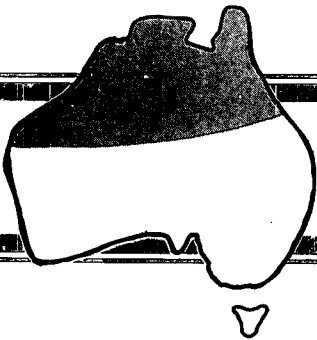
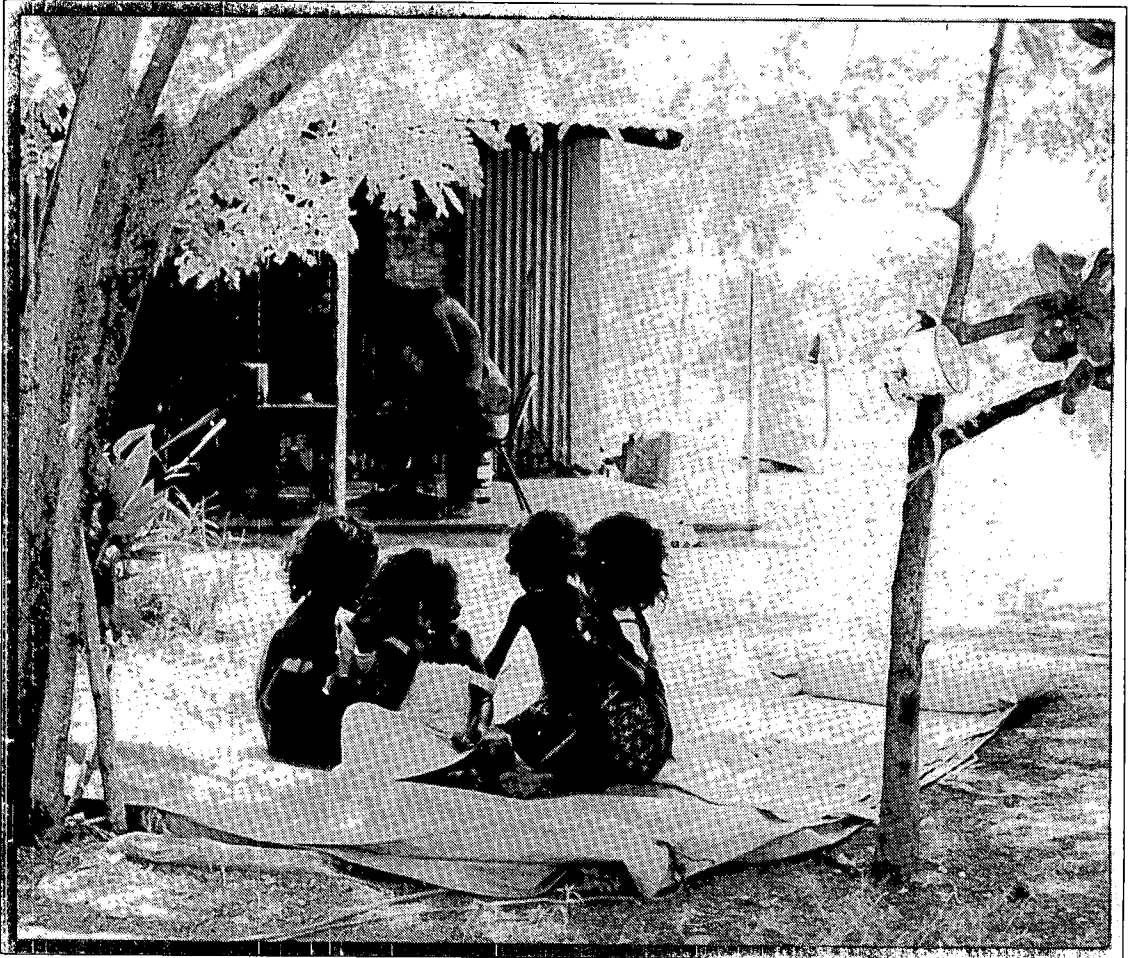


JS Wolfe

Pine Creek Aborigines and Town Camps



Australian National University North Australia Research Unit
Monograph
Darwin 1987

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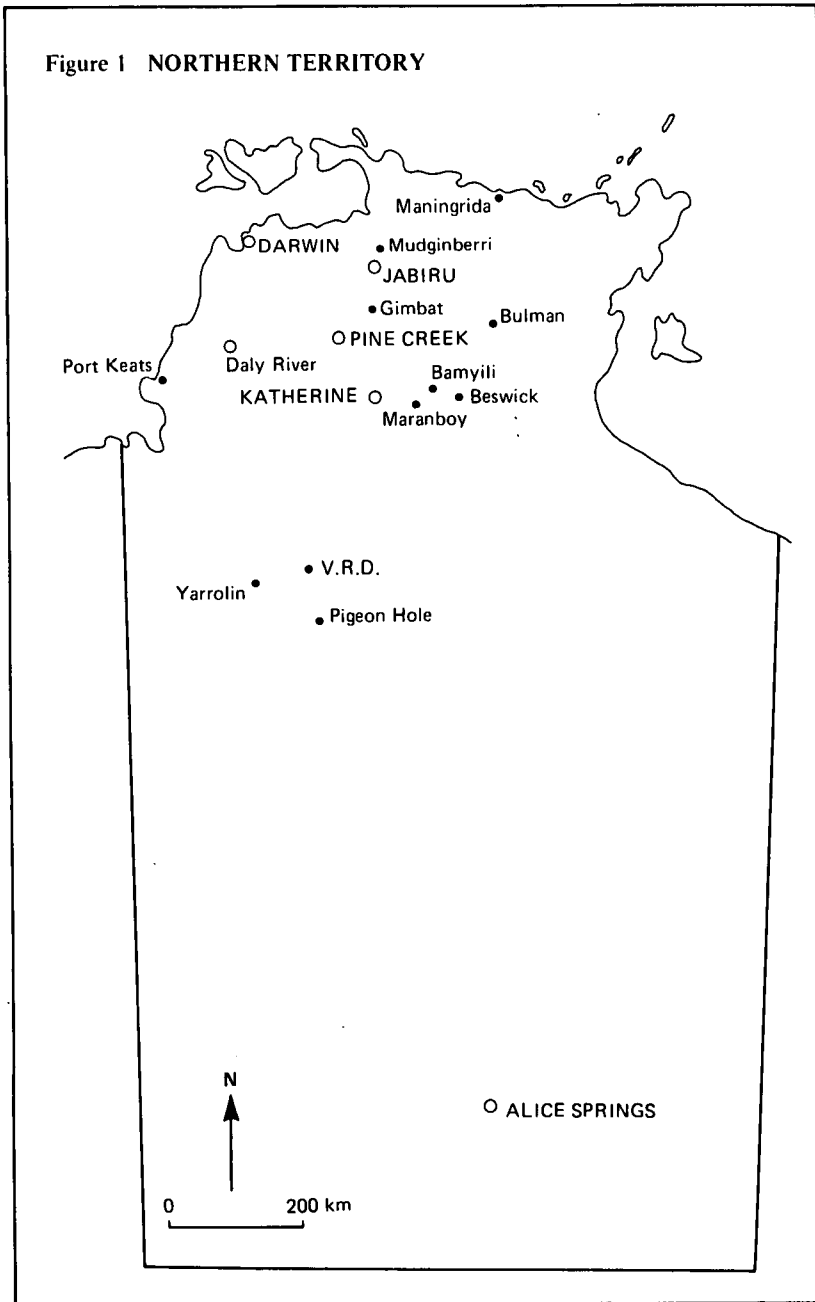
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Figure 1 NORTHERN TERRITORY



Pine Creek Aborigines and Town Camps

Purpose of the Study

This study of the Pine Creek Aboriginal town camps is first of all designed to provide the Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association with documentation describing the camps and their residents in detail. It gives those interested in the Aborigines of the Northern Territory of Australia some understanding of the Aboriginal camps of a small historic Territory town whose population is largely non-Aboriginal in origin. It also provides a small town camp perspective on several issues pertinent to town camps in general.

The North Australia Research Unit (NARU) has undertaken and published a wide range of research on Aborigines of northern Australia (Scott 1984; Young 1985; Loveday and Wade-Marshall 1985).

Three surveys, designed to find out the impact of construction of the Tindal air base on housing needs and levels of employment of Aborigines in Katherine and its town camps were conducted by NARU in 1984, 1985 and 1986 (Loveday and Lea 1985; Loveday 1985; Loveday 1987). A NARU study of migration by Aborigines in the Darwin town camps is in progress.

The possibility of extending NARU research on Aboriginal town camps to Pine Creek came up during data collection by Jackie Wolfe for a separate piece of independent research (on the introduction of Community Government to small, predominantly European Territory towns). Discussions with Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association President and camp resident Joe Huddleston, and camp Manager Alan King indicated that Pine Creek Aboriginal people had concerns like Katherine people did. NARU therefore agreed to undertake a housing and employment survey based largely on the questionnaire used in the 1986 Katherine study.

Focus

The Katherine camps reports, earlier work by Drakakis-Smith (1980; 1984) on Alice Springs town camps, a Report on the Problems, Needs and Aspirations of Aboriginal Town Campers in Tennant Creek (Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Tennant Creek, 1984), and the Report on Strategies to Help

Overcome the Problems of Aboriginal Town Camps (1982) were reviewed. Preliminary talks were held with people in the Pine Creek camps and officials from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA), Department of Community Development (DCD), Aboriginal Development Corporation and Aboriginal Development Foundation. This overview suggested that the following matters were worth looking at.

Impact of local development:

Renison Goldfields Consolidated opened a new gold mining operation on the edge of Pine Creek in October 1985 with an on-site work force of 75 (Wimby, personal communication 1986). Australian Assay Laboratories opened a facility in Pine Creek in 1985 with a 1986 work force of about 20. There has been an impact on the town itself, and townspeople. But has there been any impact on employment opportunities for Aboriginal people? Has the mine had any other impact on Aborigines in the area?

For some guidance as to what might be expected we can turn to research completed. In Katherine, NARU carried out surveys in August-September 1984, March 1985 and August and September 1986. The purpose was first to collect baseline data and then to find out what impact if any two years of construction work for the Tindal Royal Australian Air Force Base and associated inflow of people to the town might have had on the Aborigines in Katherine. According to Loveday (1987):

As far as employment is concerned, Tindal presents us with something of a conundrum. Few people have or have had jobs there; not many have tried to get jobs there and of those who have, a number have failed to get them - and yet there is the belief that 'more jobs for Aborigines' is one principal 'good thing' about the project...Most of those who thought things were worse for Aborigines said that racial tension, in one form or another, had increased but these it must be emphasised are a small minority.

Potential change in town government:

Pine Creek, along with other small settlements in the Territory, is being encouraged by the Department of Community Development to consider adopting Community Government. Introduction of Community Government has generated considerable interest. A report commissioned by the then Minister for Community Development, Barry Coulter, gives generally strong endorsement to this new

form of local government in the Territory (Turner 1986). By contrast a report written for the Northern and Central Land Councils is highly critical of Community Government for Aboriginal communities (Mowbray 1986). What might adoption of Community Government in Pine Creek mean for Aboriginal people? What is the contribution of Pine Creek Aboriginal people to this community decision?

Security of land tenure:

The Report of the Commonwealth House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, 'Strategies to Help Overcome the Problems of Aboriginal Town Campers' (1982) states as a basic recommendation that land title should meet:

four principles of i) security of tenure; ii) integrity of boundaries; iii) self-management by the residents; iv) full consultation with communities affected.

In recent years Special Purpose Leases have been negotiated for land on which the larger camps around Alice Springs, Katherine and Tennant Creek are located (Loveday and Lea, 1985; DAA Tennant Creek, 1984). There is evidence, however, of small bush camps of makeshift dwellings on land with no security of tenure around both Katherine and Tennant Creek (DAA, Tennant Creek, 1984).

What is the current form of land tenure for the Pine Creek camps. How secure is it? How permissive or restrictive of land uses is the tenure arrangement?

Land availability:

Both the Tennant Creek and Katherine studies comment on the land supply for Aboriginal town camps, and both reach similar conclusions. 'It appears that, while the Town Plan has provided for residential development for the future population of Tennant Creek, it has not provided for land for the existing inadequately housed town camper population' (DAA, Tennant Creek, 1984, p6). 'Aboriginal living needs have not been taken into consideration in drawing up town development plans' (DAA, Tennant Creek, 1984, p7), whereas 'most of the issues which are considered here really form an integral part of the strategy planning responsibilities of the planners authority...' (Loveday and Lea, 1985, pXXIX).

Do the Pine Creek town camps have a sufficient land base for additional housing, facilities and residents

needs? Is there enough space to carry out new camp activities? Are the Aboriginal town campers included in the terms of reference of planning studies and strategic planning undertaken by the Lands Department for Pine Creek?

Camp facilities:

'Sources available at the Tennant Creek camps are in all cases (including those on Special Purpose Leases) inferior to those available to non-Aboriginals and to Aboriginals living in the Tennant Creek township itself' (DAA, Tennant Creek, 1984, p8).

What are existing camp facilities in the Pine Creek camps? Are they meeting basic human needs? How do they compare with standards for the community at large? Most importantly, what do residents see as priorities?

Camp demographics:

The Katherine study shows up the limitations of Census and DAA demographic data on Aboriginal camp residents. Is the Pine Creek data any more or less reliable? How many people are residents? How many infants, children, teens, adults and elderly people are there? What is the composition of camp households? This sort of information is vital for the proper provision of physical and social service programs. How well are health, nutrition, and education needs known and being provided for?

Transiency or permanence:

Provision of land, shelter and facilities in town camps has, until recently, been based on the assumption that people in the camps are transients; that they are short-term residents. There is, however, accumulating evidence that this assumption is erroneous. There are certainly significant numbers of short term visitors in Darwin, Mataranka and Katherine camps, and no doubt elsewhere. Nevertheless the Tennant Creek study notes (p6): 'The vast majority of Aboriginal people presently living in Tennant Creek have lived in the area, and will stay in the area for their entire lives'. What proportions of the Pine Creek camp population are permanent, seasonal, or short term visitors?

Tribal mix - tribal uniformity:

Some town camps are occupied by one clan or tribal group. In others there are people from several different tribes, who don't always get along too well.

Again the Tennant Creek study offered some useful insights which are worth quoting at length (pp7-8):

Perhaps the most obvious distinguishing feature of each camp is its country/language affiliations.

Each town camp is a small community based on ties of kin, friendship and obligations, not only to the people in the camp, but also to certain other Aboriginal people living in neighbouring communities.

Establishing smaller separate camps, based on close family and country groupings is an Aboriginal attempt to control problems, and so the ability to move camp is important.

What is the situation in Pine Creek?

Employment and income generation:

The Katherine and Alice Springs studies (Drakakis-Smith, 1980, 1984; Tangentyere Council Inc., 1984) show that camp residents have low employment levels. Is this the same in Pine Creek? What are people's job holding prospects? Are there ways of creating jobs people can do? Are there ways of generating individual and community income so that the community, and its members, are more independent of government financial support?

Education, skills and training:

What education and skills do people have? What training have people had? Have they been able to put it to use? What training do individuals think they could use? What training does the community feel its members should have?

Housing availability:

Is there vacant housing or overcrowding? What, if any, are the housing needs. Some indication of the types of needs is given in the Tennant Creek study, which reports that the informal camps

are arranged, to allow for single men's, single women's camps and married camps. Accommodation for visitors is also provided. Visitors come from outlying Aboriginal communities for short and longer stays, to see relatives, use town services...These

visits from friends and relations who still live in their traditional country are important for town campers too, because they help them keep their identity and attachment to their country (p7).

Housing quality:

Housing in town camps tends to be limited to provision of basic shelter for transients - a roof and walls and water supply. Or it has been provision of simple 'transitional housing' with limited facilities which Aboriginal families were expected to successfully experience before being eligible for consideration for a fully conventional house (Drakakis-Smith 1980, 1981; Heppel 1979). What is Pine Creek camp housing like? What do residents like and dislike about their houses? What sorts of improvements do they seek?

The study will not deal with all of these matters in depth: that is beyond its scope. But they will all be addressed in so far as the data collected makes it possible.

The Survey

Because the total population was expected to be small, somewhere between 40 and 100, our intention was to interview all the adults in Pine Creek and its camps who identified themselves as members of the Aboriginal community. This includes people living in the Town Camp and Kybrook Farm Camp, and a small number of people living in the town. All of the three interviewers had considerable experience of interviewing and were familiar with Aboriginal communities. Forty-three people were interviewed over a three-day period during the second week of December 1986. The adults occupying two Kybrook Farm dwellings were away from camp over the interview period, so these individuals (4 of them) and two households (totalling 9 people) were not included in the data. Four elderly adults, three women and one man, all in Town Camp were not interviewed directly, but were included in the household data.

The questionnaire was based on the one used in the 1986 Katherine survey, with changes necessary to make it appropriate for Pine Creek people. Questions were added on community training needs, because community leaders identified it as a community concern. The questionnaire collects both individual and household data on the following topics:

Personal data - age, sex, marital status, length of residence in Pine Creek camps.

- Tribal origins and land affiliations - tribe and country of individuals and parents.
- Household composition - who is presently part of the household, what is their sex, age group.
- Financial support - what support payments are individuals receiving.
- Transportation - access to vehicles and their use for visiting.
- Employment history and job search - number, type and location of job held over the past 5 years.
- Education and training - duration and level of formal schooling, and adult training courses taken.
- Personal and community training needs - what training do individuals want; what training do community members need.
- Residential migration - past places of residence and reasons for moving.
- Residential mobility - changes in residence within Pine Creek and its camps.
- Housing satisfaction - likes and dislikes about dwellings.

A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix I.

Additional Information

In addition to being used to record factual information the questionnaire was also used as a way of generating conversation with individual respondents about themselves, their concerns and the Pine Creek community. Longer discussions were held with community leaders in each camp and with the office trainee secretary and the camp manager. The researcher had access to non-confidential community records. Interviews were held with two former camp managers and with the DAA regional office personnel and key business and community leaders in the town of Pine Creek. A photographic record was made of camp facilities and housing.

Aborigines and the Development of Pine Creek*

Aboriginal people are very much a part of the economic and social fabric of Pine Creek today, even though most of them live in physical separation from the townspeople. They shop on a daily basis at the store, buy petrol at the service station, and beer from the hotel. Their children go to the local primary school. They use the post office and its banking service and go to the clinic for regular health checks and emergencies. The heavily loaded Toyotas coming in from Kybrook and the Town Camp are a familiar sight to townspeople. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal know each other by name. It is necessary, therefore, to trace the origins of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities of Pine Creek.

Lifelong resident of Pine Creek, and member of its one remaining Chinese family, Jimmy Ah Toy says that the 1985 opening of the Renison Consolidated Goldfield Ltd operation on the site of the old Enterprise mine just west of town is the fifth mining boom the town has experienced. Certainly the town has played a significant and recurring role in the mining, transportation and communications history of the Northern Territory, and its fortunes have fluctuated with the changes in those industries.

Gold was discovered in 1871 at Yam Creek, 40 kms north-west of what was to become Pine Creek, by a crew digging post holes for the Overland Telegraph. The discovery triggered a major gold rush into the Territory in the 1870s. Leases were pegged, companies formed. First European and then, after 1874, Chinese miners moved in. Adits were dug, alluvial sands and gravels worked over. The first discovery of substantial alluvial gold in Pine Creek was announced by the mine Warden in 1877, bringing in large numbers of Chinese diggers to the area. In 1874 a telegraph office was opened in Pine Creek and by 1880 a small town was serving the miners of the northern end of the goldfield. Pine Creek's first boom was on. At its peak an estimated 800-900 Chinese were in and around the town.

* This section draws on three written sources: Chase, A and B. Meehan, The Upper Daly River Land Claim, Northern Land Council, 1983. Pearce, H., Pine Creek Heritage Scheme Report, Vol.1. Pine Creek: General History, for National Trust of Australia (N.T.) 1982. Kinhill Stearns, Pine Creek Gold Mine Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Darwin, February 1984, and on lengthy interviews with upward of 40 Pine Creek residents.

Probably because of the speed with which mining spread across the region there is little verified or consolidated information on the association of Aboriginal groups with land in the Pine Creek area, although there are plenty of references to the presence of Aborigines. Pearce comments in his Pine Creek Heritage Scheme report:

The traditional lifestyle of Aborigines within the Pine Creek District had been changed by the pressures of contact before it could be carefully observed. The names in common usage for Aboriginal groups in the Pine Creek District are generally considered to be, Wagaman - Ferguson River to Douglas River, including Pine Creek: Warai - Margaret River to McKinley River: Woolwonga - McKinley River to Mary River: and Djauan - Edith River to Katherine River (Pearce 1982, p12-11).*

By 1882 a South Australian parliamentary delegation observed of Pine Creek:

This settlement is fast declining. It was an important centre once, and its crumbling and burnt buildings tenanted and busy with life. But surface scratching ceased to be paying and there remain only 80 representatives of the hundreds of Chinamen who some years ago resided here (quoted by Pearce 1982, p62).

According to the same source:

Aborigines in the neighbourhood of the town chose to live along the headwaters of Pine Creek in an area known as the Gorge, or nearby at the head of Copperhill Creek. Both locations were traditional areas as the upper reaches of each gully carried good flows of spring water through the Dry season (Pearce 1982, p65).

During this period:

The uprooting and destruction of the Aboriginal population throughout the Pine Creek District exceeded in intensity all previous retaliations (Pearce 1982, p67).

* In the text of the present study the spelling Wagiman (Wagaman) and Jawoyn (Djauan) will be used, in keeping with contemporary practice (see Chase and Meehan, Upper Daly Land Claim, 1983).

The township dwindled to a police station and post office, hotel and store, and empty telegraph station. The store closed in 1886.

But the slump did not last long. The railway from Darwin through the goldfields was completed to Pine Creek in 1889. The town site had been surveyed the previous year, and was gazetted as the town of Playford in 1889. (It was not until 1973 that it was gazetted as Pine Creek, although it has always been known by that name.) From 1890 Pine Creek became the acknowledged service centre for the mining district, with telegraph office, railway station and rail yards, police post, hotels, blacksmiths, and, eventually, the mine Warden's office. Chinatown, with its huts, shops and temples, spread out over the alluvial workings and mullock heaps south of the town. In 1894/95 there were an estimated 700 Chinese in Pine Creek, with Chinese outnumbering Europeans by as many as 17 to 1 at the peak. Little is known about Aborigines in the area, but references are made to Aborigines being rounded up for work from time to time, and being chased when they escaped. As the value of gold from the fields began to decline miners began to exploit local tin and copper deposits, in addition to gold.

Such a large population needed a local supply of food. The Chinese obtained garden leases and grew rice and vegetables. Some of the districts' rural small holdings today are on surviving garden leases. In the 1890s the Pine Creek pastoral district became established. Most of the cattle stations were, and are, small by Territory standards. They were developed by self financing European residents of the Top End. Prospecting and the use of unpaid Aborigines for stockwork, mustering, carting and preparation of buffalo hides helped the owners to sustain the local pastoral enterprises. As Pearce says (p105): 'The Pine Creek pastoral district became, and still is, a small man's country'. Of course mining activities, gardens and cattle stations were all on lands which were the source of both physical and spiritual sustenance for area Aborigines. The new occupiers of the land were indifferent to Aborigines and their need for food, and ignorant of the spiritual responsibility Aborigines have to nurture the land itself spiritually.

Mining booms in the Pine Creek District are shortlived. Mining throughout the district had virtually ceased by 1914, and the 1920s and early 1930s were a period of prolonged slump. European miners left. Most of the Chinese gradually drifted away; their gardens and alluvial workings abandoned. The small cattle stations, Esmeralda and Bonrook, Douglas, Ooloo, Ban Ban Springs, Tabletop, Florina, Lewin Springs and Claravale survived. The 1929 census for the Pine Creek District enumerated 107 Europeans and 54 Chinese. A count

of the Aboriginal population of the Pine Creek District gave an estimate of 93 in the Pine Creek area. The reopening of the Enterprise gold mine on the western edge of town in 1934 gave the town only a short term boost. Pine Creek itself survived as a small service centre, with railway station and weekly train from Darwin to Katherine (the line had been extended to Katherine in 1917), store, hotel, bakery and hospital. For a couple of years, from 1931-33 there was a home for 'half-caste' boys, who by government policy were removed from their mothers to receive a European-style upbringing and education. It was reported that small numbers of Aborigines camped seasonally at Pussycat Billabong, about 3 kilometres north of the town.

Military occupation of the Top End from 1942-45 after the bombing of Darwin totally disrupted the life of Pine Creek and the entire northern half of the Territory. The white and 'half-caste' population were evacuated to southern Australia. Pine Creek became a military headquarters. Major upgrading of transportation and communications occurred. The 'Track', the bush road from Darwin to the south via Pine Creek was sealed, although it remained a narrow winding road. Airstrips were upgraded. A telephone link was constructed between Darwin and Adelaide, with an exchange and linesmen located in Pine Creek. The local cattle stations took on an importance unknown before or since as a source of beef and vegetables for the large military force.

Cullen cattle station south of Pine Creek was appropriated by the Army in 1943 and became a camp for Aboriginal workers and families. Aboriginal stockmen were employed to muster stock off adjacent properties. Others were used in the camp to shoot and butcher cattle. Women worked in the kitchens as mess assistants. Those directly employed by the army were paid five shillings a week and received free clothing, medical treatment and full army food rations for themselves and two dependents. At the end of the war it was estimated that 300 Aborigines from a number of different land and language groups from the district and beyond lived at the Cullen compound in a collection of iron humpies, grass huts and tents. In the immediate post war period people gradually dispersed as station owners took Aborigines for stock work, and families left to avoid contact with government welfare officers who regularly visited compound camps to remove part-European children from their parents (Pearce 1982, pl43-44).

Following the war civilians were slow to repopulate Pine Creek. Ah Toy's store was the first business to reopen. But the town population in 1947 was only 91, in 1954, 83.

From the late 1950s to early 1970s Pine Creek experienced another mining boom, not in gold, but iron and uranium. An iron ore mine opened at Frances Creek; uranium was mined at El Sherana and U.D.P. Falls (Uranium Development Project). Pine Creek served a district population of 500. A new hotel was built in 1957. Local business flourished again. Some of the local businesses employed Aborigines and allowed their employees and families to camp in and around their properties (Bessie Coleman, personal communication, 1986).

But again the boom did not last. The mines, iron and uranium, shut down in the early 1970s, just as a medical centre and hospital designed to serve Pine Creek and district was completed. The railway was finally abandoned in 1976. And in 1978 the telephone exchange, and the linesmen, were replaced by a microwave link. The Stuart Highway was upgraded to a bitumenized two lane highway which, realigned and straightened along its entire route, now bypasses the town of Pine Creek completely. Until the Renison mine opened in 1985 the town population, from the mid 1970s, was around 200 to 215 people.

What proportion of the population was Aboriginal is arguable. The 1981 Census gives a total population for Pine Creek as 214, and an Aboriginal population of 42. Because of census enumeration problems in rural districts and undercounting of Aborigines it is probable that both these figures are low. They indicate that Aborigines were 20 per cent of the population. Local store owner, Jimmy Ah Toy, is of the opinion that Aborigines were more likely half the population and their numbers considerably larger than the 42 recorded by the census.

It seems probable that the number of Aboriginal people in the Pine Creek area began rising after award wages were granted in the cattle industry in 1966 and stations drastically reduced their number of Aboriginal stockmen. Even where Aborigines continued to find Dry season employment on a station, they and their families were turned off in the Wet. Since there are no Aboriginal reserves within a 100 km radius of Pine Creek, from Daly River Mission in the west to Beswick south of Katherine and Arnhem Land to the east, some Aboriginal families of the district would establish Wet season camps around Pine Creek and increasingly find themselves remaining there in the Dry if they did not find employment.

Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association and the Establishment of the Pine Creek Aboriginal Town Camps

With the exception of a couple of family groups, Pine Creek's Aboriginal people now live in two established locations, Town Camp (also known as Railway Dam Camp or The Compound) on the north side of town, and Kybrook Farm, five kilometres to the south (Figure 2). The camps have been developed largely by the efforts of the Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association.

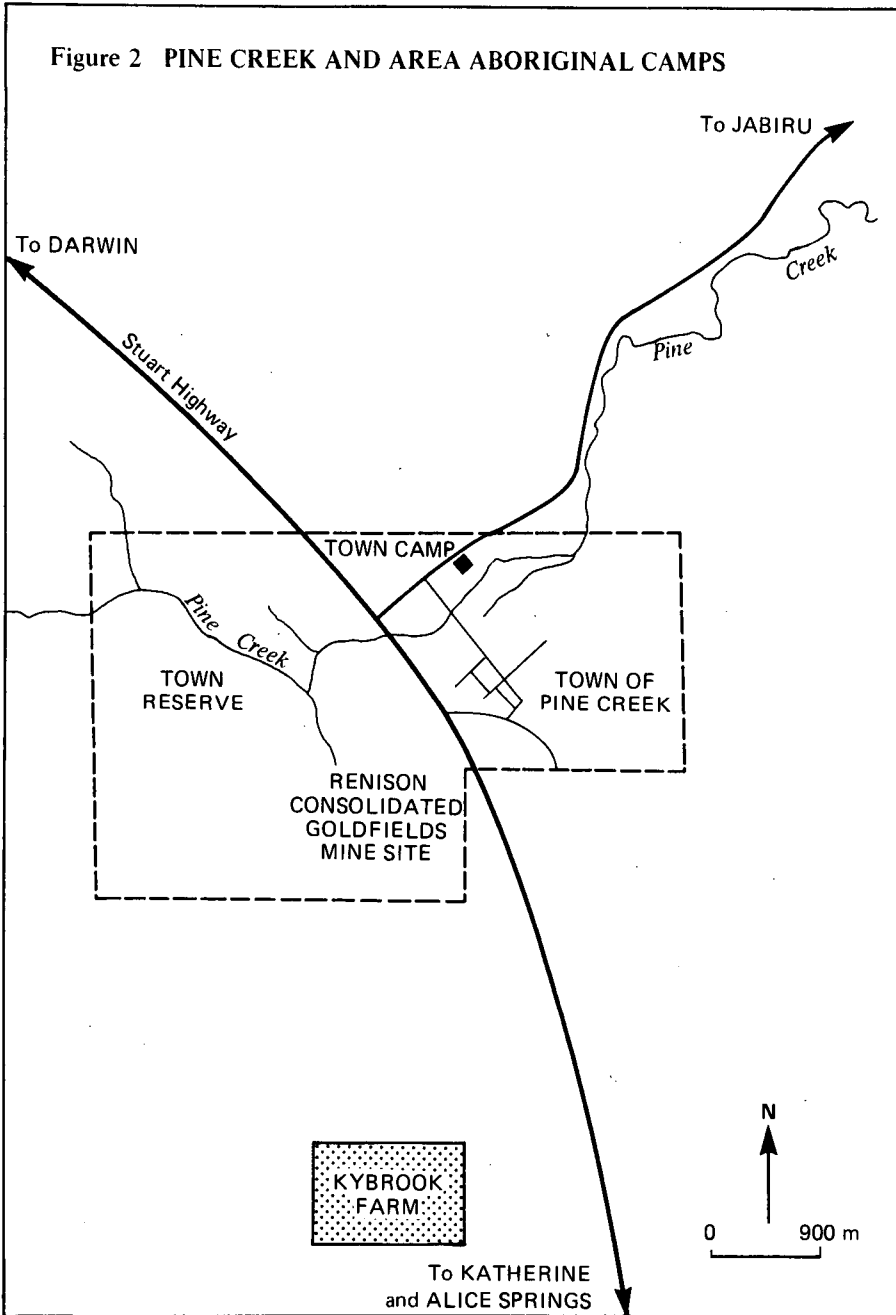
By the early 1970s Aboriginal people were camping on a regular basis in a number of locations in and around town, although they had no legal rights to occupy the land, and no particular facilities were available to them. Some movement from site to site occurred seasonally because of problems associated with each site. Some people camped in the vicinity of the Pine Creek railway reservoir, and along the banks of Pine Creek, but these locations were subject to flooding in the Wet. One favoured location in the Wet was a barren area of reserve on the edge of the built up area of town, an area now occupied by the medical centre. Shelters in this camping area were tents or makeshift iron humpies. No piped water was available, but as it was mainly a Wet season camp water was collected off iron sheets. Pussycat Billabong, a permanent waterhole three kilometres north of the town, has regularly been used as a Dry season camp site.

...a lot of Aborigines just gathered up there - they camped under bough sheds. They used to camp everywhere and have corroborees and that there (Pearce 1982, p145, quoting a personal communication).

A few people camped in the vicinity of Police Paddock, up the Green Valley Road west of the Stuart Highway.

As cattle station employment continued to decline a few families became year round residents. When the medical centre was constructed people were moved to the site alongside the railway reservoir, but this was subject to flooding, and people had no security of land tenure. Also, if Aborigines were to continue living in Pine Creek year round something needed to be done to supply piped water and latrines. Alcohol was available from the store and hotel take-away and drinking by Aborigines was on the increase.

Pine Creek community leaders, especially those in the Pine Creek Progress Association, established in the late 1950s, had some experience with getting government agencies to make improvements to facilities around the town. There were also townspeople of part Aboriginal origin who had a deep concern about the conditions of the makeshift squatter camps. The Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association



(PCAAA) was set up in 1972 by these two groups to develop a response to the situation described above. Three distinct phases can be identified in the 15 year life of the Association. In the first phase the Board consisted of three townspeople and three people of Aboriginal origin. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs was of the view that campers should be moved out to Pussycat Billabong. However, to effect some immediate improvements the government put down a bore and later erected a couple of prefabricated iron shelters at the railway dam site. The PCAA, though, sought to acquire land for a camp with some security of tenure and in 1978 negotiated for and secured Agricultural Lease No.498 on Kybrook Farm, a 97 hectare property outside of the town boundary.

In what may be viewed as phase two, Aborigines were moved from the town campsites out to Kybrook. A manager was installed in the old station homestead. Gradually, with DAA and ADC funding simple but permanent dwellings have been constructed. During this phase successive camp managers sought funds to improve the camp site and its facilities. Managers also secured funding for Special Works Projects. One project employed Aboriginal men from the camp in tree planting and maintenance in Pine Creek and the development of a garden at Kybrook. In other years people have been employed on camp garbage collection, grounds maintenance and cleaning of the ablution blocks.

The DAA and funding PCAA had assumed that all Aboriginal people in the Pine Creek area would make Kybrook Farm their camping area. However people soon began to move back to town and reestablish themselves in the vicinity of Railway Dam. In 1984 the PCAA successfully negotiated a lease for a small area roughly 85m x 75m immediately adjacent to the railway dam. Simple but permanent dwellings have been erected on the site and basic facilities constructed.

People move their place of residence for a number of different reasons: to be close to amenities such as medical centre, schooling, store or hotel, because housing and camp facilities are better, or for social reasons, to be together as family members or closer to land which is familiar where other kin live. Responses to the questionnaire should tell us why these moves occurred.

During the second phase the PCAA acquired the second lease, and camp managers got the two camps established with dwellings and some facilities, and employed a few residents in manual tasks.

Phase three, in which a serious effort is being made by Pine Creek Aborigines to increase their own active and responsible participation in the running of the Association and in camp management is just beginning.

Plate 1: Talking over community government in Town Camp



Plate 2: Pine Creek Progress Association meeting on community government



Plate 3: Interviewing



Plate 4: PCAA office at Kybrook Farm

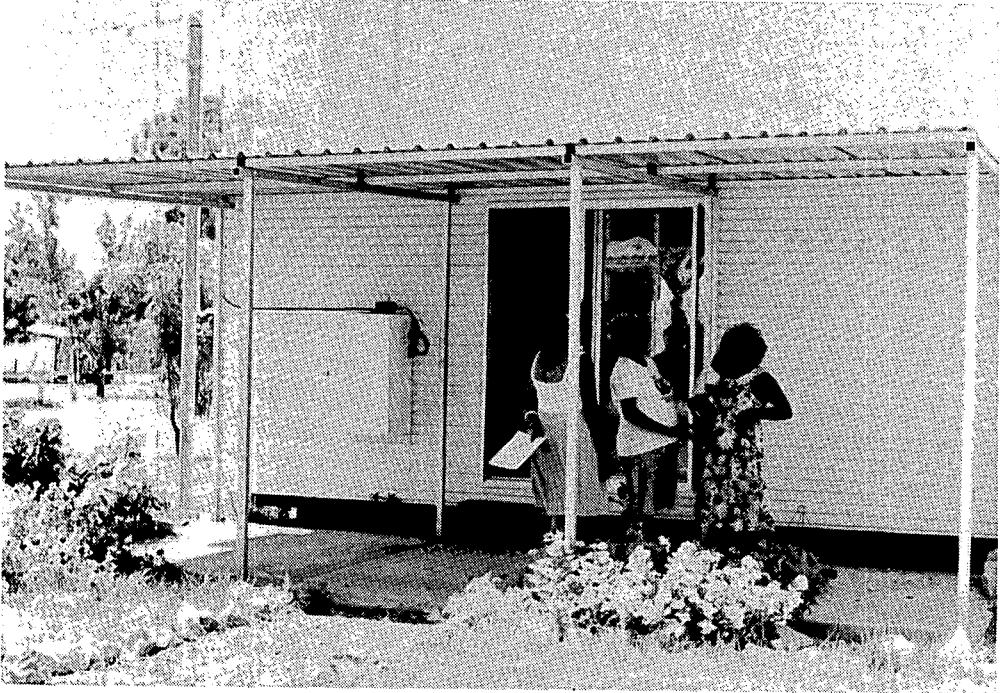


Plate 5: Typical one room camp house. The verandah has been extended to provide more shelter and living space



Plate 6: Living on the verandah

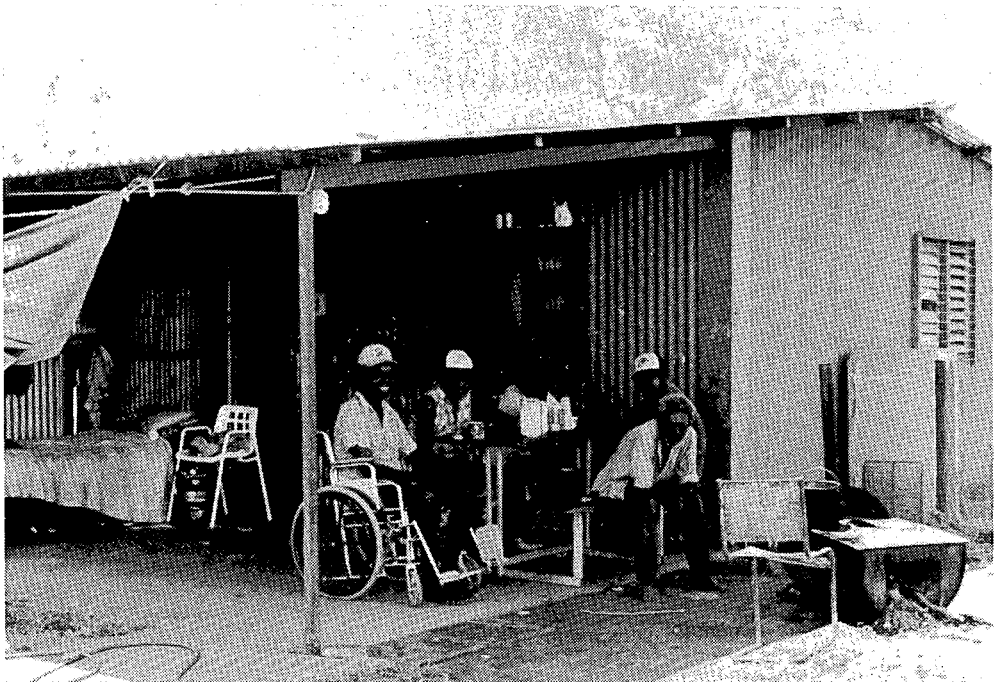


Plate 7: Typical camp houses. The one in the foreground has a large extension to its verandah

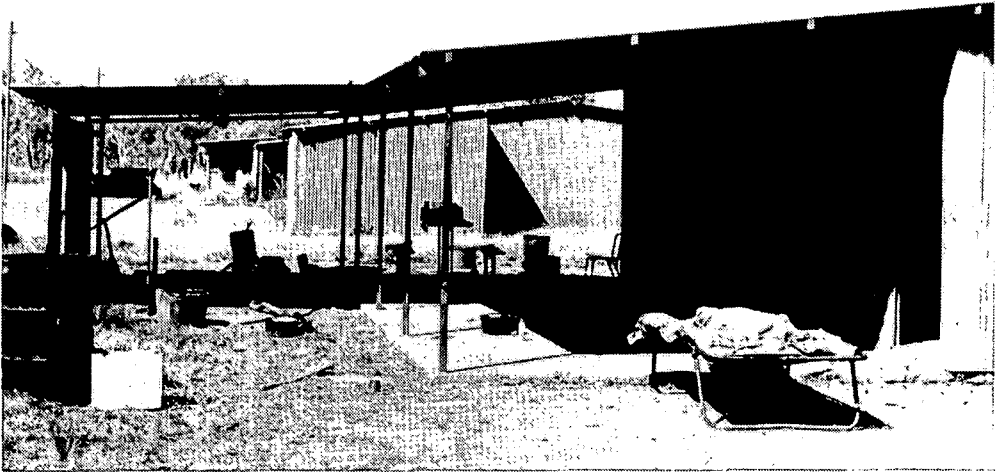


Plate 8: Loading up with groceries: a daily routine



Plate 9: Cook stove under the verandah

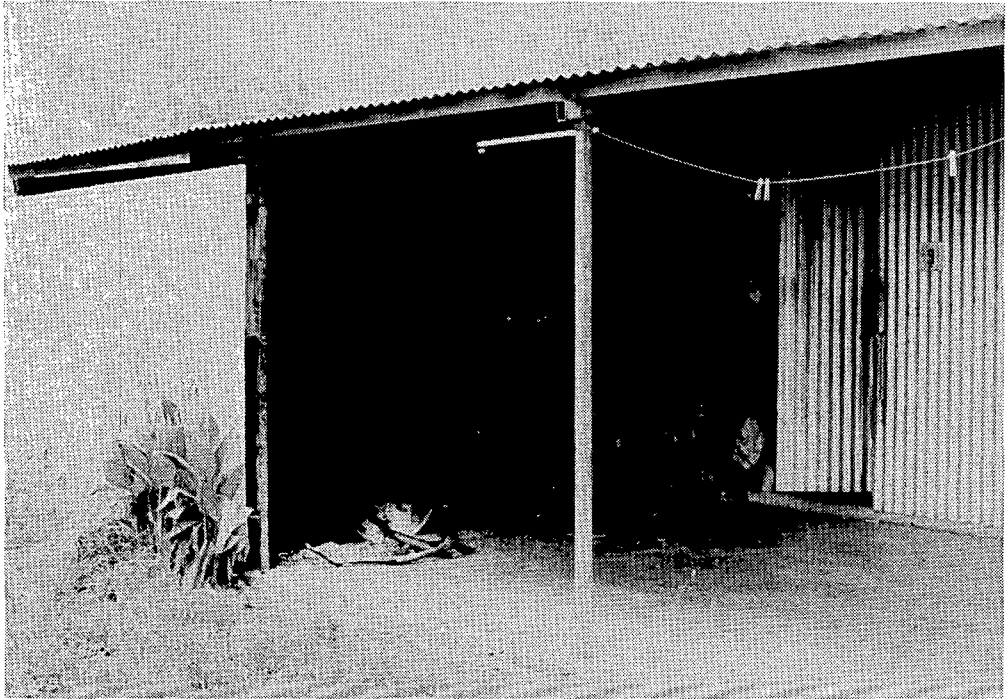


Plate 10: Washing clothes and dishes, Kybrook Farm



Plate 11: Cold water tap
with no base



Plate 12: New dunny,
Kybrook Farm

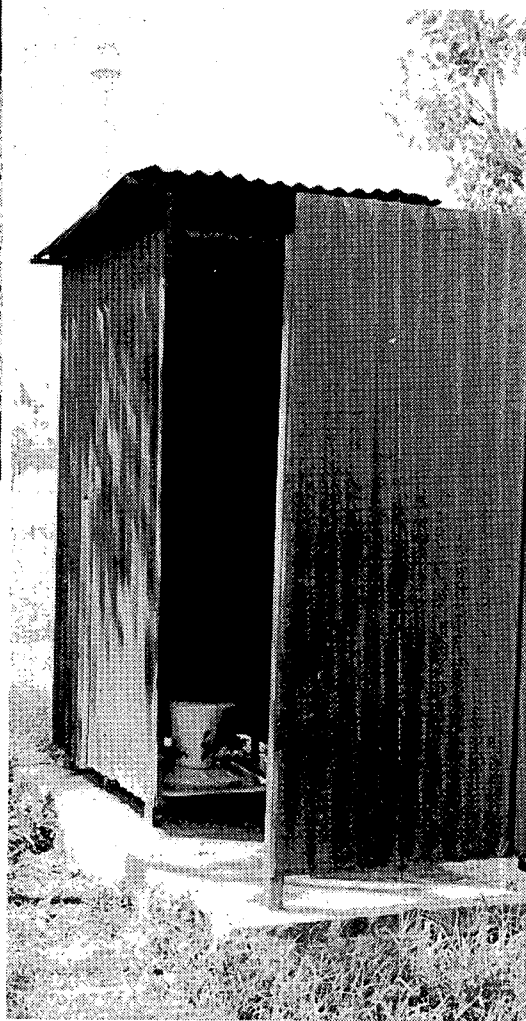


Plate 13: Storage for food and clothing



Plate 14: Cooking, dining, storage and washing facilities for 14 people



Plate 15: Refrigerator: a valued appliance



Plate 16: New two room house with verandah on three sides. Note washing machine on the verandah, and plantings of young mango trees.

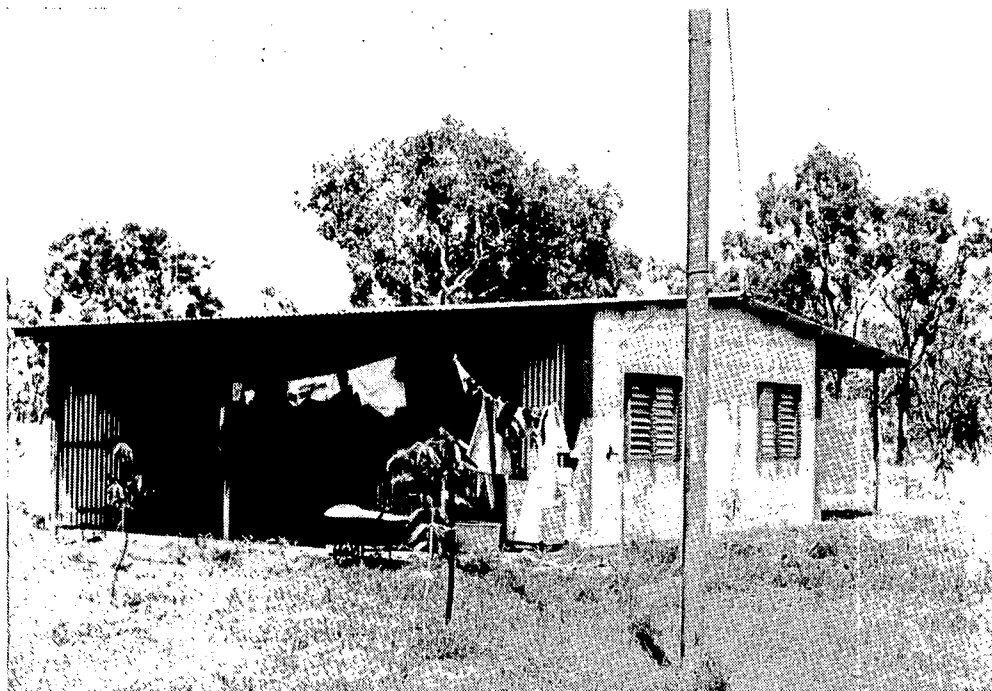


Plate 17: The workshop,
Kybrook Farm



Plate 18: Practical mechanics



Pine Creek Aboriginal Camps in 1986

Government and Management

Some of the Aboriginal settlements in the Northern Territory, especially those which originated as mission or government stations, have had 25 years or more experience with some form of formally constituted community decision-making council. Councils, usually incorporated under the Associations Incorporation Act, deal with matters such as housing, facilities, employment and so on; matters generally viewed by Aborigines as 'white fella business'. Since 1979 it has been possible for small communities to have a form of local government, known as Community Government Councils, within the terms of the N.T. Local Government Act but until recently few communities chose to adopt this form. Now, with the incentive of untied Commonwealth local government funds, more communities are adopting community government. The N.T. Department of Community Development is encouraging the communities, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to convert to community government under Part VIII of the Act.

In Pine Creek neither the Aboriginal nor the non-Aboriginal community have had much experience with formally constituted local government. Community matters in Pine Creek have been handled by the Pine Creek Progress Association. The Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement Association has taken on responsibility for specific matters concerning the Aboriginal community. Both organisations have remarkable achievements to their credit. The paved and lighted streets, reticulated water supply, waste water disposal and health centre can be attributed, in part, to the persistent efforts of the Progress Association members past and present. Similarly the Aboriginal Advancement Association has ensured that Aborigines have a place to live with some security of tenure.

But because of the way they must be structured under the Northern Territory Associations Incorporation Act both organisations are limited in what they can do. Though they may act upon what they see as the best interests of the community they are not legally representative of that community; rather each board officially represents only its paid up membership. In the absence of any more representative group, however, both Associations handle community business, handle government funding and act in place of formal local government. Both Associations and the non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people in Pine Creek are trying to sort out the implications, for each Association, its members, the community and special interests, of adopting the form of local government known as community government,

which the Northern Territory government would like to see them adopt.

Although it has limitations, the PCAA is the only formal mechanism presently available to the Aboriginal community to make decisions about the camps. The Board of Directors consists of a President, a Secretary who must be able to read and write in English, and a Treasurer who can count, and additional board members. In the past it was run largely for Aboriginal people by those who were not camp residents. It is presently getting reorganised so that camp residents hold the responsible positions and work on behalf of the Community in such a way that people understand what is going on and participate actively.

At a recent meeting people tried to come to grips with two issues of great significance to any Aboriginal community: whose land are we living on, and how is it managed?

In 1985 the PCAA succeeded in getting the Kybrook Farm Agricultural Lease changed to regular freehold title. It is held by the Aboriginal Development Commission, in trust, for the PCAA and all the Aboriginal people of Pine Creek regardless of their tribal language or land affiliation. But Kybrook is located in an area which the Wagiman people identify as their traditional country where they have land-maintaining responsibilities. Land immediately south and west of Kybrook had formerly been part of the Jawoyn (Katherine) land claim, but was transferred to the Upper Daly River Claim of the Wagiman language owning group (Chase and Meehan 1983). The Wagiman people of the Pine Creek Aboriginal community seek special rights at Kybrook because of their traditional interests in the land thereabouts.

The people are becoming more directly involved in how the camp is managed. They are, therefore, struggling to understand recent changes in the way the community is managed. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs pays the wages of a camp manager. The manager, according to DAA guidelines, assists people to get the social security payments they are eligible for, ensures the camp grounds are maintained, and that there is a supply of fire wood, initiates employment and training programs, and trains the Association committee and the community in the operations of the Association. Town camp managers are not necessarily trained community development professionals. For most of them it is a matter of on the job training, with few instructions, direction or assistance from DAA. On the plus side, this means the managers can deal with each community and situation as it is, and not according to a distant departmental formula. On the negative side it means that the manager learns by trial and error what will work in the

community and what is acceptable to the Department. The community is the managers' learning laboratory.

There have been four camp managers in the period from 1978-1986. Each manager has had different skills, personality, philosophy, management styles, and relationships with individuals and the community at large. Community members have learned what one manager thinks should be done, and how it should be done only to have to start over again with a new manager. When the camps were first being established getting facilities and shelter was a priority. Another manager measured success by having people employed on works projects, another emphasised the look of the camp and grounds maintenance.

In keeping with today's ideas on increasing the amount of responsibility exercised by each Aboriginal community for those decisions which immediately affect them, the present manager is working with the President of the PCAA and those members of the community who are interested to improve their skills levels. He is encouraging people to think for themselves what needs to be done and to take responsibility for projects and for carrying them out successfully.

Camp Land and Tenure

There are two camps for the Pine Creek area Aboriginal people: Town Camp and Kybrook Farm. Each has a different form of land tenure, land base and facilities.

Town Camp is located on the northern edge of town. Set in a patch of scrub, it is bounded on the east by the dirt access road, on the north by the highway to Kakadu, west by the abandoned railway line and south by the railway reservoir and Pine Creek. It is between one and two kilometres from the store, gas stations, hotel, school, post office and health centre in town. The camp area is small, only 6190 m². Though one or two more houses could be placed on the site there is not enough land for any significant increase in the number of houses or for expansion of camp facilities or activities on site.

The Special Purpose Crown Lease on Lot 179 Town of Pine Creek, negotiated in 1984, is held in trust for the PCAA by the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC) and administered by the Katherine office. The current lease has a term of four years. The purpose is 'Aboriginal Living Area'. The lease is subject to the following conditions and covenants:

1. Subject to the Act the lessee shall not use the land for a purpose other than the lease purpose.

2. The lessee shall pay rates and taxes which may at any time become due in respect of the leased land.
3. The lessee shall within one year of the date of commencement of the lease or within such further time as may be approved in writing by the Minister for that purpose commence to erect improvements on the land suitable to the purpose of the lease at a value of not less than the sum of three hundred thousand dollars in accordance with plans and specifications previously submitted to the Department of Lands, and will complete the said building/buildings or improvements at a value of not less than the said sum in accordance with any Act, or Regulation within three years of the date of commencement of the lease or within such further time as may be approved in writing by the Minister and will at all times thereafter maintain and repair and keep in repair all buildings and improvements on the said land all to the satisfaction of the Minister.
4. The lessee shall be responsible for providing water services and sewerage connection, and electricity reticulation to the approval and under the supervision of the appropriate authorities.

If these conditions are met, however, a fifth clause comes into effect.

5. On completion of the proposed development and compliance with the conditions outlined, the land may on application be converted to a Crown Lease in Perpetuity.

This affords the PCAA a security of tenure more limited than regular freehold title and much less secure than the inalienable freehold of land held under the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act.

Town Camp is within the gazetted boundary of Pine Creek. If Pine Creek gets community government under the NT Local Government Act the Town Camp will automatically come within the jurisdiction of the community government council and will be part of its service area as well as subject, as all residents will be, to such by-laws as it may pass.

Kybrook Farm is five kilometres south of town and west of the Stuart Highway on Copperfield Creek. The 97.16 ha of

bush affords a sufficient land base for any foreseeable expansion of housing and camp facilities. There is land enough for tree cultivation and gardening to supplement community income, provide some employment and contribute to the community food supply. However it is insufficient of itself for the Pine Creek Aboriginal community, or even Kybrook Farm residents, to become financially self-sufficient solely from the proceeds of agriculture. The land base is also too small and too close to the expanded mining operation and the town to be a significant source of bush tucker.

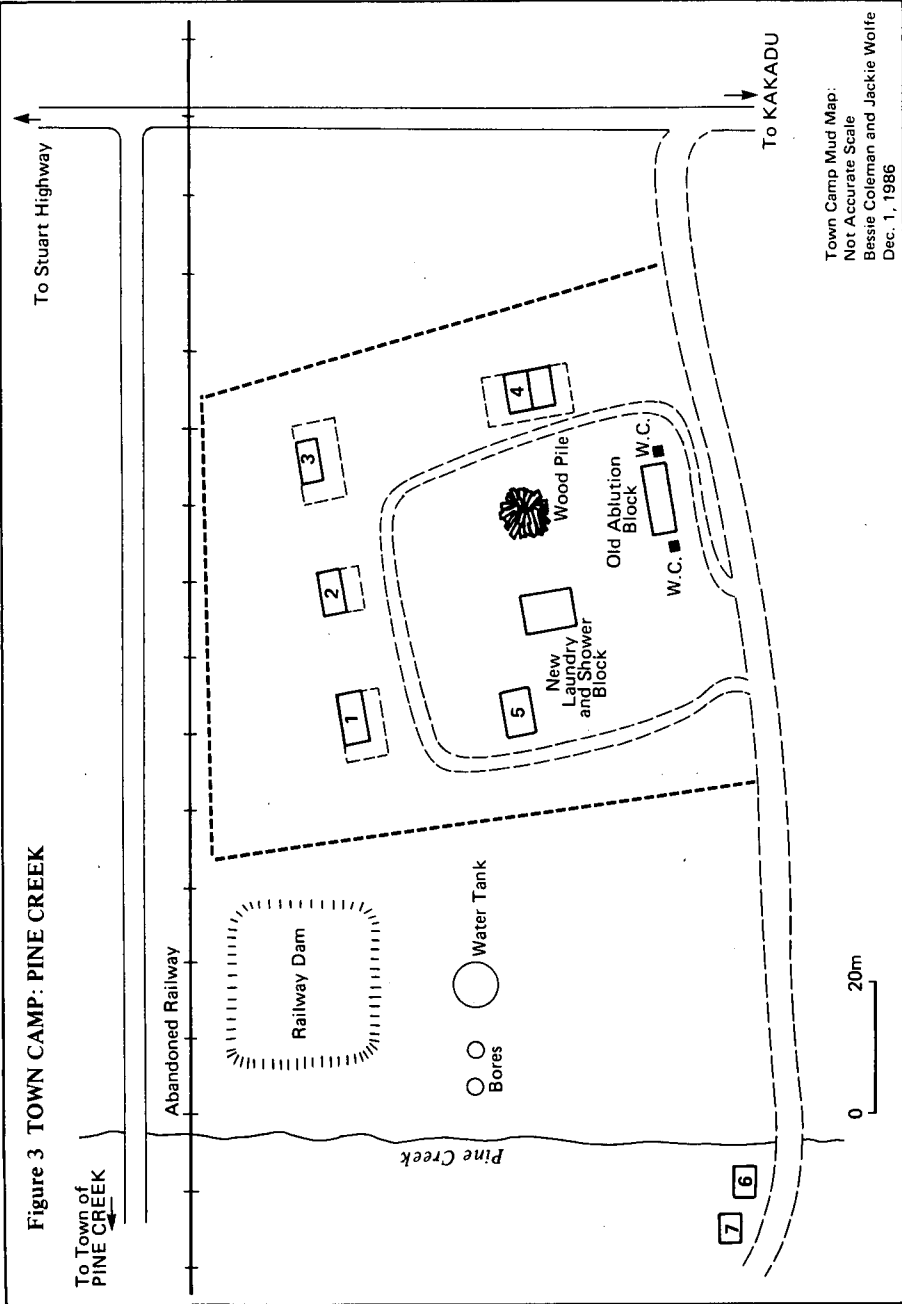
The original agricultural lease has been converted to regular freehold title (fee simple). Again the title is held in trust for PCAA by ADC's Katherine office. PCAA has, therefore, security of tenure at Kybrook.

The camp is outside the gazetted boundary of Pine Creek. This does not necessarily mean that it would be outside the community government area. Under the terms of the Local Government Act, Part VIII each community decides what the area and boundary will be. Should Pine Creek adopt its gazetted area as the community government area one Aboriginal camp will be within its jurisdiction and one outside. If the boundary is extended by more than a five kilometre radius then both camps will be within its jurisdiction.

Camp Facilities and Housing

Figure 3 shows the layout of houses and facilities in the Town Camp. There are four uninsulated corrugated iron houses, set around a central grassy area. Three were put up in 1984 by the Aboriginal Development Commission; the other one in 1985 by the Northern Territory Housing Commission. The Housing Commission house has two rooms, the rest have a single room approximately 5m by 4m. One house has a single verandah facing into the central area; the others have verandahs on three sides. Verandahs are used for most household activities including sleeping, cooking, eating, sitting and playing. Small louvred windows set about 2.5m up each wall provide a little light and ventilation in the rooms. Since 1985 when the houses got an electrical hookup this has been supplemented by a light socket and ceiling fan.

There are no inside provisions for heating, cooking or washing. Makeshift but serviceable wood burning cook stoves have been made for each household out of half oil drums. In the Dry these are mostly placed beyond the verandah; in the Wet they have to be under shelter on the verandah. Each house has an outside cold water tap. In Town Camp the taps do not have a concrete pad where utensils can be placed, so



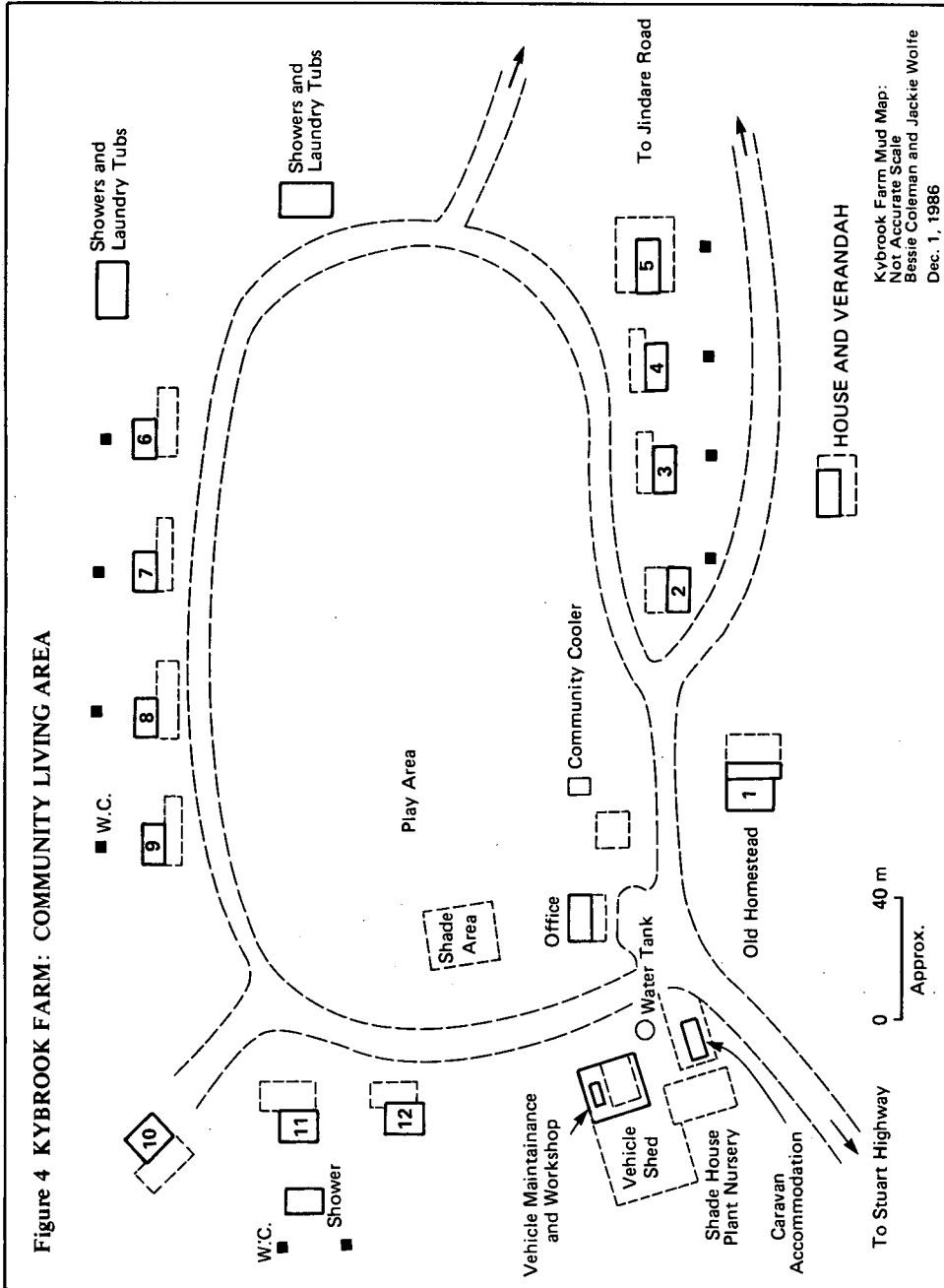
the ground all around is constantly wet and muddy. A dilapidated sheet iron shack with no amenities is also used as a house. This is what remains of the housing put up earlier by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Three other shacks on privately owned land just outside of the Town Camp site are sometimes occupied by community members.

A new centrally located but small ablution block has hot and cold water showers for men and women and wash tubs. There is a small piece of roofing over the tubs area. Otherwise it is exposed to sun and rain. Solar panels supply the hot water, which is therefore abundant in the Dry season and cool during the long cloudy periods of the Wet. There are deep pit toilets either side of the old ablution block. These function reasonably well considering how many people they serve. Because they are some distance from the houses they may not always be used by young children.

Community employees paid under a DAA funded project keep the community wood supply replenished. The community is thinking of converting the old ablution block to a workshop. Because the camp is within the town boundary no community vehicle is permanently located there; the truck is allocated for community use as needed. Similarly the tractor and lawn mower are taken to Town Camp from Kybrook when required. There is no telephone in the camp. The nearest public telephone is outside the post office 1.5 kms away, roughly the same distance as the medical centre, police station or fire hall. In an emergency where aid is required this can be a problem.

Figure 4 shows the layout of the Kybrook Farm campsite. There are eleven houses: a row of four either side of a large grassy oval, and three set at one end. Ten houses are occupied. One is presently vacated because of a recent death. Two houses were put up in 1983, one of which has verandahs on three sides. The others were put up between 1978 and 1981. As in Town Camp the houses are basic small one room shelters of corrugated iron with small high set louvred windows, an external cold water tap and half oil drum stove. Most, though not all of the taps run onto a concrete pad. Several verandahs have been extended to provide more shelter and living space. From the outside this gives the houses the appearance of being twice the room size they really are. The houses have been hooked up with electricity since 1981, and have an electrical socket and ceiling fan. Each has a pit toilet set away from the houses out back. There are 4 older style ablution blocks with showers and laundry tubs, with cold water supply only, very little privacy for men and women, and no weather protection over the laundry tub area. The old farm homestead is not presently occupied. For safety reasons electricity had to

Figure 4 KYBROOK FARM: COMMUNITY LIVING AREA



Kybrook Farm Mud Map:
Not Accurate Scale
Bessie Coleman and Jackie Wolfe
Dec. 1, 1986

be disconnected. The verandah is regularly used as a place to sit and chat.

The Pine Creek Aboriginal community camp facilities are concentrated at Kybrook Farm. A new demountable was set up in 1986 as an office for the PCAA, the manager and secretary. Since there is no community room or hall it is used as a place for people to come to about all aspects of community business, and to gather for a chat. A caravan provides accommodation for a manager or other outside support staff. There is a community freezer, a vehicle shed, garage and workshop and shade house for trees and plants. The community has a three-quarter tonne truck, bus, tractor with plough, 1.5m slasher, grader blade and trailer and two lawn mowers, all of which require constant repair and maintenance. There is a telephone in the demountable. The community has limited access to it when the office is closed since someone at Kybrook is made responsible for the office key. Should a medical or other emergency arise there can be delays in getting aid, especially if a vehicle is not available or there is no qualified or licensed driver around.

Pine Creek Aboriginal People in 1986:
Results of the Survey

The next section describes the people who now make up the Pine Creek Aboriginal community, and what their life is like - at least, what some aspects of their life are like, based on the results from structured interviews.

It had become apparent from talks with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Pine Creek and with government officials that there was not one set of 'facts'. Before the questionnaire data is presented it's worth quoting some of these comments to highlight the usefulness, and the limitations of both hearsay and 'objective' information.

There's not too many of them - they're only here in the Wet.

They are Wagiman, Mialli and Jawoyn.

There's just the Huddlestone mob, they're here all the time.

Old people and children, they live in town. The young fellows drink out at Kybrook.

It's a matter of starting where people are, with what they want and what they're interested in.

They are just not interested in jobs.

We're beginning to get things going - we have to.

They had nothing going for them in 1978: now they have about all they need.

They expect us to pay rent for living in these 'dog boxes'!

I'm rubbish, just rubbish.

The country carries a black fellows life. People die before their time when the country dies.

Some of these assertions, as we shall see, are not supported, but contradicted, by the evidence from the survey, whereas others are validated.

Personal Data

Interviews were conducted with people in both camps and with people in town who identified themselves as members of

the Aboriginal community. Interviews were held during the second week of December 1986. Schools were still in session. Families do tend to wait until school is out before going off visiting; however secondary level children in school would still be away. December 1986 was a very dry month, with about half the average monthly rainfall, so travel for visitors would not have been interrupted. The prolonged Dry might mean, though, that men employed on cattle stations were still away.

A total of 43 interviews were completed, with all adults in the camp except four elderly people. Four regular residents from two households were away during the three days of interviewing. Twenty four men, one of whom was a visitor, and 19 women were interviewed. Twenty two were from Town Camp and Town and 21 from Kybrook Farm, where the visitor was staying (Table 1).

Table 1
Sex of Respondents

Location	Male		Female		Total
	Resident	Visitor	Resident	Visitor	
Town Camp and Town	13	0	9	0	22
Kybrook Farm	10	1	10	0	21
Total	23	1	19	0	43

According to these data there are not many more men regularly resident at Kybrook than Town Camp. It may well be that there are a few boys at secondary school and a few young men away on cattle stations who return to Kybrook. But even if the five recorded as part of the household, but absent at the time of the survey were all from Kybrook (which is not the case) this would still give Kybrook only two more males in total than Town Camp.

The population profile of the respondents is shown in Table 2. It tapers rapidly, with only four people in their fifties, none in their sixties, and two in their seventies. There is an imbalance between men and women in their teens and twenties. Although the numbers are all too small to have any statistical significance there appear to be fewer young women than men in the respondent group. Whether this

holds true for the community as a whole will be seen later in Table 4 which shows the age distribution of the recorded household members.

Table 2
Age of Respondents

Age	Males	Females	Total
Teens	2	6	8
20s	8	3	11
30s	4	5	9
40s	6	3	9
50s	3	1	4
60s	-	-	-
70s	1	1	2
Total	24	19	43

The data on marital status by age is shown in Table 3. All but seven of the respondents are married de jure or defacto; this includes most people in their teens and twenties as well as old people. The two who are split up are male. There are four single males and two single females. The women are in their teens and twenties, the men in their twenties and older.

Table 3
Marital status, by age

Marital Status	Age							Total
	Teens	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	
Married	6	9	8	7	3	-	2	35
Single	2	2		1	1	-	-	6
Split up			1	1	-	-	-	2
Total	8	11	9	9	4	-	2	43

Household Data

The 42 resident respondents are drawn from fifteen households, eight at Kybrook, five at Town Camp, one on the edge of the Town Camp and one in town. Two Kybrook households of a total of nine people were not recorded. Household data were gathered by asking: 'who normally sleeps here?'. Table 4 shows how many people there are in each household. Figures include children away at school who are part of the family and will be back at the weekends or end of the school term. People did not include men away working, who would likely return in the Wet.

Table 4
Persons per household

Number of households	0	2	2	3	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	1
Number of people in the household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

There are six households with eight or more people; nine with six or less. Both camps have a mix of large and smaller households. Average number of people per household is 6.3. Town Camp has an average of 6.6 in five houses, Kybrook 6.1 in eight households. Also the two unrecorded Kybrook households are small, with four people in one and five in the other. Of the five Town Camp households one is a young couple with a baby living in a dilapidated iron shed with no water or electricity. The other four are multi family households; that is there is more than one immediate family grouping. Most household members, though not all, are close kin.

Three of the four households are multi-generational, spanning four generations. One has a two room dwelling, the other two have one room dwellings. Of the eight recorded households at Kybrook Farm there is a multi family - multi-generational household of 14 in a one room dwelling and five with five people or less. These figures indicate overcrowding in both camp areas. Two one room houses in Town Camp have 10 and 11 people, one in Kybrook has 14 people. The picture in detail will likely be a little different within a short time, because household groupings can form and reform quite quickly depending upon how well people are getting along together but the overall picture is likely to persist. The multi family multi-generational households are a

consequence of extended kinship obligations and lack of availability of sufficient housing. Of the households located in town, one of two people is in a galvanized shack, the other 11 person household lives in a conventional three bedroom Housing Commission house. This house is also a place where visitors from places to the east often stay.

Just over half of the recorded population of the households is adult, 18 or over; just under a third is under the age of 14. Table 5 shows the age distribution of the recorded household population. Age data collected were not sufficiently detailed to develop a full population profile. Anyway the total number of people is too small to make that a particularly useful exercise.

Table 5
Age of the recorded household population

Age	Male	Female	Total
Children 14 and under	16	16	32
Teens 15-17	9	4	13
Adults 18 and over	28	22	50
Total	53	42	95

What is striking is the excess of males over females in the two older age groupings. At first the researcher speculated that this might be due to under reporting of girls away at school. A check with the camp manager and community leaders confirmed that more males than females is a characteristic of the 'normally resident' community. Furthermore there are quite a few men who take up residence in the camp during the Wet, who are not included here.

If the households which were not recorded are added in, the normally resident population is at least 100. This often rises to as many as 150 in the Wet or when a number of kin come visiting and stay for extended periods, as they often do. There is already considerable overcrowding, especially at Town Camp and in some households at Kybrook. Adding half again to the existing population must make the situation acute on a regular seasonal basis.

Respondents were asked to identify themselves by choosing a name from a list which included Aboriginal,

Australian Aboriginal, urban Aboriginal and traditional Aboriginal. Twenty one described themselves as Australian Aboriginal, 18 as Aboriginal, three as traditional Aboriginal and one as Australian. Two of the three traditional Aboriginals are in their seventies. The proportion identifying themselves as traditional is clearly very small. The proportions are very similar to those for the Town campers in the Katherine study (Loveday 1987, p3).

Tribal Origins and Land Affiliations

Respondents were asked about their tribal affiliation and where their country or traditional land was. Only 12 per cent of the Pine Creek group did not give their tribal affiliation: in the 1986 Katherine study the Town Campers proportion not giving their tribe was 24 per cent. The two largest groups in Pine Creek are Wagiman and Mialli, with about even numbers (Table 6).

Table 6
Tribal affiliation

	Town and Town Camp	Kybrook Farm	Total
Wagiman	4	8	12
Mialli	11	2	13
Jawoyn	2	1	3
Mulkbon	-	1	1
Brinkin	1	1	2
Mutbara	1	3	4
Ngaliwuru Ngariman	-	2	2
Ramharmaga	1	-	1
No affiliation	2	3	5
Total	22	21	43

Mialli are half the adult respondents in the Town and Town Camp group. Wagiman are the next most numerous in Town Camp. Wagiman are just over a third at Kybrook. There is a mix of people in both camps, though, with Kybrook having a slightly larger number of tribes represented than Town Camp has.

People were asked about their country, or tribal land. Seven said they either did not know or felt no strong

affiliation. Three identified Pine Creek or the Pine Creek area as their country. Some gave a specific place such as Oenpelli, Gimbat, Collah, Victoria River Down, Pigeonhole, Coolibah Station, Claravale Station. Others gave a general area: Arnhemland, out Kakadu way, from the Douglas to the Daly. Yet others narrowed the area down to: behind Narbalek, near Maningrida. These were plotted on a map as either a specific location or an area. From this, a pattern of directional clusterings emerged. The clusters are presented in Table 7.

Table 7
Land affiliation

Area	Number	Percentage
West - Pine Creek to the Daly	10	23
East and north east - Kakadu and Arnhemland	14	33
South west	6	14
South east	3	7
Pine Creek area	3	7
No land affiliation	7	16
Total	43	100

Pine Creek Aboriginals identify strongly with lands extending in three directions:

- i) immediately west of Pine Creek as far north as the Finnis River and south to Coolibah Station;
- ii) east and north east from Gimbat Station and Coronation Hill into Kakadu and western Arnhemland;
- iii) southwest, in the area covered by Victoria River Down.

Three people identified the Barunga area to the southeast, and three specified the Pine Creek area itself.

A picture of how affiliation with traditional country has been retained from the previous generation to the present emerges from answers to the question: where were your parents born. The results are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8
Where were your parents born

Where parents were born	Father		Mother		Total	
	Town and	Camp Town	Kybrook Farm	Town and		Camp Town
West - Pine Ck to the Daly		1	2	1	6	10
East & north east	10		1	4	1	16
South west	2		1	2	3	8
South east	1		2	2	-	5
Pine Creek	6		4	7	-	17
Katherine & Camps	1		-	5	1	7
Alice Springs	-		1	-	-	1
Don't know	1		9	1	9	10
Total responses	22		20	22	20	84

N = 42 Residents only

The data, of course, reflects the number of children who respond about the same parent, and the fact that the residents span three generations. Also, when the responses were examined in detail it was clear that children of the same parent reported their mother (or father) as being from different places within the same area: for example one might say Arnhemland, another Maningrida, one might say Fish River and another Daly River. Again, therefore, the specific locations have been compiled into general directional areas.

The pattern of origins and affiliations of Pine Creek Aborigines is further confirmed by Table 8. Outside of Pine Creek itself, the east and north east and the west around the Daly are where most parents are from. Then follow the southwest, Katherine and the south east. People in Town Camp mention the east, Kakadu and Arnhemland, most frequently as their father's place of origin, followed by Pine Creek. They mention Pine Creek, the Katherine and then the east as their mother's place of birth. A large number of people (nine) in Kybrook said they didn't know where their parents were from. They mention Pine Creek most frequently as their father's place of origin and the western area for their mother.

Pine Creek is most often mentioned as the place where parents were born. This suggests that Aboriginal people have been making Pine Creek their place of residence for 18 to 20 years or more.

Transiency or Permanence

To get a better idea about how permanent or transient the Aborigines presently living in Pine Creek are they were asked two questions: when did your parents come to Pine Creek, and how long have you yourself been living in Pine Creek. Table 9 shows when parents came to Pine Creek.

Table 9
When did parents come to Pine Creek?

Parent	Born here	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	Never	No response
Father	10	3	4	4	3	-	9	9
Mother	7	2	4	3	2	1	8	15

N = 42 Residents only

Rather a large number of people couldn't answer this question. They did not know when, suggesting it was quite a while ago. As shown also in Table 9, 10 said their father was born here, 7 said their mother was. Ten said their father came to Pine Creek during or before the 1960s and 9 said their mother did. This indicates a connection of today's families extending back at least to the 1940s, and a continuity which spans several generations.

People were also asked how long they themselves have been in the Pine Creek area. The answers are shown in Table 10.

Table 10
Length of time in the Pine Creek area, by age

Length of resident in Pine Creek area	Age							Total
	Teens	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	
Less than 1 year	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	4
One year	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
2-5	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	5
6-10	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	4
11-20	6	3	1	1	1	-	-	12
21-30	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	5
31-40	-	-	6	1	1	-	-	8
41-50	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
more than 50	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total	8	10	9	9	4	-	2	42

N = 42 Residents only

Aborigines living in Pine Creek today have generally lived in Pine Creek for a long time. Two thirds have been there for more than 11 years. By way of contrast 'approximately 60 per cent of Pine Creek's population at the time of the 1981 census had lived elsewhere in 1976, an indication of population mobility' (Kinhill Stearns 1984, section 7-1). Average length of Aborigines' residence in Pine Creek is around 17 years. Furthermore length of residence is somewhat under reported. Several people, especially men, did not include those years when they lived on and around cattle stations in the Dry season and Pine Creek in the Wet. Some said Pine Creek had become their main place of residence from which they found work on stations; for others it was the place to go with their family or to rejoin their family when it was stand-down time in the Wet. For example, the two elderly people in their seventies say they have been Pine Creek residents for between six and ten years, only since the man was too old to work on the stations and became eligible for an old age pension. But they have been spending the Wet in Pine Creek for many years and are generally revered as a founding couple by those whose country is to the west and to the south west.

In summary, then, the data shows a group of people with long term connections, spanning several generations, with the Pine Creek area. It also shows that those same people have retained their tribal affiliations and sense of traditional country. Their lands lie to the east and north east for some; in the west and the south west for others. There seems to be some tendency for people with kin and country ties to the east to be living in Town Camp which is close to and oriented toward the east. Most people with ties to the west and south west are living at Kybrook, which is closer to those lands. But this is not the case for everyone. It is not clear cut because Wagiman, Mialli and Jawoyn are closely interlinked by marriage. Some of the data presented further on in the report, about places people visit, and where they lived before moving to Pine Creek will fill out the picture.

Transportation and Related Matters

Everywhere in Australia the ability of individuals and households to thrive, or even survive, is very dependent upon access to transportation. Pine Creek Aborigines are no exception. It is a round trip of more than 10 kms from Kybrook to Pine Creek and back. Though Town Camp is only a kilometre and a half from the centre of town that amounts to a 3 km round trip -- a long way for old folks and those with very young children to walk.

Most households have to buy groceries on a daily basis. One household in each camp does have a refrigerator, and Kybrook Farm has a community cooler, though Town Camp does not. Because temperatures are so high much of the year all fresh and frozen foods have to be refrigerated to prevent spoilage if they are to be kept for more than a few hours. Except for tinned goods even packaged foods deteriorate quite quickly in the heat and humidity. None of the households have cupboards or much in the way of shelving to store food out of the way of children and dogs, and no way of keeping it secure and cool. People therefore buy small quantities of food on a regular daily basis from the one Pine Creek store. Since they are buying the smaller packages from a small store they are also paying high unit prices for their food.

Vehicles are needed to ferry Kybrook's school age children to and from preschool and primary school. For small children who do not have a bicycle the 3km round trip from Town Camp is a long way. The adults have to get to town at least once a week to pick up social security or other pension cheques. Children, mothers, the elderly and anyone sick or injured has to get to the health clinic for regular or special medical attention. The nurse can only leave the unit to attend extreme cases.

The community has sought to deal with its transportation problems. There are two PCAA vehicles, a Hilux three-quarter tonne ute and a bus, which usually operate from Kybrook where the transportation needs are greatest. One Wagiman family has a reliable private Toyota. Apart from the regular morning and afternoon school run the transportation service is irregular. A vehicle goes when there is a purpose or enough people to justify a trip into town and Town Camp. To pay for the running costs - petrol, driver and maintenance of the vehicles - all adults are levied a weekly fee which allows them to climb aboard whenever the vehicles go. The transportation money is held in a separate community account. There are problems, though, because of vehicle breakdowns and lack of qualified licensed drivers. The community does not have a resident qualified mechanic. Sometimes vehicles are driven by inadequately trained drivers.

Members of the Gagadju Association who live in Pine Creek have use of two Association Toyotas bought by the Association out of its mining royalties. The members live in Town Camp so that people in Town Camp do have regular access to a vehicle. The Gagadju Association Toyotas are well maintained and serviceable. Private vehicles in running order are scarce. Few people can save up the money to purchase a vehicle, or put aside enough money on a regular

basis to make credit payments. When they do they can usually only afford a second hand vehicle and they find they run into unexpected costs for repairs and maintenance, especially when they don't have the mechanical knowledge to distinguish a good second hand buy from a lemon, or a sound professional repair job from a shoddy one. 'They fall easy prey to car sharks'.

The benefits of a vehicle are great, though. Not only is it useful on a daily basis, it also enables a household to travel to Katherine or even Darwin to go shopping where prices are more competitive, to go on visits, and to make other people happy by taking them along: a means of repaying obligations.

People were asked: does anyone in the house you presently live in own a truck or a car? The responses were combined with household information to provide a picture of household access to vehicles (Table 11).

Table 11
Household Access to a vehicle

	Access	No Access
Town Camp and Town	5	4
Kybrook Town	1	7
<hr/>		
Total	6	11
<hr/>		

Note: There are 15 recorded households. The total here is 17. This indicates that there are sub sections of residential households in Town Camp, some with access and some without.

Only one of the Kybrook households says it has access to a personal vehicle, while five in Town and Town Camp do. These latter include private vehicles and the Gagadju Association vehicles.

The importance of out of town visits, for shopping, to visit relatives and to visit special places such as 'traditional country' has been made clear in the earlier discussion. Table 12 presents responses to the question:

where do you mostly go to visit outside the Pine Creek area. People could give up to three choices. Then they were asked: how do you usually travel?

Table 12
Places visited

Place	Number of times mentioned*		Total
	Town Camp and Town	Kybrook	
Places west	4	4	8
Places east and north east.	24	2	26
Places south west	-	3	3
Places south east	1	2	3
Katherine	12	11	23
Darwin	6	9	15
Other	4	6	10
Total	51	37	88

* where R = 42 Residents only.

Town Camp and Town = 22 Kybrook = 20

Again answers to the question 'which places do you visit' were plotted on a map. The clusters which emerged are shown in Table 12. The largest number of visits were made to places to the east and north east. People specifically mentioned Oenpelli, Jabiru, Mudginberri and Gimbat Station. A lot of trips were made to Katherine and to Darwin. When asked in conversation about the purpose of going to those towns people said visiting relatives, and, especially for Katherine, to go shopping. Town and Town Camp people make a lot more trips than Kybrook residents. Also their strong and continuing ties with Kakadu and Arnhemland show up.

Most people find some way of going places, whether by bus, own vehicle or with friends or relatives in their vehicle. Pine Creek Aborigines use public transport and private vehicles almost equally. Differences in access to vehicles between people in Town Camp and Town and Kybrook is brought out here, though. Kybrook residents use the bus much more: Town Camp and Town people use private vehicles (Table 13).

Table 13
Means of travel

	Bus	Own vehicle*	Friends or relatives vehicle	No travel or no response
Town Camp and Town	2	11	7	2
Kybrook Farm	9	2	7	3
Total	11	13**	14	5

* 'Own vehicle' includes private vehicle and long term responsibility for a Gagadju Association vehicle.

** In no way should this be interpreted that there are 13 private vehicles in a community. More than one person in a household with a vehicle says he or she 'owns' it.

Employment and Employment History

People were asked whether they presently had a job, whether they had tried recently to get one, and what jobs they had held over the past five years.

Table 14 shows that the present level of employment among Pine Creek Aborigines is very low. Ninety per cent of the adults do not have a job. All five people with jobs are employees of the PCAA, earning less than \$200 per week. All are in trainee (secretary, mechanic) or unskilled labourer or handyman situations. All got their jobs through word of mouth. They have all been in the job for periods of less than a year: from under one month to nine months. Continuation of their employment is dependant not only in their own performance on the job, but also on funding being secured for the next fiscal year. In other words there is no security of continuing employment.

Table 14
Employment level 1986

	Men	Women	Total
Job	4	1	5
No job	19	18	37
Total	23	19	42

All those people presently employed had been employed for some period over the previous five years. Each of the four men had had more than one job in that time. Twenty of 42 respondents held at least one job in the past five years; 17 men and three women. All jobs were unskilled or semi-skilled or in trainee situations. Pine Creek men have found work most often on cattle stations as stockmen or bullcatchers. Others mentioned work as labourer, gardener, surveyor, and hygiene worker.

Table 15
Employment in the past five years

Job type	Job 1	Job 2	Job 3	Job 4	Total
Stockman/bullcatcher	10	7	5	4	26
Manual labourer	6	2	1	-	9
Shop assistant	2	-	-	-	2
Teachers aide	1	-	-	-	1
Other	1	1	2	-	4
Total	20	10	8	4	42

Generally jobs did not last long (Table 16). Stock work and bull catching lasts for the season. There were reports of six situations in which the job lasted longer. Usually this meant that the individual was laid off in the Wet but returned to the same station for the next work season: in other words he had some continuity and security of employment. Three men enjoyed this security for five or more years. Five had manual jobs lasting more than two years. Given the right circumstances, then, Pine Creek Aborigines can and do hold down a job over several years.

Table 16
How long did the job last

Job type	No.	Years							
		Seasonal under 1yr	1	2	3	4	5	6-11	11 or more
Stockman/ bullcatcher	26	20	-	3	-	-	1	1	1
Manual labourer	9	4	-	1	3	1	-	-	-
Shop assistant	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Teachers aide	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	4	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Total	42	28	-	5	4	1	2	1	1

When people were asked why the job ended the reason they most often gave was, not surprisingly, because the job was seasonal. Other reasons were either job related or family related (Table 17).

Table 17
Why the job ended

Job type	Season ended/ limited tenure	Didn't like job/ didn't like boss/ sacked	Plant closed	Sickness/ family trouble	Attend funeral	Return to family
Stockman/ bullcatcher	24	1	1	-	-	-
Manual labourer	2	4	1	2	-	-
Shop assistant	-	1	-	1	-	-
Teachers aide	-	-	-	1	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	2	2
Total	26	6	2	4	2	2

The opening of the mine and the assay laboratory in 1985 has increased the number of jobs in Pine Creek directly by about 100 and indirectly by about another 10, some full time, some part time, in construction contracts and the service sector. The Environment Impact Assessment document at the gold mine (Kinhill Stearns, February 1984, section 7-12) states: 'it has been assumed that all new induced jobs would be filled by immigrants'. Responding to the Aboriginal Sacred Sites Authority concern that the Draft EIS contained no proposals to provide training or special conditions to encourage Aboriginal employment the Supplement to the Draft EIS says: 'There would be no discrimination in employment on the ground of sex or race and where possible preference would be given to the training and employment of local residents who met other employment criteria' (Kinhill Stearns, June 1984, section 7-8). People were, therefore, asked if they had tried to get a job locally. The results are shown in Table 18.

Table 18
Tried to get a local job recently

Where	Men	Women	Total
With mine	1	1	2
Town business	-	-	-
Stockman	2	-	2
Aboriginal camp	4	1	5
<hr/>			
Total who tried	7	2	9
<hr/>			
Did not try	16	17	33

N = 42

Nine people, seven men and two women are now actively looking for work. Most sought work with the PCAA within the camps. Very few sought work in the wider job market. This suggests an awareness that the job search is likely to be unsuccessful. The mine has not hired local people except through local sub contracts. Stock work opportunities are increasingly limited, mostly to buffalo catching. Few Pine Creek Aborigines have the work experience or confidence, or (as will be seen in a later section) the education or formal training to be likely of success in a job search in a very competitive environment.

Overall, then, the prospects for Pine Creek Aborigines of getting jobs, gaining skills and experience or generating personal income in the open market are poor. Some people say that they are determined to continue to try. Others say they must figure out ways of generating jobs and gaining skills within the camps themselves.

Source of Financial Support

Sources of individual and household financial support come from wages and various government supports including unemployment sickness or special benefits and various types of pensions. All supporting child carers get the allowance for children in their case. As we have seen, few Pine Creek Aborigines are employed. Wages of those who are, are low. Their camp location does not enable them to make any significant use of bush tucker, though this is always appreciated when available. So individuals and households are dependent financially upon support payments for their

livelihood. People were asked what benefits they received. The results are presented in Table 19.

Table 19
Type of financial support reported

Type	Men	Women	Total
Unemployment benefit	14	-	14
Sick benefit	3	1	4
Pension	2	1	3
Total reported*	19	2	21

* These figures require interpretation. See paragraph below.

According to the data presented half the adult respondents, essentially half the adult population, receives some sort of government financial support. The single most important source is the unemployment benefit. A cross check with non-confidential community records shows that benefits have been under reported and all eligible adults are getting some type of financial support. There are a number of reasons for this.

People are not too specific about the support they receive. One reason is that it is only within the last year that cheques have gone directly into each individual's bank account. As data presented later will show, the majority of adults over the age of 30 have little or no formal education and have little or no writing ability. Cheques had, therefore, gone directly to the store where grocery items were bought on credit and 'booked'. They were used to pay down the previous week's debt and established a credit if there was any money left over. So people seldom had any cash in their hands. Furthermore they do not have a secure place to keep even small amounts of money. When cash is available it is quickly used up in gambling, a favourite pastime, or on 'grog'. To comply with the law, cheques now go into each individual's account. However the person may not be fully aware of the source or the amount. The long established grocery booking system continues because that is what people are used to and find convenient. The practice is widely used by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike, in Pine Creek and other small Territory towns.

Data on household income is probably more important than individual income, because of the great variation in household size and traditional practice of sharing resources. Even though the figures in Table 19 are not complete they are the best available. They have been used, therefore, to give a picture of household support.

Table 20
Household supports

Reported source of support*	Number of persons in household														
	Town Camp and Town							Kybrook Farm							
	2	3	4	8	8	10	11	2	3	4	4	5	6	11	14
Wages	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployment/ Sick benefits/ pensions	1	1	1	2	2	3	-	2	-	-	2	2	1	4	

* Sources of support are underreported. These figures require interpretation. See paragraph below.

What Table 20 suggests is considerable variability in household income from these sources. All the households have at least one child. The larger households have several for whom child support payments will be received. One or two households are reported to receive only child support. In order for them to survive, the practise of resource sharing must be continuing. Even when underreporting of benefits is taken into account the overall picture is of a community with very limited personal and household financial assets.

One of two households in Town Camp and Town have people in them who are members of Gagadju Association. As such they receive the individual royalty payments to which Association members are eligible. Total annual payments are in the order of \$1,000 per adult. This is not a large sum, but for people almost totally dependent upon various welfare benefits it gives them the opportunity to purchase items which they see as being important improvements to their quality of life. These are of two kinds: things which make daily living easier, such as a washing machine, refrigerator or electric fan, and things which improve their contacts with the world at large and relatives, such as a vehicle, or at a more modest level, a video machine or a cassette player/radio. For people who have so little in the way of material goods these may look like luxuries. In the context of Aboriginal camp life they are quite logical aids to living.

Education and Training

We have already had some indication of the problems many Pine Creek Aboriginals experience because they don't have much formal education. This section looks more closely at what education and training they have and what they see as needed.

Table 21 shows people's age when they left school and Table 22 the level of schooling they completed. One third of the adults, pretty well an equal number of men and women, have had no formal schooling. More than a third, though, did not leave school until they were 15 years old or more. Despite this, the level of schooling they completed is still low. Most of the women have no education or did not continue on beyond year 9. Most of the men only finished primary school. According to Table 22 four people finished grade 10 or above. It should be remembered, too, that six boys included in the household data are presently away attending secondary school. In conversation people remarked that few of the boys are likely to stay in school much longer. They don't find it easy living in a residential situation away from family. The total number of community members with a high school education is not likely to increase in the near future unless there are changes in where and what kind of secondary education is available, or individual's find some incentive to stay in school and the community itself has reason to encourage them.

Table 21
Age left school

Age	No. people
No schooling	13
10 or less	2
11	1
12	3
13	4
14	4
15	5
16	2
17	5
18+	3
Total	42

Table 22
Level of schooling completed

Level completed	Men	Women	Total
No schooling	7	6	13
Primary incomplete	5	1	6
Primary completed	8	1	9
Secondary: end yr 9	-	10	10
Secondary: end yr 10	1	1	2
Secondary: end yr 11	2	-	2
Total	23	19	42

When we look at education levels by age category, it is clear that those with no schooling are mostly 40 or older. When they were children there was no formal education available for Aborigines, even had they sought it. Of the 18 people in the potential active leadership category only three have any secondary education and that only to year 9. Those in their teens and twenties do have a little more formal education. But given the higher educational levels reached by non-Aboriginals this is an improvement relative to the community only, not relative to the population at large.

Table 23
Level of schooling completed, by age

Level completed	Teens	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s
No schooling	-	-	1	7	3	-	2
Primary incomplete	-	2	2	1	1	-	-
Primary completed	2	3	3	1	-	-	-
Secondary: end yr 9	5	2	3	-	-	-	-
Secondary: end yr 10	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary: end yr 11	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8	10	9	9	4	-	2

Lack of formal education must seriously disadvantage the Pine Creek Aboriginal group, and not only in the external job market, which the data has shown members seldom attempt to enter. Lack of such basic skills as literacy and numeracy makes the group very reliant upon the non-Aboriginal manager, and must inhibit the ability of the

group to govern and manage itself. Younger people who have these skills could make a significant contribution to the overall welfare of the community.

People were also asked about what additional training they have had. Carpentry, horse riding, chain saw operator, and a hygiene worker course were listed by the men; hairdressing, screen printing, clerical and homemaking by the women. Only eight people have had any additional training (Table 24). From discussions it seems that none of the courses lasted longer than a few weeks. Only two of those with some training presently have jobs and only one, the person with some clerical training, is putting training skills to direct use on the job.

Table 24
Have had additional training

Additional training	Men	Women	Total
Some	4	4	8
None	19	15	34

When asked whether they would like more training, just under half said they would (Table 25). Almost all the teenagers and a majority of those in their twenties would like more training - a positive sign in view of community needs. However fewer people in their thirties and over expressed interest. This is probably because their direct experience or that of people they know tells them that training does not necessarily bear immediate rewards in the form of jobs or other personal benefits.

Table 25
Interest in additional training, by age

Age	Yes	No or no response
Teens	6	2
20s	6	4
30s	3	6
40s	2	7
50s and over	-	6
Total	17	25

Motor mechanic was most often mentioned when people said which training they would like. They are well aware of

the need to be able to repair vehicles and small engines. Other skill areas people are interested in are listed in Table 26. They are all very practical skill areas. Interest in a ranger course, for example, reflects an anticipation of opportunities opening up for people in the Gagadju Association. Women especially recognise a need to be able to drive a car in order to exercise some independence from men.

Table 26
Type of training people would like

Type	Men	Women
Mechanic	6	1
Clerical	-	3
Driver training	-	2
Literacy	1	1
Welding	1	-
Management	-	1
'Ranger' course	-	1
Total	8	9

Everyone said 'yes' to the question: does the community need more people with some kind of training. Table 27 shows what sorts of training Aboriginal people in Pine Creek believe they need as a community. People could list up to three types of training and almost everyone did. The initial list was made up from suggestions people had made when a draft of the questionnaire was discussed.

Table 27
Types of training people think the community needs

Types of training	Number of choices		Total
	Men	Women	
Bookkeeping	3	6	9
Vehicle maintenance and mechanics	20	5	25
Farming and gardening	10	5	15
Electrical	6	2	8
Carpentry and construction	10	3	13
Crafts	2	4	6
Money management	-	5	5
Literacy	2	3	5
Health and nutrition	1	3	4
Child care/stock work/ community problem solving	2	2	4

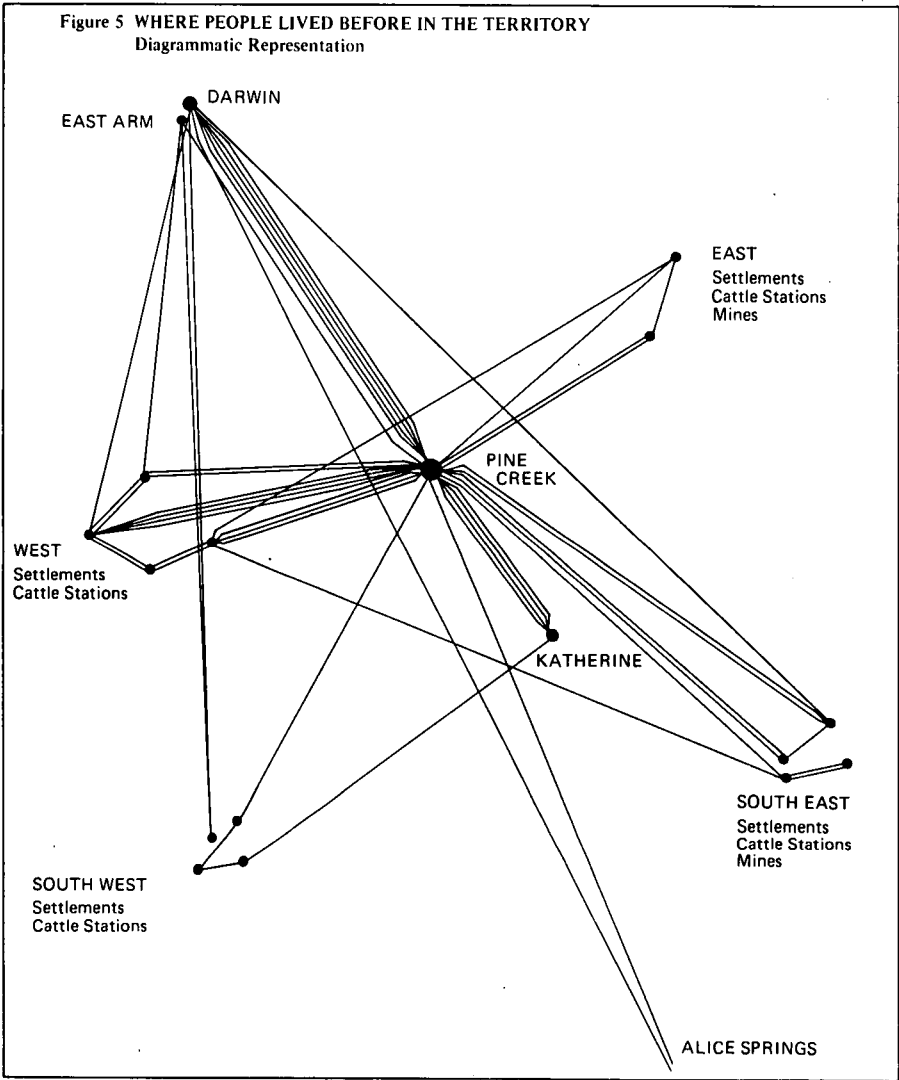
Again the choices are very practical and reflect where the community is in terms of its development. Men, with full encouragement from women who are also interested on their men's behalf, emphasise mechanics, construction, carpentry and electrical - skills to enable them to maintain and improve their homes and the community. Women in particular emphasize bookkeeping and managing money. As discussed earlier they now have personal bank accounts and know they need to be able to handle money. They also know that the community is being encouraged to take over the community financial account from DAA and are aware that people in the group must have the skills to keep track of community finances. The attention given to literacy, nutrition and health show a keen awareness of community needs, as does community problem solving, even though it was mentioned by only one person.

Residential Migration: Where Else Have People Lived?

From data already presented it is clear that many Aborigines now living in Pine Creek have had a long association with the area. They are neither newcomers nor transients. It is also clear that people have an enduring sense of their country which for some is around and to the west of Pine Creek, for others far to the south west in the Upper Victoria River, and for others is to the east and north east. We are interested in the actual places people lived before they came to Pine Creek and their reasons for moving. Figure 5 shows the results of mapping the data which are then presented in a simplified way in Table 28.

Table 28
Where people lived before.

Location	Place 1	Place 2	Place 3	Place 4
No other place	13	28	38	40
West: stations and settlements	9	5	2	3
East: stations and settlements	3	1	-	-
South west: stations & settlements	1	3	2	-
South east: bush & settlements	5	4	1	-
Katherine and Camps	5	-	-	-
Darwin and Camps	6	2	-	-
Total who lived some other place	29	15	4	3



The data confirm that there are a number of adults who have only lived in Pine Creek. After that, cattle stations immediately west of Pine Creek and settlements further west were most often mentioned as places of previous residence. Places to the south east, like Barunga and Maranboy come next, followed by Darwin and Katherine. A couple of people had been in East Arm, the Darwin leprosarium, until it closed and people went back to their communities of origin. Few places east and north east, in the Kakadu and Arnhemland area were mentioned, despite the fact that many people have strong ties to the country and their kin there. It is possible that there is, generally, under reporting of places of previous residence.

People were asked how long they spent in each place. Table 29 shows the results.

Table 29
How long people spent in each place

Length of time	Place 1	Place 2	Place 3	Place 4
Less than 1 year	1	1	-	-
1 year	1	1	-	-
2-5	9	5	3	-
6-10	8	2	-	2
11-20	7	5	1	1
21-30 or more	3	1	1	-
Average number years	10	9	N.A.	N.A.

Although people have lived in a number of other places it is obvious that they were not constantly on the move: rather, they spent an average of about ten years in each place. This indicates that, whether living in Pine Creek or elsewhere, this particular set of respondents do stay put in one place. They can hardly be described as transients.

Not many people replied to the question: why did you move, and those who did often said 'to go to such and such a place'. This may be because they moved as a member of a family, or because the new place had several attractions, or because the reasons for moving were not what should be shared with a stranger. Table 30 shows that most reasons given were family related. Problems such as fighting or drinking get a passing mention, as do job hunting or to attend school. The full list is given to get across the

point that Aborigines, like everyone else, move for a subtle set of personal reasons.

Table 30
Reasons people moved their place of residence

Reasons moved	Number of times mentioned
'To go to	11
Family moved	14
Return to family	7
Married	3
Personal/domestic trouble	1
Personal/family sickness	2
Leprosarium closed	2
Business closed	2
Laid off/sacked	1
Pensioned off	1
Seeking a job	4
Seeking a change	1
To attend school	3

We were interested in whether people now living in the Pine Creek camps had had a largely urban oriented or remote settlement experience as children. Table 31 shows that well over half the group had lived near a town or in a town camp (in many cases Pine Creek) as a child, and that this was the case not just for young people in their teens and twenties but also those in their fifties. Just under a third had been raised on cattle stations. Though most of these are in their forties now, a few people across all the age groups have been raised on cattle stations. This confirms the Pine Creek Aboriginal community's long association with cattle stations.

Table 31
Type of place people lived as a child

Type of place	Teens	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	Total*
Town in town house	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Near town/town camp	7	6	6	2	3	-	-	24
Cattle station	1	2	1	5	1	-	2	12
Mission or government settlement	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	4

*N = 42 residents only

Residential Mobility: Have People Moved Between Pine Creek Camps?

It appeared from talks with people before the survey, that they had not lived all the time in the camp where they live now. Some people had been in Pine Creek before the present camps were set up, and there has been some moving around since. Figure 6 shows in a diagramatic form the moves people have made. Table 32 presents the summary data.

Table 32
Number of places people lived in Pine Creek

Where people live now	<u>No. of places lived in before Pine Creek</u>			Total
	No other place	1	2 or more	
Town Camp and Town	6	8	8	22
Kybrook Farm	15	3	2	20
Total	21	11	10	42

Most people living in Kybrook now have not lived elsewhere in Pine Creek, whereas most Town Camp residents have moved once or twice. Figure 6 shows that the movements have been quite complex. Before the present camps were established people camped at different sites in and around town. People were moved from town out to Kybrook when it was established. Then some moved back to the Town Camp. A few say they stayed around the town area and have not lived at Kybrook at all. The reasons for these moves came up in general conversation. Young people move to marry. Some individuals and families move as one camp or the other goes through periods of unrest. Data presented earlier show that a result of the moves is to bring people with land and kin affiliations to the east into Town Camp, and people with land and kin affiliations to west and south west into Kybrook Farm.

People were asked whether their present place of living is better or worse or much the same as their previous place, and why.

Figure 6 WHERE PEOPLE LIVED BEFORE IN PINE CREEK
Diagrammatic Representation

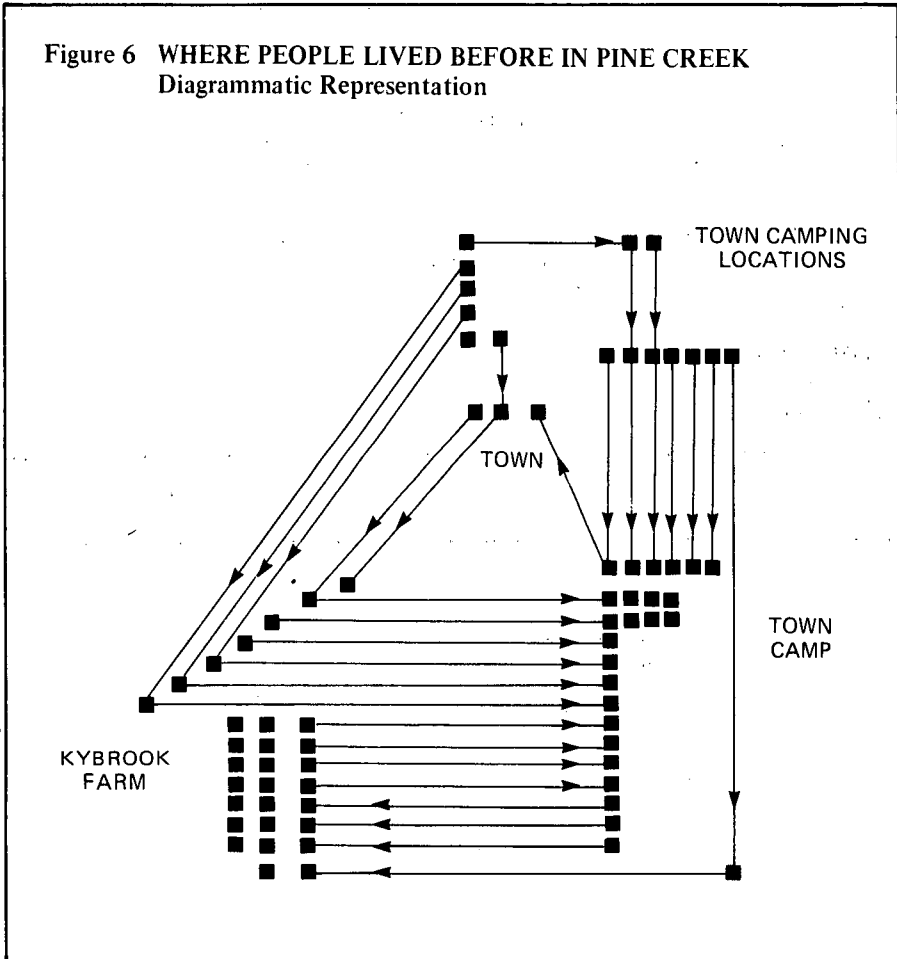


Table 33
Is the present place better or worse than the one before

Evaluation	Town Camp and Town	Kybrook Farm	Total
Better	10	6	16
Worse	2	2	4
Same	3	2	5
No response	7	11	18
Total	22	21	43

A lot of people did not respond to this question: whether because they were indifferent, or because it was too probing is hard to say. Overall, people in both camps said where they are now is better than where they had been before. They mentioned having a house, a friendly atmosphere: at the previous place there was too much noise and too much fighting. The four who said it was worse talked about too much noise at the present place, overcrowding and the inconvenience of the house. Peoples' concerns about their housing are looked at in more detail in the next section.

Housing

When the draft questionnaire was discussed with people before the survey, the issue of housing quickly came up from community leaders. We were interested, therefore, in what the people had to say about what they like and what they don't like about their houses.

Table 34 shows what they think about the dwelling they previously lived in.

Table 34
What do you think of your previous dwelling

Evaluation	Number of responses
LIKE:	
Plenty of room	1
Nothing	11
DISLIKE:	
Too small	5
Only a tent	4
Dilapidated	2
Noisy/drunks	3
No services	1

Not too many people bothered to answer this question. It almost seemed irrelevant to them, either because that was in the past, or because they really hadn't lived in a house: they'd lived in a tent or humpy. Of those who did reply most said there was nothing they liked.

Table 35 shows what people think about their present house. It is given in some detail because of the importance people attached to this question. Most people answered and had lots to say on the subject. When people gave more than one reason those reasons were recorded.

Table 35
What do you think of your present house?

Evaluation	1 room camp house	2 room camp house	Shack	Housing Commission house	Total
LIKE:					
Big verandah	6	1	-	-	7
Close to family	4	-	-	-	4
New/appliances/ garden	2	1	-	-	3
Everything	-	-	-	1	1
Nothing	7	1	1	-	9
DISLIKE:					
Too small	8	-	1	-	9
Too hot	13	-	-	-	13
Dilapidated	1	-	-	-	1
No sink/stove	2	-	-	-	2
Noisy	1	-	-	-	1
Nothing 'it's OK'	3	5	-	1	9

At the housing extremes respondents liked everything about the in-town regular Housing Commission house and nothing about the shacks. People who lived in the new two room camp houses mostly found them 'OK' and mentioned the advantages of the verandahs. These provide shade throughout the day, help to keep the rooms cooler and make for a lot more useable living space.

People don't have much they like about the older one room camp houses. 'Close to family' is not of itself a characteristic of the house, rather it describes its location and highlights how important that is. New appliances get a few mentions, but these again do not come with the house. They have been purchased privately. It

does show, though that people appreciate the improvements a washing machine or refrigerator brings to them.

When people talk about what they don't like about the 'dog boxes' they mention the problem caused by having no sink or stove. The taps at each dwelling do not run into tubs, or, at several houses, even on to a concrete pad. Though existing camp stoves are very serviceable in the Dry; in the Wet they have to be brought up under the verandah, reducing living space which is especially needed in the rainy season. Frequently smoke gets trapped under the verandah and blows into the room, we were told.

But the biggest, most frequently voiced problems are that the dwellings are too small and too hot. We have amply documented the extent of overcrowding in both camps. Even four people find the single room, single verandah house overcrowded, especially in the Wet. The rooms are unbearably hot so people say - with their tiny high windows and uninsulated iron walls and roof, and a small verandah offering insufficient shade. Though it is not shown up in the data, people also say that the dwellings presented the reverse problem in the cool months. At night the rooms get so cold (most people sleep on the floor on low iron bedsteads with little or no mattress) that they would have to move outside around a fire. Young children and old people in particular suffer from the effects of the temperature extremes.

In discussion people talked about what the crowded living conditions mean for them. A couple, or any family members for that matter, cannot have a disagreement without everyone knowing their business, and often, having many people take sides, verbally at least. There is not much opportunity for a couple to be alone together. Non-drinkers are forced to live close to drinkers. People can easily let themselves feel that the situation is hopeless. When there seems no prospect of change or improvement even the best natured beings can get cranky and the most energetic and enthusiastic can just let go of things. As the Tennant Creek study observed 'disputes re-emerge when people get drunk'.

Effect of the Pine Creek Gold Mine

Renison Consolidated Goldfields Ltd opened up its new Pine Creek gold mine in 1985 on a site to the west of the town of Pine Creek. Mining had gone on at that location during more than one of the towns earlier boom periods. The mine employs 75 people, and with the mine families has added about 100 directly to the population, and is indirectly responsible for about 30 more. Its anticipated life was 10

years from the year of opening. There is a strongly held opinion in town that if the price of gold holds or climbs the processing plant will continue to operate beyond the stated 10 years. Presently the operation is above ground open face and is cutting down the hill on the far side of the Stuart Highway. The hill will be slowly transformed into a deep hole.

In other towns where major developments have or are taking place very quickly, various concerns have been expressed by or on behalf of the Aboriginal people in the area. In the Katherine area construction of the Tindal air base raised concerns about the potential increases in the numbers of Aborigines in town; the capacity of housing and other services to cater for their needs; whether they would be able to get any of the new jobs; and such things as possible increase in prostitution (Loveday 1985; Loveday and Lea 1985).

People in Pine Creek were, therefore, asked what they thought were the effects of the town's new gold mine. Most people did answer the question. Half of the people said it had made no difference (Table 36).

Table 36
Effect of the Renison Consolidated Goldfields mine

Evaluation	Town Camp and Town	Kybrook Farm
Better	4	1
Worse	3	11
No difference	13	8
No response	2	1
Total	22	21

People who said things were better talked about more jobs and 'new things have been happening'. Most of those live in Town Camp where they can see a bit more activity in and around the town. Many Kybrook Farm residents, on the other hand, said it had made things worse. Some mentioned more noise and 'more white fellas'. Most, though, expressed their concern for the effect on the land. Younger people said it was destroying the environment and drew attention to the removal of the trees, the tailings pond, the bare rock, which they pass by every day. Others, mostly older people, talked about the land they have responsibility for. 'It's destroying our special places.' As Paddy Huddleston says: 'People die before their time when the country dies. Country carries a black fellows life'.

Commentary and Reflections

A number of matters worth closer scrutiny were introduced in the Focus section. These are discussed here in some detail in the light of the information produced by the survey and other methods of data collection.

The specifics are intended as a point of departure for those directly concerned with the well being of the Pine Creek Aboriginal people, namely the community itself, the PCAA and people in various levels of government, local, state and commonwealth. The intent here is to stimulate concern and bring forward some ideas, not to offer directives.

The generalities are directed to those with a broad interest in Aboriginal communities. The commentary highlights many characteristics of the Pine Creek Aboriginal group which diverge sufficiently from conventional wisdom about town campers, especially those around small towns, to prompt some re-thinking.

Transiency or Permanence

The data confirms that many of the present Pine Creek Aboriginal residents have lived in or around Pine Creek for many years. There is a permanent core group. Their numbers are regularly swelled by family members returning in the Wet and, from time to time, by shorter term visitors. The core population is about 100 people with up to 50 more looking upon Pine Creek as their place of residence now. Future planning for camp facilities and services should be based on these sorts of numbers and should recognise the permanence of the population. The data is consistent with observations from Katherine (Loveday and Lea, 1985) and Tennant Creek (DAA, 1984).

Tribal Mix or Uniformity

Numerically there are two main groups, Wagiman and Mialli with other language and/or country groups from areas to the west, south west and south east being represented by one or two people. Each group has strong ties to their traditional country which they are continuing to sustain by visiting kin still there, by sending young people there to attend ceremonies, and by going out bush to gather bush tucker and to visit special sites where there is not restricted access. Each camp has one group which forms, or almost forms, a majority: Wagiman at Kybrook and Mialli in

Town Camp. For some things, such as concerns regarding land, their interests sometimes conflict, especially over the question whether Wagiman people have a greater say than others over Kybrook Farm because it is located within an area in which they claim special responsibility. For other things, mainly those of the sort discussed in detail in this study, they share a common interest. Furthermore the three main tribal groups are closely interrelated by marriage and kinship ties which bond the community. Traditional mutual antagonism, kinship ties and common interest in improving the wellbeing of today's Aboriginal community in Pine Creek is the social reality of their daily life.

Camp Government

The PCAAA acts, in absence of a community council, as the governing body of the Pine Creek Aboriginal group for matters concerning the functioning of the camps. A non-Aboriginal manager carries out the day to day tasks of management. Education and skills training for today's and tomorrow's leaders and community members are important so that the PCAAA and the community can give more direction to and when necessary exercise control over the manager from an informed base. Interest on the part of community leaders to enroll in a community management course is expressive of this need, and should be encouraged, so that those elected to the responsible positions in camp government have some understanding of camp management.

Right now the number of adults in the Pine Creek group is quite small. The number of people who are actively involved on a regular basis in the activities of the PCAAA is very small, although most people turn up and have their say at the general meetings. There are excellent reasons for the DAA regulations that offices of an association cannot be filled by people who are employees of the Association - for example, to prevent too much concentration of political and financial power in the hands of a few individuals or families. But in a situation as in Pine Creek, where the number of eligible adults is small, there is a strong case for making an exception. Furthermore people presently need to be encouraged in areas where they are taking an interest, from a purely educational perspective.

The Board of the PCAAA probably needs to meet regularly - say once a month - to get familiar with its duties and to carry them out effectively. This helps the community to deal with changes in managerial style and contributes to skills and information transfer from the manager to the board members. It is also an opportunity to run a regular check on how the community is getting along and is a way of dealing with problems before they get too big. Association

meetings for the whole community, perhaps twice a year or more if people think is necessary, keep people informed and interested in how their own community is governed and managed.

Camp Management

In other small Aboriginal settlements that are not officially regarded as transient camps but as permanent settlements there is rather more paid professional support available to the community. In addition to a clerk-bookkeeper there may be a community adviser and/or an adult educator, arts adviser or some such, according to the community's needs and wishes. At Pine Creek the manager is called upon to perform all these duties and more.

Town camps, especially those in small places like Pine Creek, Adelaide River or Mataranka, tend to 'fall between the cracks': they fall between the NT Department of Community Development and the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal Development Commission. Nothing much happens unless there is some especially acute crisis within the community or unless some actual or potential tension builds between the Aboriginal campers and the non-Aboriginal community. The Pine Creek group is too small for internal crises to attract substantial external attention - in fact it has lived with its own crises, especially the destructive physical and social effects of alcohol, for so long that it probably accepts them as the norm. Any conflict with the local non-Aboriginal community is rare. The two groups have adjusted over the years to what behaviours are mutually tolerated, and where.

What is the relationship between this and community management? It is that this group (and probably other small but permanent groups of town campers around small Territory towns) has needs to which little attention is drawn and not much attention is given. Indeed the needs are little needs in that they do not demand big programs, thousands of dollars or highly trained experts. Governments and bureaucrats are not structured or philosophically oriented towards needs of a very small number of people, and find it especially difficult to respond when those needs cut across so many interlinked areas of life.

Because of the wide range of demands placed on a camp manager and the present management style of bringing community people in on what is going on and why, the community could make good use of an additional paid professional. The person should probably have some skills in the area generally thought of as community development or

adult education, but not necessarily highly specialised training. Equally important is a range of strong practical skills which the individual wishes to share, and positive past experience in working within an Aboriginal community. Camp management would then be a team effort between a couple of paid support staff and the PCAA and camp leadership, directed to managing the camp effectively and transferring skills and knowledge through on the job training. The community is no longer looking to have a 'live-in' manager: rather it is seeking to learn from those who work for and with it. This study has detailed the constraints the Pine Creek Aboriginal community faces in managing its own affairs. Those constraints are not minimised or ignored. But the community itself is saying it is making a beginning. It needs to be supported in this. Selfmanagement and self-reliance are often debased by their use as political, bureaucratic and academic buzz words. However, a Pine Creek Aboriginal community itself has expressed a concern to work towards a future which includes more selfmanagement and greater selfreliance.

Camp Facilities

Most of the people who live in the camps have lived in and around Pine Creek for most of their lives, with time away, in the past, on cattle stations. They form a permanent not transient core. Consideration needs to be given to the sorts of facilities that a permanent population needs, to help build up and maintain its well being, especially things that contribute to good nutrition, hygiene, skills of children, teens and adults, and mental and spiritual well-being. However, anything contemplated should have a full discussion in the community, and the community should be listened to.

Over the past six or seven years there have been great improvements to camp facilities - permanent shelter, running water, toilets and electricity. However much does remain to be done. Services are far below wider community standards. Kybrook needs hot water in its ablution blocks. At minimum all the outside taps should have a concrete base. Over time all dwellings should have hot and cold water to the houses, and proper washing facilities at each house. A cold storage facility at Town Camp would reduce the frequency with which people have to shop, and allow for family or even community bulk purchase of meat, for example. Some sort of laundromat-type of facility at both camps may be worth considering.

Housing and Related Matters

Consideration needs to be given to a sufficient supply and quality of housing for people who make the camps their home.

At the very least, there is need for one or two more houses in Town Camp, to relieve overcrowding and make a dwelling available as new families form. Even for people who prefer to live much of their time outside, one room is inadequate shelter for families of 3 or more people. All houses need additional rooms. Some overcrowding is likely to persist, simply because of where people choose to live and because of kinship obligations.

It is also necessary to give consideration to making some sort of facilities available for special small groups. Traditionally single women in Aboriginal society (widowed and young single women) have had a separate 'camp', and so have single men. Some of the conflict situations which arise today might be eased if this need is recognised and action taken.

Whether this need should be responded to in the form of housing, shelters and areas for separate type 'camps' or simply space set aside for these groups, is a matter for the community to consider. As the Tennant Creek study rather sharply reminds us: 'It does not always follow that anything is better than nothing...'.
'

Sufficient land for meeting the housing needs of the camp residents is not an issue at Kybrook although the present layout of houses around its central oval limits some options. In the Town Camp there is a limit to what facilities the group might need and activities it can consider, because of space restrictions. The Tennant Creek report comments on how some campers deal with their own social problems.

The social disruption caused by alcohol is enormous. Sometimes drinking families voluntarily set up a separate camp, so that they may continue their drinking without disturbing other people. Sometimes families set up separate camps to avoid drinkers. By setting up camps for private drinking or for avoiding drinking Aboriginals recognize the problems and take responsibility (DAA, Tennant Creek, 1984, p8).

This sort of option does not seem to have been taken up recently in Pine Creek. However the community has taken action to deal with socially disruptive behaviour of a number of young boys. It is reported that one or two were sent to the Eva Valley cattle station attached to the Barunga-Beswick reserves south-east of Katherine for instruction. Others went for a short period to Yarralin, the reserve excised from Victoria River Downs, for instruction and to participate in ceremonies.

In terms of housing quality people are concerned for simple improvements which would ease their every day living. These are:

Improved ventilation and cooling:

Extension of windows to just above ground level, with heavy duty louvres or old fashioned shelters. Regular maintenance of ceiling fans. All round deep verandahs for all houses.

Storage:

Shelving and/or cupboards to keep food, especially, and clothing. To be placed where people think they should be so they would be used. Cupboards should be ventilated and have some way of making them secure.

Heating:

Some way of providing heating on cool nights.

Cooking:

Means of cooking, in the Wet, which doesn't cause smoke or reduce the sleeping area. Wood stoves in properly constructed, sheltered and ventilated fireplaces have been suggested.

Washing:

Provision, at minimum, of a concrete base for each tap so that utensils and clothes and people don't stand in the mud. Some kind of sink or tub for those people who would like them. A community laundromat-type facility at each camp is a realistic option to consider. Such a machine will need to be very robust, and cheap to operate. There is talk of manufacturing them in Katherine.

Gardens:

Some people have said they would like a way of fencing off a garden area by their house. This should, perhaps, be discussed generally to see what others think. If they approve then the provision of fencing to protect the area from dogs.

Security:

Ways of securing homes and private property is a high priority. This may mean arc-mesh over windows and stronger, properly fitting lockable doors.

In January 1987 the PCAA received notification from the Aboriginal Development Commission that the Commission's June 1986 Corporate Plan requires that all tenants of Aboriginal Housing Associations should pay 20 per cent of their income in rent. ADC estimates that a family of two adults and two children receiving approximately \$200 per week in unemployment benefits should therefore pay \$40 a week, if their house is classified as in good and fair condition by the Commission. All rents collected go to the local Housing Association and can be used for repairs and maintenance or other housing purposes such as building extensions. The Commission says that in 1987/88 it will give first priority in its Housing Grant funds to those Housing Associations where people pay at least 20 per cent of their income in rent.

PCAAA is making an effort to collect a rental fee from householders, and is using funds collected on repair and maintenance. However householders are reluctant to pay even rather nominal rates for dwellings which they feel can scarcely be classified as houses for human occupation. Members of the PCAA would be prepared to pay this kind of rent if they had suitable housing. They are also concerned that their unwillingness to pay this kind of rent in their present dwellings should not prevent the community from obtaining the improvements in housing quality and quantity so sorely needed.

Transportation

For all people, whether out at Kybrook or in Town Camp, access to a reliable vehicle is vital. It is especially important that there be more than one community vehicle, to deal with emergencies when one vehicle is being repaired or is in regular use. It is also important that the community have sufficient funds in its budget to keep the vehicles well maintained. The need to have well trained reliable drivers is discussed in the training section.

Communications

Neither camp has a way of communicating between the camps or to Pine Creek or elsewhere on a 24 hour a day basis. There is only one telephone, in the Kybrook office, easily available for community use when the office is open; somewhat restricted when it is closed. Aboriginal communities elsewhere have had public pay phones installed. People value this highly, not only in emergencies, but to keep contact with family members living away. Installation of a pay telephone in each camp should be seriously considered. Precedents exists. Solar powered pay phones

are already installed in communities like Barunga and Humpty Doo.

Education

The community is well aware of its collective limitations in formal education and is concerned to deal with the situation. It wishes to encourage children to get more formal education, but doesn't see a way to overcome the problem that children now go away to secondary school after a year in eighth grade, and then usually drop out of school. Because the home environment is crowded and there is simply no way children are able to study at home, all school related work is done at school. It is probably unrealistic to expect children to do 'homework' at home. Educational progress is therefore slow, regardless of the innate ability of the child. The preschool continues to do a good job in preparing children for the primary school environment. What is needed is a public acknowledgement that education for Aborigines has not yet come to grips with the primary-secondary transition. Of course we are talking about very small numbers - but that has been and will continue to be the case. In many ways the small numbers are what contributes to making this a seemingly unsolvable problem. One such step is to allow children to stay on in primary school beyond the usual transfer age. At least a discussion between the PCAA camp manager and school principal with a Department of Education official invited would be worth trying to talk over this and related problems.

Training

A few Pine Creek Aborigines have been in training courses. From the looks of the list it is pretty random - they have taken what is going. Generally speaking they have not been able to put the skills in use or gain any personal benefit outside of, for example, the satisfaction of cutting the families' hair nicely or knowing they can do a good weld. They have not found that there are job openings connected with the skills they have acquired in the training courses. Each course is an end in itself not a beginning. This is discouraging for the individual involved. It may also discourage others from seeking training for themselves.

Pine Creek Aborigines do emphasize, though, that as a community they need a whole range of skills. They emphasize training in practical skills which, as they are put to use while people learn, will make improvements to the lives of people in the community. The skills are mainly related to maintaining and improving dwellings and camp facilities: construction, carpentry, electrical and welding. Maintenance

of vehicles and camp equipment is important, so mechanics and vehicle maintenance are high on the list. Vehicles will last longer and need fewer repairs when driven by competent drivers: driver training is needed, for women as well as men. The community is being urged by DAA to take over its own financial management. Bookkeeping is a vital skill for community members to keep on top of this. There is a recognised need, also, for training in money management, nutrition and child care - all of which would contribute to improving the overall health of the community.

Because people lack formal education sending them off to outside courses, except for short periods, is probably not the way to go now, though it might be later on. People can benefit most by practical, in-community, on-the-job training, dealing with daily needs. How? By linking construction, repair and maintenance with training; and by having a recognised training component in the job description of the community manager, and secretary-administrator, and initiating this and two trainee positions as soon as possible. A women's group could get people with some skills and understanding of Aboriginal women and their needs to give practical tips on money management, nutrition and child care.

Peoples' interests in one year will likely not be exactly what they are interested in the next year; and after a few years people will need update and refresher. New people will need to be trained. This requires a tailor made and flexible approach to training at this stage. Training is presently receiving considerable political and bureaucratic emphasis (Miller Report, 1985). The Pine Creek community training needs are probably typical of those of the smaller Territory Aboriginal town camp communities.

Employment

Realistically, Aborigines in Pine Creek have very limited job prospects outside their own community. There are several reasons for this, including: little tradition of local Aboriginal employment except on cattle stations; the particular skills needed in the mining industry; and the community's low levels of formal education. Because of this discouraging scene, people are looking to the PCAA to create employment opportunities. The PCAA, it is felt, could set realistic terms of employment and expectations of job performance. People wish for practical training related jobs, not just make-work jobs (though this doesn't mean that necessary work around the camps, such as garbage collection, grass cutting, gathering firewood and cleaning the ablution blocks can be neglected). There is ample space at Kybrook. There is an existing workshop. This needs to be twice as

big as it is now, to accommodate maintenance, repairs and training activities. Locking tool cabinets are needed. Workshop and machinery shed need to be within a security fence. Town Camp needs a workshop: it has been suggested that the old ablution block be converted into a workshop. For any more activities based at Town Camp more land would be needed. The 6190 m² is scarcely sufficient area for housing over 50 people. The PCAAA is looking at a suggestion that it go into a joint venture with a horticulturalist to produce fruit and vegetables at Kybrook. This is worth encouraging, since it could provide some community income, a job or two, and some managerial experience. In the past year or two a large number of mangoes have been planted, and early 1987 a few hectares were ploughed for a planting of sweet potatoes.

Community Government

The proposal for a community government council for Pine Creek has a potential for change which both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of Pine Creek need to be aware of. Depending on the decision taken on the location of the boundary the community government area would include one camp or both. Adoption of community government under the NT Local Government Act would not require that the PCAAA be disbanded nor that it come directly under the auspices of the new local government council. However a community government council has broader powers than an Association. It is legally representative of the community and it would replace the Association as the recognised local government body in the area it covers.

Adoption of community government would alter the way in which some services to the community as a whole, and some services to the Aboriginal community too, were funded and administered. Precisely what these changes would be in any one community depends to a considerable extent on the functions which the local council takes on itself. This is not to imply that the Aboriginal community would be disadvantaged (or for that matter, that access to services would be improved), only that it could be different. The Aboriginal community would have to keep on top of the changes and work hard to understand their implications to ensure an equitable access to public resources in relation to their past access and that of the larger local community of which they had become a legal part.

There are only a few community councils presently in place under the NT Act. Each is having to work out with the NT Department of Community Development and other service departments what are the changes and what are the ways in which funding and services will be handled. There is an

uncertainty which communities find difficult to cope with, since they enter into community government with the expectation that their relationships with upper levels of government will be more straightforward. In fact the systems are still being worked out.

If acceptance of the idea of community government is widespread in and around Pine Creek the Aboriginal community will then have to deal with the implications of a boundary to the community government area which includes only Town Camp or includes both camps. If only Town Camp is included the Aboriginal community will have to deal with some administrative complexity which would need sorting out. Also Aboriginal people would be a small portion of the electorate. Even if all adults were on the electoral role and turned out to vote it is rather unlikely that their votes would have much effect on the outcome of the election. If both camps are included there is some chance that their votes would carry some weight. It is worth noting here that each community which adopts community government can decide on its own electoral scheme, that is, the age and residential qualifications of voters and of candidates, the number of councillors and the scheme for electing them. This is very important since the nature of the electoral scheme can affect the extent to which group interests are represented.

The Aboriginal community has been informed about what community government is, and members of the Board of the PCAA have attended one meeting and will be invited to subsequent public meetings. It is being provided with the opportunity to make its views known. It is difficult enough for any community to sort out the implications of community government and select the boundary, functions and electoral system which will work best for that community. It is an almost impossible task for town campers, with low levels of formal education, little prior involvement in the running of their own affairs and no knowledge of how the larger local community is governed and serviced.

Conclusion

Pine Creek Aboriginal people are from several different tribal and language groups. Most retain a strong sense of their traditional country, although a few, including some younger people talk about Pine Creek as their country. There is an attempt to strengthen and rebuild some of the land and traditions which are in danger of being lost, by having young men participate in ceremonies in their traditional country. Because the group has different origins there is sometimes a clash of interests. However people are interlinked through marriage and kinship ties, and by having been resident in and around the Pine Creek area for many years.

Local town camp organisations such as Kalano in Katherine and Tangentyere in Alice Springs have been mobilising towards greater participation of town campers in camp management and administration. The PCAAA is just beginning to express the communities needs, especially in the training and employment area. The group is constrained by its limited formal education, and lack of skills and experience. Largely, though not exclusively, on-the-job and within community training directed to the wide range of tasks which the community can do for itself and needs to do for itself will best serve its needs.

From the mid 1970s to 1985 Aboriginal people in and around Pine Creek made up between one-third and one-half of the local population. The proportion has declined as more people have come to town since the opening up of the Renison gold mine, but at 20 to 25 per cent it is still a substantial proportion. Along with one or two long time resident non-Aboriginal families and individual 'old-timers' the Aborigines make up the core of the town's permanent population. The others are newcomers, and short term residents. As such they are a significant part of the social fabric of the area, even though the occasions of direct social exchange are limited largely to economic transactions at the stores and gas stations, the annual Christmas party, an occasional sporting event, and contact at school, clinic or post office.

Though they are not directly part of the employment structure of the town, they make a significant contribution to its economy. Unlike most residents, who spend money outside of Pine Creek, the group makes most of its purchases of fuel, food, fast food and grog at the local stores and gas stations. They are users of the town's social services.

It has been illustrated that, despite improvements in physical conditions over the past decade, Aboriginal people in and around Pine Creek, like those in town camps

elsewhere, scarcely have the minimum physical basic necessities of adequate shelter, clean water, and sewerage and are still far from having even their modest expressed needs met, let alone enjoying anything comparable to wider community standards. Since provision needs to be re-thought in light of accumulating evidence of the size and permanence of the core population of town campers in Pine Creek and elsewhere.

This is especially pertinent as small towns in the Territory are being encouraged by the Northern Territory government to become a formal component of Territory local government, by adopting Community Government. Community Government in Pine Creek would include one or both Aboriginal camps. The Community Government Council would be responsible for, and expected to be responsive to, the needs of all its constituents. Though there is an economic interdependency and some limited social contact, non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people in Pine Creek have had no formal experience of working together or having to deal with deep cultural differences of perception about what is important and how things should be done. Whether represented on council or not Pine Creek Aboriginal people would have become a formal part of the political fabric of the town, just as now they are part of the economic and social fabric.

Appendix 1:

PINE CREEK ABORIGINAL SURVEY
DECEMBER 1986

Interviewer initials:

Interviewer:

Date:

Questionnaire No.:

Card No.:

House Number

K	PCK
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House No.:

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		2,3
1		4
		5,6

I am from the North Australia Research Unit. We are asking people about their jobs and housing. All the information is kept private and we do not ask your name.

Would you be willing to answer a few questions about your housing and work?

HOUSING

1. First of all: do you live or around Pine Creek and its camps?
[If No, Respondent is a Visitor, begin at Q.14]

Y	N	7
---	---	---

to Q
14

- in camp - Kybrook Farm 1
Town Camp 2
Town 3
Other (write in) 4

8

2. How long have you lived in the Pine Creek area?

Write) All life
in) weeks
number) months
) years

Y	N	9
		10
		11,12
		13,14

3. [If Respondent was born in Pine Creek] -

(i) where did your mother come from?

born here? or place _____

		15,16
--	--	-------

(ii) When did she arrive in Pine Creek?

never? or year _____

		17,18
--	--	-------

(iii) Where did your father come from?

born here? or place _____

		19,20
--	--	-------

(iv) When did he arrive in Pine Creek?

never? or year _____

		21,22
--	--	-------

4. [If Respondent has lived somewhere else before, ask]

(i) Before you came to the Pine Creek area, where did you live?

Place How long there Why moved

		23
		24
		25
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		36
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		38
		39
		40
		41
		42
		43
		44
		45
		46

(ii) And before that where did you live?

Place How long there Why moved

(iii) And before that where did you live?

Place How long there Why moved

(iv) And before that where did you live?

Place How long there Why moved

5. Since you have been living in the Pine Creek area have you always lived at the same place?

Y	N		47
---	---	--	----

[If Yes, go to Q.9]

to Q
9

6. [If No] How many camps have you lived in here in Pine Creek? (Circle one)

1 2 3 4 or more

	48
--	----

7. [If No] Could you please tell me where did you live before you lived in this camp?

(i) Place or address How long there *Kind of dwelling Why moved

*Kind European style house, Housing Commission house
Camp house, galvanised iron, spacious
Shack, iron, canvas, plastic, brush, shelter,
 old car, old van
Hostel
Caravan in caravan park

Before you lived in that place, where did you live in the Pine Creek area?

(ii) Place or address How long there Kind Why moved

Before you lived in that place, where did you live in the Pine Creek area?

(iii) Place or address How long there Kind Why moved

Before that place, where did you live in the Pine Creek area?

(iv) Place or address How long there Kind Why moved

And before that place, where did you live in the Pine Creek area?

(v) Place or address How long there Kind Why moved

	49	
		50 51
1	52	
2		53
3		54
4	55	
5		56 57
	58	
		59 60
	61	
		62 63
	64	
		65 66
	67	
		68 69
	70	
		71 72
	73	
		74 75
	76	
		77 78

END CD 1

Qaire No

	12
--	----

 Cd No 2

2	3
---	---

8. Is your present place of living (meaning camp or town) better than

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--------|---|---|
| (i) your last place of living | - | better | 1 | 4 |
| or worse | - | worse | 2 | |
| or much the same | - | same | 3 | |

(ii) If better or worse please tell me why?

		5,6
--	--	-----

9. Could you tell me a little more about the house you live in?

number of rooms
(write number) _____

	7
--	---

number of people who usually sleep there
(write number) _____

		8,9
--	--	-----

10. Could you tell me what you most dislike

(i) about your present house, what is the worst thing about it?

		10
		11

(ii) And the house before that, its worst thing?

		12
		13

(iii) And what do you like about your present house?

		14
		15

(iv) And about the house before that - what did you like about it?

		16
		17

11. [If Respondent is over about 20 years old]

When you were younger, say as a child, where did you mostly live?

- in a town in town house 1
- near a town in a town camp 2
- on a cattle station 3
- in a bush camp 4
- in a mission settlement 5
- in a government settlement 6
- other (specify) 7

	18
--	----

12. Does anyone at the house you presently live in

(i) own a truck or a car?

Y	N		19
---	---	--	----

(ii) Do you go away to visit other people or places?

Y	N		20
---	---	--	----

Where do you mostly go to visit outside the Pine Creek area? (up to 3)

		21
		22
		23
		24
		25
		26

How do you usually travel? (up to 3)

	27
	28

13. Now I would like to ask one or two questions about other people who live in the house where you live.

(i) First: could you tell me how many men, women and children live in that house?

- men (18 years or older)
- women (18 years or older)
- female children under 15
- male children under 15
- female children 15-18
- male children 15-18

		30
		31
		32
		33
		34
		35
		36
		37
		38
		39
		40
		41

(ii) Next:

Can you tell me who in this house has a job?

- men
- women

	42
	43

[If Respondent is a resident, jump Qs 14-19, and go to Q.20]

to Q
20

VISITORS

[If Respondent is not a resident ask]

14. Are you visiting Pine Creek or its camps?

Y	N		44
---	---	--	----

15. How long have you been here in Pine Creek?

Write)
in) or days
number) or weeks
or months

		45
		46
		47 48

16. Could you please tell me where you have just come from?
(Write in place name)

		49 50
--	--	----------

17. Is that where you usually live, where your family is?

Y	N		51
---	---	--	----

18. Are you going back to live at that place soon?

OR are you travelling around for a while?

OR other (specify)

1	
2	52
3	

19. How long do you expect to stay here in the Pine Creek area?

Write)
in) or days
number) or weeks
or months
or haven't decided yet

		53
		54
		55 56
		57

EMPLOYMENT

[All Respondents, including visitors]

20. Do you have a paid job now?

Y	N	58
---	---	----

[If No, unemployed, go to Q.27]

to Q
27

21. [If Yes, ask] How long have you had it?

weeks
months
years

	59
	60
	62

22. Which of these is your job?

	Permanent	Cas/Temp	Seasonal
F/T	1	2	3
P/T	4	5	6

63

23. What is your job? (Please ask for details to get specific job)

			64
			66

24. What organisation do you work for?

	67
	68

25. Does your job have anything to do with

(i)

MINES		ABOR. CAMPS	
TOWN BUSINESS		STOCK WORK	
		OTHER	

69

(ii) If Yes, how did you get the job?

	70
	71

26. Here is a list of weekly wages, which one fits what you get a week? (BEFORE TAX)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------|---|
| \$0 - 18 pw | 0 - 999 pa | 1 |
| 19 - 95 | 1 - 4999 | 2 |
| 96 - 191 | 5 - 9999 | 3 |
| 192 - 298 | 10 - 14999 | 4 |
| 299 - 383 | 15 - 19999 | 5 |
| 384 - 479 | 20 - 24999 | 6 |
| 480 - 576 | 25 - 29999 | 7 |
| 577 - 673 | 30 - 35000 | 8 |
| 673+ | 35000+ | 9 |

	72
--	----

27. [If Respondent is not working ask]

- (i) Are you looking for a job?
- (ii) Are you receiving unemployment benefit?
- (iii) Are you registered for work at the CES?

Y	N		73
Y	N		74
Y	N		75

28. [If Respondent is not working ask]

- (i) Have you tried to get work connected with

MINE		ABOR. CAMPS	
TOWN BUSINESS		STOCK WORK	
		OTHER	

	76
	77-79

- (ii) If tried - what job?
- (iii) Why didn't you get it?

	80
--	----

CARD 2 ENDS

CARD 3
Daire N°

	1,2
3	3

29. [If Respondent is not working and is not looking for work ask]

- (i) Are you receiving sickness benefit? Y
- (ii) Are you receiving a special benefit? Y
- (iii) Are you receiving a pension -
 (tick one)
- | | |
|---|---|
| old age | 1 |
| supporting parents | 2 |
| widows | 3 |
| invalid/blind | 4 |
| wives (for wives of invalids) | 5 |
| carer's (for person caring for totally incapacitated) | 6 |
| Yes, but not sure which one | 7 |

	4
	5
	6

NOW ALL RESPONDENTS AGAIN

30. How many jobs have you had in the last five years?
(Circle one figure)

(i) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

	7
--	---

(ii) Could you tell me a little more about those jobs.
Let's take them one at a time and work backwards.

			8, 9
		11	12

	Name of job?	How long?*	FT / PT	Where was it?	Why did it finish?
--	--------------	------------	---------	---------------	--------------------

Last job

	13				
				14	15
				16	17

Job before that

				18-	20
				21	22
	23				

Job before that

				24	25
				26	27
				28-	30
				31	32

Job before that

	33			34	35
				36	37
				38-	40

Job before that

				41-	42
	43			44	45
				46	47

*Interviewer: Note if work was seasonal e.g. mustering on cattle station.

				48-	50
				51-	52
	53				

31. People have argued about how mining will affect Aborigines in the Pine Creek area.

Do you think that for Aborigines in Pine Creek the new mine has made things-

- better 1
- or worse 2
- or not much different 3

	58
--	----

If better or worse: please say why.

WHY BETTER		59	60
WHY WORSE		61	62

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

32. How old were you when you left school?

no school	0	13 years	4	17 years	8
10 yrs or less	1	14 years	5	18+	9
11 years	2	15 years	6		
12 years	3	16 years	7		

	63
--	----

33. What level/year did you finish?

primary only: incomplete	1	secondary end year 10	4
primary only: complete	2	secondary end year 11	5
secondary end year 9	3	secondary end year 12	6

	64
--	----

34. Have you had any other education or training?

(i) Yes 1 No 2

	65
--	----

(ii) [If Yes] what course of training/education did you do?

		66
		67

(iii) Did you get a certificate of some kind? Yes 1 No 2

	68
--	----

(iv) Is there any other education or training you would like?

Y	N
---	---

	69
--	----

If Yes, please tell me what it is?

		70
		71

35. Do you think the community needs more people with some kind of training?

Y	N
---	---

	72
--	----

If Yes, what kinds of training? (up to 3)

	73
--	----

	74
--	----

	75
--	----

[Prompt] What about

- bookkeeping
- vehicle maintenance
- gardening
- electrical
- carpentry
- crafts
- child care
- money managing
- nutrition and health

		76
		77

	78
--	----

		79
		80

CARD 3 ENDS

Quire No

		1/2
--	--	-----

Ch 4

4	3
---	---

PERSONAL DETAILS

36. Male 1 Female 2

	4
--	---

37. How old are you?

teenager 1 forties 4 seventies 7
 twenties 2 fifties 5
 thirties 3 sixties 6

	5
--	---

38. Married 1 single 2 widowed 3 split up 4
 (de facto)

	6
--	---

39. How long have you lived in or around a European town?

a few months 1 5-10 years 4 7
 about a year 2 over 10 years 5 8
 1-5 years 3 all my life 6 other 9

	7
--	---

40. Using these names which one would you use to describe yourself?

Aboriginal 1 part European 5 Thurs. Is. 9
 Australian 2 part Aboriginal 6 Mixed 10
 Urban 3 traditional 7
 Aboriginal Aboriginal
 Australian 4 Torres St. 8 Other 99
 Aboriginal Islander

		89
--	--	----

41. Where is your country/traditional land?

		10
		11

42. What is your tribe? (e.g. Wagaman, Mialli)

		12
		13

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