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**ABORIGINAL AND ISLANDER  
PERCEPTIONS  
OF THE DELIVERY OF  
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES  
TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLE  
IN NORTH QUEENSLAND**

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## 1. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The research proposal arose because, in considering parole applications by Aboriginal and Islander prisoners, little information could be provided on the attitudes of the people in the prisoners' home community, the social resources available in the community to assist the prisoner, or the capacity of the community to provide basic needs such as employment.

### 1.1 RESEARCH AIMS

1. To gain an overview of the attitudes and perspectives of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in North Queensland, particularly those in remote communities, towards the QCSC.
2. To provide a mechanism whereby Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in North Queensland are able to comment and make realistic recommendations to the QCSC in relation to
  - (a) current correctional service delivery
  - (b) alternative sentencing options
  - (c) alternative custodial and community based programs and procedures
  - (d) development of community based initiatives including employment and training programs to interrupt patterns of recidivism
  - (e) identification of other direct or indirect issues which impact on the apprehension, sentencing and supervision of Aboriginal and Islander offenders.

### 1.2. RESEARCH METHOD

The research method was simple. As this was an exploratory study, the research followed a consultative method. After preliminary reading and an examination of the Queensland Corrective Services Commission, we sought to meet and to talk to close kinsfolk of prisoners and parolees. We sought to meet and to talk to all people who have any responsibility to prisoners: police and police aids, Shire and Council personnel, health staff, probation officers and ministers of religion. Then, as we found that the primary concern in each community is presently concentrated on the way to deal with young child offenders, we sought information from the school, recreational officers and activity groups.

In this study we visited Aurukun, Kowanyama, Morningson Island and Napranum. We were unable, for varying reasons beyond our control, to make planned visits to Lockhart River, Thursday Island and Yarrabah.

In each community we sought to work as much as possible with a person from within the community who was chosen by the community to act as a research assistant to us. We thank them for their assistance. Where it was unavailable, our work was much, much harder. We express our special appreciation to Willie Banjo of Kowanyama and Norma Chevathun of Aurukun. Many, many others helped us and we acknowledge their insight and assistance.

We began our discussions by seeking general information about the community. Then, according to the interest and inclination of our informants, we sought specific information on:-

Services to children;  
Community support services;  
Who are the people involved in custodial care?  
Do many people re-offend?  
What kind of offences are committed?  
We asked whether people saw links between particular offences and the age of the offenders;  
The statistics relating to the charges laid by police;  
Procedures of arrest and detention;  
What plans people had to cope with the return of offenders;  
What plans people had to address the problems of disruptive behaviour;  
We asked kinsfolk:  
What kind of help their kinsperson needed;  
Whether the present situation helped or hindered their kinsperson;  
What programmes they would like to see to help their kinsperson;  
Whether their husband/son/nephew was helped by prison;  
Whether prisoners/parolees are accepted back into their families;  
Has the behaviour of people from the community been changed by prison?  
Are returning prisoners and/or parolees violent?  
We explored how members of the community defined their problems of social control by asking:  
Why are the kids<sup>1</sup> constantly in trouble?  
Who is responsible for discipline?  
Who takes responsibility?  
Do the decisions of the Courts and the actions of Corrective or Family services help family to control the situation?  
What should the families be doing?  
What is the role of the Shire/Council the police,

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<sup>1</sup> In all communities this was the commonly used term to describe young offenders.

the church, the school?  
What is the role of traditional Aboriginal law?  
What is the role of outstations?  
What is the role of the canteen?

Interviews were informal, and we deliberately allowed informants to move in any direction they felt addressed the fundamental issues of social control.

We found that, regardless of our questions, a number of key areas were addressed repeatedly. These were gathered together<sup>2</sup> to assist our interviewing in subsequent communities, but the interviews remained informal. We used the questionnaire to ensure we were not missing points which had been important in other communities. Our conclusions are based on this data.

However, in interpreting the data, we go much further than our original questions. The reason is simple. We are unable to make any helpful comment to Corrective Services without putting the behaviour which leads offenders into court and then to prison into its social context. We have been forced to draw conclusions about the nature of the societies we visited and the kind of pressures impinging on the individual members of the communities who form the gravamen of the Commission's concerns. In this we have relied more heavily on the extensive experiences of the two researchers than on the literature. This has not been deliberate, but imposed by our wider responsibilities. It will, however, be obvious that what we write does make considerable use of the literature.

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1

## 2. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 2.1. THE COMMUNITY

The research does answer our questions, but not quite in the way one might expect. The result is not a social audit outlining assets which can be utilised by the Corrective Services Commission; rather it demonstrates how the immense pressures on community sources mean that little social or personal energy is available to serve offenders of any age. Instead, people feel that their energies must be saved for their own survival needs and that of the group in their community which most directly serves their needs; groups such as Shire or Council or the School, or the Church, or the canteen.

The research shows there is little knowledge of or commitment to the rehabilitation of prisoners in the communities. Even close relatives have little idea of their experience in prisons or their needs on return. In particular cases, people fear the return of prisoners and would much prefer they never returned at all.

In all the isolated communities we visited we found there were major problems of social control. In each one there were extremely high rates of local imprisonment to aid in the control of behaviour associated with drug abuse. Indeed, people felt deeply the powerlessness of traditional norms in controlling, not only drug-related behaviour, but that of children. Every segment of the community: the traditional extended family groups; the traditional land and ceremonial clans; the local governing bodies of council or Shire; the educational and church institutions - all expressed their sense of powerlessness

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<sup>3</sup>An example is taken from Kowanyama where 3,500 were held in the police lock up for short periods, many over night. Other communities used different methods, but all found that Community norms and the social sanctions which uphold them simply do not exist to modify drug related behaviour problems. This information is from a summary prepared for 1989 on January 1990 by police officer. These people are not offenders - they have been placed in overnight custody by the community police persons.



explicitly. The concept of anomie described by Emile Durkheim<sup>4</sup> is aptly applied to these communities.

We believe, therefore, that any attempt to address the high levels of imprisonment among this part of the Queensland population must take this reality into account. It is central to our recommendations to the Commission.

We also understand that the present situation has its historical roots. If we fail to understand how the present situation came to pass, we will not be able to address the situation effectively. Our discussions with older members in the community suggest to us that, in the mission era there were two clear focuses of power - what Stephen Harris describes as domains.<sup>5</sup> Both domains had considerable autonomy and freedom of action. However, the policy of self management has blurred the sharper distinctions between these domains and assumed an Aboriginal control of what had been the missionary domain. This was an assumption, not a reality. The ideological commitment to equality and self determination behind the move from mission or settlements into Aboriginal townships has totally failed to build strong enough bridges between the two domains to ensure a town operates effectively. Some would argue that this cannot be done without the destruction of the traditional life style. In our opinion the towns still operate in separate domains, but that neither seems able to do so effectively.

Furthermore, as Howard has pointed out, one response to the powerful hegemony by agencies of government such as school and police, and the agents of other controlling institutions such as the Shire/Council, has been to see them as a threat to their own well-being, not a bridge to the future.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See "Suicide" by Emile Durkheim. In chapter 3 he uses anomie to describe the state of a society in which there are very weak normative structures. He argues that the lack of norms in such societies is a major contributor to high incidences of suicide (pp 246ff).

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Harris introduced the concept of domains in his study of the situation at Milingimbi in the Northern Territory. He referred to two domains: a yolngu domain governed by Aboriginal structures and values and a balanda domain governed by the structures and values introduced to the community by members of the wider Australian society.

<sup>6</sup> Howard, p167

## 2.2 FAMILY

Many informants expressed their view of family life negatively, suggesting that many parents were not responsible for their children. As we felt the strong sense of frustration in families, we did not recognise irresponsibility so much as their lack of parenting skills and the overwhelming sense of powerlessness in their present environment. This is then reflected in the lack of parental accountability. In our opinion, the family as a social unit is overloaded and unable to control its members.

Community members recognise that parental powerlessness creates a massive teenage problem - older teenagers and younger adults use violence, or the threat of violence in order to get their way. There is an underlying assumption expressed in Ngay Ngaya which means "I'm me", but has the added connotation that therefore I can do what I like.

It is clear that in many families people do not obtain sufficient rest, food or recreation. Many offenders are totally unsupervised and rely on peers for survival. In these circumstances it should be no surprise they are also of great nuisance value to the community. How else do they measure their worth and value as human beings? No wonder they say "Ngay Ngaya"!

Everyone recognised this is a destructive situation which must be changed. However, the desired change in behaviour must begin in the extended family oppressed by its overwhelming sense of powerlessness. Without real support to strengthen family members, change simply cannot be expected.

Parents and their supporting kinsfolk can only accept accountability and responsibility if, when they are involved in any action taken to discipline offenders, they are supported in the consequences of their actions.

One example given to us was at Kowanyama. The probation officer put young offenders on hard physical work with permission of parents and approval of victims and Council. The effort to make this process work, however, is substantial, and must be followed up to ensure the family continues to be supported.

## 2.3. BLAMING

It is easy to blame the older system of control for the problems of the family. For example, some suggest the old dormitory system helped erode the authority of the extended family. In the present situation, other parents blame the structures of power in their community. This is because the behaviour which leads to police and court action often seems unrelated to their family struggles. It is outsiders who are upset by the behaviour, not the family. Many blame the heavy use of alcohol by parents.

However, ascribing blame is not very helpful because even where it increases understanding, it does not change the situation.

The more important question is how to create genuine choices, or, to put it another way, create the opportunity for people to choose between their present behaviour and some kind of actions which are different. The sense of powerlessness which so many kinsfolk expressed stems from their perception that there are no options, no alternatives. Parents will continue to drink their carton of grog rather than feed their kids, they will welcome the brief oblivion that follows their consumption rather than plan activities for their kids, unless there is some light at the end of the tunnel.

Our challenge has been to explore ways to help people on the isolated communities to identify genuinely hopeful options, to help people to become excited about those choices and their renewed involvement in the future.

#### 2.4. STRUCTURES OF SUPPORT

We have argued that the parents cannot take responsibility alone as individuals. They have already shown, however, that they are prepared to cooperate with others who can take the initiative and help them to see what can be done to help control young offenders.

They have consistently cooperated with people who have asked them to allow young offenders to be sent away. Many have tried to help when they have been sent to an outstation.

However, cooperation is not enough. Support is needed. In this too, parents have cooperated by agreeing that kinsfolk responsible in traditional terms for the discipline of their family member could be given responsibility for the offenders, sometimes with success, sometimes without success.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> For example, children were sent from Aurukun to an outstation. After a short time on the outstation the children set out for home. We were advised that they sought to swim the rivers between the outstation and Aurukun. At least one was nearly drowned and only saved by the fortuitous arrival of one of the men who was fishing at the point. This illustrated two points: first the supervision at the outstation was inadequate; secondly, unless well thought out and planned, the arrangement could be very dangerous in such isolated country.

Often such efforts are *ad hoc*. They are planned because the problem has become urgent. They are planned by people whose primary responsibilities are elsewhere and who have neither the time or training to organise such a process. The concept may have been excellent,<sup>8</sup> but, just because the concept is good, does not mean that it will automatically happen. It works if the quality of input by staff and community adequately prepares those who are to accept responsibility for the supervision of the offenders. They must be adequately trained and resourced, or other matters more vital to them will deflect them from the task.

To have older people provide teaching support to parents on outstations is an essential ingredient to success. However, they cannot be held responsible for keeping the offender there. An acceptable process of accountability has to be worked out with the kin for this purpose. It must include rewards or sanctions, but they must be rewards or sanctions significant to the people concerned.

Clearly, there are also parents who simply refuse to accept any, or very little, responsibility for their offending children. It has been suggested to us that this is because of the old mission or welfare attitudes; there is the idea that the responsibility really belongs to someone else.

Some informants advocated strong sanctions against parents who refused to feed or supervise offenders from their family. They advocated such things as fines or making the parents work. Whilst we cannot recommend appropriate sanctions, we do think there is merit in exploring rewards for good parenting and sanctions against poor parenting. The rewards or sanctions should support the norms and the mores of the community. These functioned effectively in traditional life, but have been eroded by the pressures of present life. Therefore, new social sanctions need to emerge.

In fact, if the resources are available, there are many, many possibilities which can be explored. In this context resources means trained personnel, not plant and equipment. People and relationships are the key tools.

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<sup>8</sup> The idea of using outstations as a way of helping young Aboriginal offenders has operated effectively elsewhere. Bremer Island, near Yirrkala was used very effectively for Rrirratjingu young people for several years. Offenders from Galiwin'ku Elcho Island were placed on outstations. So were young offenders from Maningrida. In our judgement the effectiveness of the support given by both Aboriginal community leaders and professional support staff to the family. (This information is drawn from personal knowledge and involvement in the placement of children from Arnhem Land on outstations. B.A. Clarke.)

Parental contracts or agreements with the court can be explored if there are local resources to supervise them properly.

Many offences committed by young people can be decriminalised and dealt with without reference to the Magistrate.

Only serious assault, major break and enters or stealing, and serious gun offences need lead to charges.

Misdemeanours can be dealt with under By Laws imposing responsibilities on the young offender, parent and helping agency.

## 2.5. THE QUESTION OF VISION

There is a lack of vision in isolated communities at the present time. Few local people expressed a strong sense of confidence in the future. Most visional statements made to us were by people from outside the community.

Any community, no matter how depressed, has visions of a different future, but we were not able to explore the visions articulated in the communities we visited. Instead we would catch incomplete glimpses, usually based on past experience,<sup>9</sup> of a hope for the future. The visions within a community are critical to creative activity in the community.

Such visions for the future are really important. Once identified they can be used to build alternative models and provide alternative choices, especially for younger offenders.

As part of the process of people developing new vision they should have access to good role models.

This process of developing new role models could be supported by commissioning a series of videos based on the stories of people who have been in prison, but who have changed their behaviour and gained vision and hope. If they are attractive and interesting to the people in the isolated communities, they offer an alternative choice of behaviour.

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<sup>9</sup> We were frequently referred to past experiences which are remembered as successful attempts to overcome problems of social control. Most involved older men taking people bush for a period in which traditional skills, songs and stories were taught. The events are always remembered as successful in themselves, but not necessarily as a resolution to the initial problem.

## 2.6. EDUCATION

Clearly, the younger offenders we met and the children being sent away from the isolated communities to Petford and Cleveland reflect the failure of schools on these isolated communities.

In some cases schools were enthusiastic and hopeful, but in others morale was very low. We found ourselves asking, "What are the objectives of the school?" and "Whose are they?"

In every school there were or had been recently, very high rates of truancy.

The problems with young offenders in these isolated communities is evidence on its own of the failure of a school system designed to be a tool in the re-socialisation of the children since early mission times.<sup>10</sup> Despite this failure, schools must be a part of any real solution to the anomic conditions so damaging to the normal development of the children.

As far as we could see, the schools basically operate on a western style of schooling. It appears to depend heavily on the personal discipline of the students. In anomic conditions, where the norms which support personal discipline are seriously weakened, whether permanently or temporarily, the western systems of education lose their effectiveness.

In anomic conditions disciplined learning becomes very, very difficult. Young people not only lack self discipline, but are also hungry, suffering from lack of sleep and motivation to learn. It is no wonder performance also suffers dramatically.

We saw a vast gulf between the school and the parents and heard many accounts of the attempts which were being made to encourage greater parental involvement and commitment to the schools.

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<sup>10</sup> The school played an important part in the development sought at Aurukun from the beginning. Mrs McKenzie describes her involvement in the school from 1925, when 40 children attended, until her visit in 1973 when she was delighted to find eight white teachers and 140 students. In her account she reflects the confidence of that period in education as the basic means for achieving the changes sought in the life style of the people they served (pp144ff).

This social distance, however, is not simply a question of intent - the distance has been structurally built into the relationship between people of the community and the institutions which serve it. This is true also of the police, the hospital and even the Shire which purports to represent the people.<sup>11</sup>

Where efforts to bridge this gulf had been successful we were told the problem of school vandalism was reduced dramatically.<sup>12</sup>

When it has been possible to articulate common community objectives, this has also been very helpful.

Creative competition has also helped generate better morale. This is evident in dancing, but how can this carry over to other areas of life?

## 2.7 SPIRITUALITY

There is a malaise of the spirit, whether the spirituality is expressed in a traditional Aboriginal world view, or in that of the christian congregations in the communities. This is clearly linked to the lack of vision.

There is also a divorce between the material and spiritual realities which has not been resolved. The holistic Aboriginal view of the world is constantly challenged by the individualism of secular Australian society. It is reflected in the divisions introduced since white settlement. (The Shire or Council, then companies, then various Government departments have compartmentalised and divided the communities). The division is both within the communities and also between the community and those outside through the accountability each staff person has to his/her department. This makes it hard to bring people together in any meaningful way.

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<sup>11</sup> One of the indications of this social distance is seen in the language used about institutions. Very few parents spoke of "our" school. Parents used "they" and "them" or "it" to describe the school, the church, the police (very strongly), the Shire and the hospital. Another graphic illustration of social distance may be seen in the attitude towards damage of school, Shire/Council or expatriate staff houses, vehicles and the like. This is "their" problem... "they" should control that behaviour. So "they" try with higher fences and greater separation.

<sup>12</sup> We were told that vandalism at Mornington school was no longer a real problem. We were advised that parents were involved with the Principal in every incident, but in a cooperative rather than punitive way. There are still some incidences, but they have been reduced greatly.

The introduction of the divisive values of secular pluralist society into isolated Aboriginal communities has been terribly devastating - perhaps even more so than earlier proselytising of missionaries with Mother Hubbard dresses and Victorian morals. Modern secular missionaries appear no more able to recognise the impact of their verities than were their earlier predecessors.

It appears that they are presently unable to utilise the dynamic force of Aboriginal (and Christian) spirituality.

Spirituality is a community possession. It sustains and fortifies those who share in the life of the same community. It is a special and sustaining force for community. It triggers in those who belong a common vision, a confidence and hope in the future, a belief in the worth and goodness of others and a strong sense of belief in oneself.

Aboriginal spirituality continues to provide this essential sense of purpose and well being, until broken and crushed. In this sense, whether we acknowledge it or not, in secular society the lack of vision has clear spiritual dimensions. It also has clear social implications!

## 2.8 SOCIAL INTERACTION

The canteen is the central focus of social interaction in the communities we visited.<sup>13</sup> The role of the canteen intrudes into nearly every discussion. In the discussion of nearly any problem whether it involves the Shire/Council, the school, the work force, the police, it will be related to the problems of alcohol. On the other hand, the canteen can't be the scapegoat for all the problems: people go there because it best meets their needs, some because they like the music, some because they are alcoholics, some because that is where they meet and enjoy the company of their peers.

Yet it stands alone, so that most of the forces generated through the canteen seem to be divisive. It is not a community-building institution.

At the moment no planning can afford to ignore the central role of alcohol in the community life as:-

a catalyst for most offences;

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<sup>13</sup> The only qualification to this claim is in Napranum where there is no canteen. However, alcohol is still the major lubricant of social interaction with equally tragic consequences.



a destructive force in human relationships, including its erosion of adherence of both traditional and Australian laws;

having health implication;

absorbing the creative energies of the community;

absorbing community cash resources leading to child hunger and neglect.

The question is, "What will fill the void met by alcohol with equal effect?" We certainly do not have a definitive answer.

We have argued, however, that our informants have spoken of division and powerlessness. It is clear the direction must be towards reducing division, especially structural divisions imposed from outside.<sup>14</sup> This means that all the institutions on isolated communities have to find ways of working together consciously. Every institution is relevant. Shire/Council, Church, school, hospital, police AND traditional structures such as extended family, clan, outstations.

We will recommend to the Corrective Services Commission a model which will look at community-creating activity which will build bridges between each of the structures.

However, this is only part of the story. An important focus of traditional life, which continues to play a key integrative function in many Aboriginal communities, have been mortuary ceremonies. In Arnhem Land, for example, they remain a central focus of life in which people continue to exercise their mutual rights and obligations towards one another. At Aurukun we have attended ceremonies at the conclusion of the mortuary rites which permit residence in the house previously closed because of a death. Here, too, the ceremony became the central focus of the community's life with dance, song and feasting. In other communities the ceremonial is Christian, but the integrative function is still strongly evident.<sup>15</sup>

Any successful alternative form of social interaction to the canteen will need to emerge from Aboriginal people who think through the issue and create forms of interaction which are more conducive to community building. Thus, our recommendations will

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<sup>14</sup> Again we refer to Howards's view that the control exercised by government and the agencies it supports financially are not seen by many Aboriginal power brokers as either efficient or helpful. The ambiguity he refers to was ever present in our interviews. See Howard 160ff.

<sup>15</sup> This is based on personal knowledge.

emphasise the involvement of people who belong to the community and who have commitment to creative and positive change.

## 2.9 COORDINATED EFFORT WILL BE REQUIRED FOR CHANGE.

We have argued through this report that one of the fundamental reasons for the behaviour leading to so many charges and subsequent imprisonment of offenders is that the isolated communities have fallen into an anomic state. In the communities neither the traditional or western norms are strong enough to provide the social sanctions and rewards which normally govern and regulate social interaction. We have argued further that these small communities are divided communities whose main integrating institution, the canteen, contributes substantially to the problems people face.

We suggest that decisions are made about bits of community life in isolation from other bits - this research is a case in point. We are looking at offenders, but we cannot even begin to suggest possible solutions unless we have an understanding of other aspects of community life which effect the behaviour of the offender. We find everything is piecemeal.

One example underlines what we see as destructive piecemeal structures. Every person we spoke to on the Gulf communities we visited acknowledged that alcohol is central to many problems. Not one; not the alcoholics, not the Shires or Councils who own the canteens, no person anywhere denied that alcohol is playing a destructive, even genocidal role on the communities. The phrase "it is killing the people"<sup>16</sup> is used. Yet, we were advised at Aurukun, Kowanyama and Mornington Island by officers of the Shires/Council that the income from the canteens was absolutely essential to their financial viability. Thus, those who have the major responsibility for the social and physical health of the community, who provide the infrastructure for community life, have a built-in conflict of interest. On the one hand they have a vested interest in increasing the sale of alcohol so they can do more to help the people, on the other hand they are responsible for all by-laws and decisions which will minimise its sale.

This we humbly suggest is social policy gone berserk!!!

We are also distressed by the number of victims - that is people who are hurt and suffering because they are powerless to influence events or to protect themselves. Women, in the four communities we visited, are common victims of violence, including rape. We have been told that every woman travelling to the major centres is expected to bring alcohol back with her, and

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<sup>16</sup> Or "It is killing my people".

that they do so knowing that as a result they will be the victims of violent assault on their return. This must be seen as a major symptom of powerlessness, and, in the widespread incidences of violence and despair, as an index of the violence systematically being wrought on these small communities by the present structures of power and control.<sup>17</sup>

The Interim Report of the Commission into Black Deaths in Custody has already raised serious questions about the utilisation of lockups and detention to cope with persons who can in no way be termed criminals. It points out that the treatment of people "grossly disadvantaged by reasons of fundamental underlying social causes... must be based on caring rather than security oriented philosophies."<sup>18</sup>

We believe the behaviour we are researching cannot be divorced from any of the major parts of life on the community. Therefore, preventative and rehabilitative measures must be worked up in some community-wide process of discussion and decision.

For example, there are repeated visits from people from different departments engaged in this piecemeal decision making. On the ground, at the community level, these divisions have also compartmentalised the people.

When a person gets into trouble and is charged with an offence the person's behaviour may involve the school, Family Services Department, the Corrective Services Commission, the Education Department, the Police, the Shire/Council, Community leaders, the clan, the extended family and the parents. There is some informal cooperation, but only in one community did we find a group which consciously drew all sections of the community together.

At Napranum there is an action group called TWAL (eagle) ACTION GROUP, or T.A.G. TAG is a group of concerned people from all sectors of the community - it is the only body on Napranum which is addressing the total situation. It has begun a program of fortnightly meetings designed to be informative. There are outside "experts" and guests who speak on subjects like "child abuse" and AIDS. Their meetings have led to action - for example protest actions against alcohol abuse and violence.

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<sup>17</sup> See the submission by the Council for Aboriginal Alcohol Programme Services on the families of alcoholic people from traditional communities in Arnhem Land.

<sup>18</sup> Interim Report, p 18.

Obviously the Corrective Services Commission should establish links with TAG to assist it, and any other groups like it, to increase levels of awareness of the real situation of their people and the underlying reasons for their powerlessness. They are the very best hope because they are motivated, they want to act.

The Commission could approach the group to engage in a wide range of discussion on such topics as:

How can we help families involved in communities to deal with repeated law breakers?

How can we best support those on parole? (This should include probation if Corrective Services agrees.)

How can communities face up to the hard issues like:-

- alcohol abuse;
- lack of discipline among children;
- lack of parenting skills and sense of responsibility among parents;
- lack of will or commitment to say no to drinking;
- lack of vision or sense of destiny for themselves and their community?

TAG illustrates two important conclusions we draw from our research.

The first is that any action to overcome the high levels of incarceration of Aboriginal people in North Queensland must be based on their local communities.

The second is that any action in their communities must be comprehensive - drawing people from every section of its life. In particular, it must draw in community leaders, from the grass roots, engaging elders, clan leaders and those responsible in the community for the person whose behaviour is causing offence.

### 3. A MODEL FOR ACTION

#### 3.1. A PROPOSAL

One of the important issues for the Corrective Services Commission is that it is the institution to which victims of the social dislocation on isolated Aboriginal communities all gravitate when their behaviour is too aggressive or disruptive, especially for expatriate staff on the community. Our suggestions are not primarily directed to the treatment of offenders whilst under the supervision of Corrective Services Commission; instead our emphasis is to put the main thrust of change on preventative action.

We sought a model which can address the problem of excessive levels of violence and/or unacceptable behaviour resulting in offences against the person and property. Aboriginal people are represented in custodial care in disproportionate numbers because of offences of this kind, most of which are linked with the abuse of drugs such as alcohol.

We have argued throughout this report, that the main cause of this problem is the community dysfunction arising from anomie and divisive structures. We believe this dysfunction leads to a crucial failure by those who normally exercise authority and prevent disorder and violence.

Therefore, increased sentences or more rigid regimes of correction will not resolve the problem. Preventative action is needed and it is costly. We suggest three elements must be addressed:

1. First, there needs to be a process which identifies key Aboriginal leaders who would be willing to form the core of a community Task Group designed to overcome the problems of discipline. The group would work to strengthen the norms which already exist and which give authority to members of the Aboriginal community. Such a Task Group would work to ensure that persons responsible for the behaviour of undisciplined people are made aware of their duties, and supported when they act responsibly. This support is essential in a context where many fear that to discipline bad or violent behaviour is to invite a violent response. It will work to strengthen the structures of social control in the community by breaking the present divisions between institutions and by providing a community wide network.
2. Secondly, the Corrective Services Commission would appoint an officer to each of the most seriously disrupted communities to be a resource person to the Task Group/s. This person will bring the authority of Government to

support the Task Group and to empower it. The person will work with the Task Group constantly to plan what is to be done and to reflect on the success or failure of the plan. The person will refuse to be the focus of responsibility by working with people of the community to plan their response to each situation and to assume responsibility for all who are involved.

3. Together, the Corrective Services Facilitator and the group will plan the involvement of other community institutions in the resolution of behaviour problems in the community. They will involve the police, the Shire/Council, the church, the school and the hospital in creating a new consensus for acceptable patterns of behaviour in the community; and seek their support in specific situations.

This model has four objectives:

1. To motivate the total community (Aboriginal people of the community and all others from outside the community) to accept responsibility for law and order within the community;
2. To identify and motivate those persons who have been traditionally responsible for leadership and discipline;
3. To identify existing functional groups still involved in trying to maintain social control in their part of the community's life;
4. To coordinate the resources of the community as a whole to confront their own dysfunction. That is to bring together those with traditional authority, statutory authority, moral and religious authority and financial power to work towards a new pattern of expectations all accept to be a reasonable basis of social interaction.

### **3.2 INVOLEMENT OF SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL GROUPS**

The initial task is to identify the significant social groups in the communities involved in the model. This is easily done for the introduced structures of Government, Church, Police, School and Shire/Council. However, the Aboriginal structures are virtually unknown or ignored by the expatriate staff.

For example the social organisation of the Aurukun people is based on three key structures.<sup>19</sup>

The ceremonial group to which a person belongs by patrilineal descent. Traditionally, this has been responsible for ceremonies of initiation. The ceremonial groups are broader clusters of people gathered around socio/political activity.

Several groupings named Chivirriy to the north, Pucha and Wanam to the south and Aplech are near the coast. Another, Winychanam, is inland. The coastal and inland groups are traditional competitors for power.

If any attempt was to be made to stimulate the reemergence of initiation as one way of re-establishing social control these groups would have a critical role.<sup>20</sup>

The clan group, which is the primary land holding unit. It is also the primary unit of social organisation. The clan provides the individual person with his/her totemic identity, thus linking the person to all others with the same totem. It is "your group". Your kin through the patrilineal line are the ones with whom you are most closely and comfortably identified. In marriage the clan is exogamous - it defines whom you can not marry.

This identity in the clan is often identified on T Shirts which depict the clan name. Such names often appear as graffiti.

Clan is not as closely linked to language groups as, for example, in Arnhem Land. So language may not be as significant in determining identity, or in forming a base for cooperative activity.

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<sup>19</sup> We have not sought to present a comprehensive picture. Others have done so much more thoroughly. For example, the submission by Peter Sutton entitled "Submission on Local Government Structure", August 1990, provides a good description of the social organisation.

<sup>20</sup> In every community the importance of the initiation ceremonies were stressed. Many informants argued that initiation ceremonies should begin again, and many felt they would be effective in modifying the behaviour of the offenders. So far as we could tell, such thoughts have not led to specific planning.

The kin group which establishes the network of reciprocal rights and duties governing many aspects of behaviour of people towards one another. One example being that mother's brother is the person responsible for the discipline of his sister's child.<sup>21</sup>

The **mother's brother** has responsibilities towards the child - he has a responsibility for the child's welfare, to meet the child's needs for food and a place to sleep. He is a teacher.

This caring relationship extends to the discipline of the child, but not necessarily in ways understood in other cultures.

**Father's brother, papa**, has similar roles to mother's brother, muk - but his role is a little less specific.

The **father** does exercise discipline and will be seen striking his child on occasion, but his role is more one of teaching, fishing or hunting.

The **grandfather** has a story telling and ceremonial role. He has the authority of knowledge, but is not involved very much in day to day discipline except when the extended family group is on its own own land. There his authority is much greater.

**Mother** is one of the most significant persons in the discipline of the child in the township. Her discipline is exercised mostly through talking to the person or by means of threat. Sometimes the child may be struck, but this is an exception.

**Mother's father** may help in nurture. It is a joking relationship - the jokes are expected to be quite ribald.

**Mother's sister** may have some role in nurturing, but this is an avoidance relationship.

**Mother's mother** is very important in nurturing especially when young - with girls up to the time of marriage. There is also a joking relationship.

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<sup>21</sup> The kinship system is a major organising principle of the society. In the area of social control, many of the most important norms cluster around the kinship ties. The roles of particular kin are defined both in terms of the behaviour expected of particular kin, and also in the rights and duties to one another. Therefore, kinship has to be a central focus in any issue of social control.



Father's mother is not as close as the mother's mother, but it is still close.<sup>22</sup>

In the present dysfunctional system, the social structures on the communities fail to work together. For example, mother's brother is not disciplining his sister's children. Some structures actually contribute to the problem. For example, where the resentment of police has become a significant factor in violence, or in the perception that local courts operate as kangaroo courts.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.3 VALUE OF TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES<sup>24</sup>

It is equally important to note some qualifications which mean that the traditional structures still operate and can be used as a base for resolving the present problems.

- \* Traditional structures are still operating in ceremonial life and in the area of marriage. The norms still apply and govern behaviour.
- \* Where there is serious injury and death traditional sanctions still come into play regardless of the actions taken by the courts. This is especially so in cases of death. Pay-back is still perceived to be an operating system of punishment.

Nowhere, however, could we find all these structures really supporting one another!

What we discovered at Aurukun was common to all the communities we visited. The same three structures: the clan or its equivalent, the ceremonial groups and the kinship network clearly hold the key to social control. Therefore, understanding how they function is essential to any attempt to change patterns of behaviour which are disruptive or destructive.

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<sup>22</sup> This information is based on discussions in the community and our discussions with Rev. John Adams and Rev. Dr. Robert Bos, both of whom worked at Aurukun.

<sup>23</sup> The term "kangaroo court" was used by our informants on the communities.

<sup>24</sup> Where we refer to the word "traditional" we do not imply structures or behaviour which belonged to the past. We mean those structures which are operating in the four communities we visited at this time. The term is used to distinguish these structures and behaviours from those which have been, or are being introduced to the community by the Government, Church, television and other influences of the wider Australian culture.

In each of the communities we visited we found very little evidence of community structures working together in support of one another. Indeed, some of the introduced structures are clearly contributing to the problems. One example is the resentment of the police becoming a contributing factor in violence. Yet we are convinced there is still sufficient evidence of the continuing power in traditional structures to warrant the investment of time and energy in enlisting their support towards positive changes. Very serious offences such as death by suspected sorcery still trigger traditional controlling and grouping mechanism to punish the offender or one of the offender's kin. It is our belief that it is much more effective to empower these structures, so they can participate effectively in social changes, rather than to render them impotent and ineffective by imposing new structures which suppress them.

#### 4. THE MODEL'S OPERATION

##### 4.1. THE FIRST STEP

The first step is to appoint an appropriate educational organisation which has experience in working with cross cultural groups, and is skilled in planning with local communities, and uses an educational approach based on a process of action/reflection to resolve problems. Yalga-Binbi is one organisation which could be used. There could be others. This organisation would plan, prepare and then work through a process in each community which will enable the model to be set up.

The process would be designed to:-

1. Raise the issue of social control with members of the community;
2. Spell out the key traditional structures of social control in the community and discover who are leaders in the community;
3. Identify key individuals with responsibility for offenders within the community (for example, by identifying the persons who stand in the relationship of mother's brother and /or others in a significant disciplinary relationship);
4. Encourage the formation of groups willing to try to build new patterns of authority and accountability in the community which grow out of their history and experience, but which take into account the broader links required by township living.

##### 4.2. A CATALYST

However, this will not simply happen. A catalyst is required to utilise the real desire for peace on these isolated communities.

This is why we would suggest that the Corrective Services Commission appoint a person to work with this group to:-

1. Motivate and sustain the leaders who are prepared to commit themselves to work for change.
2. Plan with group/s. Planning will include ways to tackle individual offenders. It will involve exploring ways to introduce new patterns and standards of behaviour in the community. It will involve working out new disciplinary measures to be exercised by the group/s.

3. Provide the status and authority to legitimate disciplinary action by traditional leaders and to protect them from retaliation.

It is sad that this is necessary - but in the present situation we cannot expect traditional leaders to exercise their authority without protection.

4. Work to conscientise<sup>25</sup> the group and to develop programmes of awareness-raising among the community in order to:-
  - (a) help people to understand how the structures in the community are operating at the moment;
  - (b) help people to understand why they feel powerless;
  - (c) tackle the ethos of "Ngay ngaya", which means "I'm me", and to work to channel the concept so that it support the person's self image, but does not imply total self centredness;<sup>26</sup>
  - (d) help to build a new consensus of normative behaviour;
  - (e) begin to build consensus of internal sanctions and rewards to support new norms of behaviour.

#### 4.3 ACTION/REFLECTION

The facilitator must develop competence in praxis type teaching. One of Paulo Freire's major contributions to our understanding of how to work with dependent, powerless groups was his emphasis on actual concrete situations facing the people and their communities. While we now have moved on from some of his methodology, this emphasis which goes on to stress that this education should then result in action, which is followed by

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<sup>25</sup> Conscientisation is a word used by Paulo Freire to describe a process in which people, "not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (Cultural Action for Freedom, pp 51ff).

<sup>26</sup> The concept of Ngay ngaya or "I'm me" has the connotation that therefore I can do what I like.

further reflection, has remained a tremendously effective method.<sup>27</sup>

This involves:-

Reflecting, questioning, sharing, dialoguing and planning with the group followed by:

An attempt to use the newly developed awareness for action, programs, activities and attempts to put ideas into practice, once again followed by:

Restarting the process by reflecting on what actually took place when the ideas were put into practice and the emergence of a new plan of action which takes into account what has been learned.

Reflections on their own simply lead to increased frustration and powerlessness, what some have called analysis to paralysis - action on its own leads to a form of activism in which action for action's sake simply does not allow the development of new solutions to old problems.<sup>28</sup>

In the situation we confronted we believe this reflection followed by action is the kind of continuing process which will encourage and support the group to take action in culturally appropriate ways.

In the process the person will use every educational tool available: video, travel, dialogue, guest speakers, meetings, visits to other communities; everything that helps the group to reflect on their situation and to understand what is happening to them.

#### 4.4 DEVELOPING CONFIDENCE

As confidence rises, the group will begin to set the agenda for positive change in their community.

This will not happen immediately. First, they may rely on their facilitator to act for them, but the person should only do so while it is clear the group is not yet able to move. If the facilitator acts, each step must be with the group, acting on plans which have emerged from the group's discussions, and seeking at every point an explanation from the group concerning the person/s responsible for unacceptable behaviour. Further, when the facilitator needs to act, it should not be alone, but side by side with the members of the group who are properly responsible for action within the community.

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<sup>27</sup> See Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" Chapter 3 for the development of his argument (pp 60ff).

<sup>28</sup> Freire, 1972, p 60

Then, as the group is able, they will work with other institutions in the community to implement decisions involving discipline - that is clan leaders, ceremonial leaders, kin, police, Shire/Council, school, church and so on.

#### 4.5 COMMUNITY EDUCATOR/ORGANISER

The role we have defined has elements based on the role of a community organiser, and other elements which are drawn from the role of a community educator.

We can now define the function of the groups in relation to the Corrective Services Facilitator:

1. It is to set the agenda for change in the community.
2. If members of the group are unable to take direct responsibility for discipline immediately, they will advise the Corrective Services Facilitator whom to talk to, and explain who is responsible for the person's behaviour.
3. His role is to work with other institutions in the community to implement decisions involving discipline i.e. clan leaders, ceremonial leaders, kin, police, Shire/Council, School, Church etc.

## 5. THE CORRECTIVE SERVICE FACILITATOR

### 5.1 DEPENDENCE ON CSF

This model is heavily dependent upon the quality of the Corrective Services Facilitator. This not only applies to his/her innate ability, but will require someone willing to work alongside Aboriginal people. The Facilitator must be able to sustain a difficult professional relationship which is not over or in control of Aboriginal people, nor under or subservient to Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people describe the style they can respond to as "side by side" or "hand in hand" with them as equals.

We believe the role requires great skill, so the Commission needs to ensure that persons who are appointed to these positions can normally expect that their career will be enhanced by this work. We also suggest that remuneration acknowledge not only the isolation of the position, but also the high levels of skill it will demand.

### 5.2 QUALIFICATIONS AND SKILLS

1. Basic tertiary education or demonstrated capacity through experience. A degree in Social Sciences would be an advantage.
2. The skills necessary to analyse the dynamics of isolated Aboriginal communities and to assist Aboriginal people to understand them.
3. Sensitivity to Aboriginal cultural values.
4. A commitment to Aboriginal leadership.
5. Proven capacity to communicate in cross cultural situations.

### 5.3 ORIENTATION

Selected facilitators should participate in an orientation course run by an appropriate organisation. This orientation should include:-

Preparation for work in an isolated Aboriginal community, especially in terms of likely culture shock and the problem of cynicism.<sup>29</sup>

Study of the proposed model and the principles underlying it;

Study of action/reflection models of community education and organisation;

Information on the policies and practices of the Corrective Services Commission.

No officer should be sent to a community cold. After orientation the CSF should be accompanied by the person responsible for the field preparation. He/she should be introduced to the community, its leaders and the group identified in the earlier work.

#### 5.4 BUILDING AN ONGOING NETWORK

Once the CSFs are appointed, they and their Aboriginal colleagues must be supported. They will encounter hostility and find themselves under constant emotional pressure.

We suggest that if the Corrective Services Commission decides to adopt this model that Napranum, Aurukun, Kowanyama and Mornington may be appropriate communities in which to begin. We suggest four communities in order to build into the model a network of mutual support. This would enable a follow up workshop after eight weeks - the period experience has shown that new staff may encounter the first serious impact of culture shock. Each CSF person would be joined by two Aboriginal colleagues from their group/s for a week's workshop in Townsville.

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<sup>29</sup> In work with powerless people who manipulate one another and will manipulate the facilitator, the problem of cynicism in the facilitator's attitude will arise. The person will live and work amongst some colleagues who have given up and lost hope, others who blame the clients for their own lack of success. The daily contact and dependence upon some Aboriginal people who have failed to support the facilitator, perhaps repeatedly, often leads to both frustration and anger. The present time is very hard on those unaware of the real dynamics generated by powerlessness and dependence.



## 5.5 WORKSHOPS

The emotive content of their continuing work will demand continuing support to them and their Aboriginal colleagues. They may have to cope with continuing hostility, and will find themselves constantly under emotional stress. Therefore, a workshop should be planned every three months regardless of the pressures of work and community. This workshop should be run by the same organisation which ran the original workshop in the communities to ensure that continual professional development is built into the planning for them. The workshops should rotate between the communities. Both Corrective Services Facilitators and their Aboriginal colleagues should attend. The minimal number should be twelve, the maximum should be determined by financial considerations. We propose that after the first workshop additional workshops be planned for every tenth week. They will be designed to:

1. Maintain the morale of the CSFs and their Aboriginal colleagues;
2. Develop professional skills;
3. Enable the exchange of information between communities;
4. Plan for the future;
5. Evaluate progress;
6. Provide information to the Corrective Services Commission.

## 6. A PLAN FOR ACTION

In our discussions with Mr Greg Chambers we proposed:

- MARCH Preliminary discussions
- APRIL/MAY Initial discussions and briefing with Commission Officers and the selected educational institution.
- Preparation of an appropriate job description.
- MAY/JUNE The field trip to each community. These three week trips to be made by the persons appropriate for the chosen community.<sup>30</sup>
- During their visit they would:
- Spend time with each significant group of leaders;
  - Work on the issues defined above;
  - Establish a group/s to work with the CSF.
- MAY/JUNE At the same time the recruitment should begin for a Corrective Services Facilitator.
- Title:** Corrective Services Facilitator
- Duties:** As above
- Qualifications:** Basic tertiary education or demonstrated ability through experience.

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<sup>30</sup> Clearly, it would be an advantage if the persons chosen to work with the community, and to explain the model and stimulate people to participate, had:

- (a) experience of the community and the respect of its people
- (b) understanding of the model and commitment to it and its objectives.

The skills necessary to analyse the dynamics of isolated Aboriginal communities and to assist Aboriginal people to understand them.

Sensitivity to Aboriginal cultural values and a proven capacity to operate in cross-cultural situations.

Commitment to Aboriginal leadership.

**Conditions:** As defined by the Corrective Services. However, the consideration of these conditions will explore questions of salary, house, vehicle, base for operations, a budget for operational expenditures and provision of educational aids such as television, video equipment and cameras.

**JULY/AUGUST**

Orientation for the four Corrective Services Facilitators comprising:

- Two weeks residential course in Townsville
- One week field work accompanied by the people who will introduce the CSFs to the community and its leaders.

**AUGUST/SEPT.**

The CSFs move out into the communities.

They will require:

- One month to settle in;
- One month to come to grips with their role.

In week 9 the first network meeting will be held for twelve people. Each of the four CSFs will be accompanied by two Aboriginal colleagues.

The course will be for one week in Townsville.

**EVERY 10TH WEEK**

A network meeting of one week's duration will be held. Each network meeting will prepare a report for the Corrective Services Commission which outlines what has been done and the plans for the next period.

**JULY 1992**

**EVALUATION**

At the conclusion of the first year's operation the network workshop will prepare an evaluation of the model for the Commission.

## 7. INTER GOVERNMENT LIAISON

There are many different organisations involved on the isolated communities. It may not be possible to gain the active support of them all, but every group which welcomes and assists the CSF will be invaluable. It may be helpful if some discussion took place at the higher levels of Government to ensure a broad base of support for the project.

## 8. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the Corrective Services Commission consider the appointment of four Corrective Services Facilitators to isolated Aboriginal Communities to assist Aboriginal members in the local communities to prevent the excessive levels of violence and/or unacceptable behaviour resulting in offences against persons and property.
2. That these officers be given the title of Corrective Services Facilitator.
3. That an appropriate organisation be employed to run a consultation to:-
  1. Raise the issue of social control with members of the community;
  2. Establish the key traditional structures of social control in the community and discover who are leaders in the community;
  3. Identify key individuals with responsibility for offenders from within the community;
  4. Encourage the formation of a group willing to try to build new patterns of authority and accountability in the community.
4. That this organisation be employed to run quarterly workshops to:-
  1. Maintain the morale of the CSFs and their Aboriginal colleagues;
  2. Develop professional skills;
  3. Enable the exchange of information between communities;
  4. Plan for the future;
  5. Evaluate progress;
  6. Provide information to Corrective Services Commission;
5. That the Corrective Services Commission explore ways to enable counselling of potential parolees by older people from their local communities and CSFs.  
(If the Commission does employ a CSF we would recommend that the CSF and an appropriate person identified by the group visit the potential parolee.)

6. That the Corrective Services Commission note the request made by people on isolated communities that prisoners from their communities should be compelled to participate in adult education courses which will increase their skills and usefulness to their community. We recommend, further, that, to facilitate this process, potential parolees and probationers attend a compulsory one day workshop each month to develop their options on return to their community, to reflect on their situation and to develop plans for their return. (Once again we point out this role could be the responsibility of a CSF.)
7. That in the event of the appointment of a CSF, s/he arrange monthly meetings of the kinsfolk of the offenders to identify their most useful role in support of their kinsperson and to build a strong supportive network of relations to ensure their kinsperson has every chance to avoid recidivism.
8. That the Corrective Services Commission note and follow up the request of people on isolated communities that prisoners from their isolated communities be required to cooperate in a process of reconstructing their life and work plans. We recommend further that professional psychological help be available to assist the CSF's to fulfil this role.
9. That, notwithstanding the practical difficulties, the Commission insist that prisoners, parolees and probationers be required to abstain from alcoholic beverages until they have completed their period of sentence, parole or probation.
10. That all but the most serious offences committed against person or property by persons under the age of 17 years be decriminalised and alternative methods of social control be developed.

## 9. A BUDGET FOR THE PROPOSED MODEL

1. These figures are based on cost involved if Yalga-Binbi were contracted for the work. They are confined to the cost of setting up and then supervising the model. Any costs associated with the employment of the proposed Corrective Services Facilitators and their requirements for accommodation, vehicles and operational expenses would be determined by the Commission itself.

In the formation of the budget the following figures have been used.

- 1.1 Consultant fees have been based on \$360 per day or \$2,000 per week
- 1.2. Daily allowance for accommodation etc. \$100 per day
- 1.3 Yalga Binbi accommodation per person per day (meals supplied) \$45.
- 1.4 Airfares are based on costs for the following communities. (Travel is via Cairns)

Townsville/Weipa/Townsville	\$542
" /Kowanyama/ "	\$580
" /Lockhart River/ "	\$570
" /Aurukun/ "	\$672

2. The figures are for the first year. However, after the first year, when the model is well in place there would be three workshops per year @ \$20368 per workshop; an evaluation exercise @ \$ 23608. In 1991 figures the annual cost of support would be \$84,714.

### 3. THE BUDGET

- 3.1. Preliminary discussions with the Commission. \$ 1,500
- 3.2. Field trips to four communities to set up groups
  - a) Provision of Yalga Binbi consultant for 14<sup>31</sup> weeks @ \$2,000 per week. 28,000

<sup>31</sup> In each of the proposed training modules an additional period is included for the planning and travel of consultants. Two additional consultant weeks for the field trips, one consultant week for orientation planning and one consultant week for the first workshop. Two additional days is added to subsequent workshops.



b)	TA for consultant @ \$700 per week for 12 weeks	\$ 8,400
c)	Fares to each community	\$ 2,370
d)	Administration costs @ 15%	\$ 5,815
	<b>TOTAL COST OF INITIAL FIELD TRIPS</b>	<b>\$ 44,585</b>
<b>3.3 Orientations of Corrective Services Facilitators</b>		
a)	Provision of Yalga-Binbi Consultant for 4 weeks	\$ 8,000
b)	Accommodation of 4 CSFs at Yalga Binbi for two weeks	\$ 1,400
c)	Airfares to communities	\$ 4,700
d)	TA for six people for eight days	\$ 4,800
e)	Administration @ 15%	\$ 2,841
	<b>TOTAL COST OF ORIENTATION</b>	<b>\$ 21,781</b>
<b>3.4 First Workshop after CSFs begin their work.</b>		
a)	Provision of Yalga-Binbi Consultant or two weeks	\$ 4,000
b)	Fares for twelve people to Townsville	\$ 7,110
c)	Accommodation and full board for twelve people at Yalga-Binbi for one week @ \$45/day/person	\$ 3,780
d)	Administration @ 15%	\$ 2,233
	<b>TOTAL COST FOR THE FIRST WORKSHOP</b>	<b>\$ 17,123</b>
<b>3.5 Continuing Workshops</b>		
a)	Provision of Yalga-Binbi Consultant for 9 days per workshop	\$ 3,240
b)	TA for 12 people for 7 days	\$ 8,400
c)	Fares to the workshop	\$ 7,110
d)	Administration @ 15%	\$ 2,812
	<b>TOTAL COST PER ANNUM FOR WORKSHOPS</b>	<b>\$ 21,562</b>
<b>3.6 Evaluation</b>		
a)	Provision of Yalga Binbi consultant for 9 days	\$ 6,480
b)	TA for 12 people for 9 days	\$ 10,800
c)	Fares to the evaluation	\$ 7,110
d)	Administration @ 15%	\$ 3,658
	<b>TOTAL COST OF EVALUATION</b>	<b>\$ 28,048</b>
<b>3.7 Special consultancies <sup>32</sup></b>		<b>\$ 8,968</b>

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<sup>32</sup> These funds are essential to ensure adequate support from key consultants such as Peter Sutton and David Martin.

**TOTAL COST OF YALGA-BINBI INVOLVEMENT  
IN THE FIRST YEAR**

**\$ 143,567**

**COST IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF OPERATION:**

Discussions	\$	1,500
Start of field trips	\$	10,000
Special consultancy fees	\$	3,545

**TOTAL** **\$ 15,045**

**COST IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF OPERATION**

Completion of field trips	\$	34,585
Orientation	\$	21,781
Special consultancy fees	\$	1,183

**TOTAL** **\$ 57,549**

**COST IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF OPERATION**

First workshop	\$	17,123
special consultancy fees	\$	1,181

**TOTAL** **\$ 18,304**

**COST IN THE FINAL QUARTER**

Second workshop	\$	21,562
Evaluation of first year	\$	28,048
Special consultancy fees	\$	3,059

**TOTAL** **\$ 52,669**

**GRAND TOTAL** **\$ 143,567**

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APPENDIX 1

COMMUNITY PROFILE - MORNINGTON ISLAND

Number of Residents.....  
 Number of Expatriate staff.....  
 Number of people below 20.

Outstations	Name of stations	No of people
.....	.....	.....

SHIRE COUNCIL

Elected members.....  
 Staff.....  
 Aboriginal departmental heads.....  
 Aboriginal employees.....

Departments or activities.....

Does the Shire depend on the Canteen for its capital or operational expenditures? .....

How much is the Shire involved in the control of behaviour in the Mornington community? .....

Are there any programmes for returning prisoners? .....

What about the kids - are they a problem? .....

Who is responsible for recreational programmes .....

Who is responsible for their employment? .....

Is there any programme to provide employment for kids leaving school?.....

Is there a CDEP programme?.....

Does the parole Board check with you before any people are released on parole?.....

What is the attitude of people to the police.....

POLICE

How many.....

How many Aboriginal police.....

What is the role of Aboriginal police?.....

Are there any women police?.....

What is the attitude of the community to the police? .....

WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE LAW?

What are the major offences occurring on Mornington Island .....

The age of offenders.....

Young Children

Kind of offences	Numbers
Break and Enter	.....
Unlawful Use	.....
Robberies	.....
Off.against persons	.....
Assault	.....
Firearms	.....
Stealing	.....
Driving offenses	.....
Alcohol related	.....
Traffic	.....
Murder	.....
Street	.....

Receiving	.....
Youth.	
Kind of Offences	Numbers
Break and Enter	.....
Unlawful Use	.....
Robberies	.....
Off. against person	.....
Assault	.....
Firearms	.....
Stealing	.....
Driving	.....
Alcohol related	.....
Traffic	.....
Murder	.....
Street	.....
Receiving	.....

Adults	
Kind of Offences	Numbers
Break and Enter	.....
Unlawful Use	.....
Robberies	.....
Off. against person	.....
Assault	.....
Firearms	.....
Stealing	.....
Driving	.....
Alcohol related	.....
Traffic	.....
Murder	.....
Street	.....
Receiving	.....

PROCEDURES OF ARREST AND DETENTION

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

- What is their role .....
- Who are JPs - are they Aboriginal members of the community?.....
- What authority do they have? .....

CUSTODIAL CARE.

- Length of stay in custody
- locally .....
- prison .....

What methods of discipline are used:

- in custody.....
- in the community .....
- What role does the family take in the control and discipline of the children? .....
- What do the police do to support the family to control kids? .....

SERVICES TO KIDS

- How many kids under 5.....
- Pre-school - how many attend?.....
- How many kids under twelve.....
- Any programmes for these kids?.....

What about cadets, scouts or church groups  
.....  
How many kids under 17 .....  
Any programmes for them?.....

School

how many attend? .....  
how many are truanting? .....  
Any staff actually working with youth?.....  
What do they do? .....  
What does the Church do? .....  
What do the Elders do? .....  
What does the Shire do? .....  
Do you send young offenders to the outstations?  
.....

PRISONS

How many people from Mornington are in gaol? .....  
Where are they? .....  
Are the prison an effective way of changing the  
behaviour of the people?.....  
When they have been to prison do they change?  
.....

What do you think should happen in gaol?.....  
How long have they been away? .....  
Does anyone visit your people? .....  
Do you know what happens to them in prison?  
.....  
Is there any change in the prisoners when  
they return? .....  
Do they learn any new skills? .....  
Do you give them a job? .....  
Do your people seek work when they come back?  
.....  
When you offer work do the returning prisoners stay  
in their new job long? .....  
Why do they leave? .....  
How many are unemployed? .....  
Are there trade training opportunities on  
Mornington - should there be more done to  
ensure people are trained on Mornington?  
.....

How many are recidivists who return to gaol more  
than once?.....  
What can be done for the people who keep getting into  
trouble with the law? .....  
Do you know why so many keep on getting into  
trouble? .....  
Does anyone help the families of offenders to  
prepare for their return? .....  
Do families welcome them back? .....  
Are any families frightened of their relative who is  
coming back from prison? .....  
Do you have any good stories about prison? .....

Should training in prison be compulsory?.....  
PAROLE

How many people from Mornington are on parole?  
.....  
What do you know about the parole system? .....  
Do you think parole should be offered to offenders?  
.....

.....  
To all offenders? - what about violent offenders?  
.....  
Do you want the Mornington prisoners back on parole?  
.....  
Who would be responsible for them .....  
Who do you think should be responsible for them?  
.....  
Do you think there should be conditions for people  
who are to be released on parole? .....  
Should parolees be allowed to go to the  
canteen? .....  
Should parolees be permitted to drink? .....  
If the answer is no. Why not? .....  
If the answer is yes. If drinking causes the  
problems why not restrict the right to drink?  
.....  
Where should parolees be sent? .....  
Should they return to their family and community?  
.....  
Be allowed on parole in a different  
community? .....

DOES MORNINGTON HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM AMONG THE KIDS?  
.....  
Why are kids constantly in trouble? .....  
What do people think about sending children away  
from Mornington when they get into trouble?  
.....  
Who controls the behaviour of children on Mornington  
Island? .....  
Do traditional patterns of discipline and  
control operate? .....  
Are they efficient? .....  
What needs to happen to help them work  
more effectively - or why don't they work?  
.....  
What about puree puree? .....

Is there a smaller group who are the core of trouble?  
.....  
Are they constantly in trouble? .....  
What sort of things do they do? .....

What about the clans or language groups in the community or on  
outstations?.....  
Do they have a role in community discipline? .....  
Should Elders think about using their authority?  
.....  
What about the parents? .....  
What role do parents play in the traditional  
control of children on Mornington Island?  
.....  
Who had the key role in the past? .....  
What is the situation now? .....

Has probation been an effective tool?.....  
Is there a probation officer on Mornington Island?  
.....  
How are the kids working with you?.....  
What support facilities are available -  
e.g. is there a drop in centre? .....



Do the kids respond to counselling - and who assists in counselling? .....

Which is the biggest problem, the adults or the kids? .....

Do the kids receive loving care or are some left without loving care? .....

What cooperation do you receive from parents? .....

Do parents respect their children when they are in trouble? .....

Which is the strongest law the Aboriginal law or the law of the Court?.....

Which do people follow and why? .....

Where should the kids be dealt with - within the community, or should they be sent away?.....

Do the Shire, the police and the courts let people in the community know what is happening to prisoners and kids? .....

CANTEEN

Who owns the Canteen? .....

Who controls it? .....

Where do profits go? .....

How do they handle problems?.....

Should the community be dry?.....

What kind of alcohol is available? .....

What are the hours of the canteen? .....

Is there any sly grog? .....

What is the costs of sly grog? .....

CHURCH GROUPS

What work does the Church do with prisoners?.....

To support people on parole? .....

With Kids in trouble? .....

Does the Church have any plans?.....

What cooperation is there with police to work on these problems?.....

With the Shire? .....

With community Elders? .....

What do Church people think of the Canteen? .....

Is it an important factor in the behaviour of people in trouble? .....

What does the Church do to help people with alcohol issues? .....

SCHOOL

How many sections in the school?.....

Is there a pre school? .....

How many children? .....

Is there primary? .....

How many grades? .....

Grade 1 .....

2 .....

3 .....

4 .....

5 .....

6 .....

7 .....

What is the length of stay of children in school? .....

Are there any Tertiary classes? .....  
 Local courses? .....  
 Regional courses? .....  
 Apprenticeships? .....  
 How many  
 Teachers?.....  
 How many Aboriginal teachers or aides? .....  
 What is the average attendance per day? .....  
     Is truancy a problem? .....  
 What reasons are given for absence from school? .....  
 Who is responsible for discipline? .....  
     Is there any grafitti in the school area? .....  
     Is there any breaking into the buildings? .....  
         Who by? .....  
 How does the school handle discipline? .....  
     Are the children given warnings? .....  
     What has been successful? .....  
         Are children deprived of privileges as a  
         means of discipline? .....  
         Corporal punishment? .....  
 Are the parents involved in their children life at school?  
 .....  
     How are they involved? .....  
 Are they involved in school discipline? .....  
 Does the Canteen affect school life? .....  
     If so, how? .....  
 How many students proceed into trade or professional  
 training? .....  
     Where do they learn? .....  
     Are they assured of a job? .....