white Australia's Bicentenary. *Race & Class, 29*(3), 69-85. https://doi.org/10.1177/030639688802900305

Povinelli, E. A. (1993). *Labor's lot: The power, history, and culture of Aboriginal action*. University of Chicago Press.

Prime Minister and Cabinet [PM&C]. (2014). *Indigenous Advancement Strategy, & Guidelines.* Canberra: Australian Government.

Prime Minister and Cabinet [PM&C]. (2018) *The Indigenous Business Sector Strategy: Supercharging Indigenous Business Start-Up and Growth 2018–2028*. Retrieved from https://www.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/publications/ibss_strategy.pdf

Productivity Commission. (2016). *Overcoming Indigenous disadvantage: key indicators 2016*. Retrieved from https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/overcoming-indigenous-disadvantage/2016

Prowse, M. (2008). *Locating and extending livelihoods research.* Brooks World Poverty Institute Working Paper No. 37. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1147573

Prowse, M. (2010). Integrating reflexivity into livelihoods research. *Progress in Development Studies, 10*(3), 211-231. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/146499340901000302

Pusey, M. (1991). *Economic rationalism in Canberra: A nation-building state changes its mind*. Cambridge University Press.

Pusey, M. (2017). Economic rationalism in Canberra: Twenty-five years on. In A. Yeatman (Ed.), *Economic rationalism in Canberra: Twenty-five years on – five essays*. Working Papers in the Human Rights and Public Life Program: No. 5,

pp. 22-29. Sydney: Whitlam Institute, Western Sydney University. Retrieved from https://www.flipsnack.com/Whitlam/economic-rationalism-in-canberra-25-years-on.html?p=22

PwC Indigenous Consulting. (2018). *The contribution of the Indigenous business sector to Australia's economy.* Retrieved from https://www.pwc.com.au/indigenous-consulting/assets/the-contribution-of-the-indigenous-business-sector-apr18.pdf

Queensland Department of Premier and Cabinet, & Fitzgerald, T. (2001). *Cape York Justice Study*. Department of the Premier and Cabinet. Queensland Government. Retrieved from https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/33158106

Queensland Government. (2002). *Meeting challenges, making choices: The Queensland Government's response to the Cape York Justice Study*. Brisbane: Queensland Government.

Queensland Government. (11 April 2007). *Premier and Eastern Kuku Yalanji People Celebrate Land Agreement.* (Media Release). Queensland Government. Retrieved from https://statements.qld.gov.au/statements/46243

Queensland Government. (2010). *Cape York Recreational Track Network Statutory and Legislative Assessment*. (A component of the technical feasibility study for the Cape York Peninsula Recreational Track Network). Queensland Government.

Queensland Government. (2019). *Statement of Commitment to reframe the relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the Queensland Government*. Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships. Queensland Government. Retrieved from https://www.dsdsatsip.qld.gov.au/resources/dsdsatsip/work/atsip/reform-tracks-treaty/path-treaty/treaty-statement-commitment-july-2019.pdf

Queensland Government. (2020). *Queensland Government Treaty Statement of Commitment and response to recommendations of the Eminent Panel.* Queensland Government. Retrieved from https://documents.parliament.qld.gov.au/TableOffice/TabledPapers/2020/5620T1358.pdf

Queensland Government Crown Law. (2007). *Eastern Yalanji, Queensland and WTMA (Freehold Grants) Indigenous Land Use Agreement Q122006/007: Between*

Agnes Walker, Eileen Walker, Hazel Douglas, John Walker Jnr and Peter Fischer and State of Queensland and Wet Tropics Management Authority. Queensland Government.

Queensland Productivity Commission [QPC]. (2017). *Service Delivery in remote and discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.* Queensland Government.

Rainforest Aboriginal People [RAP]. (2014). *Wet Tropics Aboriginal Peoples Consultation about Cultural and Natural Resource Management, Unpublished Report*.

Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance [RAPA]. (2012). *Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance Strategic Plan 2012 - 2017*.

Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance [RAPA] & The Cairns Institute (TCI). (2013). *Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples Alliance and The Cairns Institute Research Partnership Agreement*.

Reconciliation Council. (2016). *The State of Reconciliation in Australia Summary, Our History, Our Story Our* Future. Retrieved from https://www.reconciliation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/State-of-Reconciliation-Report_SUMMARY.pdf

Referendum Council. (2017). *Referendum Council Final Report.* Commonwealth of Australia. Retrieved from https://www.referendumcouncil.org.au/sites/default/files/report_attachments/Referendum_Council_Final_Report.pdf

Reynolds, H. (1981). *The other side of the frontier: Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia*. UNSW Press.

Ridley, D. (2008). *The literature review: A step-by-step guide for students*. Sage Publications.

Rigney, L. I. (1999). Internationalization of an indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: a guide to indigenist research methodology and its principles. *Wicazo Sa Review, 14*(2)*,* 109-121. https://doi.org/10.2307/1409555

Rigney, L. I. (2001). A first perspective of Indigenous Australian participation in science: Framing Indigenous research towards Indigenous Australian intellectual sovereignty. *Kaurna Higher Education Journal, 7*, 1-13.

Robbins, J. (2007). The Howard government and Indigenous rights: an imposed national unity? *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *42*(2), 315-328. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361140701320042

Rose, N., O'Malley, P., & Valverde, M. (2006). Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science 2*(1). 83-04. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900

Rose, N., & Miller, P. (2013). *Governing the present: Administering economic, social and personal life*. Oxford: Wiley

Russell-Mundine, G. (2007). Key factors for the successful development of Australian indigenous entrepreneurship. *Tourism Preliminary Communication, Vol. 55*(4), 417-429.

Russell-Smith, J., & Whitehead, P. (2014). *Supporting innovative Indigenous land management, employment and enterprise development in north Australian savannas,* Submission to Parliament of Australia Joint Select Committee on Northern Australia. Submission 35.

Russell-Smith, J., Sangha, K., Costanza, R., Kubiszewski, I., & Edwards, A. (2018). Towards a Sustainable, Diversified Land Sector Economy for North Australia. In J. Russell-Smith, G. James, H. Pedersen, & K. K. Sangha (Eds.), *Sustainable land sector development in northern Australia: Indigenous rights, aspirations, and cultural responsibilities* (pp. 85-126). ProQuest Ebook Central https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Sabel, C. F. (2004). Beyond principal-agent governance: experimentalist organizations, learning and accountability. *De Staat van de Democratie. Democratie voorbij de Staat. WRR Verkenning, 3*, 173-195.

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. (3rd ed.) Penguin Books.

Sanders, W. (2010). Ideology, evidence and competing principles in Australian Indigenous affairs: From Brough to Rudd via Pearson and the NTER. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 45*(3), 307-331. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2010.tb00182.x

Sayer, A. (1997). Critical realism and the limits to critical social science. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 27*(4), 473-488. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5914.00052

Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and Social Science*. London: Sage.

Schneider, A. L. & Ingram, H. (2008). Social constructions in the study of public policy. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (pp. 189-211). New York: The Guilford Press.

Scoones, I. (1998). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: A framework for analysis.* (IDS Working Paper 72). Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/sustainable-rural-livelihoods-a-framework-for-analysis/

Scoones, I. (2009). Livelihoods, perspectives and rural development. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 36*(1), 171-196. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150902820503

Scoones, I. (2015). *Sustainable livelihoods and rural development*. Practical Action Publishing. Retrieved from https://practicalactionpublishing.com/book/2123/sustainable-livelihoods-and-rural-development

Scullion, N. (2014, 13 May). *Delivering our commitments for Indigenous Australians.* [Press release]. Retrieved from https://ministers.dese.gov.au/senator-hon-nigel-scullion

Scullion, N. (2014, 21 May). *Indigenous Affairs Budget – Results mean more than dollars.* [Press release]. Retrieved from https://ministers.dese.gov.au/senator-hon-nigel-scullion

Skeen, G. (2008). *Two Cultures*. Kuranda, Queensland: Rams Skull Press.

Smith D, & Hunt, J. (2008) Understanding Indigenous Australian Governance – research, theory and representation. In J. Hunt, D. Smith, S. Garling, & W. Sanders (Ed.), *Contested Governance: Culture, power and institutions in Indigenous Australia*. ANU E Press. Retrieved from https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p97361/pdf/book.pdf

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Smyth, D & Whitehead, P. (2012). Reflections on Researching and Developing Indigenous Livelihoods on Country. Charles Darwin University, Darwin. ISBN: 978-1-921576-73-7.

Solesbury, W. (2003). *Sustainable livelihoods: A case study of the evolution of DFID policy*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254056563_Sustainable_Livelihoods_A_Case_Study_of_the_Evolution_of_DFID_Policy

Spivak, G. C. (2003). Can the subaltern speak? *Die Philosophin, 14*(27), 42-58. https://philpapers.org/go.pl?id=SPICTS&proxyId=&u=https%3A%2F%2Fdx.doi.org%2F10.5840%2Fphilosophin200314275

Stafford Smith, M., Walker, D., Maru, Y., Stoeckl, N., Herr, A., Breen, J., & Greiner, R. (2003). *Options for understanding regional dynamics in Northern Australia. Tropical Savannahs CRC Project Report*. (CSIRO: Alice Springs). Retrieved from https://apo.org.au/sites/default/files/resource-files/2003-01/apo-nid159706.pdf

Stanner, W. E. H. (1979). *White man got no dreaming: essays 1938-1973*. Australian National University Press.

Stoeckl, N., Esparon, M., Farr, M., Delisle, A., & Stanley, O. (2013). The great asymmetric divide: An empirical investigation of the link between indigenous and non-indigenous economic systems in Northern Australia. *Regional Science*, *93*(4), 783-801. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pirs.12028/ful l

Stoker, G. (2006). Public value management: A new narrative for networked governance? *The American review of public administration*, *36*(1), 41-57. https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074005282583

Strakosch, E. (2015). *Neoliberal Indigenous Policy, Settler Colonialism and the 'Post-Welfare' State.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Strakosch, E., & Macoun, A. (2012). The vanishing endpoint of settler colonialism. *Arena Journal,* (37/38), 40-62.

Sullivan, P. (2011a). *The policy goal of normalisation, the National Indigenous Reform Agreement and Indigenous National Partnership Agreements* (DKCRC Working Paper 76). Alice Springs, Australia: Ninti One Limited. Retrieved from https://www.nintione.com.au/resource/NintiOneWorkingPaper_76_PolicyGoalofNormalisation.pdf

Sullivan, P. (2011b). *Belonging together: Dealing with the politics of disenchantment in Australian Indigenous affairs policy*. Aboriginal Studies Press.

Sullivan, P. (2015). *Reciprocal Relationship: Accountability for Public Value in the Aboriginal Community Sector*. Report prepared for The Lowitja Institute. ISBN 978-1-921889-41-7.

Sullivan, P. (2018). The tyranny of neoliberal public management and the challenge for Aboriginal community organisations. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh & I. Altamirano-Jimenez (Eds.), *The Neoliberal State, Recognition and Indigenous Rights: New paternalism to new imaginings.* CAEPR: ANU Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.22459/CAEPR40.07.2018.11

Sullivan, P. & Stacy, C. (2012). *Supporting Indigenous Livelihoods - Appropriate Scales of Governance.* NAILSMA Knowledge Series 9/2012. North Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance Ltd. Darwin. Retrieved from https://nailsma.org.au/uploads/resources/KS-09-12-Supporting-Indigenous-Livelihoods-Governance_0.pdf

Schwarz, B. (2000). Actually existing postcolonialism. *Radical Philosophy*, (104), 16-24.

Talbot, L. (2017). *Indigenous knowledge and governance in protected areas in Australia and Sweden*, (PhD Thesis). James Cook University. https://doi.org/10.4225/28/5afa3c4db90ee

Taylor, A., Larson, S., Stoeckl, N., & Carson, D. (2011). The haves and have nots in Australia's Tropical North – New Perspectives on a Persisting Problem. *Geographical Research, 49*(1), 13-22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-5871.2010.00648.x

Taylor, A., Payer, H., & Brokensha, H. (2015). *The Demography of Developing Northern Australia.* Northern Institute Research Brief, Issue 6/2015. Charles Darwin University: Retrieved from https://www.cdu.edu.au/sites/default/files/research-brief-2015-06.pdf

Taylor, J. (2009). Social Engineering and Indigenous Settlement: Policy and Demography in Remote Australia. *Australian Aboriginal Studies,* (1), 4-15.

Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and applications, 5,* 147-158. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10125/227

Trugden, R. (2000). *Why Warriors Lie Down and Die.* Djambatj Mala.

Tsey, K., McCalman, J., Bainbridge, R., & Brown, C. (2012). *Improving Indigenous community governance through strengthening Indigenous and government organisational capacity.* Resource Sheet No. 10, Closing the Gap Clearing House. Australian Government. Retrieved from https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/04fa3771-33c4-448b-b82e-3dce26c4cd97/ctgc-rs10.pdf.aspx?inline=true

Turnbull, M. (2017, 26 October). *Response to Referendum Council report on Constitutional Recognition*. [Media Release]. Retrieved from www.malcolmturnbull.com.au/media/response-to-referendum-councils-report-on-constitutional-recognition

Turnour, J. (2014). *Northern Australia agriculture policy: opportunities and risks*. Joint Submission to the Green Paper on Developing Northern Australia. Regional Australia Institute.

Turnour, J. (2014-2019). Reflexive Journal Notes

Turnour, J., Andrews, K., Dale, A., McShane, C., Thompson, M., & Prideaux, B. (2021: in press). Place-based agricultural development: A new way of thinking about an old idea in northern Australia. In R. Wallace, S. Harwood, R. Gerritsen, B. Prideaux, T. Brewer, L. Rosenman, and A. Dale (Eds.), *Leading from the North: Rethinking Northern Australia Development.* ANU Press.

United Nations [UNDRIP]. (2007). *Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People*.

Wallace, M., White, B., & Shee, R. (2011). On the ground: planning on Eastern Kuku Yalanji Country. *Queensland Planner, 41*(4), 14-16.

Webster, T., Morison, J., Abel, N., Clark, N., Rippin, L. & Herr, A. (2009). *Irrigated agriculture: Development opportunities and implications for northern Australia*. Canberra: CSIRO.

Welch, C., Piekkari, R., Plakoyiannaki, E., & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, E. (2011). Theorising from case studies: Towards a pluralist future for international business research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, *42*(5), 740-762. https://doi.org/10.1057/jibs.2010.55

Weller, S., & O'Neill, P. (2014). An argument with neoliberalism: Australia's place in a global imaginary. *Dialogues in Human Geography, 4*(2), 105-130. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043820614536334

Welters, R. (2010). Atypical labour markets require atypical policy solutions. In R. Gerritsen (Ed.), *North Australian Political Economy: Issues and Agendas* (pp. 55-69). Charles Darwin University Press.

Wensing, E. (2014). *Land Justice for Indigenous Australians: Dealing in native title lands and statutory Aboriginal land rights regimes in Australia and why land tenure reform is critical for social reconstruction of Aboriginal people and communities*. Seminar on Development on Aboriginal Freehold Land. Cairns Campus: James Cook University.

Wensing, E. G. (2019). *Land Justice for Indigenous Australians: How can two systems of land ownership, use and tenure coexist with mutual respect based on parity and justice?* (PhD thesis). Australian National University.

Wet Tropics Aboriginal Plan Project Team. (2005), *Caring for Country and Culture - The Wet Tropics Aboriginal Cultural and Natural Resource Management Plan*. Rainforest CRC and FNQ NRM Ltd. Cairns.

Wet Tropics Management Authority [WTMA]. (2005), *Wet Tropics World Heritage Area Regional Agreement, For the involvement of Rainforest Aboriginal People in the management of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area*. Retrieved from https://www.wettropics.gov.au/regional-agreement

Whitehead, P. (2012). *Indigenous Livelihoods.* Background Paper, Knowledge Series Issue: 011/2012. North Australian Indigenous Land & Sea Management Alliance [NAILSMA]. Retrieved from https://nailsma.org.au/uploads/resources/KS-011-Indigenous-Livelihoods-background-paper-Whitehead.pdf

Whitfield, D. (2010). The dynamics of public sector transformation. *Soundings*, *46*, 99-111. https://doi.org/10.3898/136266210793790828

Wild, R., & Anderson, P. (2007). *Ampe Akelyernemane Meke Mekarle: "Little Children are Sacred Report"*. Report of the Northern Territory Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Indigenous Children from Sexual Abuse. Northern Territory Government. Retrieved from https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/57.4%20%E2%80%9CLittle%20Children%20are%20Sacred%E2%80%9D%20report.pdf

Windschuttle, K. (2003). The Fabrication of Aboriginal History. *Sydney Papers, 15*(1), 20-29. Retrieved from http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/resources/pdfs/197.pdf

Wolfe, P. (1997). History and imperialism: a century of theory, from Marx to postcolonialism. *The American Historical Review, 102*(2), 388-420. https://doi.org/10.2307/2170830

Wolfe, P. (1999). *Settler Colonialism*. A&C Black.

Wolfe, P. (2001). Land, labor, and difference: Elementary structures of race. *The American Historical Review, 106*(3), 866-905. https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/106.3.866

Wood, G. J., & Davidson, M. J. (2011). A review of male and female Australian indigenous entrepreneurs. *Gender in Management*, *26*(4), 311-326. https://doi.org/10.1108/17542411111144319

Wood, R. (2003). *The contemporary Land Holding System of the Eastern Kuku Yalanji*. Report to the Cape York Land Council.

Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Shire Council & Jabalbina. (2018). *Innovation and Improvement* (Grant Application). Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Shire Council in partnership with Jabalbina, Department of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs.

Yalanjiwarra People & Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation. (2016). *Nganjinanga Bubu, Nganjinanga Jalun, Nganjinanga Bama Plan: Our Land, Our Sea, Our People Plan. Eastern Kuku Yalanji Indigenous Protected Area Management Plan Stage 3*. Mossman: Jabalbina Yalanji Aboriginal Corporation.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods.* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appendix 1

Informants focus group and interview thematic questions.

Semi structured interviews were conducted under the following themes and questions:

1. **Defining Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods:**

What do you understand Indigenous economic development and sustainable livelihoods to mean?

How would we know if we were making progress in advancing Indigenous aspirations through economic and livelihoods development?

2. **Identifying opportunities/priorities for economic development:**

What opportunities do you see for Indigenous economic and sustainable livelihoods development in Northern Australia?

How would you prioritise these?

3. **Enablers and barriers to economic development:**

What is government doing to support the realisation of these opportunities and how is this progressing?

Can you provide some concrete examples of success stories?

What are the main barriers preventing Indigenous people achieving their aspirations for economic and livelihoods development?

Can you provide some concrete examples of barriers? What could be done to overcome these?

4. **Roles and responsibilities of individuals/groups/organisations/ governments:**

What do you see as individuals' and businesses' roles and responsibilities in achieving their aspirations for economic and livelihoods development?

What is the role and responsibility of regional groups like Land Councils and Cape York Organisations, and sub-regional groups like Girringun/Jabalbina?

What is the role and responsibility of private sector and industry organisations? What is the role and responsibility of government?

Do groups understand their different roles and responsibilities and are they performing them?

Appendix 2

INFORMATION SHEET

PROJECT TITLE: Indigenous Economic Development and Sustainable Livelihoods for northern Australia

INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR PARTICIPANTS

You are invited to take part in a research project aimed at analysing current government Indigenous economic development policy and the context in which this policy is developed and implemented in northern Australia. It will also explore and critique alternative approaches particularly the sustainable livelihoods approach and its capacity to improve Indigenous economic development outcomes. This research defines northern Australia as that part of Australia north of the Tropic of Capricorn. The research is part of a PhD thesis being completed by the Principal Investigator Jim Turnour.

THE PROTOCOLS

If you agree to be involved in the project, you will be invited to take part in a semi structured interview to be conducted by Jim Turnour that will take from 30 to 60 minutes of your time. The interview with your consent will be recorded by using a digital recorder and notes will be taken. The location of the interview will be agreed with you and you will have the ability to ask any questions about the research prior to the interview. You will be sent a copy of the interview transcript for checking following the interview.

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary and you can stop taking part in the study at any time without explanation or prejudice. You may also withdraw any unprocessed data from the study.

Your responses and contact details will be strictly confidential. The data from the study will be used in research publications including a PhD thesis. You will not be identified in any way in these publications, unless you choose to be, evidenced by your written consent.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact**:**

Principal Investigator:
Name: Jim Turnour
College: Business, Law and Governance
James Cook University
Phone:
Email: jim.turnour@my.jcu.edu.au

If you have any concerns regarding the ethical conduct of the study, please contact:
Human Ethics, Research Office
James Cook University, Townsville, Qld, 4811
Phone: (07) 4781 5011 (ethics@jcu.edu.au)

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	**Jim Turnour**
PROJECT TITLE:	**Indigenous Economic Development and Sustainable Livelihoods for Northern Australia**
COLLEGE	**College of Business, Law and Governance**

I understand the aim of this research study is to analyse and critique current Indigenous economic development policies and an alternative sustainable livelihoods approach with the objective of making recommendations that can be used to improve current policy. The research is part of a PhD thesis being completed by the Principal Investigator Jim Turnour. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written information sheet to keep.

I understand that my participation will involve a semi structured interview and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the information sheet.

I acknowledge that:

- taking part in this study is voluntary and I am aware that I can stop taking part in it at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;
- that any information I give will be kept strictly confidential and that no names will be used to identify me with this study without my approval;
- my participation will be reported as interview with:

Agreed Position Title: ________________________________ Organisation: ________________________________

- confidentiality can be assured in the interview

(Please tick to indicate consent)

I consent to be interviewed	☐	**Yes**	☐	**No**
I consent for the interview to be audio taped	☐	**Yes**	☐	**No**

Name: *(printed)*	
Signature:	**Date:**