

WRITING WORDS—RIGHT WAY!

Literacy and social practice

in the

Ngaanyatjarra world

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By drawing on theory from literacy history, anthropology, sociolinguistics, the New Literacy Studies and from theorists who view learning as situated activity, I have explored and documented literacy in one remote Aboriginal context. The Ngaanyatjarra case study sheds light on the important fact that the remote context, unlike other regional or urban Aboriginal contexts, can still be seen as newly literate. Through ethnography and using a generational approach it has been possible to explore the incipient literacy practices and to analyse the ways in which the Ngaanyatjarra have taken hold of literacy. As I have shown, literacy cannot be understood independently of the social, cultural, political and historical forces that shape it, nor can it be analysed in isolation from the social practices that surround it and the ideological systems in which it is embedded.¹¹⁸¹ The meaning and uses of literacy in the Ngaanyatjarra world have been precipitated by the intersection of social, cultural or ideological circumstances. The particularities of the Ngaanyatjarra experience have shaped literacy practices that are specific to that situation and context. In other words, the historical development of literacy in this region created the conditions that enabled the literacy practices documented in this thesis. I suggest, in fact, that the Ngaanyatjarra case study marks a benchmark for normative literacy practice under such newly literate circumstances; not when measured against incommensurate mainstream standards but when compared with other *similar* situations. The conditions could not have been otherwise and as has been demonstrated literacy is taking place. Moreover, in comparison with other remote Aboriginal experiences and circumstances, it can be described as one of the 'best case' scenarios for literacy acquisition and use in the remote Aboriginal context. It does not, however, represent a replicable model for other remote communities as the specificity of the circumstances and conditions negate this.

Since first contact with European culture Ngaanyatjarra society has incorporated profound change, yet remained an essentially robust society. It is misleading to talk of cultural 'loss' or 'breakdown' rather than cultural transformation as a consequence of the colonial encounter. Compared with most other Aboriginal groups the Ngaanyatjarra encounter was relatively benign. Moreover, many Ngaanyatjarra have determined some of the outcomes of contemporary existence. They have exhibited reservoirs of resilience and a capacity to skilfully transmit and elaborate their cultural traditions. Their strength can be attributed to

¹¹⁸¹ See (Barton and Hamilton 1998; Barton et al. 2000; Besnier 1995; Graff 1987; Kulick and Stroud 1993; Street 1984; Street 1993a; Street 1995).

their unbroken connection to country, and their enduring sense of belonging and authority in the spiritual and ceremonial domain.¹¹⁸² Many Ngaanyatjarra have appropriated the habitus of mainstream practices, albeit in a mimetic form in some domains. They have been adept at taking on many European practices and institutional norms, yet just under the surface key cultural processes remain and impact on the present. In fact—as von Sturmer notes for other remote regions—the world view, social practices, language and culture of the Aboriginal ‘domain’ prevail, underpinned by the immutable authority of the *tjukurrpa* – the Law.¹¹⁸³

The Ngaanyatjarra experience of education has in general been positive. Uniquely, a large number of Ngaanyatjarra have participated in limited schooling, to varying degrees of success, over two, three or four generations. Significantly, early education experiences made sense and provided the key actors with sufficient literacy and Western ‘cultural capital’ to be effective and confident agents at critical junctures in the ever-expanding encounter with the Western world.¹¹⁸⁴ Importantly, however, schooled literacy has had cultural capital only when underpinned by a secure identity associated with connectedness to country. I have also considered that literacy involves more than technical skills competence and cannot be understood simply in terms of school-based pedagogy, as ‘literacy processes are part of more embracing social institutions and conceptions’.¹¹⁸⁵ I have shown how literacy practices are influenced by different ideologies across the generations and how, as new influences have entered Warburton, they have shaped the literacy practices that people engage in.¹¹⁸⁶ I have, for instance, described how letter-writing emerged as social practice to address two fundamental pressing social and cultural needs—to maintain social relatedness and to look after country. I have considered how oral practices and narrative schemas have seeped into literacy. Literacy has also seeped into the oral tradition—life stories, previously transmitted orally, are now being documented as a collective written historical narrative in funeral eulogies and arts practice.

Since first contact the Ngaanyatjarra have on the one hand been overwhelmed by the incursion of strangers into their place, yet on the other they have experienced and established enduring and positive relationships with Europeans. These relationships have been critical to the establishment of a self-assured expectation of positive interactions in

¹¹⁸² See (Brooks 2002e).

¹¹⁸³ (von Sturmer 1984). See also (Peterson 2000).

¹¹⁸⁴ (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu 1990 [1980]).

¹¹⁸⁵ (Street 1994: 145).

¹¹⁸⁶ (Barton and Hamilton 1998; Street 1984).

non-Aboriginal domains and a high degree of non-Aboriginal support and continuity. Significantly, literacy (in English and the vernacular) has been the locus of many of these enduring relationships, sometimes over many decades and across multiple generations. Nevertheless, the imperative that drives the attainment of literacy in the Western world has permeated only some sectors of Ngaanyatjarra society, but not all. For approximately one-third of the Ngaanyatjarra populace—predominantly adults who participate in roles and domains that require literate ways of doing things—literacy skills are reinforced, maintained and elaborated. These adults also tend to use literacy as social practice and, as Shirley Brice Heath terms it, ‘literate behaviours’ are being transmitted in the family.¹¹⁸⁷ Simultaneously, many other adults lead full, rich and complete lives without literacy. So with the Ngaanyatjarra we see how literacy has been ‘put into play’ as a resource for some adults, but has not yet been completely incorporated into cultural processes as a ‘structure of the long run’.¹¹⁸⁸

Literacy assumptions and their consequences

Earlier I posited that the circumstances of the Ngaanyatjarra experience have led to one of the ‘best case’ scenarios in the incipiently literate remote Aboriginal world. If this is the case, how do we interpret the moral panic around illiteracy in the remote Aboriginal world and the remediation of the ‘problem’ through policy change and methodological ‘improvements’? While giving credence to the serious argument that current literacy levels preclude Aboriginal participation in the mainstream labour market, I suggest also that the ‘problem’ lies not with Aboriginal literacy practices *per se*, but with the conception of literacy evident within public and policy discourse. In Chapter 1 I noted Graff’s concern that the ‘taken for granted’ nature of literacy in Western society (and I would add English literacy in Anglo-European countries such as Australia) and how its ‘primacy’ in everyday life, masks its complexity.¹¹⁸⁹ In particular we have lost sight of the complexity of literacy in the remote Australian Aboriginal context. By taking an anthropological approach, the normative cultural assumptions that surround literacy come to the fore and some of these assumptions are open to challenge.

The ‘literacy myth’ and the assumed autonomous nature of literacy

Western education is imbued with what Graff terms the ‘literacy myth’, where, for example the ‘transcendental power of literate education’ allows preliterate peoples to transit

¹¹⁸⁷ (Heath 1991: 3–6).

¹¹⁸⁸ (Sahlins 1981: 9).

¹¹⁸⁹ (Graff 1987; Graff 1994 [1982]).

metaphorically from darkness to light.¹¹⁹⁰ It is also inextricably linked with an aspirational philosophy positing that through education individuals can 'succeed', 'progress' and 'develop'. The aim of Western education takes for granted the value placed on deferred expectation for individual future wellbeing. In Australia, education and literacy have been represented as the enabling factors that will give Aboriginal people the opportunity to become functioning, socially competent members of mainstream Australian society. However, as Street postulates, literacy in itself does not promote social mobility or progress as 'literacy practices are specific to the political and ideological context and their consequences vary situationally'.¹¹⁹¹

The Ngaanyatjarra (and other remote groups) have been enticed into believing this literacy myth and to what Street terms the 'autonomous' model of literacy that tends to 'conceptualise literacy in technical terms, treating it as independent of social context, an autonomous variable whose consequences for society and cognition can be derived from its intrinsic character'.¹¹⁹² Assumptions about the autonomous nature of literacy have been intrinsic to well-intentioned missionaries, educators and policy-makers alike who have operated within the Western, linear, evolutionary tradition where social policy has viewed literacy as necessary for Aboriginal futures, especially participation in the labour market. The cultural relativism of this position has perhaps not taken sufficient account of the social, cultural and political factors that also contribute to literacy acquisition and use. The 'problem' lies not with the literacy learners nor with the methodology, but with the assumption that literacy learning is a 'straightforward skill-acquisition process that can be delivered in a carefully programmed way to large numbers of people in a short period of time, with roughly uniform or predictable outcomes'.¹¹⁹³ The 'problem' is also that literacy learning is not a mono-linear process, it is multidirectional and erratic, incorporating both formal instruction and informal acquisition and the acquisitional process is lifelong and 'varies situationally'.

In newly literate circumstances, such as that with the Ngaanyatjarra, a tension thus remains: trying to squeeze thousands of years of Western literacy evolution into a few generations will not achieve commensurability with mainstream benchmarks while literacy remains a decontextualised technical skill. Literacy is, as Clanchy illustrates, a gradual process. Street emphasises that to 'eschew such gradualism' tends to lead to the failure of many literacy

¹¹⁹⁰ (Serpell 1993: 99; Graff 1979).

¹¹⁹¹ (Street 1995: 24).

¹¹⁹² (Street 1993b: 5).

programmes, and I would add, that in the remote Aboriginal context, that failure tends to be attributed to literacy learners themselves.¹¹⁹⁴ For literacy to take hold in remote communities it must have meaning and purpose over the changing domains and practices that span a person's life and this meaning and purpose must, in turn, be transmitted to the following generation.

*The assumption that schooling is the main factor in the 'cultural production' of the literate person*¹¹⁹⁵

A singular focus on pedagogy is linked to the widely held belief among educators, researchers and policy-makers that if the right methodology is found literacy learning will unfold. Significant amounts of time and money have been invested in implementing new literacy curricula and methodology, with each new version heralded as the panacea to the problem of Aboriginal illiteracy. But assumptions that investment in literacy methodology will produce significantly improved literacy ability, and the associated Western 'middle-class' literate behaviours desired by policy-makers, need to be revised.¹¹⁹⁶ In most Western families literacy builds on the long culture of literacy in Western society and the foundation of formal schooling. It incorporates interactive engagement and participation in other processes, practices and contexts that are meaningful and purposeful at an individual and community level and there is a synergy between these processes.

Recently, generalisations have been made about 'another generation lost' to schooling in remote communities compared with earlier generations who purportedly learned literacy in mission schools.¹¹⁹⁷ Writers infer that it was the pedagogical practices of the missionaries that generated the idealised literacy acumen of previous generations. By focusing solely on pedagogy we lose sight of other critical, but interrelated, factors associated with the meaning and uses of literacy. By drawing on ethnographic and historical data I suggest that in the Ngaanyatjarra mission context the acquisition of literacy made sense. The missionaries created a literacy environment and literacy artefacts that were 'personally meaningful' and people 'connected with the schema'.¹¹⁹⁸ They built on the oral tradition by proselytising through reiterative encounters with oral Bible stories and hymn singing. Elders were accorded proper status and trained as literate church leaders and adult literates were provided with an intellectual role in emerging arenas of participation. Christianity provided a purpose for literacy that had social signification not just for children, but also

¹¹⁹³ (Prinsloo 1995: 458–59).

¹¹⁹⁴ (Street 1984: 114).

¹¹⁹⁵ Drawing on Levinson's 'the cultural production of the educated person' (Levinson and Holland 1996).

¹¹⁹⁶ (Prinsloo 1995: 458–59).

¹¹⁹⁷ (Cleary 2005; Hughes and Warin 2005; Johns 2006).

for adults. In part this was because value was attributed to literacy in the vernacular as a marker of identity signification and because the Christian approach has represented certainty and continuity. It is, in fact, perceived by some Ngaanyatjarra that this approach to literacy has been more successful than the state school system because mother tongue literacy has been taught within cultural processes of relatedness across the generations.

The assumed importance of academic essayist-prose literacy

Too often literacy is associated with academic essayist writing and a literacy/illiteracy dichotomy is evoked when comparing literacy practices in divergent cultures and communities.¹¹⁹⁹ In the determination to bring remote Aborigines up to a standard of literacy enabling entry to vocational or higher education, attempts are made to ameliorate the gap between actual literacies and academic literacies. Writers have investigated the mismatch between oral first language discourse patterns and the requirements of the literate essayist prose style based on the discourse properties of English.¹²⁰⁰ Arguably, adult readers are exposed to too few contexts where they are required to seek meaning from, or interpret, decontextualised, abstract texts and there are even fewer contexts for writing. Consequently adults are not dealing with written texts containing complex semantic and lexico-grammatical patterns and 'lexical density' (e.g. complex sentences, relative clauses, subordinate clauses, phrasal verbs and prepositions, modality, passive constructions, abstract nominalisations, grammatical metaphor, etc).¹²⁰¹ Moreover, critical reading and metacognitive skills (e.g. skimming and scanning, seeking relevance, cohesion and coherence, understanding cause and effect, referencing, etc) are not being acquired.

At one level these factors resonate, because to deal more effectively with the demands of the state the Ngaanyatjarra will need a complex array of literacy skills and knowledge. As I outline in Chapter 5, not having the literacy skills to deal with these administrative literacies may have dire consequences, including incarceration. Clearly this is an alarming literacy requirement that needs addressing, but not necessarily by the promotion of academic literacies. Research shows us that in everyday life 'people never read and write without a purpose'.¹²⁰² Most critically we need to pay attention to creating a purpose for adult reading and writing, to understanding the social factors that work against literacy in the domestic domain, and to providing the resources and support for everyday literacies. This highlights

¹¹⁹⁸ (Ortner 1989: 199).

¹¹⁹⁹ (Street 1994: 142).

¹²⁰⁰ (Christie and Martin 1997; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Halliday 1985; Martin and Rose 2005; Rose et al. 1999).

¹²⁰¹ (Halliday 1985: 62–75).

¹²⁰² (Ivanic and Hamilton 1990: 15).

the situated approach to learning—English language and literacy must become intrinsic to practice as it is in practice that people learn the cognitive and communication skills that are integral to daily life.¹²⁰³ It also foregrounds the obvious, yet crucial point that if the primary arena for literacy use is in the school domain, or in vocational training or employment, literacy may well remain irrelevant in the lives of many Aboriginal adults.

On another level, and as I have shown, literacy is happening in the Ngaanyatjarra world, but often in the invisible space, the parallel universe of everyday Ngaanyatjarra life, and not within institutional boundaries. In this context literacy is often a collective or shared event, rather than a solitary act. Many of these non-standard literacy practices do not, however, meet the requirements of the Western pedagogical model. Such ‘non-school’ literacies may be seen, as Street expresses it, as ‘inferior attempts at the real thing’ to be compensated for by enhanced schooling or adult literacy training.¹²⁰⁴ Many adults who may be labelled ‘illiterate’ according to mainstream standards, do in fact derive meaning from, and make use of, literacy practices in contexts specific to their own cultural milieu. By observing and documenting the myriad ways in which literacy and written language are incorporated into cultural practice it is possible to see that the Ngaanyatjarra community cannot be categorised as either oral, literate, or illiterate—nor in fact can the broader Australian community.¹²⁰⁵

The assumed importance of literacy in English

Despite the early introduction of Ngaanyatjarra literacy and its purposeful application and diffusion, schools in the Ngaanyatjarra Lands, as in most other remote regions, now focus on the teaching of spoken and written English with scant attention to the vernacular. The continuing dominance of English as the language of literacy holds profound sociolinguistic implications. Literacy is not being learned in the vernacular, the first language, the mother tongue, the language of the inner voice—the language that is imbued with the concepts that form the psychic home where the core values of culture reside—but in a second language that many do not speak well and remain culturally distanced from. The actual and symbolic significance of language—and the connection between language, identity affirmation and belonging—in post-colonial minority language contexts, such as with the Ngaanyatjarra, cannot be emphasised enough.¹²⁰⁶ The marginalisation of Ngaanyatjarra

¹²⁰³ (Lave and Wenger 1991: 85).

¹²⁰⁴ (Street 1995: 106).

¹²⁰⁵ (Barton and Hamilton 2000; Heath 1991).

¹²⁰⁶ For discussions on literacy issues in language minority contexts see (Coulmas 1984; Fishman 1989a; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988; Smolicz 1984).

language in essence signifies the symbolic marginalisation of Ngaanyatjarra culture and identity. To Ngaanyatjarra people language signifies identity, heritage and difference and Ngaanyatjarra people want to maintain that difference and do not want to be the same as Anglo-Europeans.¹²⁰⁷

Place, identity, young people and education

In the current debate around ameliorating Indigenous disadvantage in remote communities the focus is on accelerating literacy and numeracy outcomes, improving school attendance and relocating youth to urban centres to attend secondary boarding schools. Education policy is determining that schooling and vocational training offer the choices and opportunities needed for Aboriginal futures that are increasingly being oriented towards employment and mainstream aspirations.¹²⁰⁸ This is predicated on an assumption that Aboriginal people from remote communities will aspire to a trajectory of individuated upward mobility. Noel Pearson claims that the life chances of Aboriginal youth are diminished unless they attend 'high-quality, high-expectation boarding schools down south'.¹²⁰⁹ The Howard government is promoting the provision of educational 'choice' and 'opportunity' for learners living in remote communities, with Senator Vanstone asserting that 'as time marches on, young Indigenous children will want to move to the towns and cities' as many remote communities have 'limited economic potential and people are trapped there because they have no education'.¹²¹⁰ Critics such as Jon Altman conjecture that in this frame the future for Aboriginal Australians lies in 'modernity, urbanisation...and ultimately, assimilation'.¹²¹¹ The reference to assimilation is deliberate and harks back to the policy frame of the 1950s and 1960s.

In fact, the similarities between the focus on 'tuition before equality' in the 'assimilation era' and current government initiatives are startling. The generational approach taken in this thesis reveals the paucity of historical reflection on the lessons learned. Paralleling

¹²⁰⁷ Marrkilyi E. pers. comm. 2007.

¹²⁰⁸ See: Federal government initiatives such as the 'Indigenous Youth Leadership Programme' and the 'Indigenous Youth Mobility Programme'.

http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/indigenous_education/programmes_funding/programme_categories/iymp/default.htm

http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/indigenous_education/programmes_funding/programme_categories/iylp/default.htm

¹²⁰⁹ *The Australian* October 30 2004. The Howard government subsequently announced funding for a \$23 million Indigenous Youth Mobility Programme to relocate 600 Indigenous youth to major regional centres for training and apprenticeships including 'safe' accommodation provided by Aboriginal Hostels Ltd

<http://www.dest.gov.au/Ministers/Media/Nelson/2005/12/n2053151205.asp> (download 15/12/05). William Deane, a former Governor General weighed into the debate in 2006 by announcing his support for the interventions promoted by Pearson and the Howard Government by criticising the 'appalling state of secondary education in Indigenous communities' and calling for more Aboriginal children to be sent away to urban boarding schools. (*The Australian* June 29 2006). See also (Schwab 2005).

¹²¹⁰ (Vanstone 2004). At the time Senator Amanda Vanstone was Federal Minister for Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs.

¹²¹¹ (Altman 2005a: 43).

current initiatives, in the assimilation era adolescents from remote locations in Western Australia were removed to urban centres for schooling and better employment opportunities. To a certain extent it can be claimed that the residential hostel and schooling model was successful, but for reasons that cannot be replicated today. These students were still imbued with an optimism that education could deliver the promised outcomes. Adolescents were not individually lifted out of their home environment, but went as a cohort, often boarding in hostels operated by mission groups, so a sense of belonging and familiarity remained. In addition, they returned to their communities where the education they attained had a resonance in their own cultural context and their acquired skills matched the requirements of employment in the early period of self-determination.

The policy of 'social development' in the assimilation era promised the Ngaanyatjarra the reward of 'admission' to an equal society. Under 'tutored assimilation' improved education and training opportunities were supposed to lead to increased employment in urban locations, but as I have shown, these aims were never realised. As a consequence a bitterness remains in certain individuals who were led to believe that they could have 'succeeded', but somehow were cheated. I noted how the policy of social development placed the onus on individuals to take responsibility for their own advancement and tried to separate young people from the influence of traditional families. I concluded Chapter 3 with Sir Paul Hasluck's later misgivings about his misplaced faith in individual upward mobility, deriving from his own experiences as a 'scholarship boy'.¹²¹² This resonates with Willis' critique in *Learning to Labour* of the 'common educational fallacy' that 'opportunities can be *made* by education, that upward mobility is basically a matter of individual push, that qualifications make their own openings'.¹²¹³

Policy initiatives to move Aboriginal youth out of remote settings and into urban environments are likely to develop similar false expectations. Moreover, these initiatives are unlikely to succeed if it means sacrificing connection to kin, country, language and identity, as illustrated in the following quote from Naomi:

Kalgoorlie it's too hard for us, we're not used to town because we grew up here in Warburton, not used to the town...I want to be happy because I still want work here in Ranges, not anywhere else. Just to be at home and work, that's where I want to be, keep staying here and work. [Young people] want to stay home, not going anywhere, town. I don't think nobody will go out from here, they want to stop home...Because that's their home, that's where they grew up...That's their way of life.

¹²¹² (Rowse 2005: 241).

¹²¹³ (Willis 1977: 127) [emphasis in original].

An anthropological perspective exposes the primacy of commitment to kin and the local versus an imposed allegiance to national priorities. The Ngaanyatjarra place primary value on social relationships and the engendering of emotional wellbeing by maintaining family ties and obligations. Their loyalty is to their Ngaanyatjarra identity and the preservation of Ngaanyatjarra language and culture into the future. Children's responsibility to maintain Ngaanyatjarra culture, and transmit it to the next generation, supersedes any commitment to the nation state of Australia. Learning in this context is about identity development for engaged participation in, and membership of, one's own community. These values run counter to those of the nation state which aims to enculturate remote Aboriginal groups into normative participation in schooling and employment, and following on from this, citizenship and nationhood.

Current rhetoric is focused on notions of individual choice and responsibility and giving individuals the opportunity to be citizens in a modern Australian not trapped in 'cultural museums'. The critical question that is left unanswered is: what will be gained, and moreover what will be lost, as a consequence of this quest for social mobility and the 'opportunity to choose'?

Diversity and the dignity of difference

In 1996 the *Desert Schools Report* flagged that the 'imposition of mainstream goals works to the detriment of effective teaching and learning' in desert schools.¹²¹⁴ In the intervening decade little has been learned. Moreover, in the current policy environment schools are less able to flexibly adapt to community requirements as they strive to provide 'equity and access' to mainstream choices. From my perspective the over-arching problem with the new policy rhetoric is that it will consolidate a sense of failure rather than affirm the positives of the cultural reality. In the drive for 'equity', we will let Aboriginal people in remote Australia take on the mantle of 'failure'. Here I draw on Gibson-Graham's use of Judith Butler's notion of 'performativity': that in recognising the inevitable 'performativity' of language, we also recognise its 'power to create the effects that it names'.¹²¹⁵ The more that the polemic reiterates the moral panic associated with illiteracy and low educational outcomes, the more that schooling may inevitably undermine the individual's self-belief by marking Aboriginal youth as failures. However, it can be conjectured that this so-called 'failure' actually has little to do with literacy *per se*, but more it is a failure to become 'like us', that is, a failure to attain mainstream standards and a failure to assimilate into Western

¹²¹⁴ (NLLIA 1996: 9, Vol. 1).

¹²¹⁵ (Butler 2003: 2; Gibson-Graham 2006: 2).

behavioural norms. The consequences for the identity formation processes of a cultural group such as the Ngaanyatjarra (and other remote Aborigines) cannot be anything but negative if they are told in so many insidious ways that they are failing and the authorising outside expert knows best. The danger is that the next generation will increasingly view its own cultural processes and practices from a deficit perspective.¹²¹⁶

Highlighted here is a continuing unresolved tension. The argument for choice and equal opportunity that fits the liberal ideology of meritocracy in Anglo-European Australia rests uncomfortably in the Indigenous communities of remote Australia. This poses a dilemma for liberal government in post-colonial society. The choice and equity argument works against Aboriginal people if individual competence is measured in terms of contribution to the labour market economy and they are found deficient when measured against these mainstream norms. Perhaps finding a compromise is an unwinnable goal? I think not, but what is accentuated here is the need to give valence to the 'dignity of difference'.¹²¹⁷ This is a call for the celebration of a plurality of norms, the coexistence of diversity and the valuing of difference. As education anthropologists Levinson and Holland suggest, 'we must seek to expand educational spaces which might accommodate diverse models of the educated person'.¹²¹⁸

Where do we go from here?

At this point in time there is a sense of urgency and education solutions need to be found. The sustainability of remote Aboriginal communities is fragile; it is therefore imperative that a future scenario with optimistic possibilities is sought for those who live there.¹²¹⁹ In the remote Aboriginal world there is deep uncertainty about what education and literacy *is actually for*. By participating in the everyday routines of schooling successive generations of Ngaanyatjarra have absorbed the taken for granted nature of schooling and the underlying Western cultural assumptions associated with institutional learning. The 'weak linkages between schooling and the meaningful occupation of young people' are, however, not being resolved.¹²²⁰ Nor is the relationship between schooling and teenagers' socialisation as members of their own cultural community. The traditional developmental trajectory has altered and by making schooling compulsory for the ambiguous new cultural category of

¹²¹⁶ Here we are reminded of education anthropologists Varenne and McDermott's notion that the culture and behavioural competence of low status minority students is marked as 'disability' and limited expectations are reinforced through the school system (McDermott 1974; McDermott and Varenne 1995; Varenne and McDermott 1999b). See also (Ogbu 1979).

¹²¹⁷ Tim Rowse pers. comm. October 2006.

¹²¹⁸ (Levinson and Holland 1996: 23).

¹²¹⁹ See (Martin 2003; Schwab and Sutherland 2003).

¹²²⁰ (NLLIA 1996: 139, Vol. 2).

'adolescents', childhood has been extended beyond normal cultural limits. Yet connectedness to kin and country, and meaningful, productive engagement in their own community may still have more traction than a trajectory of credentialisation leading to some futural maturation of abstract mainstream employment outcomes.

This leads us to two important issues:

In the first instance, attention must be paid to those adolescents who are school-age, yet are not engaging with mainstream schooling (as indicated by low attendance and poor retention rates). The challenge lies in improving the school model so that it can flexibly adapt to the learning needs of this group—which in many cases forms a high proportion of the secondary-aged school population. Additionally, attention needs to be paid to 'out-of-school' projects and methods that will maintain engagement and contribute to skills development for this group so that they attain the skills, including literacy and numeracy, needed for dealing with complex futures.

In the second instance, attention must also be paid to young adults in the post-school 16–30 year old age group. The focus on educating children rather than adults has been antithetical to traditional learning processes. Much critical learning needs to happen in the adult domain where the cultural logic is that learning is passed on, from senior to junior, and continues throughout adult life. The challenge here is in how to create circumstances where adults continue to receive literacy mentoring, not just as an adjunct to training courses, but as a component of informal learning that accompanies CDEP.

By shifting the notion of pedagogy and looking to the international research literature and theoretical ideas of 'out-of-school', 'situated' or 'collaborative' learning it can be seen that—in addition to formal education and training—alternative learning environments that are attractive to Aboriginal youth and fit the cultural paradigm are also needed.¹²²¹ I suggest that if the domains of learning are confined only to institutionalised education and training then we may not see the potential that resides in other forms of learning and other positive identity formation experiences. Arts-based, multimedia type projects offer one exemplar for meaningful literacy use and collaborative 'situated learning'. Other arenas of learning through community groups, youth centres, sports organisations, and the juvenile justice system also offer the potential to fit literacy and numeracy into events and structured learning activities. Programmes that fit the cultural paradigm and are aligned with

¹²²¹ See (Hull and Schultz 2002).

traditional learning cycles and the emerging leadership of young men through the Law Business can be explored. Sites are also needed that offer flexibility in teaching methodology and programme delivery including night school classes, teaching in diverse locations and greater integration of local knowledge and education leadership.¹²²²

Ultimately, very few of these young adults will be going to urban communities to find training and employment, and those who do will most likely return. A recent report on Indigenous vocational education and training aspirations also concludes that remote learners are unlikely to relocate to urban areas where more jobs are available, thus VET training in remote areas needs to relate more concretely to the conditions and opportunities presented, even though employment opportunities are severely limited and CDEP appears to be the only avenue for expansion.¹²²³ While it is understood that there is insufficient wage labour employment, creative ways of visualising meaningful engagement are needed. Cultural strength and connection to country can to be fostered through land management and native title activities where young adults can be mentored into processes, skills and knowledge in these domains. The challenge is to sustain meaningfulness in remote contexts where culture is the economy and enterprise can be generated within these parameters. In Gibson-Graham's terms we need to think of 'constructing a community economy' by 're-reading the local landscape—in this case, reading for absences...to restore visibility and credibility to what has been coded as backward, insufficient, or "nonexistent" as a contribution to development'.¹²²⁴

Irrespective of labour market employment options, most adults are only as literate as the tasks of everyday life require.¹²²⁵ The uses of literacy in the Ngaanyatjarra situation are highly social and context-dependent. For young adults to acquire the more decontextualised, disembedded literacy skills needed they must regularly be engaged in activities across a range of contexts where such literacies can be maintained and extended. Young adults need to be acquiring the vast range of skills and knowledge required for community governance roles, controlling everyday administrative literacies, dealing with encounters with the state and accessing new information. For adults to raise the next generation of literate children they must have increased access to literacy resources, through community libraries, resource centres and community stores. For these resources

¹²²² See the Mt Theo Warlpiri youth program. In particular *the Jaru Pirjirdi* Project community development program for the empowering young adults aged 17-25 and developing young community leaders within Yuendumu community: <http://www.mttheo.org/home.htm> . Also see <http://www.deadlymob.org/default.cfm> in Alice Springs.

¹²²³ (Gelade and Stehlik 2004).

¹²²⁴ (Gibson-Graham 2006: 169).

to be incorporated into domestic routines attention also needs to be paid to designing houses with appropriate storage spaces that take account of home literacy practices and to providing caregivers with mediated guidance in how to effectively scaffold literacy events for children.

Lastly, axiomatic to this thesis has been the contention that pedagogy alone has not, and cannot, give adults the complex range of literacy skills required across the life-span. If literacy is to seep into the remote Aboriginal world as cultural practice then it is critical that we understand more about literacy as a cultural process. A positive approach to literacy acquisition is required, one that builds on the often invisible competence residing in families and the community and is observant of the role of routine practices and habit. For literacy to take hold it must have a purpose and a meaning in arenas beyond school, training and employment.

In conclusion, it is imperative that literacy research in the Aboriginal domain step outside the confines of pedagogy. By this I mean that longitudinal ethnographic research is needed that looks at learning and literacy beyond the school years to investigate *whether* schooled literacy is maintained outside institutional learning and *how* literacy is maintained by adults in the practice of everyday life. Finally, as Street suggests, such research needs to begin from 'a more comparative, more ethnographically based conception of literacy as the *social* practices of reading and writing and to eschew value judgements about the relative superiority of schooled literacy over other literacies'.¹²²⁶

¹²²⁵ (Clanchy 1979: 219).

¹²²⁶ (Street 1995: 111) [emphasis in original].

Appendix A Methodology

Ethnography is an approach to inquiry whose primary heuristic is culture, that is, it seeks the explanation for behavior in the sets of understandings unconsciously shared by members of a society or social group...One concern of ethnography is to uncover [these] unconscious impetuses to behavior. Doing this not only provides explanations but, in bringing them to the attention of actors, creates new room for change...an anthropological view of literacy will build upon the results of ethnographic inquiry. This in turn seeks to explicate the meaning of literacy-related issues to participants without starting from preconceived notions about these meanings. It asks, "What is going on?" and "What does this mean in the lives of the people involved?" It seeks these answers by participating in their lives while at the same time observing and interpreting from the outside.¹²²⁷

An ethnographic approach

Through ethnography I have found a methodological tool that shifts the study of literacy from a study of pedagogical practices in schools to a study of literacy practices enacted in cultural context. I am aware of current methodological concerns associated with anthropological research in cross-cultural domains and the push towards more reflexive, ethical and multi-sited approaches to ethnography and writing.¹²²⁸ The methodology used for this thesis is underpinned by my own experience in education, language, literacy and learning in the Aboriginal domain, mostly in Central Australia since the early 1980s. In this respect I have been an informal 'participant observer' over many years, absorbing an array of information and pondering the 'what is going on?' question that finally led to this study.¹²²⁹

My methodology consisted of six key elements: life history interviews; key informant interviews; primary and secondary research; participant observation; the collection of literacy artefacts; and data from the Ngaanyatjarra Council 2004 CDEP skills audit. I was also given permission to access the original data collected for the 2000 review of education and training in the Ngaanyatjarra Lands.¹²³⁰

Interviews

I have used an ethnohistorical approach in this anthropological study of literacy.¹²³¹ I have aimed, through ethnography to 'produce a picture of cultures and social groups from the perspectives of their members'.¹²³² Through life histories I have been interested in

¹²²⁷ (Smith 1986: 264).

¹²²⁸ (Denzin 1997; Marcus 1986; Marcus 1995).

¹²²⁹ (Spradley 1980).

¹²³⁰ (Kral and Ward 2000).

¹²³¹ See: (Appadurai 1986; Comaroff 1985; Harries 1994; Ortner 1989; Sahlins 1981; Wiedman 1986).

¹²³² (LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 27).

exploring 'social memory'.¹²³³ Through oral memory the past is retrieved and events are identified according to individual and collective patterns of meaning.¹²³⁴

I structured two interview guides based on ethnographic methodology:¹²³⁵

1. *Life history interviews*

A person's practices can also be located in their own history of literacy. In order to understand this we need to take a life history approach, observing the history within a person's life.¹²³⁶

I used an open-ended interview technique to interview Ngaanyatjarra speakers and gather life histories. A set of topics were defined and interview questions covered these topics. This method, drawn from anthropology, develops 'a picture of the beliefs and practices of a community' through 'narratives' and 'accounts of specific experiences' of events 'to *typify* the behaviors and beliefs of the group'.¹²³⁷ Interviews were conducted in English and interviewees responded in either English or Ngaanyatjarra. Interviews were recorded on mini-disc and transcribed by myself and Ngaanyatjarra/Ngaatjatjarra interpreter-translator Elizabeth Marrkilyi Ellis. I wanted to gather intergenerational narratives from families whose experiences covered the arenas and themes I wanted to explore. Interviews spanned the collective memory of the period from the first encounter with missionaries in the 1930s to the present. The interviewees were selected to gain a cross-section of age and gender. In all I interviewed 58 Ngaanyatjarra people who fall roughly into three generational cohorts:

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Older adults	5	10
Middle-aged adults	8	14
Young adults	7	14

2. *Key informant interviews*

I used a non-standardised open-ended interview technique with 20 non-Aboriginal key informants. A defined set of topics were covered and most interviews were recorded on mini-disc and transcribed. One interviewee submitted a written response by email and for a few I took handwritten notes. Key informant interviews were conducted with: four linguists; two children of ex-missionaries; seven teachers/trainers; one anthropologist, one community advisor; two office workers; one nurse; one consultant working on justice and

¹²³³ (Marcus 1995: 109).

¹²³⁴ (Portelli 1991).

¹²³⁵ (Goetz and LeCompte 1984; Patton 1990; Spradley 1979).

¹²³⁶ (Barton and Hamilton 2000: 13-14).

¹²³⁷ (LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 86).

prison issues and two community or shire staff. Information was also gathered as personal communication from police, parole officers and the court sheriff with the WA Department of Justice based in Kalgoorlie or Laverton. Also Additional conversations have taken place over the intervening years with various informants and data is coded as personal communication.

The subjectivity of the interviews was addressed by embedding affective recollections within a background of primary and secondary historical sources. Primary material has been gleaned from Western Australian State Records Office, Annual Reports and newsletters from the Department of Native Affairs and Native Welfare, the *United Aborigines Messenger* (the UAM newsletter) and the 2001 Census.¹²³⁸

2004 Ngaanyatjarra Council CDEP Skills Audit

In 2004 I assisted Ngaanyatjarra Council in conducting a 'skills audit' of CDEP workers across the eleven Ngaanyatjarra Lands communities. I was given permission to use data from 527 interviews (male: 253; female: 274). From this data set I created a second database of Warburton-specific interviewees, including 10 adults moving between Warburton and Patjarr communities: total no. 159: 64 male (40.3%) and 95 female (59.7%).¹²³⁹

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>Ngaanyatjarra Lands</i>		<i>Warburton</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%
16–18	48	9.1%	12	7.5%
19–21	62	11.8%	16	10.1%
22–25	77	14.6%	29	18.2%
26–30	66	12.5%	22	13.8%
31–35	72	13.7%	18	11.3%
36–40	71	13.2%	17	10.7%
41–45	50	9.5%	18	11.3%
46–50	31	5.9%	12	7.5%
51–60	38	7.2%	14	8.8%
61+	12	2.3%	1	0.6%
Total no.	527	100%	159	100%

The standardised interviews conducted for the 'skills audit' provide quantitative data on schooling, training and employment experience. With participants' permission an assessment of English language, literacy and numeracy was also conducted using the

¹²³⁸ (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001).

¹²³⁹ I completed all the Warburton skills audit interviews and NRS assessments.

National Reporting System (NRS) as a tool to assess adult literacy competence.¹²⁴⁰ This standardised data was loaded onto a survey database program (Survey View). I have ‘cleaned’ the skills audit data and removed misleading elements.¹²⁴¹

Validity and reliability

I worked with a designated Ngaanyatjarra Council research advisory committee and adhered to the guidelines of a research agreement drawn up by Ngaanyatjarra Council. The fieldwork for the PhD was conducted over a twelve month period in 2004. I gathered data mainly at Warburton community although time was spent in the other Ngaanyatjarra Lands communities. I designed my methodology to achieve validity and reliability.¹²⁴² I obtained signed informed consent for each interview conducted. I have made three short return visits to check and collect more data and to gain community approval for the draft thesis in 2005 and 2006. To attain ‘triangulation’ I combined ‘multiple’ and ‘dissimilar’ methods such as interviews, observations, and physical evidence to study the same aspect.¹²⁴³ I took extensive field notes from participant observation during fieldwork; with families, at community events and with the *Nintirringkula* Youth Arts project.¹²⁴⁴ All interviews and notes were coded for themes and sorted using a database on *Filemaker Pro*. I also regularly collected, sorted and coded literacy artefacts and photos relating to literacy events, and a synthesised is presented in the thesis. Archive photos, recent photos and literacy artefacts were reproduced with permission from the Ngaanyatjarra people.

I am aware that my form of participant observation ‘positively influenced’ the literacy environment. My home became a focus for literacy activities for all ages as I provided storybooks, paper, pencils and computer access. In this way the participants and I interacted in ‘a variety of reciprocal, mutually beneficial exchanges’.¹²⁴⁵

¹²⁴⁰ (Coates et al. 1995). The Ngaanyatjarra Council employed a number of people to do the skills audit interviews. I developed the NRS assessment tool. Training was given in how to do the NRS assessments, however most assessors were not language or literacy specialists. Interviews were conducted in English and interviewers were, generally, assisted by Ngaanyatjarra language speakers. This factor notwithstanding, a decontextualised, synchronic assessment of adult literacy competence can only give an impression of overall literacy competence. The problematic nature of measuring adult literacy competence is outlined in the literature (Christie et al. 1993; Levine 1998; Wickert 1989). This data set does, nevertheless, represent perhaps the largest study of adult literacy competence in remote Aboriginal Australia.

¹²⁴¹ Commonly, Aboriginal interviewees do not know what grade level or year school was completed, nor the name of post-school training courses (Kral and Morphy 2006). Interviewers often did not have sufficient contextual understanding and wrote down erroneous information. I used my background knowledge of individuals and context to ‘clean’ the data, for example the initial data incorrectly indicated that a significant numbers had completed Year 12 high school.

¹²⁴² (Merriam 1988: 169–172).

¹²⁴³ (Merriam 1988: 69).

¹²⁴⁴ (Goetz and LeCompte 1984; Spradley 1980; Wolcott 2005).

¹²⁴⁵ (Cushman 1998: 28).

Family narratives

From the data I have developed eleven Family Narratives (Appendix B) which form the basis for the intergenerational literacy histories. These most of the 58 interviews mentioned above and additional information has been added to some narratives. The Family Narratives were checked by most family members during return visits in 2005 and 2006. Individuals either read their own narratives or they were read to them and corrections were made to the text as requested and additional information added. 'Clifford', for example, read his and informed me that 'it didn't sound like the way he talked'. So he edited the draft to correct the erroneous aspects. Pseudonyms were approved to ensure that no names were used inappropriately.

This thesis must serve two purposes. It is primarily an academic work, but the narratives are also central to the thesis. The inclusion of the full Family Narratives in the Appendix has been necessary to portray the intergenerational connections, but also for the Ngaanyatjarra readers and their descendents to be able to read their family history.

Transcription notes

Spoken excerpts cited in this thesis are drawn from interview transcripts. The use of oral history in ethnography 'textualizes the meanings' of the spoken word.¹²⁴⁶ The transcription of oral texts into a written form requires making decisions about punctuation according to the grammatical rules of written English. My questions were removed and arbitrary decisions made about the cohesion and coherence of the written narrative. Transcripts were cleaned to remove hedging, hesitations and other types of repairs (e.g. 'yuuwa', 'yes', 'like', 'you know', 'er' 'um').

Ngaanyatjarra words are consistently written in italics and listed with translations in the Glossary (Appendix D). I do not use interlinear glosses or backslash markers as this thesis is not a linguistic description of grammatical features, nor is it a study of child language acquisition. Transcriptions contain the following conventions:

- ... indicates ellipsis or deleted excerpts/hedging between utterances
- ' an apostrophe represents elision
- // indicates the point of overlap when one speaker interrupts another
- [] words inside square brackets are name substitutes or inclusions to enhance the sense of the utterance

¹²⁴⁶ (Clifford 1986: 117–118).

Post script

As I mention above gaining community approval has been intrinsic to my method. In January–February 2007 I sent final drafts of chapters and the graphics back to particular informant groups in the community for their approval. In the final week before submission some of the young people at Warburton read and commented on Chapter 7. As a result of these discussions, descriptions of the Law Business and manhood making ceremonies were removed.

I recount this scenario for two reasons. Firstly to highlight the ongoing importance of Law ceremonies in contemporary Ngaanyatjarra life where having such matters articulated in the public domain causes unease among young Ngaanyatjarra adults. In addition, to exemplify that if there is a purpose to reading, as in this case, these young people will read and comprehend and provide a culturally-framed critique, even the academic discourse presented in this thesis. This scenario displays their agency not only in the literate process, but also as arbiters of appropriate behaviour for researchers such as myself. This scenario also exemplifies that these young people consider that the document will be read by community members and that the content needs to be appropriate for that audience as much as for an outsider non-Aboriginal audience of readers.

Appendix B Family Narratives A–K

Table AB.1 Overview Family Narratives A–K

	<i>Generation 1</i>	<i>Generation 2</i>	<i>Generation 3</i>	<i>Generation 4</i>
Family A	Valcie b.1930 m. husband	Helen b.1955		
Family B	Katherine b.1937 Arthur b.1949	Wesley b.1961 Children#	Children# Grandchildren#	Grandchildren
Family C	Mary b.1935 (Harold's sister) m. Jack Horace b.1932	Maxine b.1981 Jacinta b.1965 m. Patricia's brother Silas b. 1951	Leeshana b.1998 Troy b.1982	
Family D	Harold b.1934 m. W1 - Rosie b.1941	Daughter# Carmel b.1963 m. George b.1956	Children# Rosemary b.1985 Son m. Adina b. 1982 Nancy b.1987	Grandchildren# Rosina b.1999
		Eileen b.1967 m. Darren b.1956 Pamela b.1976 m. Mick b.1966	Kenny b. 1972 Mark b.1988 Nina b.1998	Kenny's children#
	(Phyllis b.1954 is Nina's FM) W2 - Daphne b.1944	Daughter#	Grandson# m. Leanne b.1985	
Family E	May b.1948 April's mother b.1940 m. father b.1925###	April b.1955 m. Marlon b. 1942	Children#	Grandchildren#
	Patricia's father b.1940 m. W1 b.1940 Jennifer's mother	W1 – Patricia b.1963 m. husband Jennifer b.1966	Lucy b.1980	Shantoya b.1998
Family F	Molly b.1940 Grandfather	Children# Clem b.1953 Mother	Grandchildren# Children# Adina b.1982 Leanne b.1985 Naomi b.1978 Leah b.1981 m. Mick's brother b.1981	Grandchildren# Rosina b.1999
Family G	Dawn's mother	Joshua b.1936 m. W2 – Dawn b.1958	Leah b.1981 m. Mick's brother b.1981	
Family H	Una 's father b.1923 m. mother b.1937	Una b.1951 Maisie b.1947	Melissa b.1974 m. husband b.1970	Children#
Family I	Jim's mother	Jim b.1953 m. W1 b.1954 George b.1956	Clarrie b.1979 Son b.1982 Son m. Adina b.1982 Nancy b.1987	Grandchildren# Rosina b.1999
Family J		Jane b.1956 m. David b.1946 Veronica b.1961 Wendy b.1965 Kayleen b.1972 m. Clifford b.1968 Louisa b.1959	Children#	Grandchildren#
Family K			Jake b.1983 Darleen b.1987	
		Louisa's sister m. David's brother	Angelina b.1973	Children#

KEY: # Indicating descendents of generation 1 who have been to school but are not 'named' in the thesis.
W1 = Wife 1; W2 = Wife 2 (i.e. co-wives)

Genealogy conventions

In this thesis the following conventions are used to denote kin terms:

M	=	mother
F	=	father
B	=	brother
Z	=	sister
D	=	daughter
S	=	son

Combinations of symbols denote relationships, for example MZ = mother's sister; FM = father's mother; MM = mother's mother, and so forth.

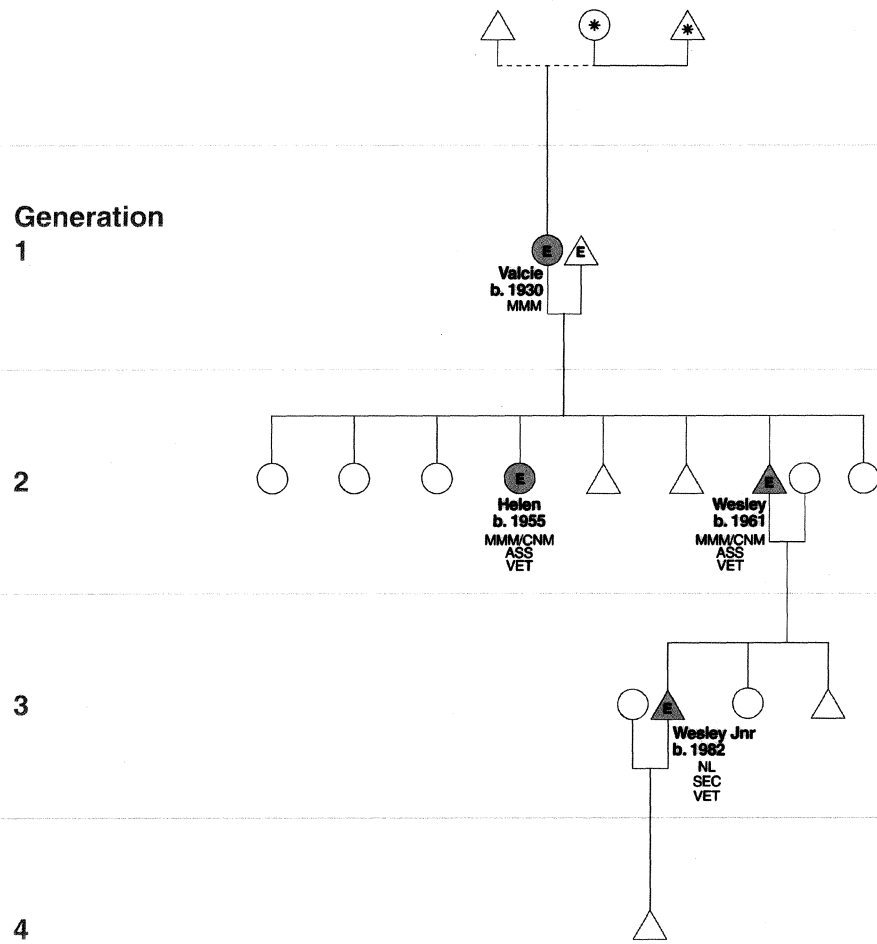
An individual's mother (M) and mother's sisters (MZ) are all termed *ngunytju*, likewise one's father (F) and father's brothers (FB) are termed *mama*. An individual is *katja* – 'son' (S) or *yurntal(pa)* – 'daughter' (D) to all of them. Whereas one's father's sister (FZ) is termed *kurntili* – 'aunt' and one's mother's brother (MB) is *kamuru* – 'uncle'. Similarly, the converse term to *kurntili/kamuru* is *yukari* – 'nephew/niece', although this is not used as a term of address. Reciprocal terminology is applied to the grandkin generation: *kaparli* – 'grandmother / granddaughter' and *tjamu* – 'grandfather / grandson'. In the past marriage was typically polygynous with a man having a 'senior' wife and one or more 'junior wives'. Both a male and female 'spouse' is termed *kurri*, and a co-wife is *nganarti*.

In the family trees the family symbols are used:

○	=	female
△	=	male
*	=	nomadics who had not encountered literacy learning
E	=	the (shaded) named individual learned literacy in school or adult education

Named individuals are those whose narratives feature in the Family Narratives A – K. Apart from the nomadics marked with * it is assumed that all other descendents have been to school and or learned adult literacy.

Family A



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

Family A Narratives

Valcie was born in 1930.

She grew up in the bush around Cosmo Newbery with her mother. Her white father was a returned soldier who held the Cosmo Newbery pastoral lease. Serendipitously Valcie and her family sighted the UAM missionaries Wade and Jackson on camels on their second trip to establish the UAM mission at Warburton Ranges in 1934. When the strange white men on camels sighted the little girl playing in the bush they clothed her in a *sugar bag dress* made from a 170 lb sugar bag with three holes cut in it. In accordance with WA policy regarding children of mixed descent, nine year old Valcie was eventually taken away from her family and placed in the Graham Home dormitory at Mt Margaret Mission in 1939 where went to school for the next ten years.

I say Mt Margaret school was good because the government was against the Aboriginal children being taught, going to school, and the missionaries that came to Mt Margaret, well, they taught us in school, taught us from infants to up. It was only two hours school every day because so many children. And they weren't paid, but they just taught the children...Only two hours of school right up till I finished about 14 I think. And I had to leave school because there were four of us in the school, in my class I mean...One of the girls got pregnant and they didn't wanted me to stay on because there was no other, there was a couple of boys in my class so I had to leave and go and help at the Girls' Home. They taught us spelling, how to spell, dictation it, it's called heading was dictation...they was telling us we had to write it down. And sums, in those days they call it sums. And history, geography and lot anyway they taught us there. It was a good education because they was teaching us something no-one else wanted to teach us. Only two hours every day.

When Valcie finished school at Mt Margaret she started working as a domestic.

We had to help, that's about, over fifty girls in the Home. We had to do washing, ironing, mending, scrub the floor on our hands and knees, there were no mops or anything that time. We had to do the big floors on our knees, yeah, to keep that place clean. It was only a couple of girls employed at Mr Schenk's place, at the Superintendent's place, one girl one week, and following week another girl. And one girl was supposed to go in the Hospital and help over there...two girls they might go to the Boys' Home do their washing, ironing and mending...I stayed at the Home there, Girls' Home.

Valcie married her husband around 1950, 'I got married at age 19...my husband took me away to a station...He was from Mt Margaret too, he went to school there'. He went up to about Grade 3 at Mt Margaret, as Valcie recalls:

...he was a very bright boy on the arithmetic and all that...From the time, that time, till the time before he got sick, he'll work out money, you know, what you call that? Arithmetic and maths and all that. He knows, but I beat him with writing and reading...

As is commonly noted with adults who went through the mission schooling system they were both known to have good handwriting, 'nearly all that mob that been in the Home have that nice, neat writing, the way they been trained to'. The girls with neat handwriting helped in the mission work:

Once a month we go across to old Mrs Schenk's place and she get us to do must be about a thousand or more envelopes to 'Prayer Partners', people who pray in church and they send gifts to the Home. And had to do the envelopes and we daren't write it crooked on the envelopes, we had to go and do it. We had to do it straight and good handwriting. And they had taught us to write us to write properly in school, and with Mrs Schenk.

Valcie joined her husband when he was working at Glenorn Station:

My husband, first he worked at Glenorn Station for 20 years and I was at home bringing the children up and in my spare time I read...I read Bible, I buy books from Leonora, Weekly and all that, Women's day, that type of book...and do letter-writing to friends...and they send me a letter back...They taught us how to write letter too in school and he did the same reading and all...writing to his sister. He brought the kids up by disciplining them, you know, what not to do and what they can do.

After five years, Valcie returned to Mt Margaret so that her two eldest daughters could attend school, and her husband remained at Glenorn.

Still reading whatever, Christian magazines, or that type of thing. I went out and worked in the Boys Home, washing clothes, that type of thing, to help with money a little bit, you know. To feed the kids. If the children bring homework have it at night, we do it after tea. And reading book, they bring books home, like I don't see kids today bringing book home. But those kids, those days they bring a book home and they bring some kind of work or colouring to do or whatever.

Valcie's husband's experiences at Glenorn were to ripple down through the generations in his family. Mt Margaret had given him the confidence to go out and seek work in the European world, but as an Aboriginal station worker he discovered that he had to constantly 'prove himself' equal to the white man. Their daughter Helen gives the following account of her father's experience.

Like our father when he worked on the station out at Glenorn, he had to work hard and he had to sit outside when they used to give him his meal outside in the wood heap. Then he was sitting on the veranda and they used to give him his tin plate, sitting on the veranda eating his meal. Then later on as he worked and all and they kept feeding him on the veranda he was allowed to go into the kitchen with the maids. And from that maid's kitchen, then he was allowed to join the workers in the men's dining room, staff quarters, rousabouts or whatever you call it. He used to be able to sit with them until eventually one day he was sitting with the boss and his wife, eating with them at the table. So he had to work himself up. And then his boss found out he liked tennis and all and he used to play partners with. He used to take him from Glenorn to Leonora to play with him, you know. And he showed others: 'Oh this is a good young bloke, you know'. So they used to play sport together. And after all them years, twenty years eh?

Valcie's husband finished at Glenorn in 1961 and the family moved to Cosmo Newbery so that he could help run the new UAM station that UAMO Inc. had set up as the training and trading arm of the UAM. At that time Cosmo was a thriving proposition, ran 500 head of cattle, 3000 head of sheep and supplied the meat to Warburton Mission and had a successful orchard and vegetable garden.

When Wesley's father was on staff at Cosmo he itinerated in various centres in the Goldfields as a 'follow-up to the Mt Margaret Anniversary'.¹²⁴⁷ The family later moved between Mt Margaret and Laverton. Wesley's father was manager at Mt Margaret for a while and on the Laverton Shire Council for a few years. He was elected Chairman of the newly formed Wongatha Wonganarra Council in Laverton in 1973. With the support of AAPA the Laverton community established 'Wongatha Wonganarra' community council in 1973 and it is still operating today.¹²⁴⁸ These early initiatives in self-management gave local Aboriginal people training and work experience:

He was working in that place for quite a time and getting all the other men all to work with him, you know, supervising them...our father, he wasn't afraid to speak out, speak his opinion.

Wesley's father was a significant leader, amongst other things he fought for Homes West housing for Aboriginal people in Laverton. Nickel was discovered at Mt Windarra near Laverton in 1969 and a mine was established by Western Mining Co. This provided some employment for local Aboriginal workers, but had closed down by 1977. Reduced services in towns like Laverton have impacted on the Aboriginal residents and, unlike in the past, there is now little Aboriginal employment in the towns of the Eastern Goldfields.¹²⁴⁹ As a consequence of the reduced population, Laverton no longer has a high school and so secondary-aged students are sent away to other centres.

Valcie had eight children. The children grew were sent away for secondary schooling in the Eastern Goldfields and Perth. Unlike most Ngaanyatjarra teenagers who boarded in the residential hostels, Valcie's children were supported by the missionaries and boarded in their homes while attending secondary schooling and vocational training. Valcie's two eldest daughters went to Perth where they boarded with missionaries who had worked at Mt Margaret. Valcie sent one son to Esperance High School where he boarded with a Christian family and then around 1973 he went to Carlisle Tech in Perth.

¹²⁴⁷ *United Aborigines Messenger* November 1963: 18

¹²⁴⁸ DAA Newsletter (WA) Vol.1, No.7 July 1974: 27–30. Another Ngaanyatjarra man, (whose father was originally from the Kanpa area near Warburton) and his wife were instrumental in establishing Ninga Mia (previously the Eastern Goldfields Aboriginal Advancement Council) in Kalgoorlie as a service delivery agency to assist Ngaanyatjarra visitors to Kalgoorlie (Thomas 2003: 38). Ninga Mia Aboriginal Village Corp. was established in 1983 as a camp for fringedwellers (Howitt 1990).

¹²⁴⁹ Mining is contributing less to the economy of the Eastern Goldfields region, with the closure of Western Mining Company's Windarra Nickel project near Laverton and the Sons of Gwalia mine in Leonora and the introduction of fly-in fly-out contract work for miners. In addition mining companies have now bought and destocked most of the pastoral stations, so two big industries have faded in the region leading to reduced populations and reduced services in towns like Laverton, Leonora and Wiluna (Damian McLean pers. comm. 2004; (Gibbs 2003; Howitt 1990). In hindsight, it can be seen that the 'windows of opportunity' for nickel projects such as Mt Windarra and Agnew were quite narrow, and profitable development depended on rapid progress. The imposition of the company's solution of introducing a large, mainly non-Aboriginal workforce into a previously predominantly Aboriginal community inevitably led to local juxtaposition of social anomalies which contributed to the Skull Creek incident investigated by the Laverton Royal Commission. <http://www.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/disp.pl/au/other/IndigLRes/rciadic/regional/wa%5funderlying/230.html?query=mt+windarra>

He went there but these other boys all going there, sort of made him get off the track, you know for going on learning to be a mechanic, I still blame them other boys because they sort of got him to drive around the streets, or do anything you know, you know how young people? Aboriginal boys that I know they put him off the track, he should have been a qualified mechanic today.

This son later worked at Mt Windarra nickel mine near Laverton, then went gold prospecting with his father to earn more money.

Another of Valcie daughters **Helen was born in 1955.**

I started at Grade 1 at Mt Margaret and I came here to Cosmo School till about Grade 4 I think, then I done Grade 4 at Mt Margaret School and came back here till I went to high school. So really I learnt all my...got my education here, at Cosmo. You know Mr Howell...he was one of my main teachers here.

Helen was sent to Armidale High School in Perth. At age 14 after two years in Perth:

I didn't want to go back to Perth, then I went to Kalgoorlie Tech. I was still doing maths, English, social studies and that type of thing, but then I was doing dressmaking course, cake decorating, craft and all that type of thing...all white kids there and all.

Valcie recalls: 'She done two years there and made sure she was in a good home. I didn't want to send her to a hostel in Kalgoorlie, sent her to a good home'. After Helen finished at Tech she went straight to Leonora where she worked as a nursing assistant:

From Leonora came to Laverton and worked at Laverton Hospital for a long time. Then I did a couple of years at the Laverton school, Teacher's Aide, then I went back to the hospital, cleaning and that, then I went to nursing. Then somehow I ended up cooking there at the hospital. Then I ended up at Wongutha Wonganarra working there running the store there for five years, then we ended up out here.

Helen has been a worker most of her life.

I don't know, it didn't seem right to get the dole when you were capable of working...I think in my age group we had to sort of prove that we could do the work, or prove to white people that you can do it. Like sort of there wasn't many...Prove that Aboriginal people could do work. Because when I worked at the hospital and all, when you go to have meals in the staff room, I remember I used to get so angry and it all bottled up inside me, but I couldn't speak out and you hear all of them running Aboriginal people down. And then once I did say to one girl: 'Why is that when you talking about Aboriginal people you're putting them down?' 'Oh but we forget that you're Aboriginal, you're not like them.' They just sort of try and class you, 'you're not like'. But I used to get really angry and say: 'But that's wrong, I am Aboriginal.' 'But your family not like that', they used to talk like that. I used to really hate it...In them days, why I knew I had to work because wherever I lived I had to pay board, like when I was going to Tech it was \$42 allowance for board and your spending. So it used to come in my name and I used to give \$20 to the people I was staying with and I had \$22 to spend on myself a fortnight. So that started me knowing I got to work like that. Then at the hospital they take the board out and when I did come to Laverton and stay with mum and dad I knew how to pay board. Because you've got to work to pay your way, I suppose.

Wesley was born in 1961. He started school at Cosmo Newbery mission school and then when the family shifted, he finished primary school Mt Margaret. He was one of May Miller's students at Mt Margaret: 'I remember that we were taught how to read and write, maths, all the basic things'. Later when the family shifted to Laverton he attended Laverton

High School from Year 7 to Year 10. A high school had opened in Laverton to meet the demand for schooling because of the employment openings with Western Mining at Mt Windarra mine. Wesley went to Perth for further education and stayed with a Christian family. After leaving school he worked at Wongatha Wonganarra in Laverton. Then he travelled to Picton NSW where he worked as a tyre-fitter, before returning to work at Mt Windarra Mines for five years. He was later store manager at Mt Margaret for four and a half years before the family returned to re-establish Cosmo Newbery community in 1989. Wesley has had no formal adult education, his training came through on-the-job training.

DAA had ceased funding Cosmo Newbery by the mid 1980s. However, in 1989 Wesley's family decided to move back and re-establish Cosmo. They brought with them all their accumulated skills and experience and together they have built a strong and sustainable community. With no government support the family had to start again and rebuild from scratch after investing an initial \$2000 in dry goods they started a store and a petrol station so passers-by could refuel and the profit was then reinvested in the community. When they returned there was no school. Wesley's wife had gone to high school in Karratha, in the Pilbara region of Western Australia. She had worked as an AEW at Mt Margaret and started a school for the small group of children at home, initially in a run-down house with no windows. They were assisted with resources from Mt Margaret school and ran distance education classes. At first it appeared that the school was not recognised or supported by the Education Department. Now the Education Department operates a school at Cosmo. In 1990 the new Cosmo community asked for political support from Ngaanyatjarra Council and Warburton community provided money to support a mail run and store supplies. Gradually the community was supported by Ngaanyatjarra Council. The family remains determined to make this community viable.

Wesley has two sons, a daughter and one small grandson. His daughter goes to CAPS for secondary schooling. His eldest son **'Wesley Junior' was born in 1982**. Wesley Junior's parents and grandparents on both sides have been to school. Wesley Junior went to school at Cosmo and did secondary schooling by correspondence. He has undertaken accredited training in Essential Services through Ngaanyatjarra Community College. He has done BRACS training and a BP mechanics course in Laverton. He reads for work, for instance readings at the power station, work reports, notices, flyers and emails. He also reads for pleasure: newspapers, magazines and novels from Kalgoorlie.

Family B Narratives

Katherine and Arthur's father was in the group who made first contact with the missionaries Will Wade and Fred Jackson in 1933 at Mirlirtjarra or 'Old Well', a creek bed a short distance from present the location of the Warburton community. This old man had two wives. Katherine was the daughter of the first wife and her brother Arthur was the son of his second wife.

Katherine was born in 1937.

Her memories provide an insight into the early days at the Baker Home at Warburton Ranges Mission.

I was born when that first missionary came out, missionary came out 1933, born 1937...When I was kid I lived here in Warburton and went to school here...I didn't even see my mother, that's why my father brought me in to the mission. Only father looks after me...It was Baker Home. *Walykumunu*. It was really strictly one, not allowed to go out, not allowed to swear or anything, we have to get the biggest, biggest hiding, strap, *ngarlutjarra*, put us down flat, can't sit down. [For] swearing, swearing girls, not allowed to.

At school she recalls doing 'reading and writing and must be do *tjinguru* different things'.

And finish school we go back for lunch and go back to school. [In the afternoon] we do like sewing, and that. Sometimes when we finish school we go out and when the meetings on for ladies, we go and looks after the babies. Go out and we pick the baby and we looks after it while they at the meeting.

Katherine also remembers doing other chores;

Before we get up in the morning, before we have breakfast we have to wash ourselves and go out and do work in the morning at staff*ku ngurra*...Go out and wash the dishes, sweep the floor, clean the kitchen out, then go back to breakfast, back to the dining room and have breakfast, and then go along to school.

But on the weekends,

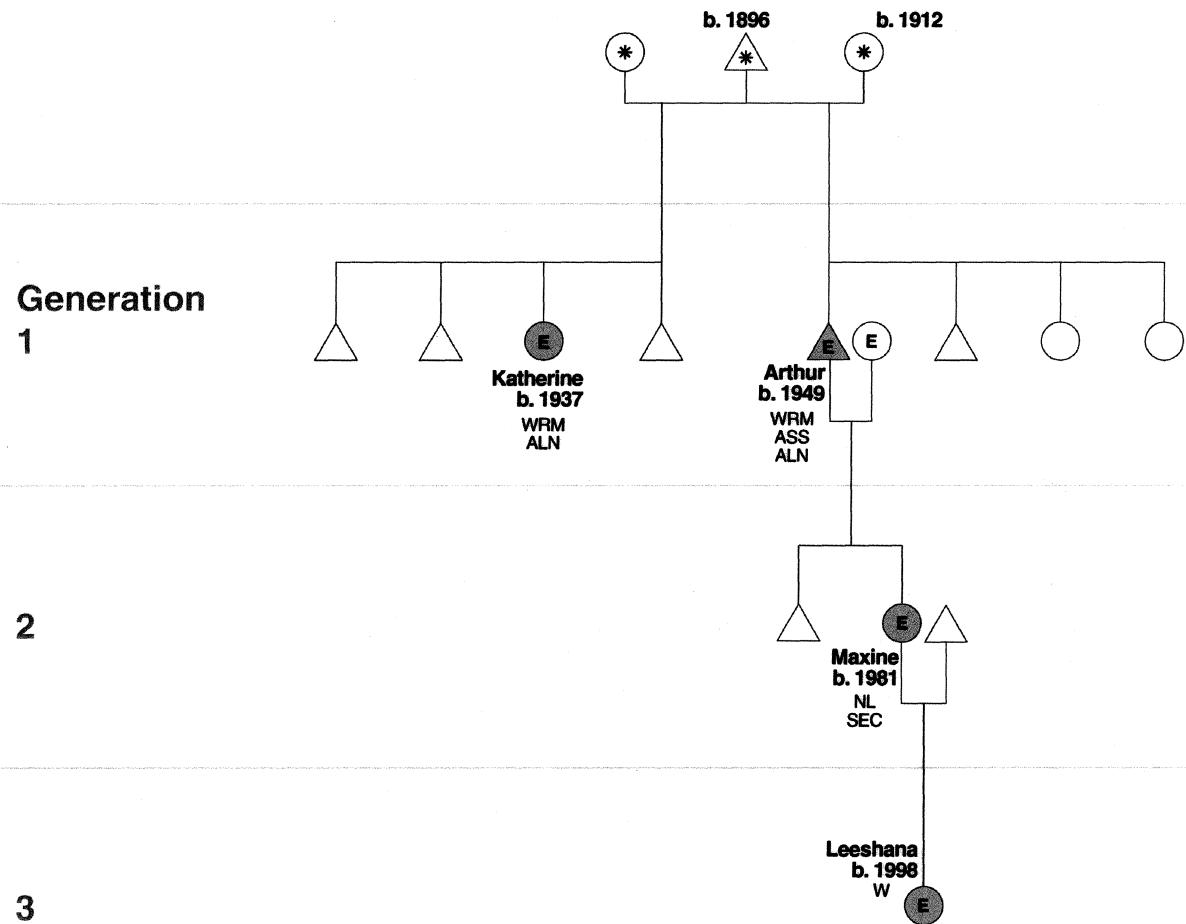
We go out, make a little cubby house, play out *nyarratja* where the roadhouse now got built, right there we used to play, make a cubby house, sit down and then come back for dinner. Sunday, church, no Sunday School, *yawa*, go out Sunday, then after we go for walk, go out for walk and then we come home. Sometimes they take us out in the truck, tea out in the bush.

By '*tjinguru* sixteen or seventeen*pa*' she had finished school, but was still living in the Baker Home. She then married and,

...used to live down there...house was there, brick house, not brick house, the stone one. The youngfellas, all the workers...my brother, Jack, all them used to help build...they used to go out there where the Brown Range that one, they used to get all the *yapu* for the building, they used to get all that and they bring it down and we had a school out of *yapu* and the mud.

She recalls other jobs around that time:

Family B



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

Going into Laverton on the truck and load the food, come down... We used to learn to cook [from] missionaries. Here, Home... Lot of things I used to do like Murray Wells' mother, she had five kids, Murray Wells and his sisters and brothers, I used to work really hard by hand, think about all them clothes, kids clothes, and sheets and towels... I learn, went to school and learn more and *nintirringu* then *ngayulu* become a teacher and I been teaching all the *tjiti, tjiti pirni* and they now grow up, *wati, minyma*.

She describes how she learned to read English when she was young 'and later on, I went to school for Ngaanyatjarra later on up here with Dorothy, later'. She kept on 'reading all different books and that, and I still like reading. I read my Bible, Ngaanyatjarra, English and Ngaanyatjarra'. She keeps a Bible with her still.

Sometime, I teach the little one, I read to her, and in Ngaanyatjarra, she understand all that Ngaanyatjarra too... I can look at the newspaper and that, newspaper, I read that too. And read the book to [the little girls], their little book, story, storybook *pa*, story about Cinderella... And talk Ngaanyatjarra, in language.

She learnt to write when she was young also but now she says,

Ngurrparna, I forgot... I never been writing, *wiyartu*, but I still, I can write... before I used to write a letter to my friend... missionary.

In the early 70s, Katherine lived in Warburton with her husband:

I was working then, like working in the dining room cooking dinner, doing breakfast for the kids, school kids. Then when they come home for lunch, have dinner, go back school, come back and have tea. Teatime and I was doing lot of work, lot of different things.

Then she went travelling to Port Augusta in South Australia and NSW.

Port Augusta. I was working up there, like first I was cooking for old people, cooking *mayi* for old people. Then I was working at the clinic, go out and bring sick one in and take them to the shower bath, bath them and put their clean clothes on... To NSW then, he went to see his family down there and when we had Christmas with them we came back and we stayed in Port Augusta. Stayed there and I got a job... *walykumunu*. Then we came back and we lived in Jameson and I was working there. Working health, *yuma*. And I used to go out, me and my husband go out to check up on old people in Wanarn, all the old people used to live out there, no *warli*, just waiting for the house to put up. *Yuma*. And I used to take the medicine down for the old people, medicine... cause I want to help people and all that. I like doing work... I been working hard, worked and worked in Jameson, worked there, then I shift back to Warburton.

She describes her desire to work. 'Me I don't want to sit, I want to do work, not just sit around'. But now she says things are different:

Nobody working, even the young people's not learning, learning to cook and all that... They just lazy one, not doing things. They should work, I used to... they not going to school, some of the girls like 10 years old, 10 and 12, 13, they not going to school, *wiya*, they finish altogether. I been telling them "Can you go school, when you sitting round you won't get learn, when you sitting down doing nothing." Go out only night-time and have a good time night-time. Every time they go the college they play around there, can't even go home *wiya*, late, must be about midnight they go home. They learning, little one learning smoking. We wasn't been like that, *wiyartu*, we wasn't been smoking. It's a free *nyaapa* for these young people now. They can do what they like... bad one, really bad... Man and young woman, *kungka*, big girl like must be 14 or 15 or *nyaapa*, they still go out...

Katherine reflects on her own adolescence when she was living in the Baker Home behind the fence erected by the missionaries.

We used to get frightened. We used to go and hide. We used to have high fence around, go out in the backyard, it was plenty room we sit down and tell stories. Yuwa, but now they can go out, mother and father they just sit back and the girls go out, night they go. Now they should see when they go and they should go and bring them home and tell them not to go out night-time wiya. But they just let them go and that's how they get babies...and no father and they don't tell us which one is the father. We ask them proper way tell us who is the father, but they don't tell us.

She thinks school is important for young people.

So they can learn, *ninti purika*...Because they should learn and learn and when they grow up they can do something...Like my *kaparli*, I used to talk to her: 'Don't go out night-time, go for walk and come straight back to me.' I used to see she comes back home. She was going school here, she went to school, highschool little one, then when she finish highschool I was thinking I'll send her away to another school to learn more, so I did. And she go to Wongutha CAPS Esperance, so she did...she's learning more. She want to, when she finish, she'll be coming back and she'll be working.

Katherine thinks it is important for the younger generation to learn traditional culture, but she doesn't know if they are learning much:

Ngurpa, once she went out with them ladies, girls too and she was dancing too, my *kaparli*. She know both ways, *yamangu* way too...*Wangka yuti*, they can talk.

She is proud of her little *kaparli* and tells me:

You know she said to me: 'When I finish school and working, then she'll find a boyfriend.' And she said 'Happy way they live.' She's not going to get married when she's in the middle of the school. And she want to be really strong, you know when they too young having a baby straight away, they not properly growing to be a strong mother. That's why she want to be really strong, that's why find a friend. Really get older, proper way to get older, not too soon.

Arthur was born around 1949 in the bush near Warburton.

The mission had started, but his family remained bush nomadics. Then when he was about eight or nine years old his family left him at the Baker Home.

You know at that time, maybe before my time when I was born, before it was really hard for our families to settle, like to sit down in one rockhole. They wasn't like that, [if] they stay at the rockhole, homeland, well there's trouble, maybe trouble coming up from another tribes come down and maybe do something and go back. Well at that time it was really hard for like my families to be with our parents all the time, see. That's why you know, at the same time missionaries came, you see. Missionaries came and all that *warrmarla* business you know from another tribes come in, like revenge, payback and they go back. So really hard for like when we was small, they can't carry us and run, they wanna be free, just pick up what they need and...

Arthur understands that the revenge parties lessened around the time the missionaries came.

Oh it went down a bit when the missionaries came, yeah went down and when old Mr Wade showed about that cross, about that two man on the side, they understand a little bit, that time.

He recalls that period as a 'hard time'.

They all, like my parents, they didn't want to let me go. I liked walking around travelling with my parents...that time kids go to school all over, so we must do the same too. The government want children to go to school to learn. So they explain about all that and made us to stay.

Although he thought that it was a good Home,

We still loved our mother and father and we wanted to be with them. And that's another part where you are all jammed in like, and you're forced to stay not to go. That was hard too for us, but we gradually learnt what the missionaries looking after us told us.

He reflects on his learning:

Some other people say the missionaries were better [good] for nothing, but in a way get learn, but that time it was different, you know, Different from today...I used to read...I can read better, you know some of us got learnt properly how to read and write, and get to know how talking speaking to anyone we talk...I used to write letters...I still can read letters like this one.

At times his mother and father were camping outside the mission, and at other times they worked around the mission. His father worked on making the cutline for the road to Laverton and getting the rock slabs from Brown Range for the building construction work around the mission: 'I seen my father working, dragging tree along, lifting heavy things like rock'. Arthur remembers the old school building,

...made out of slabs from the Ranges up here, Brown Range and we used to see our parents go down helping, bringing the slabs and cracking it and levelling, starting to build. So we seen that school go up. School and it was a church too, you know, where people worshipped.

Arthur also remembers seeing other people working around the mission, in the hospital and in the store, 'some ladies worked at the Boys Home when it was still going, they wash clothes for the girls, and ladies do the washing for the boys'.

At school,

...they taught us a lot of things. Like Bible, and stories in the Bible, all those things, they sounded strange to us, see. At that time I was growing and knowing, "Oh yeah?" But we didn't know what was up there or down here, and all that, we was slowly learning.

Although he really liked school he also recalls that,

...it was really hard for me, like you can only talk when your parents are down, there, see. But that's when they, when whitefellas was looking after us. And that's why we had to, like, follow up every day, every school day, and we thought at the end of a week, we think it's, well to me, almost forgetting about your mother, and like learning what the white people do. So we had to, I really like school, I did because at the year ahead I thought: 'Oh well, I'm gonna be like this, I wanna learn'. So I like school.

Arthur remembers that the stone slab school room had 'a cement floor, and a door, couple of windows, maybe four windows and a store room where we had books stored away. At school there were pencils and exercise books and.

...many story books...with stories like Waltzing Matilda, Once a Jolly Swagman, that man there, those sort of book. So when we was learning that way, well, we think we're gonna see that Jolly Swagman. But it was story, you know, we liked it.

In the Christmas holiday period Arthur would go out bush with his family.

At the Christmas holiday time we go out. Go out and our parents bring us back to school, not on the right time but, you know... Bring us anytime they coming back this way. Walking and they bring us Home here, and we go back in the Home here, and then we keep going every year, right up.

Around 1961 he did his last exam at the end of the year and finished school.

Between 12 and 13 I used to sort of go through, I think it was the last time we do our exams, exam. For the school teacher, for the government finding out what good, how good we are learning through the school, like the UAM school and we used to have exams every once a year. We knew some things from the school.

By the end of his schooling he reflected that, 'some of us got learnt properly how to read and write, and get to know how talking speaking to anyone we talk'.

Arthur was sent to Pedlar's Hostel in Esperance:

Then from there I went, went out into the...like when we leave school we can't be here...we stayed for a little while and then the missionaries sent us away like for Wongutha Farm or anywhere, you know, where there's missionaries looking after kids.

He'd heard the stories about Esperance from his two brothers who had already been out in the Goldfields. Arthur commenced the farm training program while boarding at Pedlar's:

Farming, all different jobs like shearing, fencing, riding horses. It was really strict at that time, the government, Department of Native Welfare sent us to Pedlar's. Young people from all over went to the one place.

In the 1960s Arthur recalls going to Mt Margaret for a couple of weeks to see family.

My mother's sisters were out there, there were about three of them and they walked because of that *warrmarla* time you know.

While there he observed people coming in for the 'Anniversary'.

Big mob coming in from all over coming in to like Mt Margaret, for church service every once a year, so that's where I was learning like 'where these people come from?' Younger people and older people coming in. One of my parents told me: 'Oh they come in from stations, there's a lot of station around here, anybody can go and work'...Stayed there till, like, I got a chance to move out, so I moved out into the station.

Arthur was moving around and working on a few different stations before 1966:

They needed musterers, shearers, if we hang around town police didn't want people hanging around, police picked us up, if not working do time just for walking around, happened to young people for just walking around. Now law has changed, young people can't be forced to go to work...Like we go to different station, come back then we see oh, the young people that we know and then we go out with them, yeah, where they worked. So we, that's when I found out, oh I like to follow this mob here. So I followed them...Mustering time, anytime the station people ask us, maybe fencing: 'Do you know how to fence?' Or new paddock or shearing time, we go out any time...it wasn't a big pay you know, they paid us little money. Maybe about, um, this was 'pound time', you know, when we was working, we used to get little bit and money sort of changed at that time, you know and station people started paying us like right way. They see us working all the time and they know oh he's a good worker and pay you more. If you not working properly you won't get much. So we really worked hard to earn more.

He worked around different stations for 'a long time'.

Especially when I found out I been around every stations, and you see grumpy man, you know the station bloke, station owner, we didn't like that man, so we moved around till we, till I can see this is a kind man he look after Aboriginal people.

Marlon in his Narrative recalls how he Arthur and Silas were working at Bandy Station with a 'rough' manager and after Marlon got into a fight with the manager, the three men walked off the station. After this, Arthur started working at Mt Weld Station near Laverton where he stayed for many years.

It was a good station next to a creek and that station owner he looked after us...because he teach me, teaching me the right way. Like I started off on the, like the station motors so he taught me how to take the head off, take the sump off, take the engine out of the body. That was like a thing that I really liked, really loved to do. So I kept working and the station man... he taught me lot like welding, windmill, fencing, fixing the motor car, trucks, nearly everything... because of what I do you know, like helping this station man, well I sort of got proud, like, not really proud but excited, but I can do more if I want to. So I stayed at that place all the time and I kept working and my pay got like bigger, yeah. And sometime he buy me a car, like a car to come out here [Warburton] on holiday.

Arthur says he was 'happy all the time' working at the station, sometimes on his own and sometimes with other young fellas, sometimes going into Laverton and maintaining contact with family.

Arthur likens this period of bachelorhood work on the stations to traditional maturational processes: 'little bit the same as what our old people did, like we went, like we followed them'.

He continues comparing the generational shift.

Young men now they don't do it, they don't do things like that. They here, even work you know, can't work, can't even work on their own like with a white man...I don't know, they got different ways I think. Our way was, we was like forced, now it's a sort of free way for anyone to live now...My way was forced, like, just the job part, job part, we have to be forced out, forced out of here, even in town when we run out of job, sometime we like staying with the young people, well police there don't want young people, or anyone, like keeping that, they want to keep that town quiet...You can't live out, only when you're working you can live in town [had to have] special permit so you couldn't hang around...I can't hang around, I have to go...I learnt that way, you know, I had to go. Well, that's why I got that habit, like, you know, if I run out of money, well I got to work. Nowadays young people can't work, it's money there already for them. Like government must have done that or someone.

Arthur is dependent about the next generation.

I don't see young people nowadays doing what I been doing. Can't see that. They just do what they can, you know what they think they can do [do what they like]. That's all. They can't work or learn about anything...There's a lot of things, lot of like a new ideas coming in, like for *Yarnangu* this one, I'm talking about *Yarnangu*. There a lot of danger stuff coming in, whitefella stuff, you know, they might like doing them when they keep at it, and their pays are there all the time, every week. They just keep on doing it. Just can't work...they learnt for a while, maybe a couple of years, and this is when they little too, they can go any time, but they stop schooling, anytime. At our time it was really hard one, strict one, can't hide around anywhere, go bush.

When Arthur was living at the station he filled his leisure-time with activities.

I used to live at the station...sometimes like when we go in [to Laverton] for picture, like movie and we stay there for one night, two night...and I come back...My parents was there at that time, they move into, so they were close, like Laverton not far from the station...I used to be painting, good one, that time and write letter to my sister here [Warburton] all the time,

Arthur describes how he'd get writing paper from the 'station man' and sometimes his sister would write back.

I used to have my case, comics, books something to make bigger things like learning. I still had my letters, you know writing letter all the time...Had pencil, writing pad, envelopes, stamp...And I have my mouth organ or anything like that, keep it in there. Magazines, like comics, remember them old comics, magazine, oh them books you read like that Women's Weekly or that other stuff. From Laverton...that was the only town close, round all the station. This side, this side, north side, all come in.

After many years Arthur finished up at Mt Weld and went into Laverton and got a job at the Shire picking up rubbish while still doing a bit of casual work on other stations around Laverton. In addition to station work Aboriginal people also worked in town:

In town there was a lot of jobs in the Shire and the mailcarter you know, he take mail into Kalgoorlie, Leonora, they needed young people to work so we used to work on the mail too. Like mail carting, going out, picking up stores, they had no train that time, coming into Laverton.

It was while he was living around Laverton that Arthur stopped buying books to read: 'I don't know why, I don't know why I stopped'. Over the years Arthur periodically visited Warburton, during these visits he started to learn a little Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

The translation mob like old Mr Douglas was here and he got older ones to write down there all the language. So at that time I used to see my parents doing it too. So I was someone that can ask all the time, something good. So I have to ask for maybe my brother to read it, so he used to read it in Ngaanyatjarra...with the translation man was here long time, Mr Douglas, Wilf Douglas, he used to do it at the school there or at his place where he lived. He used to get like Silas' father, Jack doing that.

This tradition then carried on with Anee Glass and Dorothy Hackett teaching Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

Those ladies Miss Hackett and Miss Glass they came in when the mission like settled, good transport, plane was coming in at that time, like we didn't have a Flying Doctor, but we had plane was coming in picking sick people up. It was at that time when the translation mob went out, like drive out to Snake Well, or been to the camp where we used to live.

Like many others in his generation Arthur learnt to read and write in Ngaanyatjarra.

I went to, we used to go out, learning, we spent a couple of days or a week with Miss Hackett and Miss Glass and some other missionaries...I went to Darwin, I did that translation there...or we do it here anyway, got time to go out to learn more to write...I learnt a lot.

In the 1970s when the outstations were being set up, everyone knew that Arthur was a good mechanic so they would call him up on the radio to come and do a job, even from as far away as South Australia. This prompted Arthur return to Warburton.

The time when Hunt Oil, you remember all that, looking for oil out here, well that time I was, that's when I came back, 1980 what? Yeah 1980, I came back here.

He was able to find site clearance work with the new mining ventures:

We only went out with the companies, like pegging, pegging lines and cutting trees. Now they got bulldozers, they do it straight, used to use an axe and a peg and one whitefella way up in front telling us to line that peg, even when it's long way you can do that, straight across make a straight line, to blocks, ready for the drilling mob, they came around drilling then. And they went away, came back and started digging.

Arthur also worked in the mechanics workshop: 'I taught a lot of young people how to do the engine. I was a really good teacher to them'. Mainly because of the good training he had had himself 'mostly from working on stations, welding, building and making gates'.

They started working that time... You see them working, some had different job like stock job, that time, they kept [stock] running. That time they used to round up bullock and send them away that time. Some worked in the store, some worked at the workshop, that time you know when money came in, when the government started that working, working for money, not CDEP that other money... At that time it was some of hard for younger people or older people to work. They got to get up, go out and work every work time. Older people and all was working, they used to work around here, till it went for a couple of years and then went down... I don't know why but the changes came in, like you don't have to work and you still got the money coming in, all those sort of changes came, changed it around.

Arthur was also Warburton Community Chairman for a number of years where he had to 'read about everything what's coming in, going out, money being spent, all those sort of ones' and 'over the years most of us tried it with CDEP'. Arthur now considers himself retired, but he is still working, he says he just has the working habit in him and he wants to work to fix up his homeland and train young people to ride horses. But he says: 'when they want me to I use my truck to dump stuff, like for Shire'.

At home he keeps a few books.

Bible, songbook, I had a couple of books about like, different sorts of Aboriginal way of living. I had that one and I used to read that. That was a really good one. You know, if I might go into another place up this way, north way, well I had to read that book to know, if I'm up there I got to be careful, you know. If I'm out here, I do the same, Amata way, mmm. It's only a book you know, might be whitefella's book that one, but it's really good to read.

I ask if he still has it and he laughs, 'Oh you lend it to someone it never come back'.

Arthur and his wife 'grew up' a couple children as their own. He has a daughter Maxine born in 1981 whom he looks after and a five year old granddaughter Leeshana who was born in 1998 and has started going to Warburton School.

Family C Narratives

Mary and Harold's father and Silas' grandfather was in the group that first made contact with the missionaries Will Wade and Fred Jackson in 1933 at *Mirlirrjarra* or 'Old Well', a creek bed a short distance from present the location of the Warburton community. This old man had two wives, Mary and Harold are the children from his senior wife, and Silas' father Horace was born to his co-wife.

Mary was born in 1935.

When she was a child she was left in the Baker Home when she was too big to be carried around. She'd see her family when they came in to get *mirrka* in exchange for 'skintatja, *papa* skin' (dingo scalps) and in the summer they would come and take her bush. She remembers doing schoolwork every morning in the 'timber house', then when the bell rang at dinnertime going back to the Home for lunch. Chores often took up half the day, washing the plates, washing the clothes and all that. At school she recalls,

...chalkangka, writetamalpayi, slate, chalkangka, writetamalpayi, writetamalpayi and scribblemalpayi in the paper. And when we been getting big we come to this 'nother house. Brick house. I was writing good way.

The 'brick house' was the building made of stone that served as both school room and church that opened in 1952. Mary's memories of schooling are positive:

I used to read. Lovely school teacher, Mrs Cotterill used to learn us and Mrs Nash long time ago when we little girl Mrs Mitchell used to looks after us in the school, that's our teacher, Mrs Mitchell. And after, all this other rest.

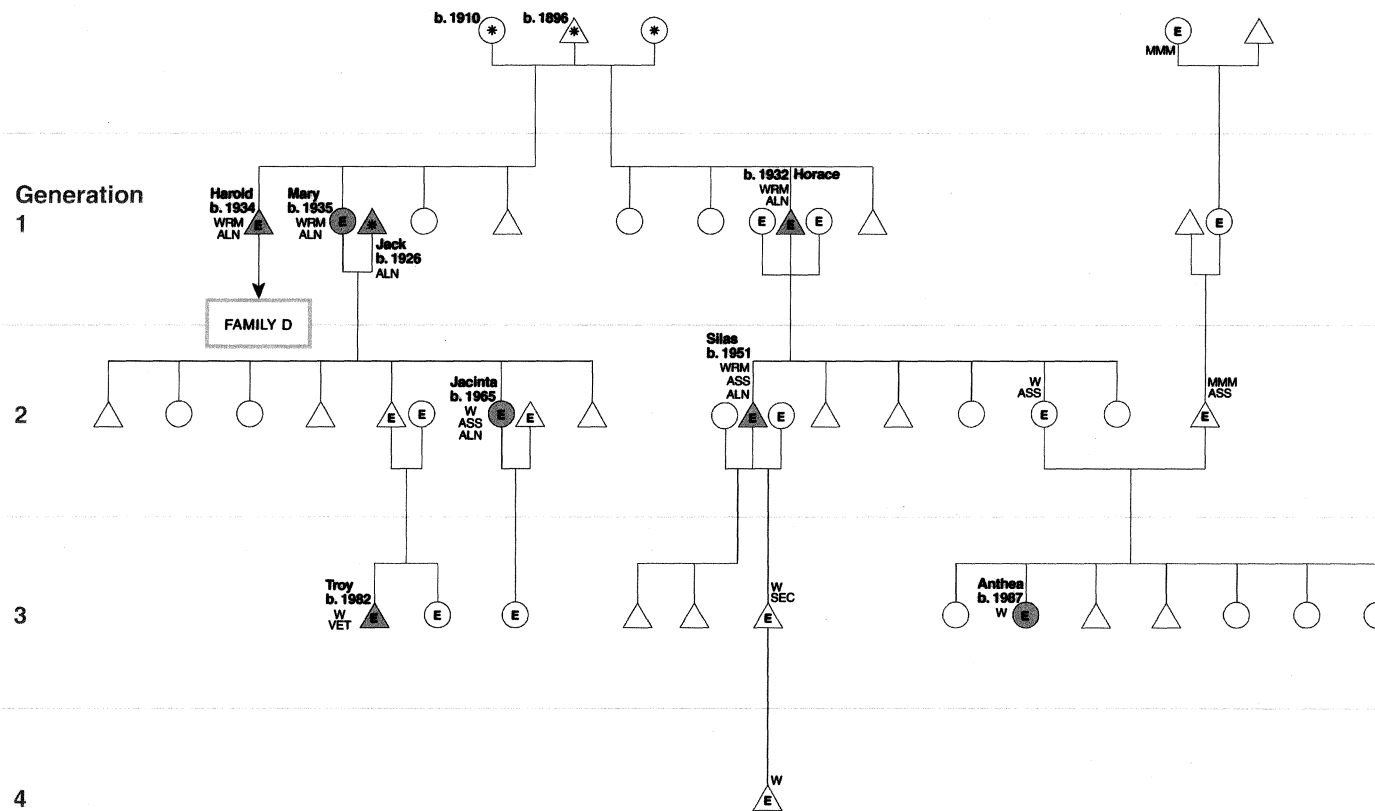
And her sense is that she learned to read and write at school. On the weekends there was more freedom, Saturday was often spent playing on the flat up near *Mirlirrjarra*.

We used to sit down make a *wiltja* and play all day. When we listen to the bell ringing and we all running all the way from that place. Yuwa, *kulilku*...And we was running for *mirrka*. Dinnertime and supperku.

Sundays were not so free as the morning was spent at Sunday School.

Mary finished school around 16 years of age. She continued living at the Baker Home with a few other older girls including Clifford's aunt (see Family J). This cohort, who lived in the Baker Home, were the first real mission school generation. Mary married Jack (b. 1926) in the second Christian marriage ceremony in the mission. Jack was too old to go into the Home when the mission was established. As a young adult he worked around the mission. Although she has had a long and happy marriage to Jack she remembers that the missionaries 'forced her to get married':

Family C



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

When my mother and father been gone that ways and that missionary been give me to that man Jack. I said: '*Wiyaya*, I don't want him.' 'Oh you gotta get married to him.' *Yuwa*, he was saying that. That missionary used to looks after us in a Baker Home. I said *wiya*...the missionary got sorry for Jack because he been had hard job doing everything house, building house. And he said: 'Oh you got to get married to him.' And I said: 'No, *wiya, wiya*.'

The Christian marriage was an event remembered by many of the community who were present: 'we got married in the Baker Home, we had a big *mirrka*...must be wedding *mirrka*, cake, they had a big dinner... when we get married'.

Mary and Jack then went out bush. They later returned to the mission and began working. Jack was,

...going out getting the wood in a horse cart, horsey cart, bring all the waru, every place, putting all that, in one place...so all the old people can sit down, cut all the wood...*purru*, take it to every house, *waru* for making a dinner, not now.

While Mary was,

...sewing clothes in the machine, sewing machine...I been doing washing, washing the clothes for the missionary. Sister, hospital work I been do it. First one was finish then I been do it...I been doing another job. Miss *Glassku* work, Miss Hackett and Miss Glass...And learning Miss Hackett and Miss Glass language, *yuwa*, every time. Helping her to putting all this *nyaapa* language. *Yuwa, pirni, pirni, pirni*.

Mary talks about how her children went out into the Eastern Goldfields and got educated.

All the girls, *kungka pirniya*. They used to go that way, they don't play around with the *nyaapa*, boys or man. They a good *kungka*...They don't run around man to man, good one *kungka*...they used to go to school that way, Wongutha, and Esperance, long way to Esperance...Must be gone to *ngana*, Esperance, Jacinta and *ngayuku katja*. They went out that way. *Ngayuku tjitji* been gone to Wongutha, round that area, she used to work there. She *ninti purlkanya, ngayuku tjitji*. And she came here and she was doing school in this house *ngaangka*. She's a teacher...She know, *ninti, ninti purlkanya*.

When her children were little she remembers teaching them to read. In turn she also taught her grandchildren. Now her grandson Troy read too. Now she says keeps many books at home.

I got a book *pirninya* there. That hymnbook, yellow one [songbook], and like that, brown one [Bible]...Lovely, I like to read all that early days one, when they been doing long, long time. I was reading that. I been open this straight away and I saw this *Mama* God is like that and there's a world in the middle and he's looking after us, like this big *mara*, and there's a world *ngaralanga* middle. I been open this way, I said: 'Oh there's *Mama* God is looking after us.' ...*Yuwa*, other Jungle Book, Paul White. I got a book from that way, Mr Blyth been sending me. And this *Biblepa kutju*. This Mr Blyth been sending me, storybook, Paul White, with all that monkey *pirni*, and one man he been cutting the *nyaapa, warta* and that tree fell down, right down...Yeah, I've got books, only few, *Biblepa*, hymnbook *kutjarra*, and this one book from Mr Blyth, *yuwa*.

When asked if she keeps any writing materials at home she laughs and says:

Wiyartu, no, *wiyartu*. When I put a pencil down they come and took pencil away, *tjitjiluya*.

Silas was born in 1951.

The family has been in the Warburton Ranges region 'right from the beginning'. Silas' grandfather left his children in the care of the missionaries while the adults moved between the familiarity of bush life and an increasing dependence on the mission. Silas describes the experiences of the first generation in the mission school.

They used to, schooling was like a bough shed built at Old Well, the school was built in Old Well...they used to line up and they used get like dress-up and they used to go to learning, like Kindergarten, Kindergarten first, you know reading and learning to look at books. And from, from Kindergarten to the first school, and from there they went on and on and they shift from Old Well to the Warburton, to this one now, to this Warburton where we are now. Warburton Mission, Warburton Community and they got a big bigger then. They was learning to read and write at school, but was bit different in that time you know, bit different. Because they used to do that, what they call that in the beads? [abacus]...They used to count that like you know 1, 2, 3. Like that. And they used to write, write in big letters and little letters, big letters and little letters.

Silas' mother and father wed in the first Christian marriage ceremony in the mission. In the 1950s they were the first family to live in a small house at the mission. His father worked in the mission and did 'Bible class, Bible school...right through until he was an adult'. Silas says his father Horace:

He done most of his learning in the language when Noel Blyth came. He got him to do the translation, he got him to do the translating with Noel Blyth. [At home] we used to have...like Christian books, you know.

Silas describes his family:

My families was a little bit different from the people who lived round the mission compound. When they was still in the *wiltja* and still in the bush. My families was a little bit different because they was accepted by the missionaries, they was accepted by the missionaries... my father especially was a tribal, tribal leader. But he balance his Law in a private way, you know the tribal ways, tribal ways and the Christianity. They was living in Warburton and they was like working for the mission, you know, missionaries. My family, my mother especially was working for the mission like washing clothes for the missionaries, and working in the kitchen, cooking bread and doing this and that...for the kitchen side... And my father used to work, used to work for the mission, like going out getting them stores, when they used to go out like on a truck from Warburton to Laverton and even to the, the old siding, other side of Laverton, this side of Leonora. Malcolm railroad, Malcolm siding. And they used to come and camp at Mt Margaret, because Mt Margaret was like a stop, where the Warburton workers, missionary workers go and stop in Mt Margaret. They come home then. Because the missionaries in that time they wanted an Aboriginal person to work for them so they got my parents to work, like learning them to be household workers and washing clothes...My father was doing a little bit of gardening...my father was learning how to...woodwork...like timber, cutting timber.

Horace told him:

'One day we're gonna be finished and you got to stand up on your own two feet.' He wanted the working thing to keep going. He was a Christian man, he was a Pastor and some of my uncles they was Pastor too.

In retrospect, Silas perceives that some missionaries were good and some were bad. Although at first women were washing clothes for some missionaries like 'slaves', later missionaries were better as they 'accepted people into their houses for a cup of tea'. Silas believes that the mission wanted to give Aboriginal people 'hope to go forward into towns and cities and get a good job on that level'.

Silas had a relatively long spell of primary schooling at Warburton after which he was sent away to Wongutha Farm:

I went further, I was going to do two years, but I did one year in Wongutha Farm, Esperance. I was teenager. I wanted to get learn but I get twist off, twist off by some young fellas calling me to go to work in the stations, in the station, you know. At Wongutha Farm we used to do like jack of all trades, like building, carpentry, saddlery, learning further more education like going to highschool there. I never done properly with my arithmetic, you know. That's why I'm a little bit poor in that, on the money side, you know. Reading and writing and talking...

Silas worked at Bandya Station (see Marlon's story in Family E Narratives).

The first thing they put a man on the horse and say it's all yours now, you got to go and do a mustering, you know mustering the sheep and after mustering the sheep, shearing time, catch the sheep and branding time, muster the cattle. It was a good job...and I stayed there for two years and coming back holiday and going back again.

After 'book up' for boots, hat, clothes and 'tin tobacco' were deducted, he recalls getting 'only a little bit of cash...not a proper wage, in that time it was a little bit different'.

Then in the early 1970s Silas returned to Warburton and began working with a Project Officer.

I was accepted working in the store for a while...missionaries were still here, but the government people was coming in then, like coming in then, in the changeover until my uncle found the copper ore and got a job with some people then...When the government people came and they, a lot of people working for, like wage then. Then after that time when that work changed a bit, changed a bit, then I got into that working a bit with, when the builders used to come here before and I used to give them a little bit hand, I was working on the water supply and change along to this government thing now. Now it makes it a bit easier when people can get a government job.

Silas also became a Pastor around 1991. He wanted to do Bible Study at GBTI like some others but this never eventuated. Instead he tells the story about starting reading the Bible and one night he read it through all night, and he opened up to it, it spoke to him and the meaning came inside him. When he goes away to Christian meetings in other places people are surprised that he is Aboriginal as they see him as 'extraordinary', but he says he is not special, he just has no *kurnta* and he always talks to the white people, he is not afraid, and he knows the ways as he has been mixing with white people since he was a child playing with the missionaries' children. He wants to 'look over the horizon and beyond, to further himself beyond the horizon'.

The Pastor job it's very good...Before I became a Christian I used to live a bit...outside a church. But I still had that teaching from when I was a kid. To become a Pastor I dedicate my life, you know dedicated my life and I made that promise with my Lord and I accepted and the missionary came and they accepted as like a Pastor then. And I still balance that.

Silas' children and grandchildren have all grown up and gone to school at Warburton. His grandchildren are now the fourth generation through schooling.

My son, he been to school here. And he went... But my second oldest he went to school here and he finish. But my oldest son he went to Coolgardie CAPS so he done his schooling there and he came back, you know... my grandson, he, the teacher told me that he is doing well, learning English and he writing and writing his like story, diary. And yeah he's going alright and other children too. Like my grandson's age, they doing better too, you know. And my nephew's son I think, we're looking after him too, you know. Well he's a bit bigger and he's getting alright too, you know. And reading and writing and talking, like English.

Silas remains a community leader and worker:

Now I got a government job, looking after people on community-based order, like community people. Instead of going in jail they can do the jail thing in the community, like work. I work with Ministry of Justice and check up on them and make sure they do their community hours.

Jacinta was born in 1965.

She is Mary and Jack's *yurmtalpa*, daughter,

I was born here, and I grew up with my family here... I got four brothers and three sisters. I went to school here. They [Mary and Jack] was working before that, when I was little, but they still was working when I was that big [about 9 years old] when I was going to school.

Then like other adolescents at that time Jacinta was sent to the Eastern Goldfields for secondary schooling:

We went on a plane to Kalgoorlie, lots of girls like Jennifer, Eileen those sort of girls, we all went same time. We went on the bus to Esperance, no we went to Kalgoorlie and that night we catch the bus to Esperance... must be Native Welfare [organise that] or something like that.

Jacinta has the sense that her parents were happy for her to go and that they trusted people.

We were living at Fairhaven, it was a bit, you know, good and when we got homesick sometimes ran away and went back and Jennifer's mum went down there, to stay at Fairhaven, this lady here, to look after all the girls... we always went Project School, sometimes I go Year 9 then go back to Project... that was the big high school down there, that Project School there next to that high school... In the morning we always go Project and we get separated, one each go in the class with all the other kids.

Jacinta was in Esperance for three years, and returned to Warburton for holidays. When she was about 17 she,

...came back one way, here... It was only small, lot of people they had *wilja*, only some houses was built, just a few. My sister was working at school, she was married and she wasn't living with us. The children in the family used to camp there with her, she had a house there, camped there, went to school every morning.

Jacinta's sister worked at the school for about 20 years and was inducted into the Education Department 'Hall of Fame': 'she's got that big thing on her 'Hall of Fame' she got that at Kalgoorlie, she got that up on her wall, it's a really big one'. She was a role model for all the children in the family and had a big influence on them. Jacinta recalls that her nephew Troy 'was good at school'. Jacinta doesn't remember any books at home when

she was young except for 'Bibles, that's all, my mum would read' and the songbook in church. Jacinta can read Ngaanyatjarra and recalls learning from her mother:

When she reads I always see her reading and listening and that's how I got learn...and you know Miss Hackett...I was at Miss Hackett's place and we would learn every afternoon when she was living here.

By the time she left school Jacinta recalls that she could read and write in Ngaanyatjarra and English. But after returning from Esperance she doesn't remember doing much reading or writing.

Sometimes work, sometimes home, mainly home I think. Sometimes at work, I don't remember much, it's been a long time. But at home tape, little small tape, tape recorder, small one...they don't get magazines that time.

When her husband 'was in Boulder Prison that time they don't have no phone, I used to write letters and he used to write back...that time they had no phone that's when I was writing down to him and he'd write back'. Letter writing was private with no whitefella assistance. It was a time when Jacinta was really using her writing. Jacinta laughed when I asked her if she had kept any of those letters.

Jacinta has not worked much, she lives a quiet life.

I don't go round to the school these days because we always stop home, I just go hospital and back and office and shop, that's all.

Yet she has kept her literacy strong. She finds out what is going on around the place by reading the notices on the wall,

...always read them when we go in and in the shop, hospital...all those faxes on the wall...I don't get letters from anybody. Oh yeah, Centrelink, that's all. Now she get magazines from the shop, but someone always come and steal them, must be some people from like store, bought a new one yesterday and it's gone. Someone took it. I don't have any books. I'd love to have a books but people always come in there and take it. I'd like to keep it in my room, locked up...I got a lot of photos there, keep it in little basket I keep it inside...[husband] got old photos...he's got it in his room...And 'nother photo I got is my cousin.

Troy was born in 1982.

He is Jacinta's *yukari*, nephew, and Mary and Jack's *tjamu*. Troy reflects on his family and how they have influenced him. He says his *kaparli* Mary,

...went to school in the mission, she been schooling there in the mission, she became older working there, stopping here, working, nurse. My father he's work self, mechanics, you know fixing old car, that's why I always seen my father fix his own car and my mother she always work in the Woman's Centre...My *tjamu* he know it for English, Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara language, three language. He can read, before he used to read. He read newspaper, dictionary, that old first one, first language.

Troy thinks this is really important. His aunty worked at the school for twenty years.

She always teach me how to clean up the house, rubbish and tell me to clean my plates, dishes. She always tell me to go to school, so I always go school.

Troy liked school and has a sense that he was good at school. He stayed on at school after many in his cohort had dropped out:

Some others was running away from school. Running away and stay at one place, hide away. They return half a day school and run away to the oval, play football. I always watch them, they always tell lies to the teacher: 'Can I go toilet.' And they go toilet and run away from this school here. But me, I don't tell lies, come back straight...I was about 16 when I was going school and when I turned 17 I was still going school...I turned 18 and a teacher had a look...then Advisor came round and he told me: 'Oh, you wanna sign your name for money, wages'. So I write a name and they told me: 'Oh you got the wages.' I get my money now. Then I got a job. Then I went working, I was working at the Roadhouse, cleaning up, putting all the gardens and I was working all day, finish, and back home, still working, working in that truck, one whitefella was working, used to go down there, work, clean all the rubbish. Plant all the trees, it was good, I was working first.

As a young man Troy started to get into a bit of trouble:

And then them other boys my school friends, some of them they was sniffing round. They started, told me, then they forced me and I started sniffing and we got in trouble then and I went to Perth, Juvenile Prison in Perth, to Rangeview and Banksia and only for two months and a half, and came back...It was bit hard 'cause too many others, other Aboriginals...strangers. And I was shy, bit shy.

In Juvenile Detention with eating well, sleeping well and having a routine Troy did well at school:

When I was, went to other school, they put me to other school, biggest mob was there, biggest other peoples, like I was working there. They shift me to other school, to Unit 3, I was starting first Number 1, Number 2, Number 3. Then I got to Number 3...3 was bit harder, but easy was 1 and 2, and Number 3 was harder, you know. Cause I was only..., cause I was know for the easier stuff like maths, maths and, they put to Number 2...I was proud 'cause I was working for money, money and that, went to another school. English was, doing English and all that, was good. So when we was working and see after to lunch break we moved to the workshop...worked there, learn about doing cupboard, shelf, all that. I was learning about doing all that before. And after, went back home time, recess time, cause it was good. I wasn't worrying.

Troy 'got in trouble' again and went to Eastern Goldfields Regional Prison in Kalgoorlie-Boulder:

Fine, cause I never paid for couple of weeks and the cops came round and said: 'You never pay this fine. So you got to do this one, this like six months.' So I went in and done straight, six months straight, for doing that fine thing. Just doing the fine...I been get letter, for fine letter...Cause I was done it first time this, for fighting and drinking round, first time for fight, that's what I got that letter, fine and bail I got. And then I got that fine. Cause when I was read it and I was thinking: 'Oh couple of weeks I'll pay it.' But I forgot it, couple of weeks time to pay it. Then cops come looking around for me and he told me: 'Oh, you didn't pay this fine so we have to 'rrest you.' That's why, Oh I forgot I think. I had a money but I spent it on a drink. That's why I went in, six months, done six months straight...It's a bit easy, but the other prisons like Perth, it's a bit hard. But in Kalgoorlie it's a lot of Aboriginals there like families, uncles and brothers in Kalgoorlie. When I was there I was happy to see them 'cause they had a years, years, must be two years, one years. That's why I went in there done it straight, six months, got out, came away to Warburton.

When he was in EGRP Troy chose to go to the Education Centre because he wanted to learn more.

When I was in there I was going to school, always do about things, words, words and numbers, numbers. 'Cause I was making own story about this place and dreamtime stories and it was good going to school.

He says it is easier to do learning in prison, but in everyday life in the community it is hard. Troy says getting an education is important. Back in the community he wants to work but hasn't got a job.

Job, so work all day no worries. Like, like them boys working over there in the basketball court, like that, cement...I never asked, cause there's biggest mob hanging round there, they'll look at me, laugh at me, they'll talk about: 'Look at Troy, he's working. Got a good job.' They say it like that...They talk about peoples, they talk about peoples, all the young fellas. Like that, they say: 'Oh, look at Troy, what he doing, he got a job.' Like that...That's why I wanna find a job, for money...But when work right through get a big money then sit down for a while, buy a car, buy something like TV, and furnitures, tables, all that. I can get it.

Troy still keeps his reading and writing going in every day life.

Magazine, write puzzles in the magazine book...and reads names, on board [signs and notices]...In a book, write my own stories in a book. Scrapbooks, the little scrapbooks. Write my own stories, write my names. All sort of things. I bought it at the Roadhouse and I always kepted it in my bag, but people going through my bag and stealing, that's why. Somebody stole that, I don't know which one. My own diary, but they steal it, one of my brothers steal it or my sister.

Like lots of the young fellas Troy goes to the college library regularly to read books, use the computers and watch videos. He especially liked doing computer work with the *Nintirringkula* arts project. Like most youngfellas Troy wants to be active and engaged:

I feel sad by myself, it's boring, I feel dopey sit down one place. Them other fellas they come round they talk to me I'll feel happy, sit down quiet. For him what is important for the future is Like learning some...Business, Business and look after them peoples, look after other peoples when they sick.

Anthea was born in 1987.

She is Silas' sister's daughter. Her great grandparents and grandparents were at Mt Margaret Mission. She is in the fourth generation in her family to experience schooling. Her father was at school in Leonora and then Eastern Goldfields High School when his family was living in Kalgoorlie. He left school at 15 years of age and went to college in Kalgoorlie for a year to train as a motor mechanic. He didn't complete his training and went to Laverton. He worked as a musterer on stations, then at Laverton Shire doing rubbish collection and worked on the mines. Then he came to Warburton. Anthea's mother grew up in Warburton and went to school in Warburton until she was sent to Fairhaven in Esperance. After she finished school she continued living at Fairhaven while working cleaning houses.

Family D Narratives

Rosie was born in 1941.

Her father was also in the first group to make contact with missionaries in 1933 at *Mirlirrtjarra* or 'Old Well'. Her family left her in the Baker Home to be cared for by the missionaries in the mid to late 1940s. She recalls her schooling:

Schoolpa *palyalpayi* writingpa [we'd do writing in school]. *Yuwa* writingpa *nintirringkupayi* [learning writing], printing writingpa and little bit learn-*narriku* Englishonepa *palyalpayi* [doing English].

She has positive memories of her childhood living in the Baker Home:

It was *walykumunu*. We play outside, go bush, come back, play *wiltja-wiltja*, bush. When we heard a bell ringing we run, *pijaku*, *kulilku*: 'Hey, ringing the bell.' And *kukurralkulatju* bathku first [we'd run for the bath first]. Bathku, *mayiku*. Have a *mayi* first, have a shower and *nyinama* [sitting] outside... Sunday we used to have Sunday School *turku*. Hear about *Mama* God, *Jesuku* *tjukurpa*, story, *yuwa* every Sunday afternoon, *mungangka* and go back Home *kunkunarriku* [in the evening we go back to the Home and go to sleep]. And father used to go round to the missionaries, ask "Can I take this girl for holiday, bush, little while holiday? Must be two weeks or three weeks come back." *Marlaku* *pijaku* Home-*ngka* *tjarrpaku*, *tirtu* *kanyilpayilanyatju* and schoolkulatju *pijapayi* [We returned to the Home and they kept us for a long time and we'd go to school]. And sometime we used to *milkpalatju* *mulyartarripayi* [steal the milk] . Milk, goats' milk. We used to *milkmanku*, boil it with water, not water, boil him with the fire and *creampalatjatju* *ngalkupayi*, *walykumunu* [we would eat the cream, it was really good]. Sheep and nannygoats separate, sheep shepherd, *nyaapa*, all the men look after the sheep... 'nother lot nannygoats and we used to go bush and milk have a drink *mantjirru*, *milkmanku*. Come back, *pijakulatju*, *nyinaku*.

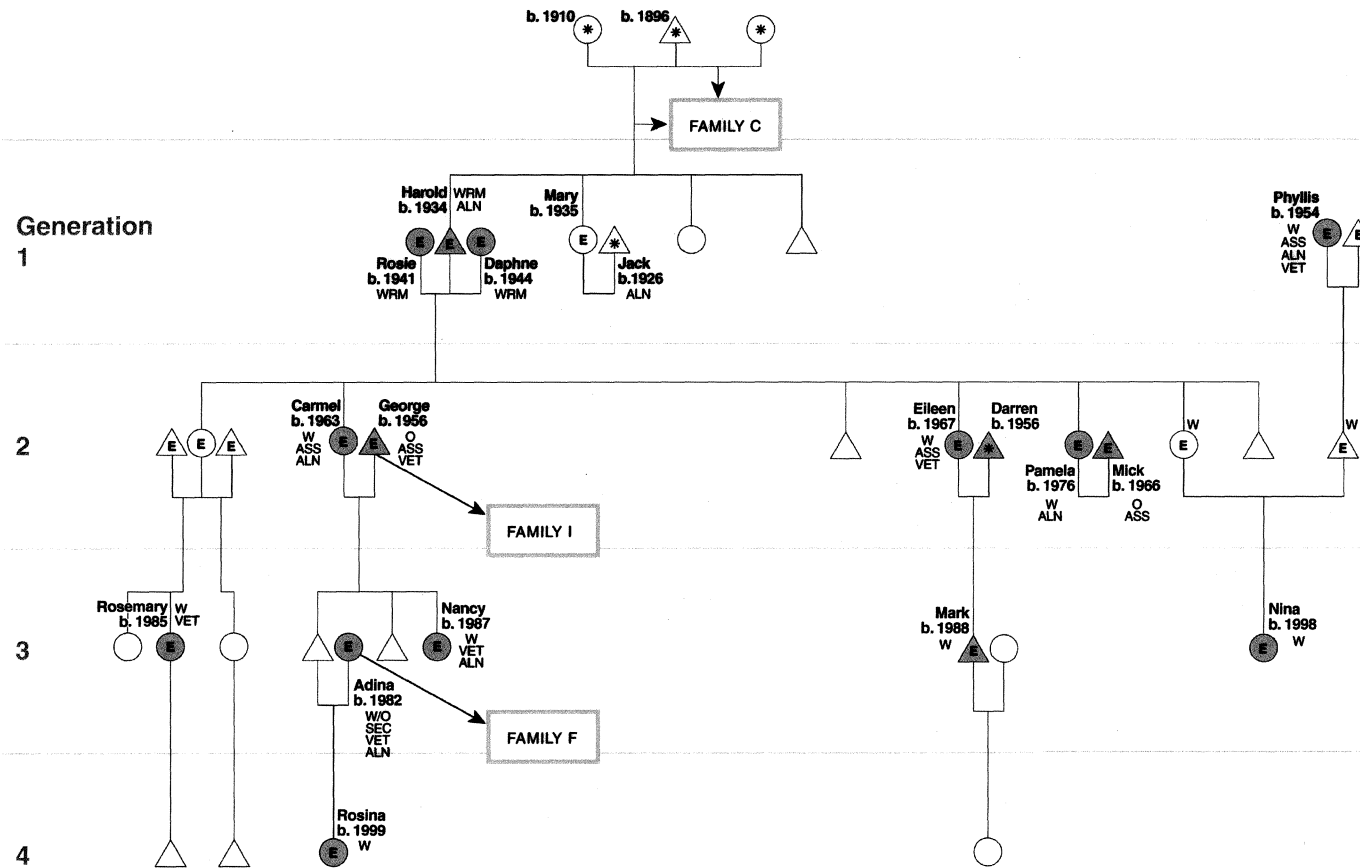
Rosie remembers how at Christmas-time there was a party before the children went out bush with their families for the summer:

Christmastime we used to get a *nyaapa*, *raceimankunpayilatju*, *yurralku*, get a prize, presentpa *mantjilku* [we'd do races and get a prize, get a present]. And after that, after Christmas we used to go bush, must be couple of weeks *nyinarrayilkunuuuuuu* [stay for a loooooong time], come back home. *Walykumunu* missionary-*ya*, Mr Wade, Mr Jones, Mr Williams, they used to look after us, Mr Nash, and *paluku* *kurri* and *paluku* two kids [They were really good, all the missionraies... Mr Nash and his wife and his two kids]. *Nyinapayilatju* *happyonepa*, happy *Mama* Godngalatju *kulilpayi* *kulilpayi*, when we was little girl *kulilpayilanga* *Jesusnga* *tirtu* [we were happy listening to all the stories about God and Jesus].

Rosie recalls being baptised by the missionaries Mr Wade and Mr Green. She finished school around 14 years of age in 1954 and then went travelling to Cosmo, Laverton and Kalgoorlie staying with her family who had travelled out that way. Her parents were at Cosmo and she stayed there for a while. After she was given to her husband Harold (b. 1934) they returned to Warburton when she was about 17 years old. Then around 1963 Harold went away to the Aborigines Inland Mission Bible College in Singleton, NSW for three-six months evangelist training.¹²⁵⁰ Meanwhile Rosie stayed in Warburton working in the mission hospital with Mary.

¹²⁵⁰ Glass and Hackett pers. comm. 2004.

Family D



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VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

Bush*palatju nyinapayi* we used to go bush *kukaku*, come back. Missionary used to give us little flour, flour little*onepa*. Tea and sugar, *mayi* Sunday *nintilpayi* [We'd go out bush to get meat. Missionary would give us a little flour. On Sunday we'd get tea, sugar and food]. But *ngayulurna* work *palyalpayi*, old hospital*pangka*, Mary*nyarna* help*mankupayi*. [But I worked in the hospital here helping Mary.] Mop the floor, wash all the clothes, put sick people *warmtu*, sheets and blankets and staff*ku puru* wash*mankupayi* clothes [clean all the patients' clothes, sheets and blankets and also wash clothes for the staff].

After Harold returned from NSW he was a preacher along with some of the other men in the emerging Christian community.

Harold*lu* he been doing work *palyalpayi*, he came back from NSW he been telling story about *Mama* God, and some man from here, Jack, Harold's brother, Silas' father, every Sunday they tell a story to the people, they come from the camp they hear about the Lord Jesus and get you know, ticket, little ticket from the missionary for *mirrka*. We used to get a ticket and get a *mirrka* and go back *ngurraku*. Sometime we go bush *kukaku*, come back afternoon, like that.

Rosie had seven children. Three of her daughters went away for secondary schooling in Esperance, Norseman and Kalgoorlie. Rosie says she was happy for them to go.

School*pa palyalpayi*, learning, writing, and *nyaapa*, work*pa*...must be little while, come back Christmas time, Christmas here with the families...school*ku*, we know they going for school...And school teacher*nya* they send'em away for highschool.

Rosie now has grandchildren and great grandchildren going to school in Warburton and one granddaughter has been away at Karalundi School. Harold also has a second wife, Daphne.

Carmel was born in 1963.

She is Rosie and Harold's daughter She remembers her mother and father working for the mission, 'other young kids used to go to the dining room but we don't go for feed, must be because my father was working'. She recalls Harold helping the missionaries to 'build things' and her mother worked with missionary ladies in old hospital, cleaning up. Carmel also remembers milking goats, 'getting rations for bringing in *mirrka*, like kangaroo so missionaries can make stew'. When Carmel was young she also recalls when Anee Glass, Dorothy Hackett and Thelma Roberts were living in Warburton and the children always used to visit them after school to do writing, colouring in and reading. They also used to come into school and do scripture classes as well as Sunday School. Carmel thinks it used to be a closer relationship between staff and people and more literacy-based, whereas now kids don't visit teachers as much. Then all the girls would visit Miss Roberts and put 'silver in the tin' to donate 'money to the poor people' and Miss Roberts ran youth activities for the children. Carmel also recalls:

We had a lovely new house, 'State' house built in 1973. We first lived in a little hut, like a one room tin house, then we shift to the 'State' house, there were only four here then. My father also worked for Western Mining collecting copper. Other families had no houses, they were camped in *wiltjas* in

the other reserve out near the old airport. The Gibson Desert, Docker River, Warakurna mob camped over the creek.

As a teenager Carmel went to Norseman for schooling but soon returned because it was too far. In 1970s when she was 18 she went on CDEP 'wages', and it was 'more money than like sit-down pay'.

Carmel's *kurri* – 'husband' **George was born in 1956**. His story can be found in Family I Narratives. Carmel and George's son is married to Adina (Family F Narratives) and they have one granddaughter Rosina whom they often look after, along with other children in the extended family.

Carmel's *marlanypa*, younger sister, **Eileen was born in 1967**.

She grew up in Warburton and went to school in Warburton.

I remember when we used to come to school we used to line up on front veranda and sing a prayer song and go in dining room and have a *mirrka*, then go to school. After school we go home. I remember my father used to take us for ride in his old car, sedan car, he used to take us bush for hunting. It's different now, don't know why, go out bush less. I remember I used to come and see one old lady, Thelma Roberts, missionary lady. We used to come on weekend and she used to read the book, scriptures to us and we sit and listen and she pray for us...Used to read with whitefellas, she used to read good books about Jesus, not much now, we used to sit down quiet and listen.

When she was a teenager Eileen went to Esperance and boarded at Fairhaven for about two or three months while going to school at the Project Centre. She recalls that her family and teacher told her that she should go: 'people and teacher from Warburton wanted us to go, Grade 7 was highest here then, go to another school for high school'.

She recalls returning to Esperance after a holiday break, however on the return trip she and two other girls ran away 'we been hide away we didn't want to go back to school, long way'. This was in 1979 and Eileen was about 15 years of age. When Eileen was a young woman she started working in Warburton at the school and clinic, cleaning.

Got little bit money, \$80 or \$100. I was reading book *pa* in the school, sweeping in the library, sit down and read book and go home. Nothing much at home. Only done cleaning at the clinic too, old one, sweeping and mopping.

She has recently started Aboriginal Health Worker training (*Certificate III in Aboriginal Primary Health Care Work*): 'Only three I done, I didn't do the other blocks, missed out. I got that other one, have to read a lot, sometimes Sister help me and we do it together'. Eileen sometimes works for the Native Title Unit, 'sometimes the anthropologist asks for old ladies' names and I write them down and I help her drive and we go up the sandhills'

Eileen is married to Darren and has a son Mark. She always used to take him to school every day. But when he turned 13 he,

...went off and on because he was the only big boy, must be he feel shamed when he went self, *kurri* he was going to school. My son plays sport games, basketball. I want him to work...or college, learn like job. I want a working life for him, I want him to work and learn at the college, reading and writing.

Eileen's *kurri*, husband, **Darren was born in the Gibson Desert in 1956.**

This is his story:

I mostly grow up in the Gibson Desert. I was about six or five when we been all come here [Warburton Ranges Mission].¹²⁵¹ We all come here, all families. We was staying at, just near that airstrip, that's only flat, we was camp. I don't know nothing at that time. I was sitting down and they tell me: 'You wanna go school?' So I come here, I was schooling little bit, not much. My mother's sister she went that way, Wiluna way, so we wanna go. I don't know I had a families that way, I just followed them old people...

[W]e went towards Wiluna, my families, we break down with a big truck, near that rockhole...I walk from that place. I was going that way and family came back here. I was walking for two months, I had older people with us, we went to Laverton. We was walking...two months...We got a lift there...got to Mt Margaret Mission. Camped there and got another ride, got to Leonora, stayed there must be another night and we start walking again. And all my families was staying round here, they was still in Warburton, I was the first bloke that followed them old mans, I followed them up, I went with them...When I got to Wiluna they told me: 'Oh you got a families here, your mother's side families.'...So I been stayed there. I must have been seven must be. No must be like, like bit bigger than that.

I never been go to school, I got a job, Desert Farm. I was planting a lot of rockmelons, orange, mandarin, all sort of plant, like peanut, tomato, pumpkins, all that. From there my sister, she told me: 'Oh you want to come station?' I went to one of them station, from there working, mustering sheep. Pay cash. We was getting all the \$2 note, note, not coin and in Desert Farm they was giving us same pay, cash. Good money, yeah, enough money for me. Was enough money before, we get paid like this, early 4 o'clock afternoon, work all day, get paid afternoon like this, go to town, every afternoon in Desert Farm. Oh I been drink too much. I spent \$7 to get a carton, \$7, large bottle, carton, \$7. Not these days, you got to spend \$50. Too much. I went to old prison Geraldton, two month, from Wiluna. Then I went another two months and I went across to one prison just out of Perth.

I come back Warburton 1980...Bit changed to me when I come here, change. Like buildings and school, hospital and all them airstrip...I been come here when they had a little tin house, little tin house, really tiny tin house, no floor, just like this [dirt]...They was working. They was mustering too, they had a lot of bullocks. Mechanic, collecting wood, all that, rubbish. They give me a job plumbing. First I was carting wood, now I just leave, got a different job plumbing...There was heap of jobs here. I done plumbing first, wood first collecting for all the old people. I done Health, I got a certificate for that but they never send it.¹²⁵² I don't like to be chairman I just like to do work. Just to work.

I done little bit [reading and writing] but I don't do much. I listen...I never went high school, I went station to learn...when I was young bloke I been learn, I just start work at Desert Farm when I was a young fella. I got to work, I got to earn some money. I want exercise, working. If I sit down I be lazy all the time, I got to move around...My life has to work. Before my life was just right. I had to drive, drink, headache, go back to work. To me it's different.

My son [Mark], he don't go to work and he don't do much school. Don't go school much. He can write. He learn at school, almost all here... They got to go to school to learn properly and you

¹²⁵¹ As a child 'Darren' was filmed with his family in the 'Desert People' films made during the 1960s by Ian Dunlop and the Commonwealth Film Unit (Dunlop 1966-70).

¹²⁵² *Certificate II in Aboriginal Environmental Health Work.*

know, write properly, read and write properly. And they got to get a good job... Warburton right, it's getting changed when I'm here now, getting big.

Darren also talks about his *katja*, his brother's son Kenny. 'They been schooling that way, Kenny, he went to school that way. All that mob, went Karalundi school'.

Kenny was born in 1972. His family was also brought out of the Gibson Desert in the 1960s. This is his story:

My family they come from somewhere around Patjarr area. They came here first to Warburton then started making their way down that way looking for job... they came in the 60s must be. I was born in 70s, 1972. My father [Darren's *kurta* – elder brother], mother were working on the station, like that. Working round there, station in Leonora. Weebo, Tarmoola, Glenorn, round there.

I used to go school there when I was a little boy in Leonora, stayed in the hostel there [Nabberu]... We was stopping in the reserve, out near the airstrip, airport. They been drinking, they been alcoholic, them mob [parents]. They been working on stations when I was like that little, before I come into Leonora... 'cause I was stopping at the hostel, my parents they went to Laverton, so I tell the Welfare bloke: 'Oh I want to go to Laverton.' So I jumped off in Laverton to see my parents there when I was little. In a Welfare car, I kept coming this way, I was about 6 years old. I came this way to stay with my nanna because my mother and father they was drinking right through. That's why I had to come to my auntie and my nanna. I stayed here, but I never go to school because some boys... they used to get smart, teasing and I tease them back. They tease all this side mob, us lot. So we start a fight. We was trying to go to school, but they was keep on, like teasing. Every day just walk around here. Go school sometimes. But mainly I went to school up that way, Laverton, Mt Margaret, Wiluna.

All the family then shifted to Wiluna to join other families from the Gibson Desert who had gone there (including the families of Darren, Mick, Louisa, and Marrkilyi). Kenny continues his story:

I went there when I was about 12. I went in high school when I was 14, started at Wiluna.¹²⁵³ Oh they tried to send me to another school but I said: 'No, I want to stay.' They tried to send me to Perth. I kept going right up to 16... When I tried going the next year, the school said: 'No, you're right, you can stop, go home... don't worry about coming to school.' I was 16.

The family was working on Bondini Reserve and Village, other side Wiluna. With them old people going back and forwards. People they just keep shifting, Village, back to the Reserve, like that. They was working at Desert Gold, jump on in the morning, go out, come back. In the morning, truck come and pick them up, work truck. And my mother worked in Emu Farm. They keep doing that, like that now, work, alcoholics go to the pub, get the money, go straight to the pub, get a paper like a voucher, do something and go get a feed.

I didn't wanted to stay there much more, all cousin mob they came back this way so I thought I'd follow them, come back this way then. So I kept going to Tjukurla... Tjukurla was just starting '88. I went for auntie, went and stayed with them and then I came back. I stayed two or three years in Tjukurla, three years. I was building that garage, big shed garage, driving tractor, getting woods... Then came back this way to go up to Patjarr. We all moved back then, whole lot... Same

¹²⁵³ Around this time Les Haywood was the principal at Wiluna School and he 'ran a tight ship, didn't tolerate truancy, and ran a meals program based on a 1950s model' (Damian McLean pers. comm. 2004)

thing, wood, get all the wood, sit down, then other work. Then I was doing all the green houses, me and my father, uncle [Darren]. Us lot, we built them houses in Patjarr with them mob.

Kenny gets the 'working habit' from his father:

I just see it in my father, start following him, like this, I work like him. He force me, he told me: 'Oh work, we got to work'. Tell me to help him out, do this, like that. They had to do it themselves as there was no-one to help them.

Kenny was employed by the Shire to work with the Sport and Recreation Officer, training young men to play football and he was so reliable that he was put on the Shire payroll. He worked as a co-sports officer with the football coach, showed a lot of leadership and was like the 'football star'.¹²⁵⁴

The parent generation in Kenny's family never went to school, yet like others his father has held leadership positions. Kenny is in the first generation to be literate in his family and has maintained a high level of literacy competence in English since school. Kenny went to prison for a few years and this also helped him to improve his English literacy:

Most days, I was working there. I was doing the laundry but they kicked me out so I went and done the school. It was like a work, but learning more. I went there just to sit down and look at books and work. They put it something like agenda for work, something. Put my name up there, then we done a bricklaying course like that, done a welding. In the school, all the group, couple of the boys from the school go to welding come back, go to welding, come back, turn and turn. Then I came back and done some in Boulder, like tutoring. When I came back from that way, in Boulder for 7 months. That one lady she was working there, she seen me: 'Ah, you doing things good and quick and you know, we're giving you real easy job, we'll give you this tutoring, literacy, something like that'. Done that. They was helping me to do that thing now. They put me on a computer but I like cramp up, and not enough chance. Finished September '98. Came this way...I brought a paper like this for the college but I threw it away, somewhere in the bush there. I had no chance, that's why, to do it in the college here.

During this period Kenny could see that his literacy was improving and he felt proud. He says he has also kept his English reading strong by 'reading around the place, newspapers and magazines'. But he says he never needs to write anything as there is no opportunity in everyday life. He has never been a regular church-goer, however he has taught himself to read a little Ngaanyatjarra. He claims that because he can speak Ngaanyatjarra and read in English this has enabled him to transfer his reading strategies to Ngaanyatjarra.

I read sometimes in the language one, I read some of those. I was keep reading books but writing and I can't a bit write. I keep reading like book, anything, paper. I get some from the office, like newspapers. Then get a magazine in the store, *That's Life*, *True Stories* and all that. Little bit those. Reading like signs, signs for like on the sign post, like next place, next town, read all them names. Keep reading like that.

But he keeps no reading or writing materials at home and does no literacy activities with his seven year old daughter and he's not sure if his wife can read or write. He is currently

¹²⁵⁴ Rebecca Harslett pers. comm. 2004.

training to be an Environmental Health Worker (*Certificate II in Environmental Health*) and finds the reading and writing level in the course 'easy'. In the 1990s he studied at Pundulmurra College in Port Hedland when he was up staying up north: 'studied at College, same job, Environmental Health at Pundulmurra College, left certificate back there.' He dropped out of the course with only two modules to go. Kenny thinks about being about a Council leader in the future and is preparing now by going to meetings which he believes is better preparation than doing formal governance training: 'sit down, listen to them, how they talk, like that. Go to the meeting, follow them'.

Pamela was born in 1976.

She is another of Harold and Rosie's *yurmtalpa*, daughter, and Carmel's *marlanypa*, younger sister. Pamela went to school at Warburton, and then at Cosmo in the 1980s till she was about 12 or 13 yrs old. She then returned to Warburton with her family and continued at school in Warburton until 1991 when she was about 14 or 15 years of age. Although her sisters Carmel and Eileen went to school in Esperance by the time Pamela was a teenager, secondary students were no longer being sent to Fairhaven or Nindeebai Hostels. She recalls that she was good at school and liked reading especially in the library. She remembers as a child:

We go with one missionary lady Miss Roberts and we do Sunday School. We'd do colouring in and also sewing, all the girls would do sewing at school with machine.

Pamela doesn't remember any reading and writing in her camp as a child, she mainly remembers going out bush a lot with the family. However by the time she had finished school she felt she could read any book or magazine. Later on she worked at the old store mopping the floor and stacking the shelves. She also worked at the Women's Centre when it was in the little building near the college and used to make curtains and pillow cases, and dye t-shirts.

Lately Pamela has also been learning Ngaanyatjarra literacy with Glass and Hackett, and easily has finished the series of Ngaanyatjarra literacy learning readers. She still likes reading and keeps on reading at home, she gets magazines any kind and Ngaanyatjarra or English Bible stories from Glass and Hackett which she reads by herself. She doesn't write very much, doesn't write letters, but sometimes writes little stories at home, sometimes can read official mail at the Office. Pamela is married to Mick and they live in an extended family household. Pamela and Mick's niece Nina and other children are often at their camp. Pamela often reads stories to the children when they are lying down going to sleep, they

say: 'Pamela read story to us'. Nina is the daughter of Pamela's younger sister and Carmel and Harold's youngest daughter.

Pamela's *kurri* - husband **Mick was born in 1966**. His family was brought in from the Gibson Desert in the 1960s and stopped briefly at Warburton Ranges Mission before continuing on to Laverton, Leonora and finally Wiluna. This is his story:

I went to school in Wiluna, I grew up in Wiluna. I born this side of Laverton in the bush and from there I went straight to Wiluna...And when I grew up there I went to school there, schooling there and when I turned 16 I started working. Only us mob and all the families, [Louisa's, Markilyi's] families, all them mob. They stayed there for a little while, but I been living there. My father was used to shift around a lot. We go to school there, stopping in Leonora for a couple of months.

Mick was also boarding at Nabberu Hostel in Leonora for part of his schooling:

Stopping there for long time, [Nabberu] hostel...and when [father] finish he came and picked me up and took me Wiluna...He had too much work. Working and from there he went to Albion Downs Station. He worked there for a couple of months. And they took me out on a school holiday to Albion Down, sitting down and from there I started. From Albion Down I started. And I was thinking they gave me a pick and a shovel to dig a little trench from here to the corner over there, just start me off to work. And I started from there then. And I went to Wiluna started working there, work right through. I dig a little trench, small little trench with a pick and a shovel, it was that deep now, that's how deep it was. First job, I dig that trench all the way and it took me about, took me all day right up to 3 o'clock, dig it and have a rest, dig it and have a rest, dig it and have a rest. Like that, all the way.

My father started working, that's why they stop and I was in Wiluna. When my father started working here I stayed in Wiluna, stayed there for long time and then I came back. When I came back I stopped here for a little while then went back to Wiluna, sitting down there, working, working...Worked there for long time. Worked out in the Village, in the Village, I worked in Emu Farm, I worked there for a couple of months. And I went across to Desert Farm and I worked there for couple of years Picking oranges, Desert Farm, easy job. Picking oranges, cleaning the thing up, all sort of job they was doing, picking up the rockmelons, watermelons, whatever, all sort of things...Went back to Village and I worked there for couple of years. Village was job making all the bricks, stacking them all up. That was hard job, you got to take it across and leave it on the flat to leave it to dry out. It was really hard...I went sandalwood, working out the bush, sandalwood. And I stayed there in the bush for couple of months working in the sandalwood. Pulling all the sandalwood trees down. With a tractor and a truck loading them all on, that's when I was 19, pulling all the sandalwood down. And I went training for mechanic job in Wiluna, started doing all that mechanic job, training in a school, fixing old engine, old Falcon engine and Holden HQ. Started doing all that, engine, just get'em on a table and put'em up, strip'em right down, clean it all out and put'em right back, put it all back, put all the parts back together with the one little piece of paper. Got a little piece of paper like that, just put it up on the side and look at all that and just put it all back together again.

My father come back this way [Warburton], come this way, started working. He come here first, I was Wiluna, he worked, and he got too much work, he died. I come across and I went back after the funeral, I went back sitting down, working, working, working. I been worrying about this place. I was worrying too much. That's why I used to go round, steal, I been go in jail, steal and go in jail, steal and go in jail. Stealing and fighting and stealing and fighting, go in jail and sit down a couple of months and come out. And the last one they warned me, warned me, warned me and they gave me two years in prison. So I was in prison for two years, Canning Vale. I stopped there. When I got out of prison I went across, I was in Wiluna I was tipping my first can up, my first can of beer I was tipping it up and I seen a brown Hilux just pull up. They told me: 'You coming?' I asked them: 'Where you going?' They said: 'We going Ranges.' And I jumped straight on, jumped straight on that Hilux and I was gone...I'm gonna go Ranges and sit down and work.

I come back here and they gave me a job, that was about '99 I think. They gave me a job then, I was working, working, working and I stopped here. The job they gave me was a rubbish job and a wood job. That was no good. And from there I think: 'Nuh, I go back to the mechanic job.' I went back to the mechanic job, working there mechanic in the garage up here, working with that short bloke used to work there long time ago. I work with him and this other bloke, working, working, working. I been working with them right through. Then they gave me this studio job and I been working there in the studio. Studio job, we was recording all those songs for all the young fellas they come in and we record it for them. From there they asked us to put up a first music festival in Kanpa so we put up that first festival. That the first one and the second one in Ranges, number three in Ranges, number four music festival in Kanpa again. And I finish and now from there I sitting down working, working, working. They gave me the Drop in Centre job. Working there, talking in the meeting for all them things in the Drop in Centre there. All the kids made me working for them.

The younger generation

Carmel and George's *yurmtalpa*, daughter, **Nancy was born in 1987.**

Nancy went to school in Warburton until she was about 16 years old. She says she liked school 'we had a lot of sports and working and go for camp, bush, camping out'. She thinks Warburton is a good place for young people: 'at the college, computers and all, DVD...And the Drop in Centre, it's good place to stop from sniffing'. She prefers living in the community rather than town because 'it's my home'.

Most days she likes to 'go for work...go to the college, do some computers. Softball and basketball, every Wednesday night at the oval'. Nancy says she likes 'working doing different things, cooking and computers...when I'm sitting down home, it's boring'.

Nancy also likes going out bush: 'we look for bush tuckers. Honey ants, yellow berries...sometimes I go with my nanna and she show me how to dig honeyants and goanna, how to pull it out. Sometimes Nancy plays cards: 'sometimes, when I get my pay...Only little bit. Must be \$100 then go...I don't sniff, only before'.

She also likes reading 'books and magazines' from the shop. Sometimes she reads Ngaanyatjarra and goes to church. She has worked at the Women's Centre

Paint some cup and plate. Do a little bit thing, little machine and you make a cup and when it's dry, you paint it and take it to the Culture Centre...Last week I was working at the Women's Centre.

She made about \$140, \$150 and gave her mother \$50 for food and saved the rest 'for weekend' for 'anything, take-aways, sometimes buy clothes'. She also likes working with the Youth Transition programme and the youth arts team: 'it's good, fashion, computers. She wants to do more computer work with them.

Eileen and Darren's *katja*, son **Mark was born in 1988.** He says he is proud of his mother who is from one of the old mission families. He is also proud of his father who grew up,

...in the bush, Patjarr, other side of Patjarr. He came from the bush. They were stopping in the bush and they came this way, he was stopping here, he got learn here, then he went to Marnngili Station and he was working. Then he went Wiluna working round all them station up north, then he came back.

He thinks keeping culture and language strong is important: 'because that's our language. Sometimes I talk other way, Wiluna way, all the Martu'.

Mark went to school at Warburton until he was 15 years of age. After he went through the Law Mark went on 'wages', CDEP. He says that when he finished school he could only read and write 'little bit'. He used to be friendly with a 'teacher who used to be here' who helped him learn more.

I go there sit down, afternoon time, write my own book...Reading and sometimes spell all the words right, in the paper, write down'.

Mark thinks Warburton is a good place.

All the people, old people and young peoples. And Drop in Centre it keeps them kids away from juice you know. So they can go Drop in Centre. Keep them away from sniffing and stealing.

He says that some days he works or goes hunting, but most days,

Walk around, go to shop, sometime I go home, sit down, watch TV. Get boring, go back for walk, go walk around, get a smoke. Then go back to home, sit down, watch TV, sometimes go for ride...Sometimes sit down, listen to music. Or go and work with Project Officer, clean up, fix it, fix the toilet, shower. Or play basketball, sometimes I play football.

He likes to spend a lot of time alone.

Sometime I don't talk to people, I walk around self...When big mob, I get shamed you know...When I go in the shop, people stare, I get shamed, that's why I walk round self, sometimes I talk to people if I feel like to talk to people...Sometime I don't work with big mob, I don't work with a lot of people, I work self...sometime I don't worry about other people, walk around self, mind your own business.

He says he likes working...'it's proud'.

It makes me feel good...I was working at the Shire. I was working, sometimes I get bored, go work with other blokes...And I was working in the college. Then I finished all the job and I'm working with [Environmental Health] now...He told me: 'You can come next year for training.' He told me that; 'If you feel like it you can just come round and see me and we can put you on the list'...Training, like training, you know. To go round and fix other people's house when it's broken.

He doesn't do any reading in everyday life, just writing his name in the office, reading food labels at the store or reading DVD covers. His family still looks after him and when he gets his \$65 sit down money he spends it on 'smoke and cool drink and pie.'

Rosemary was born in 1985. She is another of Harold and Rosie's grandchildren.

She is proud of her grandparents: 'they was in school, this place and they work, and my nanna...our grandfather he work long way that way...he was building the houses...and my

nanna she used to be like a nurse work in old clinic...my *tjammu* he read and write and he talks English.

Most days Rosemary says she:

Just go for ride, bush, on the weekends, sometimes go to the oval, walk around, take the kids for a walk, sometimes we sit around home tell stories...I like playing softball with some girls, and walking round, going to the Drop in Centre at night. It's got games and play jukebox, watch video, play snooker. There's lot of kids there, young fellas and young girls.

She and her sisters also learn Ngaanyatjarra literacy with 'Miss Hackett and Miss Glass'.

We used to get learn for Lorraine, Mrs Howell and Mr Howell, they used to learn us in the school. When we was going to school, I only know a little bit, I was learning a little bit, writing in Ngaanyatjarra.

The sisters read magazines at home. Their auntie keeps a Ngaanyatjarra songbook at home: 'we know how to sing that Ngaanyatjarra songs...all the songs'. They try to keep other books at home, but 'they took it them kid, too many nuisance kid...I left it in the room, I left it on top of the cupboard, but you know kids, they like looking on top. They must be looking for something and they saw pen and paper and they took it'. At work they read: 'work, paperworks, lists...When they ask you to do or to read [or] fill out the forms, hours, put hours down. Rosemary has worked in the school, at the cultural centre and at the roadhouse: 'only once I was working there, when we start getting wages we working in the roadhouse, cleaning them unit, cleaning those, mopping the floors, cleaning it, so when visitors, tourists, when the tourists come they can stay in it'. She has also done some work with the *Nintirringkula* youth arts project.

Nina was born in 1998 and Rosina was in 1999 (see Chapter 6). These children are the 3rd and 4th generation to pass through formal schooling. Nina is the daughter of Harold and Rosie's youngest daughter. Rosina is Adina's daughter and Carmel and George's granddaughter. Nina's father's mother, is her *kaparli* Phyllis:

Phyllis was born in 1954. She grew up at Warburton Ranges Mission. In the late 1960s when she was about 15, she and Mary's daughter and a few others were learning to read with Glass and Hackett. At that time 'there was nothing on in Warburton, so we all living in *wiltjas* and then we'd come over and learn to read—there were no DVDs or TVs or anything then.' In 1971 Phyllis went away to Esperance and boarded at Fairhaven Hostel for two years. At that time she recalls that she was one of the few young people who could read Ngaanyatjarra. Phyllis could already read some English and she picked up by looking

at texts and working out how to read by herself. During her time at Fairhaven she wrote letters to Glass and Hackett, sometimes in Ngaanyatjarra.

Phyllis told the missionaries at Fairhaven that her goal was also to be a missionary. At this time there were few 'career' options for young people and so the missionaries were role models. Phyllis says she 'really wanted to be something', by which she meant to become a missionary, so she decided to do the Bible Study Course at GBTI for two years. Phyllis was there around the same time as Clem and some of the other men, but she was the only female to do the course at GBTI and the last one from Warburton to study there. She also did a two week intensive Bible translation course at the UAM Language Department in Kalgoorlie. Upon her return to Warburton she found that 'there was nothing to do, then the new things came in like TV'. Phyllis like other Ngaanyatjarra people was keen to explore the world and went on a trip to Swan Hill in Victoria travelling around by herself with some new friends, and then caught the train back to Perth all by herself. Missionary friends helped her to get work in an Old People's Home in Perth for a while. She married in 1975, and has mostly lived in other Ngaanyatjarra communities, not Warburton. Phyllis was also one of the few people to study to be a teacher in the AnTEP training course through Batchelor College in Alice Springs. When she initially returned she was enthusiastic about education and somehow nothing happened. She worked in a community school as an AEW for many years and was committed to teaching in Ngaanyatjarra and used to organise trips with old people. She wanted an inclusive community school however when it never seemed to happen she lost interest. She supported her own children going to school, then lost heart when they finished as she felt that education came to nothing. She never finished the AnTEP training as she had lost interest in teaching. Phyllis changed direction and went into health work and is one of the few senior Aboriginal Health Workers to have completed a *Certificate IV* qualification. Phyllis now works as a health worker in a community clinic. Phyllis has been a strong community leader. Over the years she has maintained her literacy skills in English and Ngaanyatjarra. She reads and writes well in Ngaanyatjarra and both she and her husband have worked with Glass and Hackett on Bible translation work in Alice Springs. Phyllis independently produced a first draft of a translation of Mark's Gospel and the Book of Samuel in the Old Testament. She has also written and translated a number of children's stories including the much loved *Piki-piki kurlunypa marnkurra: The three little pigs* and other stories.¹²⁵⁵

¹²⁵⁵ (Kral and Ward 2000)(Glass and Hackett pers comm. 2005). See (Butler 1993).

Family E Narratives

April's father's father had two wives and three children from his first wife including April's father. May and her twin brother were born to this old man's second wife in 1948.¹²⁵⁶ He is also Patricia's father's father with his second wife and Jennifer's father's father.

May was born near Warburton in 1948.

May was cared for by her birth mother and 'father' until she was taken away to Mt Margaret Mission in 1952. May was a child of mixed descent and her story provides an insight into the only 'stolen generation' story from the Ngaanyatjarra Lands.

This is her story:

When I was four years old they sent me away to Mt Margaret...they sent me away from here because I was half-caste...we were the only ones here in Warburton, born here, so they thought it was best, the government and the missionaries thought it was...I don't know why they sent me away. When I went to school I was speaking Ngaanyatjarra, no English, so you had to learn English in the mission...After breakfast we go to school, change into our school clothes and go to school and then we all line up, march in, maybe learn your ABC, counting, or whatever you had to do. Then have recess, we used to have milk from the Carnation Milk tins, the bigger kids used to make milk for recess, we go back play outside. Then go back in and do whatever subjects, whatever we had to do, learn or whatever. It was lunchtime, we would go home for lunch. Go back to school, go back after school, half past three or something.

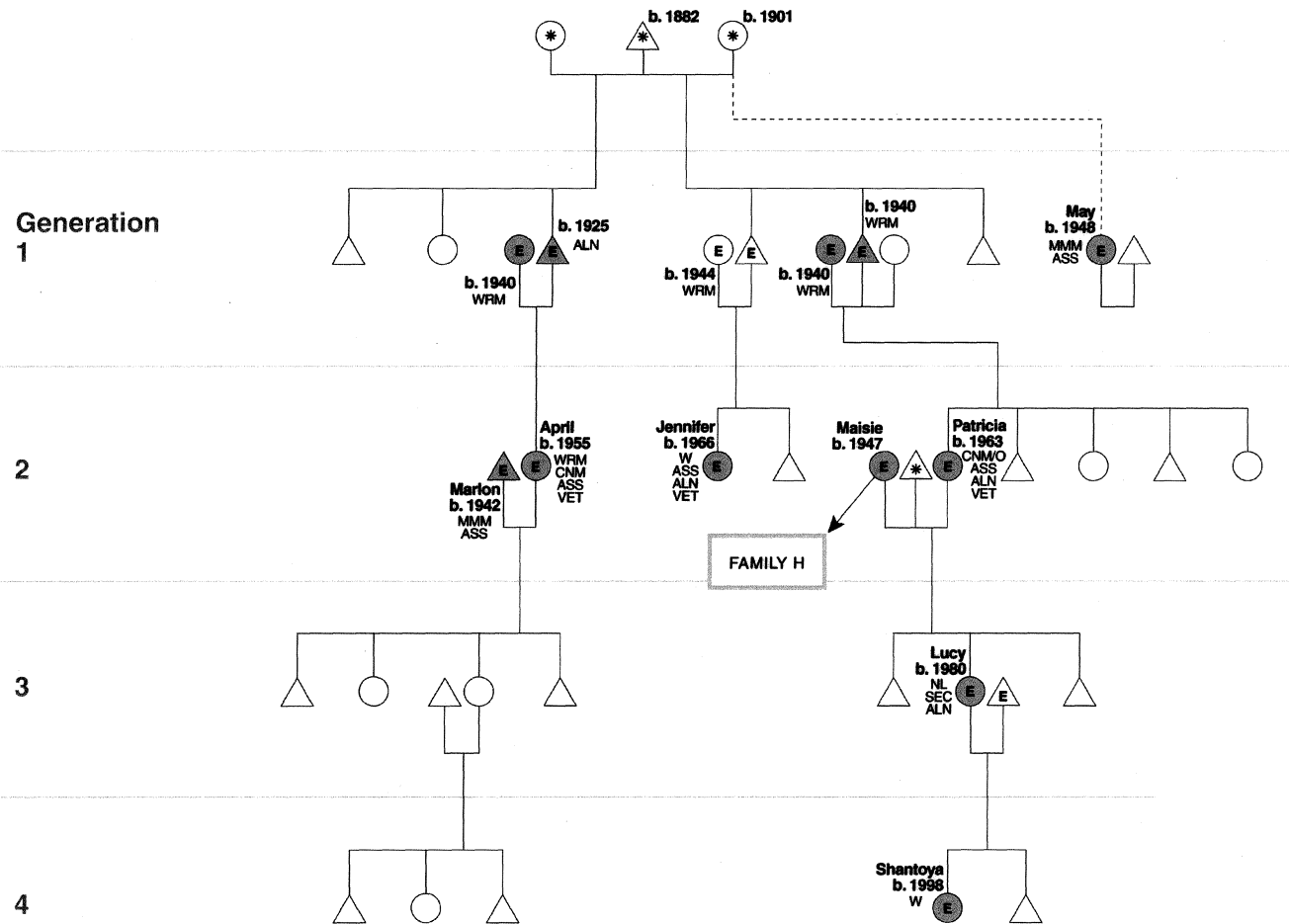
May finished school at Mt Margaret when she was about 13 or 14 years old:

A lot of the kids left, there was a few that went on to high school but not many. The rest just left and probably station work, that was the only jobs for them. Australia was still a racist country and they didn't want Aborigines mixing with whites and so they just get them certain jobs...Some could [go on to highschool] but the people didn't ask, you were told you were going and you went. They made the decisions, we had no say in it. A lot of people they went back to the reserves in town. Some married. A lot married, young. I don't know what the purpose of the missions was for? Just to give them an education. And they drummed the Christianity into them, that's what they wanted. They were there to win hearts for the Lord. They weren't there really for schooling. Yeah, that's how I see it. Because a lot of kids, those who weren't half-caste, a lot went back to the reserves. Lot married older men. There was nothing for them after the mission. All they wanted was to save souls, that's all. That schooling and everything was just a front for them, that's how I see it. Someone else might see it different.

May's narrative highlights the bureaucratic manner in which the mission and the DNW organised the lives of children in their care in the 1950s and 1960s.¹²⁵⁷ As shown in Chapter 2 the Commissioner was the legal guardian of every Aboriginal and 'half-caste' child till the age of 21 and 'May' remained under DNW control until 1966. Her DNW file reveals a labyrinth of bureaucratic forms as she was moved around from Warburton to Mt Margaret,

¹²⁵⁶ 'May' has also told her story in her own autobiography (Powell and Kennedy 2005).

Family E



*	No school nomads
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjara Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjara)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

then to Kurrawang Mission for high school and Fairhaven Hostel for employment. Unbeknownst to her a plethora of memos, letters and telegrams were sent by the DNW controlling her every move. These included:

Application to admit a native ward to a Mission (DNW Regulation 55).

Notification of Admission of Ward (Regulation 55) or an adult Native when Departmental Subsidy is required by the Mission.

Notification of Discharge of Ward (Regulations 56 & 57) or an adult native for whom Subsidy is paid or the death of a Subsidized inmate.

Eligibility forms for the payment of the DNW 'Education Allowance' were added or deleted from lists as children were moved between institutions. Even School Reports and medical forms were lodged with DNW.

At Mt Margaret Mission May had the impression that she was doing well at school. May was at Mt Margaret at the same time as Maisie (Family H) and both girls were transferred to Kurrawang Mission around 1963.¹²⁵⁸ Then May was transferred to Esperance and started working, first on farms, then,

I went into Florrisons, Florrisons had a furniture shop there, and I was working at the house, looking after the kids and cooking and cleaning. In my time only a handful went to high school. We all went to Kurrawang, not all, there was just me, me from Mt Margaret. [Young fellas] were usually sent either out onto the stations or to Wongutha Training Farm in Esperance. They learnt how to work on farms, drive tractors, do the shearing and all those kinds of things. Nowadays, Aboriginal people are encouraged to go to school and learn and get jobs, but in my time I think we were just there for domestic work. I left 'cause they kicked me out of Fairhaven...because I came in late one night...they kicked me out for it, so I went back to this other...old Mr Gurrier-Jones used to be the Superintendent [from Warburton], he was living there at the time. A lot of old missionaries were there [in Esperance]. They took me into their house. Still doing domestic work. Working for the same people in town...Then I just up and left. came back here to Laverton then I came to Warburton, then I went back to Laverton and got a job in the hospital, Laverton Hospital, domestic of course...was nearly all domestic, there was a lot coming from the reserve to work as domestic, washing, cleaning all the same sort of things. At various times over the years May has returned to Warburton, 'I thought I was coming home, but I didn't know the language or anything I've lost all that.'

April was born in 1955.

When the missionaries first came to Warburton April's father was a big boy, too old for school, but her mother was left in the Home at Warburton Ranges Mission. April's family was living around the Mission and she started school at around 6 years old. She recalls spending the long summer break out bush with her family every year. She also remembers how her *tjumu* – 'grandfather' used to go out hunting every day and 'come back with pussycat, kangaroo, rabbit, goanna'.

¹²⁵⁷ As she has noted, the research for the book was the most intensive reading experience of her life and involved reading through her own file '#28/E.D.P.' (Powell and Kennedy 2005: 69).

Her father became 'a Christian man'. Then after Cosmo Newbery was handed over to the UAM the family shifted there and her father was a worker and Pastor.

We was sort of up and down like that from Warburton to Cosmo, Warburton to Cosmo. Sometimes when I was a little baby they used to walk from Warburton to Cosmo, but later in the middle 60s we went and stayed over then, '64 and '65. We went and lived there then, '65 I was nine. Claude Cotterill was the Superintendent and he wanted my father to go and do shearing, every year they go and do shearing, sheep. Mr Howell was the teacher then, Miss Robertson and Mr Armstrong was there, teacher, but I wasn't there when he was teaching, but I went there when Mr Howell was there. There was a little school...the people used to live in all the little round brick houses there, we had a school there, shop, superintendent's house and a teacher's house...we all had a better education then.

There were other families at Cosmo including Patricia's (Family E), Una's (Family H) and Wesley's (Family A). April stayed at Cosmo until 1969. In 1970:

I went to Kalgoorlie for secondary school, high school. Eastern Goldfields High School, we sort of had a little classroom where a few of us Aboriginal children go. But there was some white kids there too, you know white children, mixed together...living at Nindeebai Hostel with other children from Warburton and Cosmo...I was in the low class...must be because we wasn't, you know, understanding of what they was doing, and in that classroom we learn a lot just sitting down and doing...So they put us in there so we can sit and learn properly. But that was a lower class, you know, right down the bottom. In 1970, because I wasn't learning, that's why they put me back down there...[at Nindeebai we had]extra teaching, with the whole lot all together, Wednesday and Thursday nights, twice a week. Learning, teaching about writing and reading, reading writing. Extra, homework classes.

April reflects on her schooling experiences and says: 'I had a real good education, I tell you that, yeah'. Two and a half years later April moved to Fairhaven Hostel in Esperance where she boarded for two years whilst working in the district.

Native Welfare...used to be in Laverton, he came out. He always go out, before Christmas he goes out to Warburton. For the parents to, to explain to them and give the paper to sign, sign the paper for the son or daughter to go down to Norseman, or Kurrawang...I stayed in Kalgoorlie, that Nindeebai Hostel for two and a half years then I moved to Esperance.

I left school, but I just went down there for work. I been working in a motel like ordinary domestic job doing washing, washing dishes all day, morning time and night, that's when a lot of tourists go there and we have to do that...the people who were looking after us at the hostel they give us a job, you know. So we had a little bit doing this and that, I been working on the farm too, but housework mainly, doing housework...we used to do ironing and all, you know ironing the clothes when we got no work outside of the hostel. A lot of ladies who was working they bring in a basket of clothes to iron. But one Christmas holiday I didn't come home, I had to stay back and work. Then during the year I come for holiday but I didn't go back there.

I was doing a little bit of work in the shop in Cosmo in '73, must be 3 or 4 months. Then Mr Cotterill got me another job, I was working Leonora Hospital, you know like cleaning up, making beds and all that...It was a bit frightening for me first, you know, specially when I was living over Leonora there was lot of drunks, just got their thing, you know, Citizen Rights, and the people sometimes annoy you for money...I knew some people there, like girls I went to school with, they was working there at the hospital. But I was long way from home, it's a long way. I thought: 'Oh I better go and start looking for job back at home, Cosmo.' It was alright living over there, but I was a bit homesick, I used to cry a lot when I was by myself in the room, you know, go early to bed...So I

¹²⁵⁸ Myrtle Holland pers comm. Warburton September 2006. Myrtle was at Kurrawang Mission with 'May' and 'Maise' and also attended Eastern Goldfields High School.

came back to Cosmo...Then couple of weeks after they was looking for Aboriginal Education Worker, so I started working in the school with the kids, yeah.

April worked at Cosmo as a Teacher's Aide for around three years. Then she married Marlon and went to live in Laverton for a while, during which time they often travelled back and forth to Warburton. Marlon was working as a Police Aide in Laverton but didn't like the job as there were too many drunks giving him a hard time so they moved back to Cosmo.

Them kids, when them young girls, young men came home after being away for 2 or 3 years being away learning a lot of things, work and everything, reading, writing, and all that. They came back and sort of went down, drinking, they was teaching them the wrong way. Teaching them to drink, instead of teaching them to go out to the station or get a job in small towns like Laverton, Leonora. From that time, you know the ones I went to school with they went down, downhill you know, instead of going up and learning different things, they didn't learn anything after that. We used to live in Cosmo, and when I used to go into Laverton and do shopping and I see all the girls I been to school with, they all drinking and I was the only one, you know, me and XXX. Used to sit down and see this lot getting drunk, which wasn't right, should have been all working, there was a lot of jobs there, for work you know. Like working in the mine, lot of woman, nowadays there's some ladies, they good workers, they work in the mine, they work in the office and work in the hospital...When I was still going to school I used to see a lot of young ladies come back from Kurrawang, come back from Esperance and they work in the hospital, work in the Welfare office, work in the shop, they had jobs everywhere...I think Citizen Rights come in, that just went, wasn't good.

Around 1982 April and Marlon and the family moved to Tjirrkarli.

But we had no school there so I start up for school there, in a little shed, used to teach all the little kids there, mainly I was teaching numbers and writing, yeah and a little bit of reading because they used to bring books down from Warburton School and leave it there. Tiny little shed but it was cramped up, too many children...I start that school off first, but it was in a little shed, teaching them, taking them out you know, once a week take them out bush...But same time I kept on saying: 'We'll have a school here anytime, so you got to learn how to count, learn how to read, and learn how to write.' That was the most important one for kids.

April's children went to school at Tjirrkarli and she worked in the school for a year or so before she became an Aboriginal Health Worker for about seven years. She has completed both *Certificate III* and *IV* in Aboriginal Health Work.¹²⁵⁹

They still want me to work in the clinic, but I want to have a, because I'm doing this, I'm on the Executive for Health Advisory Committee then Women's Council...I'm still working, I like working, my husband keep on saying: 'Hey you wanna leave this job and stay at home!' And I say: 'No'.

April says she got the working habit from 'way back from when I used to do a little bit of work at Cosmo'. During the time that they lived at Tjirrkarli community her husband was Chairman and an active member of the Governing Committee of Ngaanyatjarra Council

¹²⁵⁹ *Certificate III in Aboriginal Primary Health Care Work* and *Certificate IV Aboriginal Health Worker* (provided by Bega Garbarringu AHW Learning Centre in Kalgoorlie).

with a special interest in education issues. Now they have shifted out to a small outstation and their son has taken on the Chairmanship at Tjirrkarli. April and Marlon's grandchildren are the fourth generation to participate in formal schooling. April has always kept her reading and writing strong especially with her work as an Aboriginal health Worker. April has also been very involved in NPY Women's Council having been on the Executive for many years.

I had that book that *Drop in the Bucket*. Read all that and we keep them here. I got a cupboard there and I got all the books there. That's what we got to read when we go for meetings and all that too you know, we got a lot of fax in and books from ATSIC, they send us a lot of books, like bulletin, and newsletter, and newsletter from Women's Council, and from the school. Yeah I do a lot of reading but my eyes getting blurry now, when I'm in there it's too dark, too dark to read, I just have a look for a little while and put it away. I like reading, you know.

April reminisces about her experiences:

It was good education we had, because you know today you can't tell kids. You try and tell them to go to school every day but they wouldn't listen, cause they got all sort of things at home like TV, video, DVD, yeah, playing around all night walking around all night, no sleep. Don't go to sleep until the sun up here, they don't want to go and learn. In those days we didn't have those sort of stuff like DVD, video, TV, walking around all night – we'd be frightened to walk around night times, having a look at, if it's moonlight we just play around close up, then father and mother call us to go to sleep. Nowadays there's lights everywhere... I'd like to see my grandchildren, you know, I'm talking about my two grandson, I'd like to see them two to follow the footstep of me and my husband because we both had good education. Follow in our footsteps.

April's *kurri* – husband **Marlon was born in the bush about 1942.**

When he was very young his family were roaming in the vicinity of Old Well after the missionaries first established the mission. His parents sometimes camped with the other families down the creek and also went out hunting for '*papa minyarra*' dingo scalps to trade for food. They would receive bags filled with flour from Mr Wade. Marlon was too young for school but his eldest brother attended the half-day school and often ran away. At that time his father was given a job looking after the goats. Around that time it was 'desperate times with kangaroos and emus dying' in the drought. People started wondering why others were heading further west and some like Marlon's family followed their tracks and walked into Cosmo Newbery. This was when Marlon was still a child and around the time when Mr Donegan was Superintendent and it was a 'rough place' with 'forced labour and floggings'.

They came straight in from the bush round here in about 1953. They followed everybody into the mission, when the big mob went they followed the *tjina*, followed the track: 'Oh he's gone' and they chase him up from behind. They could have put me in Ranges but everyone was going that way. All from Ranges they went that way too. All went that way too much fight at Ranges I think fight was involved especially when they lose a loved one, don't want to look at the memory.

At Cosmo his father worked as a woodchopper and his mother did domestic work. Shortly afterwards Marlon was taken to Mt Margaret and put in the Graham Home and stayed

there till he was about 16 years of age.¹²⁶⁰ Significantly, he recalls May and her brother being brought into Mt Margaret Mission from Warburton Ranges. Marlon remembers being locked up in the dormitory from around 6.00 in the morning to 6.00 at night and learning by copying what the other children were doing.

I don't remember school, everything was new to me, I didn't know what I was doing there, what they put me in the Home for? It felt like in a cage, you know you put a bird in the cage. I didn't know what I was doing in there, how can I get out of that? I was locked up... We was locked up, can't go that way, had to listen to what they tell you, if you go across and talk to the kungka you get a good hiding, the biggest hiding you ever got, but it never worked. All the things what they do in the mission time you don't see that today. Mothers, fathers loved their children more than the strap, they don't want to see their kids get a hiding, they want to let'em go loose... That hiding and strap made us sort of settle down you know, when we come out we know right from wrong because it's the way we brought up, but young people today they got no control.

I asked Marlon if he had learned to read at Mt Margaret and he replied:

Not really, but we had a good schooling, missionary teachers not government teachers, we gotta sit down and listen. But was much better before 'cause they listened. People who come out are well-educated got good jobs, some nurse, really spokesmen, teachers and all. The best part of the mission was putting them in Homes, today they're fighting against that.

Nevertheless he still perceives that the education he received at the Mission set him up for his working life.

I went to school in the 50s to now, only had six or seven years schooling... In that space of time I was taught everything you know and when I went out to work: 'Where you went to school?' they asked me, 'Mt Margaret'. Squatters and managers said: 'You know how to work better than the rest of the people.' I said: 'Yeah, lot of these people they come straight in from the bush, they don't have that education, they was never shown.' Now that I had that little bit I can come out into the world and get any type of job, you know.

When he left Mt Margaret he was going to go to 'Tech School' in Perth but 'ran away'. Then in 1965 or 1966 he went to Pedlar's Hostel in Esperance and did agricultural training and gained work experience on local farms. 'Just working, didn't think it was training, young people from all over Australia there, lot of young fellas.'

Worked on ten or eleven stations round the Goldfields, working as a team with other blokes, not on your own, doing the mustering. In those days cheap labour, Aboriginal blokes, so long as you got your boots and your clothes that's all you need. Worked hard, in heat and rainy days, on weekends, not like today.

Marlon worked on many stations including some 'bad one' with rough station managers and dreadful conditions.

Go out work hard all day from 5.00 to midnight, low money, not enough sleep, bad food, rude manager, swearing. Go out work till shirt and trousers break, shoes break, no wash, can't go to shop to get new clothes, worked till clothes fall off your back.

¹²⁶⁰ In 1954 children old enough to attend primary school were being transferred from Cosmo Newbery to Mt Margaret Mission (Annual Report CNW 1955: 27).

He recalls that Bandy Station was particularly bad. He once had a fight with the station manager and walked off Bandy with Arthur and Silas who were also working on the station and walked into Laverton two and a half days away. Around 1968 he started work at Yundamindra Station near Laverton, regarded by Aboriginal workers as a 'good station'. Marlon stayed there for many years working as head stockman and overseer and had a good relationship with the manager and was also in charge of all the vehicles and jackaroos. Marlon perceives that he was trusted by the manager to look after the station when he was absent. This experience of trust in the working relationship with whitefellas has framed his expectation of working relationships. He finished up at Yundamindra in 1974 and returned to Cosmo Newbery so that his eldest son could go to school.

Cosmo was a good place, you know Mission school. Education was more important for my boy than me working. I thought I'd better find a job in Cosmo and get my kid in school so he can get more education than me. Me, I only had a couple of years in school. I didn't want him to go to Mt Margaret in the Home like me. Cosmo had more freedom see, I had to hang onto my kid, I wanted to look after my son the way I wanted to look after him and bring him up the way I wanted to bring him up. This was new to me, but over there I was kept in a Home with the missionaries. Mission was still there at Cosmo, better there because closer to my area. Plenty of work in Cosmo, I was a leading hand, still stock cattle sheep, There about 12 or 14 years...till my kids all grown up.

Marlon also worked in Laverton as a Police Aide, at Mt Windarra mine near Laverton, then at Docker River in the NT as a 'third hand' when that community started.

Marlon returned to the Tjirrkarli region in about 1982-1983 with his wife April and their family.

I heard about this Tjirrkarli when the Shell Co. put the bore down, windmill. I come to Tjirrkarli not working, just living out here. When Tjirrkarli was set up, this windmill, we set this place up. They come here with no school, no house nothing we had to go and look for food. We started with nothing. Kids never went to school for six or seven years waiting for a teacher to come out. They were left out of school waiting for the community to be built up, we had to fight hard for a school. We was left behind. But we got it going.

Marlon became a *Yingkarta* – Christian leader at Tjirrkarli after the 'Crusades'. He was Chairman of Tjirrkarli community for many years and has been a strong leader on the Ngaanyatjarra Council, ATSIC Regional Council and has worked for Native Title and Education.

I got used to working and supporting my family, got good money in Windarra mine, I buggared it when I came here, to Tjirrkarli, now I got no money. Came here and watched my family drinking and I started drinking too. From that time to today they made a big mess with 'sit-down' – the government policy when they first gave sit down and the windmill, the damage they done. Before we had to work to keep the family going, that's what we were taught. When we came back to Warburton: 'Don't work, you don't have to everyone said you don't have to worry about it now.' and we got Unemployment Benefit. That was 'government time' and a 'you give me this' attitude started and went right through. I started thinking "If they ask for things then I can too." So we all got into this habit of sitting down, lining up, waiting for the money. Now government say: 'Why you all sitting down?' But it was their stupid idea in the first place, the government policy that caused so many people to sit down and loaf and put their hand out. I changed too, from hard working 6.00 to 4.00, to getting the free money, no sweat at all.

He has now resigned and moved to another community, but his children still live in Tjirrkarli. His son has followed in his father's footsteps and has taken on the chairmanship role. With the benefit of hindsight he perceives that in many cases the Community Advisors don't trust Aboriginal workers to do the job and that they have the same attitude as station managers.

That trust is a big thing when it comes to giving a job or training or teaching, trust is a big thing, it sounds little but it's a big thing and that's the opportunity that our people are not getting. They got to show the way to handle the tools the proper way, safety first, how to use the tool, then they'll get no accident, but walking away with that feeling: 'Oh I wonder if I trust that fella, it's my fault if he gets hurt behind.' The right attitude is to show them properly how to operate that tool or whatever. I was taught differently before I came here, not only here but somewhere else.

'Nothing's changed' he says 'the government, Mr Howard all jumping up and down, saying we're lazy and treating us like crap'.

I can't see any improvement in this school from when I went to school in the 50s to now, only had six or seven years schooling, but in those years I was taught plenty you know, if had keep on going I would have finished up in high school and got a good job, you know...they don't even go to 16, they go to 14, then finish school and they gone. When they get a little bit of whiskers they gone. They run away before they get grabbed for the business...All our children went to school not only here, everywhere, when they finish school they haven't got a good job, they never went to college or high school and all that. We look like all that education has flopped, there's nothing that has come out of that.

Patricia was born in 1963.

This is her story:

My father's family comes from Warburton area. My nanna used to travel around a lot then came to Warburton. My *kaparli* and *tjammu* was born in the bush somewhere near that way, somewhere near Warburton. The missionaries was here already, but my nanna was in the bush, they came and met the missionary, Mr Wade. Must be she had two or three children, then she stayed here for a while, then...My father was born somewhere around Yirlintjitjarra down the creek. He must have went, must be in the Home, and they have to send some down to Cosmo to work there, you know...Must be, yeah he must have went to school.

My mother's family is from somewhere round Blackstone way, my *tjammu* [MF] comes from Blackstone area, Jameson. And my grandmother [MM] comes from somewhere around Warakurna area. They met and they came through Warburton and heard that Mr Wade was here and they put her in the Home. I remember my mother was here at that Baker's Home, she used to stay there. Her father was in the bush, parents was staying down in the bush, just coming down must be visit her, see her, go back. She used to stay here in the Home and then some of the big girls have to go, have to shift somewhere to Cosmo to work...They was big girls like looking after the girls, looking after them. Do the washing for them, something like that, cleaning...For the schoolchildren, looking after them. Father's family shifted to Cosmo...working...Doing like fixing windmills, fixing fence, gates, go around looking at tanks, see if any holes. Fixing up pipes and all on the windmill...My mother went down to Cosmo and stayed and got married in a church... Stayed there for a long time, had children.

Patricia recalls that her parents were the first generation to be given surnames.

I was born in Leonora and one brother must be in Leonora...sister must be in Kalgoorlie, then other brother was born in Kalgoorlie. I stayed at Cosmo when I was a baby, stayed there when I

grew up... At Cosmo we used to go Sunday Schools, and...colour in, reading, just English, no Ngaanyatjarra.

She also recalls that her mother could read and write: 'we lived in a house and spoke mainly English, but just sometimes Ngaanyatjarra'. The family moved to the Laverton reserve when her father 'got a job down the mine, Windarra Mine, outside Laverton'.

That old mine used to be there, so we went there and we used to stay in Laverton. But from, we never used to stay in a house, we used to stay in the camp and go to school, Laverton District School. Stayed there for must be two years or three. We have to take our homework down to the school and do it and we have to take it back the next day in the morning to the teacher...My friends that come down from Laverton, Aboriginal kids from the class, do home work all together and they help me out...sometimes my mother helped me...And we didn't have no houses at that time, never had a house to go to school, just from the camp and my father was working Windarra, come back late.

Although there were no other books or papers in the camp, Patricia recalls her mother reading the Bible.

Then, must be 12 years of age I went to boarding school, hostel you know, staying Kalgoorlie at the hostel, you know, Nindeebai Hostel...I wanted to go...Went to school at Project Centre. Go out bush, ride. Do gardening, cooking. School, maths and all, reading, writing. We have to go...'cause must be because they didn't have higher school for big kids, because we have to go down to Kalgoorlie to do our Year 1, 2 schools.

Later on the family returned to Warburton and camped with her mother's family while her father went to the newly formed community at Tjirrkarli. After a while Patricia married and soon after moved to Warakurna where she worked in the clinic and then in the school. Patricia has absorbed a strong work ethic from her family's earlier working experiences in Cosmo and Laverton.

I want to work, because I like working you know, instead of sitting down, boring. I like working with the little ones. I like working 'cause you can know how to read, read, write, fax papers through, photocopying, all that things. Get learn more... Can't just sit down and do nothing. It's important for people to work.

Patricia also mentions starting and stopping education training courses, an AnTEP course through Fregon TAFE and some training in Kalgoorlie – 'do it and just finished'.

From Warakurna then, stayed there, must be worked three years, then went to Blackstone, must be 4 years. You know that Certificate I got, that's how much years I worked in the school. I did some course, Batchelor College. Never went down to Batchelor, they just sent the papers down, this lady comes down and organise things so we have to come and do the course here. Just did it for a little while, must be three times, then it just stopped.

While Patricia was at Blackstone she also started to learn Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

I used to go to, Miss Hackett and Miss Glass used to come down to Blackstone and I go down and sit down with her and read Ngaanyatjarra. Then they told me to, just that literacy lady Jan, gave all that information what I learnt from Miss Glass and Miss Hackett, then she gave it to us in the school and we start teaching, teaching LOTE in the school, must be two days a week I went to do some translating in Alice Springs for Bible thing, you know.

A few years ago the family shifted back to Warburton. Patricia never returned to classroom teaching in the school but took on a new role as a Ngaanyatjarra language worker at the college. What is interesting about Patricia's story is that when she returned to the Ngaanyatjarra Lands, like George she was speaking mainly English, and she had to regain a fluency in spoken Ngaanyatjarra then learn how to read and write in Ngaanyatjarra. As Patricia was already literate in English she was able to use transfer literacy skills and painstakingly learn Ngaanyatjarra.

I wanted to know how to read in Ngaanyatjarra and write in Ngaanyatjarra, that's my way to learn Ngaanyatjarra. I want to learn more Ngaanyatjarra.

Over the years she has undertaken a number of projects with the Ngaanyatjarra Language Centre at the College in Warburton, including the *Ngaanyatjarra Picture Dictionary*. In the speech that she wrote for the launch of the Picture Dictionary in April 2005 she recalled how difficult it was for her to learn Ngaanyatjarra literacy,

When I first learnt it, it was really hard so I had to go through slowly and learnt alphabetical order and how to pronounce it.

Now she feels that her English and Ngaanyatjarra literacy is at about the same level, although English is sometimes easier. She says that it is important for adults to have bilingual literacy skills.

To read, write, English and Ngaanyatjarra, both ways. To be prepare when people comes along and ask you questions you have to know everything. And to learn the little grandchildren to be strong, you know, leading young peoples. Adults have to be strong in pushing younger ones. They have to have their knowledge and to keep pushing young people to know how to read and write so when they are adults they must be get tired and you know, we want our younger generation to work along too.

Patricia reflects on her own life and the importance of identity, of knowing your family and where they come from.

Most different thing in my life was when I used to be young I used to learn in my younger times you know. Used to work, not work, but know how to read, write and know the family, family lines, family trees, know where my grandparents come from. Then I have to know where my mother and father country is, cause at the beginning I didn't know where my parents come from until my auntie told me where mother come from, and my grandparents.

Patricia now represents Ngaanyatjarra women on the NPY Women's Council Executive. Patricia's co-wife is Maisie (Family G) who has been a childcare worker and is now the co-ordinator of the Best Start childcare programme for the region.

Jennifer was born in 1966. She is Patricia's father's brother's daughter

My mother she was in the Home, they brought her into the Mission here, yeah she came, brought into this Mission here. She used to go school, long time, my father too. Both sides... They was living in the Mission all the time, they was living all them they was living here till they got married... My

father was the first Council here in Warburton. They used to tell me: 'your father used to be a Council and work around this community.' That's when I was going to school. My father and his family used to go bush and do the cutlines out from here to Marrngi, all my uncles they used to joined up and worked together. We used to live out there too. We always have just a one Toyota and just have a tractor and a trailer and that's all. Making the new roads to Marrngi, going through to Tjirrkarli, but we never reached to Tjirrkarli we only went to Marrngi, that's all. Halfway and came back, that's when I came back from there.

The families working on the cutline would wait till the children had finished school before heading out to work on the weekends: 'they used to wait till we get out on Friday, and when we finish school they wait, get their wages, get food, get the kids and all'. Jennifer remembers her family working on the cutline with no whitefella assistance and the road was built following the traditional walking routes traversing the country from rockhole to rockhole. 'The people wanted to because they know which way the rockholes is. They got to get it in their head...they know the rockholes, they go by rockholes to rockholes.' Jennifer also recalls her mother doing domestic work for the missionaries. Her family was a Christian family and she always went to Sunday School and accompanied her parents to church.

Jennifer was at Warburton school during the 1970s: 'I used to like school because I wanted to get learn so I can be a boss'. Then, like many of her cohort she was sent away and did schooling in a number of locations in the Eastern Goldfields. Firstly, she stayed at Nindeebai Hostel in Kalgoorlie and went to school at the Project Centre for one year and then returned.

They asked me if I wanted to go back to Kalgoorlie and I said: 'No', I wanted to go to Norseman. So they sent me to Norseman and I stayed there for another year...other girls was with us...[I wanted to go to Norseman] to learn more...I came back here, had a holiday with my family and that's when I lost my father...only had my mother at that time. I wanted to stay here, but I changed my mind and went to Esperance again. That's the last I went to Esperance, stayed there for another one year, I used to be homesick too...there were other kids, from Ranges in Fairhaven. I went to Project Centre, we used to go every classroom for morning and after lunch we just used to just go do arts and all sort of mechanics for the boys.

I learned lot and when I came back here they told me: 'Oh you want to go?' and I said: 'No, I want to find a job here?' I was 16, no 17, 18, 19 round about there. First of all when I came back I got health work, that's the work I used to do it. I done a couple of months but I moved out, I didn't want to work, I just feel like dropping off. I didn't wanted to do job, you know.

Next job Jennifer found was in the school and she has been working there as an AEW for the past six years. She is literate in both English and Ngaanyatjarra and also teaches the Ngaanyatjarra LOTE classes.

I teach them, Pre-primary and the Kindy all together...I organise kids in the school, when I go in she, the lady in the class, she organise her job first and when she's finished she always just tell me to take it on. I always get the kids, sit them down as a group, talk to them 'Good morning' and all that and in Ngaanyatjarra I always talk to them. I work in Pre-primary, some little kids don't understand,

first time they in class. They in this big huge... and they see a lot first time you know when them kids go in. And I just tell them to settle down...I take my lessons I always do the Ngaanyatjarra, I always tell a story or sing a song...I read, read the books, stories and explain to them in Ngaanyatjarra...Sometime I always have my own school, when maybe a teacher sick or something, I always take them little kids and I do my programs, who comes in and who goes out...I like being in the school working with the kids, among the kids, they special, the kids. They want to learn more about ABC, and 1,2,3, and all, so in future they can run their own life.

Jennifer is devoted to teaching and looking after the children in the community. She would like to learn more about teaching and has enrolled in teacher training courses. Christianity has also remained an important part of Jennifer's life.

I go to church, every Sunday, hear the word of God. I always tell my niece, my families, all family relations: 'Go to church.' And I see my mother, tell her spread the Word around, go to church. They go...my mother always give a Bible reading and have little meeting in the house if she can't make it to the church. Especially at night if she can't walk all the way, she need a car.

Lucy was born in 1980.

She is Patricia's *yurmtalpa* – daughter. Lucy was living in Warakurna when she was little, then started school at Warburton abut later went to Blackstone school when the family was living there for many years. Lucy liked school and thought she was good at school because 'I go every day, school' and because her family encouraged her.

Mr Schinkfield was good teacher because he do some hard work, do the hard work for us like maths, science, writing letters, spellings

She feels that because both her mothers Patricia and Maisie work in education that she was perhaps encouraged more than other children. She sees that she comes from a 'strong family' because they encourage her to: 'speak English, sometime read magazines, and we go bush, out hunting on the weekends...mother writing, like newspaper.' And her mother helped her do homework 'like education, sums, about sums'. Her father is also a strong traditional leader.

My father, telling stories and like I come in and talk to him and Maisie explain him, so we always learn and listen to him when he says. Sometimes I help people in office when they talk to him, I help my father, sometime...help my father, specially my father.

Lucy stayed at school 'up to 15, 16'. Then she went away to boarding school through the Wiltja programme in Adelaide, bit stayed only eight weeks:

They were different...Some white kids and Indian, Chinese, I was thinking they different, came back...I was getting dopey...Homesick.

When she left school Lucy could read and write in English 'a little bit', like write a one page story and read magazines. Since then she says her mother has helped her to keep her literacy strong because Patricia is more literate than Lucy: 'my mother...When she do it I look at her, when she write and read'. Now Lucy reads magazines and does crosswords.

While the family was still living at Blackstone she worked in the community office and did some office skills training.

When I used to work in the office old people come round and ask, so I explain them how that Advisor told them, tell me and I explain them, that's a good thing.

She also worked in the playgroup at Blackstone and now works with her own children at playgroup in Warburton. Lucy hasn't done any training at the College but wants to do more office skills training: 'I still like that'.

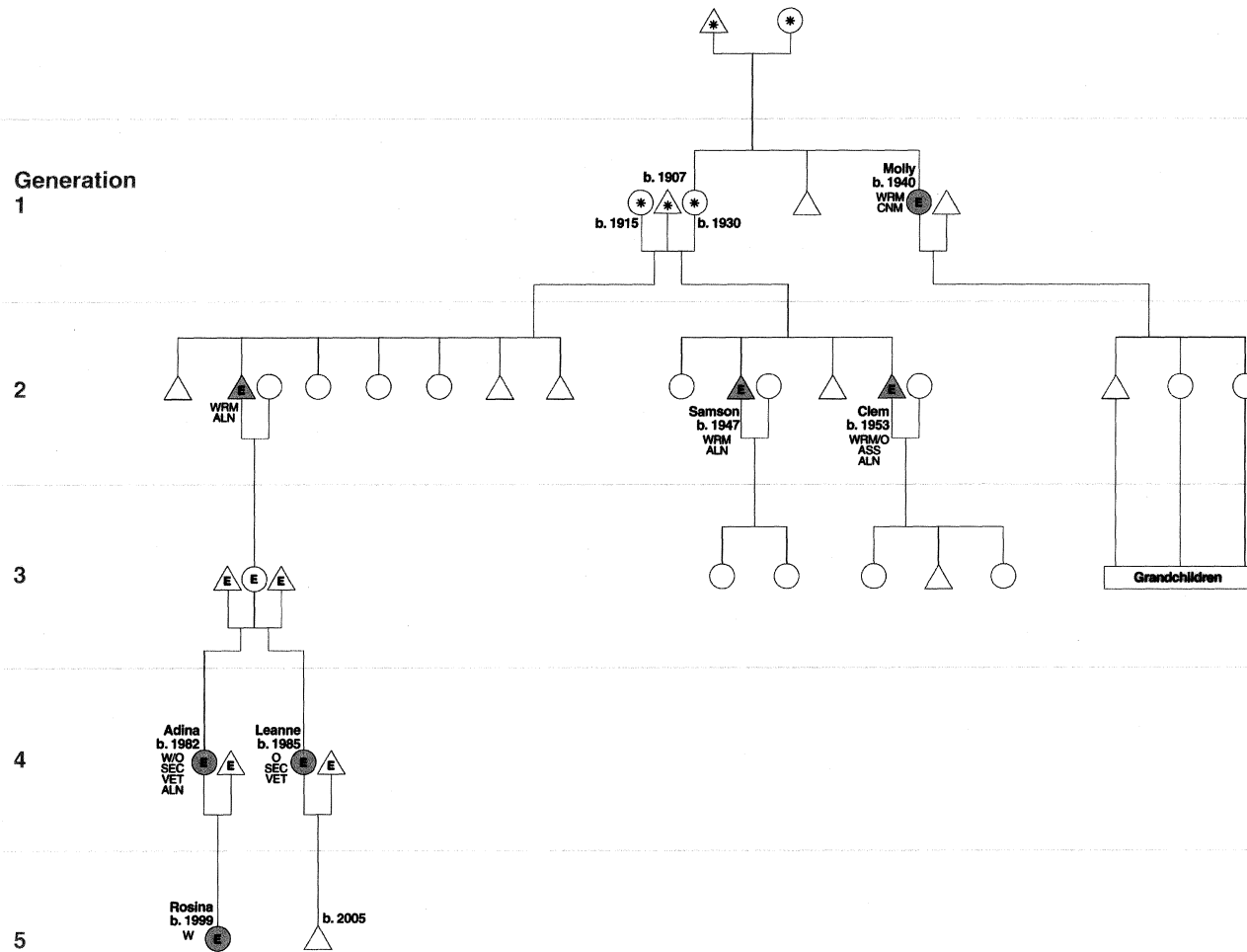
Lucy's *yurmtalpa*, daughter, **Shantoya was born in 1998.**

Lucy encourages her daughter to learn and 'speak English with May' and she can 'write her name, self'. When her *kaparli* Patricia gives her paper and a pen 'she write her name, by herself'. When I ask her if she goes up to the school to see her daughter's work she replies: 'nuh, one day I'll go'. She describes her daughter's learning:

Shantoya start speaking English with my mother and me...From my father, he show them, he show her about honey ants, speak language strong.

For her daughter's future she thinks 'work, keep the culture strong' are important. Lucy thinks that education is important so Shantoya can 'speak English to whitefellas and 'write a letter, write names'.

Family F



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

Family F Narratives

Molly was born in 1940.

Her older sister was first wife to one of the senior men in the group to first encounter the missionaries at Old Well in 1933. This is Molly's story:

We used to live round the bush when I was a little girl growing up. Round Wanarn round Mitika, all them places, I grew up there...Where I roam right round there, grew up. We used to travel to Giles and back, anywhere Ngatun, anywhere my father used to travel around, any places.

I had a good education before I went into the home at Warburton, they taught me bush ways. Every year they used to pick us up for holidays every Christmas and take us away as far as Giles, right around in the middle and come back nearly winter time. Walking, we walk around and eat bush tucker all the time. We go out sometimes they leave us in the camp to look after little kids while they go out and get rabbit or goannas, kangaroo anything they can find. They'd tell stories at night, they'd talk to one another loudly and we'd lie down and listen. Anything, dreamtime stories, I know a lot of dreamtime stories in my land, Wanarn.

Then we came to the mission. One of our sisters, was living here, cousin, my cousin was living here and...my sister. They got married to a man from this way. They used to live here, but one used to travel back, I didn't know I had a sister here. But one lady always used to go there with a little bit of clothes for her families, Harold's mother. She brought us back, she told us: 'Come back home, come back. *Tjiti pimi* schooling there.' They was happy, I don't know I can't think what they was thinking. They just brought us and left us in the Home. I must have been just ten years old then. Old man, my old uncle he came over and said: 'This girl want to go in the school.' So they put me in. It was new, we used to sleep on iron bed. I think I felt alright, we had friends there. We had 'Mary' there...our family, that's why I wasn't worried, they was in school there, those big girls. My brother was in the Home too...and my cousin...they was in school. Big mob of them...I was happy because we had a lot of family was in the Home...I had my little niece there...she was in school with her sister...Big family, I know them.

School, was a good school because we learnt to read and write and go there in time. You can't miss out like this when you got to be picked up by someone or force them to school. But we was all in the girls Home...We used to have a bath night time, go to sleep, get up, wash our faces, comb our hair, have breakfast, go to school... At Sunday school go sing hymns, pray and go out...we use our head to sing. No hymnbook in front of us. Like nowadays they have hymnbook. You got to use this one [head] to learn to sing. I lived here for most of my life. Go out on weekend with parents, we all go out Christmas time.

Molly went to Cosmo Newbery Mission and left her mother and father and all the families behind in Warburton.

I was a big girl when I finished school. I still stayed on and then I jumped on the motorcar and we went. We got sent away because the men was chasing us around, chasing me around... They wasn't happy but I put my foot down and said: 'No, I'm going.' They said: 'You've gotta stop' and I said: 'No, I've made up my mind, I want to go.' I was frightened for the man who chase me round all the time...From here we went to a station, you know they put us in a station, long way, Weebo Station. We didn't know this station and we broke one plate and this lady she was getting nasty, growling, growling and we took off, me and [another girl]. We took off. Only me and her...But we walked all the way and one missionary from Leonora, picked us up and took us to Leonora. There we stayed for while...They said: 'You two girls got to go and live in Cosmo.' That was it.

I went to Cosmo, we learned to keep house there, we was doing, about seven of us girls went there staying, learning to do housework, cleaning, cooking. Seeing as no school house was there we used to go to mission for ride, Mt Margaret for ride and we went to Bible study there for about two

weeks. Plenty work. They used to do fence, you know cut all the fencing pole. Put them together like this, all the pole used to stand up like this, you know, they worked hard, tied them together with the wire so they won't fall off. Other lot they used to chop wood for the missionaries. Some go out, the children, boys go out and milk the cows, some in the goats. We used to live on goats milk. And some used to go out shoot *marlu*, bring them in for the missionaries. I think they used to get feed, no money in those days... Young fellas used to work there, they used to go out and muster the cattle, horses. That was training too.

Once at Cosmo, Molly soon rebelled against the restrictions of missionary living.

I stayed in Cosmo, then I think we didn't want to stay there, so a couple of us ran off and got ourselves a man that night. That was all! About time too! I didn't want to stay in Cosmo. I wanted to be free. I wanted to be free to have my own life. I went everywhere with my husband. Station, any station, work for your own living, have money of your own. They get cheque and they change it in Laverton. I stayed in Laverton, there was a big reserve there, big village used to be there...people everywhere...I did many works. I used to get up, you got to be on time, do work, domestic work, anywhere you can find a job you work. In town I used to work in the police station, in the store. I don't know why they picked me.

Then the last job I had was in the hospital, you got to be there in time, otherwise you get sacked. You got to read the paper what they write down and leave it for you on the table at the hospital in Laverton. You got to read because you got to stick to your job. I don't write stories about myself, but I just write down what they want, like keeping up the hours and all that. You got to put your own hours down, what time you arrive and what time you knock off...When I was working in Laverton hospital we didn't have white people behind us all the time, we used to do our own work, sign the paper, sign off and go home. That wasn't in the government days, that was with the white people we used to work. Lot of change 'cause whitefella, why they can't trust the Aboriginal?

There was a lot of jobs. No Centrelink there in those times, you got to earn your own money. I used to work around Laverton area, hospital, domestic, work anywhere to earn money, to keep me going and my husband used to work in the station. We worked to earn our own living, no government money, only child endowment. That's all the free money I know. I used to work in the Laverton Hospital and earn the money. I had already trained a lot to start working, I used to do cooking, mopping the floor. I used to work around the white ladies house, or police station, cleaning, and earn a living, money you know a little bit of money here and there. It was enough, they [men] used to come back with the money and go off again. Then I worked, worked, worked, until we shifted back to Cosmo and I worked in the shop, did the till and all the stores. I was still working until they said you better get an invalid pension.¹²⁶¹

I think people lived on their own, earned their own money. It was better for me anyway. I did my job right through till my husband got sick. Then they told me you got to go on a Pension, Support, looking after your husband. That's when I dropped the job...I lived in town and I never touched a drink. I had my daughter they in Laverton, she grew up in town. She like me she never even touch a grog. She raised all these boys, never drank in her life. Then I came back to Cosmo to live there. When my children was little...When I was in Cosmo I used to be chairlady, help many people, used to go to meeting in Kalgoorlie, Laverton. Helping people all the time, helping then, helping them.

We lived in Cosmo nearly all, halfway through till we heard that somebody was, my husband heard they had a bore in Tjirrkarli and we moved there. There was no houses...and we went there and when they was there they been put their own windmill up there, own tank, dig a hole right up to the top of Tjirrkarli hill, they cleaned their own airstrip, done everything. When I was in Tjirrkarli I was on Pension. We used to go to the Ngaanyatjarra meeting for the ladies all the time...we go to the meeting still. We go to this meeting and they talk about meeting, sometime we tell them.

¹²⁶¹ Data from (Kral and Ward 2000)

I had a lot of kids and I'm really proud of the children I brought up... They grew up there in Tjirrkarli. It was good you know, when the government gave us a land. That's the land. From Cosmo we heard they put up a windmill, we went there and the children grew up, with their own hand they dug that pipe right up to the top. No grader, that's how that made them strong. I brought them up and every one of them...they all got a house of their own, things of their own. I go back to Tjirrkarli, sometimes they pick me up, and see them all happy. Hunting for their own meat. All got their own houses each in Tjirrkarli, that's why [we] moved out, so they can run their own things, learn. That's their own little community...I think I'm really, I done a good job of them...I'm really proud too...They work for their own living, my son he came back and he went home. He said he didn't want to stop, he was the one who cleaned this house out, paint it. He worked in Warburton for a while then he decided he wanted to move back home, Tjirrkarli. They live both ways, they go honey ants, goanna, my granddaughter she do that, she's a health worker there. She goes out *wangkajja* way learn, whitefella way learn. That's I'm really proud of how my children brought up, one of my girls...she lives in her own house, she got her own things...They got their own fridge, frying pan, car, anything they can have, firewood of their own. That's got to be strong, that's how you make them strong to look after their own things.

Clem was born in 1953.

He is Molly's older sister's *katja*, son. His father was in the group that had first contact with the missionaries at Old Well in 1933. This is Clem's story:

When I was a little boy my family died, my mother died when I was a baby. I was taken care of by my grandparents and I lived only a short life of living in the bush life. From when I was first born, then up to when I was five years, five or six years. Then we lived around Warburton here, then up around Wanarn, Warakurna. Then in that time it was very hard, we usually get frightened for white people, especially us. I was just getting my knowledge from my grandparents. My grandparents were afraid of Europeans so I was one of them too. But we came back from Warakurna then in the year of 1959 I think I went to school, I went to the mission school...I think I was the last boy who entered that Home, Boys Home. I used to read Dick and Dora, and learn a little spell. The missionaries used to give us, help us how to pronounce English words. I thought it was a good fun learning this, in school, learning things from them...I didn't know what was going on but it was good and I always looked forward to come to school...because there were a lot of friends there.

Clem recalls going to school in the stone building and he remembers when the children first started sitting on chairs at desks.

The year after that, when the mission was finished, we used to stop in the dormitory...the Native Welfare gave us some few bobs and told us it was all going to be changed. That was in 1960, 61 and we used to go camp now. But our parents used to help us come to school because missionaries always tell them: 'Oh, you got to tell them kids to come to school'. And some of our parents when they used to go out bush hunting, we used to stop with other families, in that way we used to go to school all the time, every week. Every month. And only time we ever had a holiday when it was school holidays...So I found the school was really good for me, because I loved going to school because there was a lot of sports going on, football, lot of new things I picked up help me along and I learned gradually about sports. But I loved to go to school because I used to write, write a lot, I picked up, I pick it up how to read and write, I used to do sums, in that time we call it sums, multiplication and all that. Yeah, my mother was and my father was only working for the missionaries at that time, but all my sisters all went in school and one of my sisters got married a bit earlier. And the other sister, just was, because the missionaries don't want them to get married a bit earlier, some of them was were taken to Cosmo where they was able to, even my young auntie, my mother's young sister [Molly] went over there. They were taught in the white man's way, in other words in the Western world.

Clem felt he was doing well in the exams at school, then when he was about eleven years old he was taken to join his family who had walked out to Laverton in earlier years and started Grade 6 at school in Laverton.

My grandparents, they went there because their family was there and also my grandfather and my grandmother's daughter was there, she was married out there. So I went down there...that's when I heard all these Aboriginal kids talk strong English, so I was able to speak, that when I started to speak what I learn at Warburton I was able to be level with children over there...I felt that I was level, I was able to communicate with them, express myself freely. I was able to mix in with lot of Aboriginal children, white children, half-caste children. Yeah, my reading was [level], because I was doing spelling, the most important we had was spelling in Warburton School, I was doing a lot of spellings and I was able to write it out. And when I was in Laverton School instead of writing it down I was memorising it and I was doing Grade 6 level, we had to say the words and spell the words in letters. I was there for one year.

When Clem was about 12 years old, around 1966, the Department of Native Welfare, transferred him to Kurrawang Mission and he commuted into Eastern Goldfields High School in Kalgoorlie on the bus every day.

They [DNW] organised that. They got all the forms in the school. They were just like parents was, they done all that. Because missionaries were like parents was, we had not only the parents from the when we was born but also we had missionaries, then we had Native Welfare...When I first went there they give us an exam, which level we gonna go in. 1H, 1A, 1E, 1J, like that. Most of my Aboriginal boys and girls that I went to school with they all went into 1J, they was all Aboriginal, but I was a bit smarter than they were and I was put into the class where there was all the white children...I felt nothing, because Mr Cook [Captain Cook] and all that, educating, I didn't know who I was, because they speak to me I speak to them, we went together because it was, only about four years ago that I spoke English after all that time when I went to school in Warburton, all them spellings and writing I had, helped me to get on with them children there. I had a lot of white friends, during that time the teachers were really good. I picked it up that I was a bit different to them...I had some friends because a couple of Warburton people they were there.

My parents used to drive out there, not driving out there, they used to catch a train, they call it mail truck, they used to drive down from Laverton to see us in Kalgoorlie. They go on the train and they get to Malcolm turn off, that's where they get the mail truck, come back driving to Warburton. I stayed one year there [at Kurrawang] but I was going to do the second year there because I was only 13 years old, I was going to stay there but the Native Welfare he told me, he talked me into agreeing to his terms, he say: 'Oh, lot of boys from Warburton there, you want to go?' He wanted me to go to Wongutha. He talked me into going to Wongutha Farm... I was to do the 2nd Year high school, but Native Welfare came and picked me up and took me. And I had dreams of being a builder and I had dreams of doing this and that.

That was in 1967. So I went down there. Then I started thinking: 'Oh we're learning all the farm works looking after cattle when they born, little calves and all' But I was on the shearing side, learning about shearing and they gave me a certificate because I passed this shearing thing. Never taught me how to drive a tractor yet. I stayed there, I didn't like it. I was getting taught about the farming but I didn't want to do it, so I ran away and I thought I'd come to Warburton. I stayed there three months. Boys and girls was there [at Wongutha] then. I ran away too...I wanted to go to school more, learn to write more, all just like university things...But at that time full blood Aborigines wasn't given the privilege to go on to further education. Only half-caste were given that privilege. And I thought: 'Oh well, all my dark people they were stockmens.' So I went and became a stockman and I worked, I was still 14, it was sad. So I wandered around and started working on the mail truck, I used to help this one man, I was helping and the man thought: 'Oh he's a good worker, I'll give him a job.' So I worked the mail truck then went to the station...I worked on Bandy Station, Glenorn and Jidamia near Kalgoorlie.

Well, I always speak English at that time, I spoke English all the time. English was my main language. I could hear because I went to school from Laverton onwards living with people who always speak English all the time, so I became English speaking young man. So I came back Warburton, got married...I had to get to know who my families were. And the brothers and sisters that I left behind and all the children I grew up with, see what they were doing. When I came back here when I was very young I could listen how they talking to me in my language but I can't speak. I really felt that, so it took me about...four years to speak my own language...Yeah when I was 19 I was able to speak, I got back into it again. I had to learn about hunting, learn how to hunt, learn how to live co-operative way and all that. Become an Aboriginal!

I came back here [to Warburton], after all that knowledge I was getting in school and I came back here and I seen most of the Aboriginals weren't given privilege to lean towards this Western way and they were held up by anthropologists. I felt that I should do that work for my Aboriginal people, when the governments started to help Aboriginal people. That money was there for Aboriginal people to help Aboriginal people but it was the white people who helping Aboriginal all the time. And I thought it was a time when the missionaries had, Aboriginal people came in from the bush lived with the missionaries, then the missionaries finished and Native Welfare took it on and when Native Welfare finished DAA was doing the thing. We were still having white people to help us and I thought during that time, I was saying Aboriginal people should be taught the ways of the Western world and so they can, with this knowledge they have, that trainings they have, they can run their own affairs. And I just want to say, because more and more Aboriginal people, we came back from Wongutha Farm, from the highschoools, ladies was sent to Fairhaven and we all came back to Warburton. They didn't give us the opportunity to make Aboriginal people advance towards, advancement.

There wasn't that possibility because we became more and more, we still have to lean towards the European to help us with that. Some of us argued and argued and argued at the Ngaanyatjarra Council office...In the 70s it was very hard when we start talking about this Ngaanyatjarra Council and I thought this could be the, this was going to be the opportunity, we was going run their own affairs, run their own business to help the problems with themselves, like petrol sniffing and build a better facilities, like rehabilitation and all that. You know because we who came from the high school we knew things change for the future, so we thought, I thought we were the people, we were the ones who was going to make it happen. Ngaanyatjarra Council was just the starting point for us to be more independent, running things self...old people looked upon me to be an interpreter because I speak English because I know how to read and write. I started being a main figure in Docker River. I went there in 1970 just because we had more money, once Australia changed for stockmen we can't get paid well, so we all went to South Australia and Northern Territory because we was getting more money than for working than in [Warburton] Laverton, Leonora, all that. In Docker I was supervisor and I was appointed to be a Chairman of the community council.

From there Docker River in 1971 I went to Bible College. I was reading and writing...I went to Gnowangerup for 2 years. I was doing English...I was working differently on the spiritual side, the missionaries was doing that time they was training the Aboriginal to go back to learn about the Bible, teach them in a spiritual way. Reading, memorising, understanding. Interpret, talk about it and discuss it and we used to do our own writing, we got to learn like at the school. I was writing with commas, full stops, exclamation thing, marks. All the word...my own writing, that I learn in the school. Just like writing a diary. We gotta do that to write your own sermon down. Then so you'll take funeral things and do your own sermon from the thing. That was 1972, and 73. Then 1974 I came this way and I'm staying here because Aborigines was given the opportunity to get more money, more money was being spent here, CDEP was gonna start up during the time the [citizenship] rights were given to Aboriginal people and people were drinking at the time too. Well first two place I can think of is Leonora and Laverton where there's a lot of people started drinking all day. Well I still didn't at that time, drinking wasn't the main thing until I got married...but we were able to look after our children. Our children was came number one.

I was busy with the government work, very busy. I used to travel to Perth, Canberra, Alice Springs.¹²⁶² I was Teacher Aide for 10 years at Warburton School, then Teacher Aide at Tjirrkarli, then Cosmo. Then I came back and I was given role as Chairman of Ngaanyatjarra Council. Then later on...I went back onto drinking and I drink myself away. And while doing that I led my children into drinking as well. Not all of them, now they don't drink, they don't take drugs but during the time when there was a petrol sniffing going on heavily, when they was smelling fuel, I always kept an eye on my children, I kept my children away from it. There was a lot of drinking in Warburton. When this office was first built here I was running this office myself. The Advisor gave me all the jobs to do, do payrolls, write people down, cheques, fill in the papers out and all that.

Adina was born in 1982.

She is a granddaughter of one of Clem's father's sons. This old man, Adina's *tjamu* (MF), was one of the creative writers in the 'literary movement' in the 1970s. Her grandfather had been at school at Warburton Ranges Mission 'longer than his peers' and 'hoped and believed that education would help him achieve something'.¹²⁶³ Adina grew up with a foster family and visited Warburton now and then. She went to primary school in Kalgoorlie. She recalls that she was 'really brainy so put in the higher class'. At 13 years of age she started at Eastern Goldfields High School and then was sent to CAPS, Coolgardie which she found a bit boring because it was a long way from Kalgoorlie. 'I go everyday, right through the week, weekdays, and right through the year, and right through the months'. She liked school 'to learn, learn, you know, learn to read and write. So when you get big so you don't have to be like dumb.' She finished school in 1998 after finishing Year 10.

After returning to Warburton Adina married Carmel and George's son (Family D) and they have one daughter Rosina who recently started school. Prior to 2004 Adina had participated in a number of accredited VET courses at Ngaanyatjarra Community College. She says wants to do the *Certificate III* in childcare and wants to work at the school as an AIEO. She has also been involved in the Youth Transitions programme and the youth arts projects where she has been involved as photographer, filmmaker, writer and café worker.

Leanne was born in 1985.

Adina and Leanne are sisters (same mother) and both girls were fostered out to different families when they were young. She is also related to Jim's family (Family I). Leanne grew up at Mt Margaret community and this is her story:

I went to school at Mt Margaret, it was alright. We do sports every morning, fitness and we practice for carnival every day then we go to Laverton for Carnival and they invite every school from

¹²⁶² In 1976 he was appointed a member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in an advisory capacity (DAA Newsletter (WA) Vol. 2 No. 5 August 1976: 23)

¹²⁶³ (Douglas 1978: 106); (Glass and Hackett pers comm. 2005).

different community, town. I finished there 12, then I went to Laverton when I was 13, I had to catch the bus.

Leanne says she was good at school, but 'too shy to talk'. At 14 years of age she shifted to Kalgoorlie, then at 15 she started CAPS Coolgardie 'I had to catch the bus to Coolgardie, 8 o'clock in the morning'. She thinks school is important 'to learn, reading, writing'. She finished school at 16 and shifted to Warburton where she lives with her uncle Jim's family.

I like reading magazine or storybook or sometimes newspaper, I like to have a look when I got nothing to do. I get them from my family's house...I just see it on the table. I stay with my uncle and my auntie they got a new house with four bedrooms over there.

Her aunt works at the playgroup. At home they keep, 'books, any story book, kids books, sometimes I read to my little niece. They came from the thing, kindergarten...so she can teach her little granddaughter'. Leanne sees her aunt reading with her grandchildren and says that 'she read her Bible, every Sunday she read her Bible, her and her grandchildren.'

Although she likes reading Leanne does little writing, 'I only just write phone numbers. In the book, but it's at home. I just put the names in any way...I just write my friend's name, all Anthea, name game on the paper'. During the day Leanne, with her friends Anthea and Darleen, 'go for walk, talk on the telephone'. Sometimes she and her friend Anthea 'cruise around in her white car, with all the girls and her tape player'. Leanne listens to the radio in the car for 'music and same time for time so we can tell the time'. At night they go to the Drop in Centre and sometimes write 'names'—graffiti 'on the wall'. Unlike many of the other girls she doesn't play cards. 'I don't play that. I only just watch them from a long way and she saves her money 'I put it in my pocket'. She says the other girls sometimes sniff petrol, but not her.

Because that's too bad. And they might tell the police who was there petrol sniffing. But this morning another girl got picked up for petrol sniffing last week, policeman was talking to her and asking her question. But she have to go to court, Wednesday or Friday. If she don't do it she might get sent away to do a little hours and come back. They might send her Kalgoorlie for little while.

She likes living in Warburton: 'good place because it's got Drop in Centre, and oval. They just buy cool drink, sit down watch video, play game.' Leanne gets \$65 every week sit-down pay and can live off this because her family looks after her. So she spends her sit-down on 'cool drink or I buy a phone card, camera or new clothes'.

Leanne says she would like to work.

I like to work in school or clinic every afternoon or work in the shop or at the clinic or in the little kindergarten or college...I like to work so that I can get big pay. I'll save it so that I can go Kalgoorlie, do shopping down there.

Leanne has also been doing of lot of computer art work with the youth arts group.

Family G Narratives

Joshua was born in 1937.¹²⁶⁴

He started at the mission school at Warburton Ranges Mission with Mrs Nash as his teacher.

We didn't have any papers and all that before, or pencil...I didn't know what was going on but I was only small. Then as I grew, a bit older, I knew what I was doing then.

Joshua's understanding of schooling developed as he grew older.

Education went better then, better and better. I got to the stage where I was learning school and other things...All the missionaries, they helped each other to get these books, books, and pads and pencil and all that, we got better and better. So we knew what we were doing...living conditions was alright...we learnt about *Katungkatjanya* side (Jesus)...that's what the missionary came out for...

Joshua went on learning at school until he was 14 years old.

But all the time we kept on going out bush, meet up with people...from the bush, some was still living, and they never seen a white bloke...no clothes...no blanket...nothing to carry around...just a spear and a fire and...woman had that *piti*...we don't live in one place, only in soak, soak with a water there...so when we went for holiday, we stayed there...we don't bother about coming into the mission, just sit down there...learn things out there, learn things out there...so we was going two ways, in school and in our culture way... that's when I was still little...so I had two ways of living.

In 1956, when Joshua was about 16 he went to Wongutha Farm in Esperance.

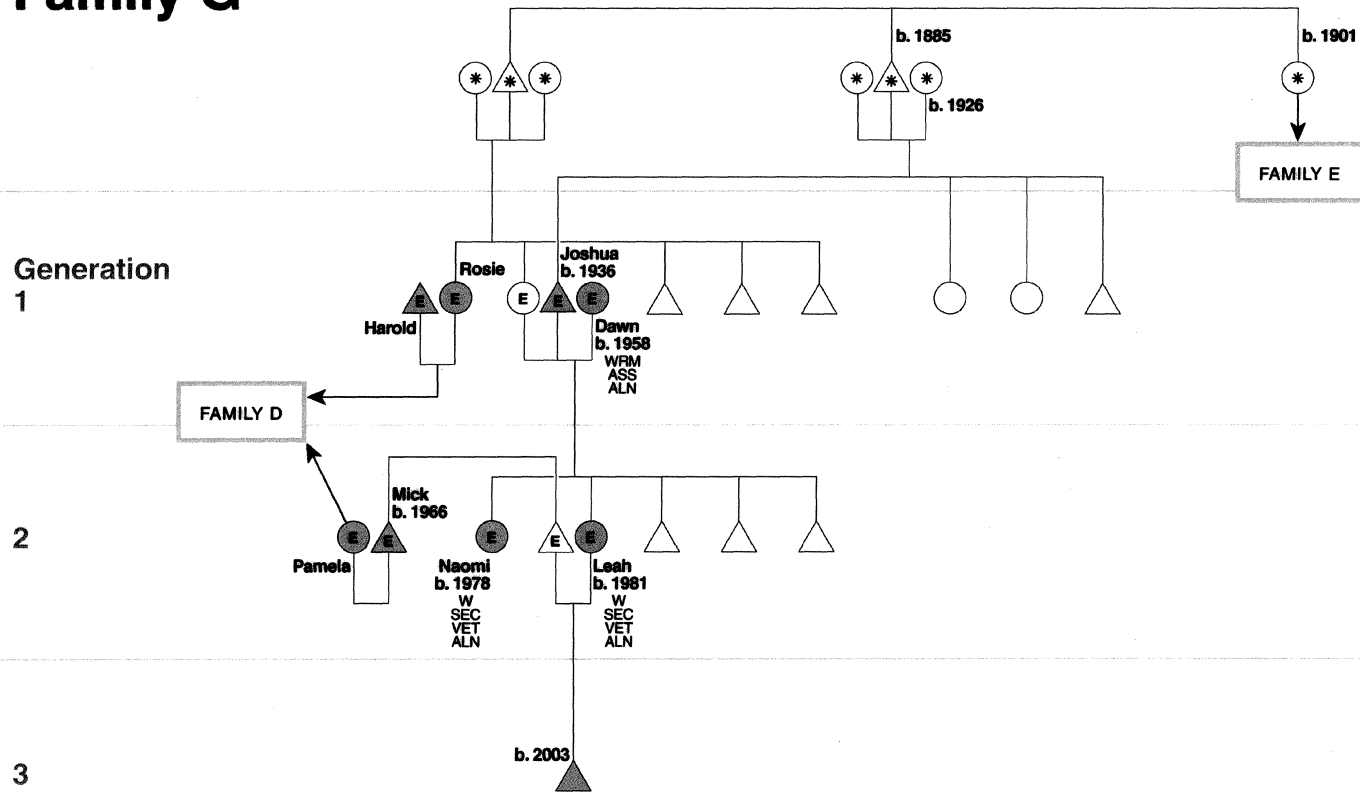
When I went to Wongutha Farm I learnt more, which I didn't know here in the mission...When I got to Laverton, oh there was big roads and I was surprised to see roads like that because I never seen one yet before. That was in 1956. When I got to Esperance, we start working the next day...learning lots of things, what we should do and all. We had a roster up on the wall, saying what we gotta do, this week or the next week coming...our new roster. Weekends we used to go to Esperance...and we formed a football team there...I played football for three years...I was learning a lot of things which I didn't know here in Ranges...did a lot of gardening...I was trying to be a mechanic...I went to places like Gnowangerup, up to Perth...We start building another building, dining room. We went to school there in Esperance, come back and do lecture in the night, learning about farm husbandry...how to run a farm and everything that we wanted to do. There was for young fellas that wanted to learn something.

Unfortunately Joshua was expelled from Wongutha as punishment for smoking cigarettes!

And I came away from Esperance, got a job there in Woolabar Station, south of Kalgoorlie. After two months I went back to Kalgoorlie, and had a job carting wood. I got sick of it...I went to Laverton...When I came to Laverton there was no reserve, just a windmill, new windmill there for the reserve. I stayed in Laverton for about three weeks...and...policeman and Welfare at that time you know, they like to see youngfellas working...everybody had to work...Soon my aunty come around from Bandy Station...she said: 'Oh. You want to come along?' So she took me to Bandy...Every weekend we used to go to Mulga Queen, during the week, *turiku* (ceremony)...*turiku* and all everywhere...And I went to Bandy, shearing time, shearing finished and I did fencing...really worked hard...not like blokes now, they don't know what axe is...That's a

¹²⁶⁴ The information in this section is primarily from an interview transcript included in an exhibition catalogue *Yarnangu ngaanya: Our land—our body* (Warburton Arts Project 1993: 42–50).

Family G



*	No school nomads
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

really hard labour...But sometime you know, when we do something wrong, we used to get punished, punishment job...There was another station just starting off in Gregory Hill...I worked there, and from Laverton I went to Cosmo...I went out there working...

Sometimes Joshua went into Laverton to see new things in town and to see cowboy movies.

But at that time people not allowed to, young blokes...government didn't want them to hang around...in town, in Laverton, even the police say: 'Lock them up until they, till the shearing and all that over, and we'll let you out.'

In 1957 Joshua met up with other Warburton families and they walked cross country from Laverton back to Warburton. When he returned to Warburton he was 'grabbed'—'they took me to the bush and I came back a few weeks later'.

A lot of things were different...there was no kids...they wasn't in the camp and all, they was still in the mission home, boys and girls in the home. Their parents didn't worry because they were all safe home.

At Warburton Joshua started work on building the new school, then took on a job as a carpenter building houses, toilets and bathrooms on the reserve at Warburton. After a while he went back out to Laverton and did the shearing at Bandy again, then on to a station near Leonora for a few months. For a while he also drove the store truck between Warburton and Leonora. In the 1960s he worked for the DNW Patrol Officer and helped to bring the Gibson Desert mob into Warburton Mission.

So I end up going round to Jupiter Well, Kintore...Tjukurla...Kiwirrkura...In Pollock Hills we seen a lot of people there, naked people, *ngarltutjarra*, still in the bush, didn't know anything about anything...they never seen a motor car, or *piranpa* or *mayi* or anything...They had a *tjukurrpa* alright, big *tjukurrpa*. They was travelling around *kata* full of *tjukurrpa*...So I started working with them, Native Welfare, from Western Australia and Northern Territory...and some of them came from Canberra, Jerry Long and all that...another day in the morning we went to Gary Junction then I took Windy Corner...as we were driving along we seen a fire going up...got closer to Taltiwarra we seen 'Darren' [Family D] and his family...he was only a little boy...so we stayed with them, for a day, two days, gave them *mayi*, flour...Everybody was taken in, from their *ngurra*, leaving everything behind. Now when I can look at them, thinking and think about that, everything *yurra*, it was just left there and some of them didn't return to see it...it was there when I was working with the Welfare...then I went out to Patjarr again...that's when they was doing a film, I was there.¹²⁶⁵ I got married, I lived in Ranges...I worked with them, AAPA then, as a Ranger...I worked with them for four years...I used to keep the sites, look after the sites on the old road.

In 1967 following two weeks training in Kalgoorlie 'Joshua' was employed full-time as a laboratory assistant in a mobile geochemical laboratory operated by Western Mining. He was trained at the School of Mines laboratory in Kalgoorlie and a further twenty men also received training.¹²⁶⁶ In 1967 the Ngaanyatjarra men employed by Western Mining Co. were

¹²⁶⁵ (Dunlop 1966-70).

¹²⁶⁶ Annual Report CNW 1967: 29-30.

paid 'at the award rate of \$10 per day' and a senior DNW Welfare Officer was appointed to the mission to look after people's interest in respect to the new mining ventures.¹²⁶⁷

I was a field assistant, looking at all the *yapu* and all that...it was a good job because I was learning lots of things wherever I went...after that there was another job there in another company, International Nickel, in Wingellina...I was working there only for a couple of months...after that we went *tjilkatja* to Cundelee, the first *tjilkatja* 1971. I came back here to Ranges again, *ngurraku*...I had the job of grading all the road...down to Laverton road...that one down there, Gunbarrel road and people decided to cut a road to Giles, instead of going right round...Then I went and looked for another job. I worked in Laverton in the shop there...and I went back to station again, Bandy Station...worked there...and I thought, ah, I'll go back to Ranges...so I came back...I went to Docker River...Docker River, stayed there for one year, worked there...then I came back to Ranges here...

Joshua then went to Blackstone for two years and married his second wife 'Dawn' (his first wife was Rosie's sister) and returned to Warburton around the time of the Skull Creek incident near Laverton.¹²⁶⁸

You know, with the police...and you know people, how policeman was treating them...they didn't have any laws about, you know, to look after, how to treat people...From there on I thought I would like to get the job in the police force...so I did. I was standing between people, people and the police and I was learning a lot of things from the police, about their job and all how the police was working, doing this and that...bit by bit you know, I was telling them about how to approach people, talk with them and all that...you get a good relationship if you do that with a people and the police. I stayed on there and worked for a while and they start to work really good then.

Joshua was Chairman of the Ngaanyatjarra Council for many years. After this he was voted in as the Director of the Ngaanyatjarra Council, the only person to have held this position. On Australia Day 2001 he was awarded the Order of Australia for his significant contribution and leadership of the Ngaanyatjarra people over many decades. Sadly he passed away later that year.

Joshua has two wives. His second wife **Dawn was born in 1958** near Kanpi.

Yuwa, when I was little my father and mother was staying in Warburton. And I used to doing schooling in Warburton. My father come from like Blackstone area, *yuwa* near Blackstone, and my mother she belong to Blackstone area too. They born bushpa. My mother was born at Warlu and *ngayuku* father Blackstone way, old Blackstone. And we used to live here and I was going school, every day school. I was born bushpa, I was born near Kanpi. Them two was gone to, from here, them two went to *ngana*, Utju, stayed round there, Utju and Alice Springs, *nyinarrayarnu* and they was coming back to Warburton and I was born somewhere near Kanpi and they was coming in this way. *Ngayuku* father *lurnu mailpa katipayi*, from here, you know Warburton, Ernabella *ku*, *tjinahu* [My father was taking the mail from Warburton to Ernabella by foot]. *Yuwa* when people going into *nganaku*, Ernabella *ku* to visit the families same time you know, to get a *mingkulpa* [bush tobacco] and they come *pitjapayi* same time. They stayed there.

Dawn doesn't know if her parents went to school, but her mother learnt to read Christian texts in Ngaanyatjarra and easy English from the missionaries as an adult.

¹²⁶⁷ *United Aborigines Messenger* January 1967: 3-4.

¹²⁶⁸ See (Woenne 1980).

Ngayuku motherlu readtamalpayi Bibletatjanya Ngaanyatjarra and nyakupayirna miilu ngunytjulu ngaalu readimarra...you know English easy onenga, she can read [My mother read the Ngaanyatjarra Bible, I watched my mother reading]. Yuwa mission time. Ngaangka nyinapayi, ninti readtamalpayi [Staying here, she was clever at reading]

Whereas Dawn's father only speaks Pitjantjatjara: '*tjaa yartaka wangkapayi, tjaa Pitjantjatjara wangkapayi*, not *Ngaanyatjarra*' [he speaks his own language Pitjantjatjara].

Dawn first went to school at Warburton Ranges.

Yuwa tjarrapayi nya-ngka...nyinapayi, [Yes I came into school here] but during the Christmas holidays people used to go out to Snake Well and when school starts we come in, *pitjapayi marlaku*...We used to walk from the camp, come in and have a shower, there was a big thing there, shower block, come in and have a shower...clothes *tjarrpatjunku, pitjaku* breakfast *ngalku* dining room-*ngka*, then *pitjaku* school [getting dressed, going for breakfast in the dining room then go to school]. School *nyinarra*, then go back for lunch, dining room*angka, mirrka ngalku* [to eat food], come back school*ku*, go back dinner*ku ngalku*, then go home...We used to go and sit down and the missionaries they give us a *nyaapa*, colouring things and *palyalpayi* drawing.

I went to Norseman first, must be two or three days stayed in Norseman and they been shift me to Esperance...must be '70s I think, yeah '70s. School*pa palyarayirnu nganala* Esperanceta [I did schooling in, what's it called, Esperance]. We used to go in and *palyalpayi* like sums, and you know, and signsta *palyalpayi*, typewrite-*ngka palyalpayi*. *Palyalpayi* typewrite-*ngka*. *Yuwa*, some white kids were there...we homework *palyalpayi*, I used to do homework. After school, when I finished school in Esperance...*tjinguru* 16 or 17.

Like many other girls of her age Dawn continued boarding at Fairhaven Hostel once she had finished school and started working. She was employed as a domestic cleaning white people's houses in Esperance. This was organised by the hostel manager.

I used to work there. *Yuwa* and go out for work. Houseworks *palyarnu* [did] you know, every house. *Yuwa*, cleaning and doing washing, ironing *palyalpayi* and get little bit of money you know [from] the people that I worked for...And after lunch when I finished the *nyaapa*, you know, housework, I go out after lunch...Boys Hostel work*pa palyalpayi*. Boys Hostel, Pedlar's Hostel. *Yuwa*, ironing *palyalpayi*, the boys at the hostel, make a bed, *yuwa* and have a *mayi* there and go after tea *ngurraku*...they come round and pick me up from the hostel.

During this period Dawn recollects doing reading and writing activities, including writing letters to family in Warburton.

Yuwa, read*tamalpayi* like books and story, you know book-*ngka kutjupa-kutjupa*. *Yuwa*, like writing letters or, you know, like *turlku*. You know, like write-*imalpayi* letter, send some photos *nyakuntjaku*, you know, *mama ngunytjulu*. We used to come by plane *ngurraku*, come on the bus to Kalgoorlie and *pitjapayi nyaangka aeroplaneta*, holiday [We used to come home by plane...return here on the aeroplane, holiday]...Holiday *wiyarringkula marlaku yanku purutu, yuwa tjingurna*, three years *palyarnu palu nyaangka*, two years highschool then work*pa palyaranytja* [when the holiday was finished we'd return to school again, maybe for three years I was doing that, two years highschool then doing work].

Dawn finally returned to Warburton in the 1970s.

After doing work in Esperance *pitjangu marlaku palunya* work *ngaangka*, mission*ku*, missonaries*ku* house*pangka palyalpayi*, like cleaning and washing, *nyaaku*, Miss Hackett and Miss Glass, they used to

stay in that mission house and work *palyalpayi palunyangka*... a lot of people was working, government time... Did a little bit of *nyaapa* clinic work... *Palyarnu* work *pa* little bit *waningu* clinic-*ngka*, and *nyaapa*, *puru palyalpayi*, like old people *ku* and schoolkids *ku mirrka palyalpayi* together [making meals for the old people and school kids]. Go round and give the lunches for the old people, and put out the *nyaapa* reports in end of the year *tjunku payi* [putting].

Dawn also recalls many people learning to read from Miss Hackett and Miss Glass, including herself:

Tirtu readtamalpayi, you know like must be story book *pa mantjilku ngaangkatja*, *readtamalpayi*. From these two *palunyanguru*... *nintirringkularna* language *readtamarra*... [I was learning to to read language from Miss Glass and Miss Hackett].

Dawn and Joshua had five children: Naomi, Leah and three sons. When her children were young, Dawn says:

I used to story *watjalpayi tjukurpa*, *readtamalpayi* bedtime stories *kuliljaku* like books *pa*, you know dreamtime stories [I was telling dreamtime stories and reading bedtime stories]. *Watjalpayi yuwa*. *Readtamalpayi*, *tjaa yutihu* and English [I'd tell them in language and in English]. From the, books *pa*, Bible *ku* paper with Miss Hackett and Miss Glass and my kids really liked it. When they come Bible *ku*, we used to take it home and now today my little *tjamu*, he really likes the books, *tirtu nyakupay* and *nintipukulpayirna* [he's always looking and I'm teaching him] teach him how to talk and read and count.

She stills keeps her reading strong and keeps books at home.

Dawn has also been on the Executive of NPYWC.

They started this Women's Council and I went there *nyakulanytja palyara ngaangka nyaapa* like picking all the ladies Chair *ku*, Chairlady and Executive, and *nintirringkulanytja nyakula*. You know, ladies joining in from each of the three states, talking up for their *nyaapa*, like *tjilku pikatjarra*... like that. Other reports when they write it down, *readtamalpayi*, *kulilpayi*, *nintirringkupay* [reading, listening, learning] you know, working together with a Women's Council and talking strongly for young people, so the young people can, you know, take on *nintirringkulatjaku* young people *tu nyakula* [are observing in order to learn].

Dawn and Joshua's daughters Naomi and Leah have spent their formative years '*nyakula nintirringkula*' – observing and learning – from their mother and father and they tell their story below.

Naomi was born in 1978.

She started school at Warburton in the early 1980s when she was about five years old. She recalls the building of the new school which she attended until she was about 13 or 14. In 1992 she went away to CAPS Coolgardie for three years. She says she chose to CAPS because she wanted to and recalls being in the 'good group' there until she finished school half way through Year 10. She returned to Warburton because 'I wanted to come back home to start work 'cause I turned 16'. As soon as she returned she immediately started working in the office then later in the school as a receptionist. Both of these jobs required

literacy. At that time the community radio room was in the school grounds and access to the radio room inspired her to enrol in the BRACS media course. 'I'd done some little bit radio in the school when they had that old radio in the school. Done little bit there and I wanted to do some more, talking on the radio, making video, films. I wanted to learn that as a media worker.' She laughs when asked about reading and writing as a media worker:

There's too much reading and writing! Reading all the instruction, how to use the video, how to use it and same as the radio, especially when I'm on the radio I have to read all the faxes out and the records, read it from the CD covers, read the stereo which one we got to press...same as the radio, got to go through reading and writing too. Before we use the video we got to take like a little test, before we make a film, do a little program...using the computer, like editing, you know, I like it.

Naomi is a confident young woman and pictures herself as a leader. Her father Joshua was a significant leader for Ngaanyatjarra people. He encouraged her to do well at school, work hard and become a leader.

Dad always told me to work and live your own life, work for your own money and that's all. That's where all the advice from, from father...he was telling me, he always tell me: 'Oh Naomi, you keep on doing good things like me. Then one day, girls can easy do that, become a leader, you know, like a Chairwoman.' He always tell me.

Naomi has completed her media training: *Certificate III in Broadcasting (Remote Area Operations)*.¹²⁶⁹

I just want to be a trainer for the media students and a trainer for the, train all the young kids here, especially the teenagers, you know. That new program we got here 'Nintirringkula', I want to encourage all the teenagers, especially the girls, you know. Tell them not to sniff or run around. I like to do all that. Tell the young girls not to get married too young, you know. Just keep on doing what I tell them, that's what I want to do here in Ranges...it's sometimes easy and sometimes hard. It's hard sometimes because when you tell the girls, you know, some of them might think I'm joking, but I'm telling the truth, I want to do that.

When I asked her if she ever gets a hard time stepping forward as a leader, she responded with surprise: 'What they gonna do, give me a hard time for? Nuh, they wouldn't give me a hard time'. Gender distinctions are not a consideration in media work as 'it's anybody's job'.

She says it is 'a good program to keep them busy.'

You know, not to sniff and smoke drugs or drink alcohol, keep them away from that. Young girls you know, too young getting married, having kids. Keep them busy so they are doing their own little things, you know, youth program, working on all that...They like the youth arts program, it's about the fashion, they like dressing up, doing their hair, make-ups...learn about using the computers, cameras, photographs and do a little bit of reading and writing...like art for their own program.

Naomi's *marlanypa* – younger sister **Leah was born in 1981**. She is married to Mick's *marlanypa* – younger brother (Family D). Leah describes her family:

¹²⁶⁹ *Certificate III in Broadcasting (Remote Area Operations)* is a nationally accredited Training Package delivered jointly by Ngaanyatjarra Media and Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education (BIITE).

Both sides, mother and father born in the mission too. They was schooling here and then they went to the CAPS in Esperance, schooling there and my father stayed there and got a job there in the Goldfields, working at the mine. Mining and started in the ATSIC and working at the farms, then he came back this way and got a job here and was working as the JP with the cops, he had the job, he had lots of jobs, but I can't remember. Mother was working at the shop and mostly she like doing cleaning and all that... They been working before, that's why I know how to work, do course. That why I learn from them, by watching them when I was little, been going school right through.

I finish here schooling... I got a job in the school making a lunch for the school kids... then I change my mind to go into collegeing in the town schools... I decided to sign the form to go schooling into towns... went first to Coolgardie CAPS, then a visiting schooling at Wongutha CAPS [for]... two years... then to Perth University I went for a one week visiting.

Leah says her family encouraged her to stay at school and she learned a lot:

Learn how to so, maybe run the community. Go come back and learn the young people back in the communities... Maths and science, reading and writing, cooking.

When she returned to Warburton:

I started working in the school, then went to the clinic doing cleaners then did another job in the shop, cleaning in the shop in the mornings, half days. Then I was working in the Drop in Centre, doing sports and recreation and doing some courses with Steve, then the last job I was doing at the culture centre with Peter, tourism... Because I like doing courses and my friends do, they like it too, so we was all doing the courses. And it was good.

Leah says she likes working:

Make you look busy in the community, working, it's good work... I like to work office, but too much people going there and argue at the counter over money or something, phone. Because that's the main thing office, that's where all the people go.

However, most days now she looks after her young son 'might get a job when he grow up a bit big, then get a job back, some work, maybe at the college, school, office, one of those.

She considers her reading and writing 'pretty good'.

I just get a normal books from the shop, magazines and things like that books. *That's Life* or that Woman's thing, magazine and *How Life* and all that. And sit down and read.

Leah's family do literacy activities at home. Leah buys books for her little son who was born in 2003.

Buy little books and thing, textas in the shop and he sit down and draw, or he copy off his grandmother. See them when they do paintings, he join them, sit down and paint and they give him a little paper and a brush to sit down and paint... Take him for a walk down to the oval, and play with him balls and little football... he go with his grandmother to church.

Leah also reads at church, 'When the pastor read in the Bible, sit down and follow him readings, when they read, something like that'. Leah has also been learning Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

I do thing, language at home. That lady Miss Glass, she go round every afternoon learning that, learning more language. Yeah [I like to] keep the language going... It's important because if you don't do that language, well all the young people they might grow up and they don't know how to

write and spell in their language. That's why... Might be the young people take over, want to go schools.

Leah sometimes likes going to the library in the college to read 'story one, comedy stories and real life and movie story. Good stories [but] some of the words it's hard when you read, the long writing'.

Leah considers Warburton a 'good and big place'.

It's got everything here, roadhouse, kind of like Drop in Centre and culture centre and they got big prison coming up... It's good place so young people can do collegeing in the college, courses, that's why they like it here so much, learning at the culture centre. And the young people they like working, training and all that doing courses. Courses like tourism, cultural awareness and thing, sports and recreation, and courses for the Drop in Centre and all that and the woman centre, some girls they work there, learn how to do the things in the centre. Make them busy in town, instead of you know when they got nothing to do they start sniffing and all that, sniffing or start on the alcohol, going to town. Some young people they go into town, they sit around and drink, some young fellas they like doing jobs at the community and courses, like with Peter. Some just sit around and play cards, young people... you see them, they stay in the house watch video, DVD, walk around, like ask for a smoke around the streets, some cruise around in the car.

Leah thinks education is important:

Because that's the first thing on the list, education, to get learn, for the kids, so when they finish school, some kids know how, when they get a job somewhere else they know how to use the tills and all that, read and write.

For Leah education also includes cultural learning:

Some of the ladies, they learn the young people, last time they was learning all the young people before, but they didn't want to do it. Some of the old ladies [could teach it]. Sometimes they take them to the bush, learn them how to dance, sing, but not very often now today, but before they do that and we used to go and see them... It's different, not much old people here. Learning the young people how to do the culture and all that, in language.

For her future Leah says she wants to 'get a job doing work, make all the people work, something like that... maybe office or college'. But for the moment she's also happy doing the youth arts work.

It's good work, the team might keep it up... Do work like that, do make ups on the girls and all that. And the other team's doing computer, TVs and movies, taking pictures. And it's good.

Family H Narratives

Una was born in 1951.

In 1933 her family was camping around Elder Creek when Mr Wade first came along with the camels from Mt Margaret Mission calling out: '*yamatji muku-muku*' (gentle friend) and handing out lollies to the children. Una's father recalled this event because he was admonished by his father [Una's FF] for taking sweets from the missionary. Una's father was in the first generation of children to experience schooling at Warburton Ranges Mission. Una remembers him telling her early days stories.

I'll talk about my father first, father been going to school... They stop in the mission but I don't think he went to the Home, like staying in the Home, but this was just shifted down from that... Old Well... That first place was the mission came and built that with all the *yarnangu* people. And there was lots and lots of people there because they had the lovely spring water down there. And when that finished up they all shifted camp to that other place where my father was born. And my father was born then. Then they came back and they walk over here somewhere in that mission. And he belong this place but they shifted over there, maybe for some reason, *kukaku*, or just to stay out there... My father, he grew up here... They stayed here, but they used to go out round here hunting and all, camping out and all and coming back.

Her father started school after the mission moved from Old Well to the higher location away from the creek. School was then held in a shed, a timber building erected within the mission compound. She recalls him talking about writing on slates, drawing pictures and counting using an abacus. He was at school at the same time as Harold (Family D).

They been schooling here, next to where the big gum tree burnt down, right there. They used to have a shed, he told me all that story. They used to have them little board thing and they used to draw like people and animals, and they used to count them... And drawing on them little, what they call them thing? Slate... He was a good drawer. He used to draw people and kangaroo and all that... he used to draw on the ground, on the ground about when he was schooling. He used to draw and show us about animals and how they were in that little shed... he never wrote anything, only drew.

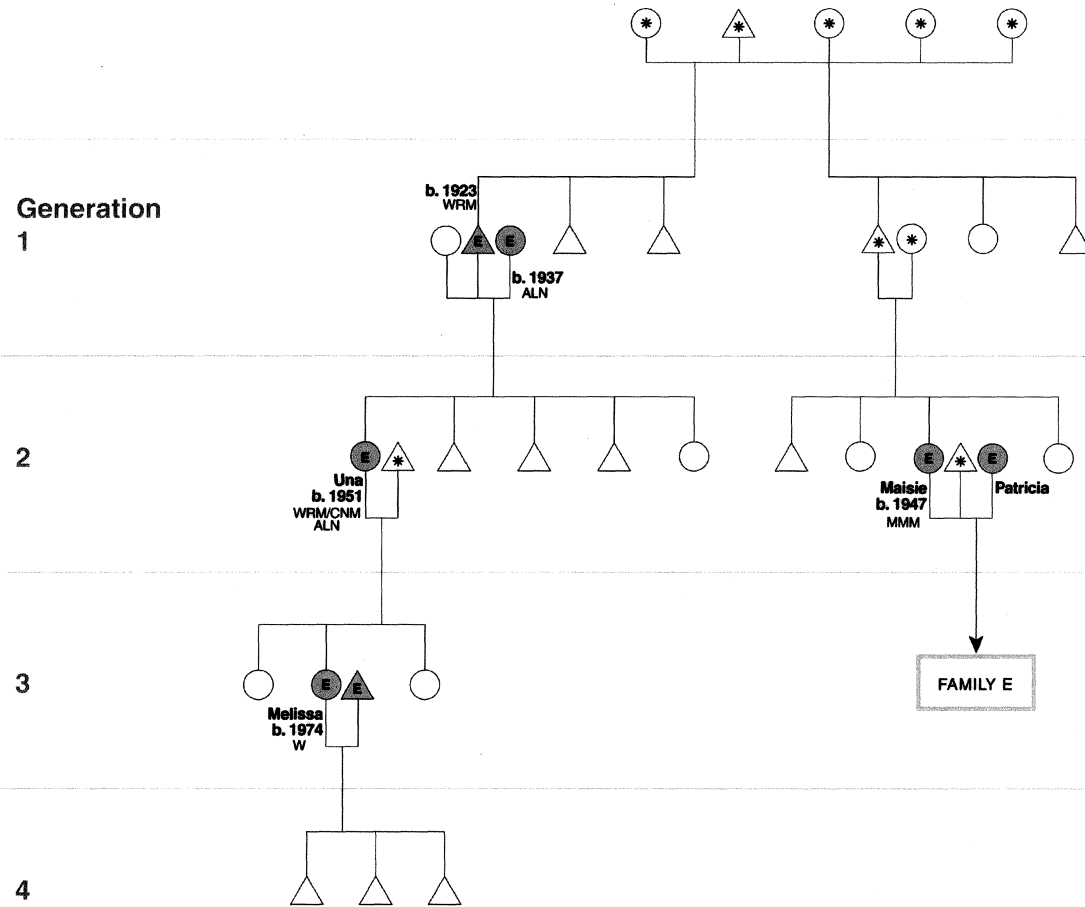
When her father was a young man, and before he married Una's mother, he travelled out to Cosmo Newbery.

He was working, mustering, bringing sheep in and they used to shear the sheep... he was there when he was a young man, working with Mr Cotterill and he used to, they, like as if they were working for *nyaaku*, food, ration.

Una was the second generation in her family to experience schooling and was put in the Baker Home when she was a child. Una remembers lots of children living in the Home, sleeping on the bunk beds and having their meals cooked. Meals were often supplemented with bush meat brought in by hunters.

I was born here that's why they been put me in the Home because they used to, long time, they used to wait for truck to bring food in. But not much, you know, they was sort of waiting. There

Family H



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

was plenty of kangaroos, kangaroo things and all that. But it must have been a little bit hard for them...people used to come out, that's first thing in the morning, on maybe five o'clock to, because the mission had to give the gun out to bring some meat for the mission, so they get lucky sometimes, some miss out. Someone comes in early, they take off and bring some *kuka* back, *yuma*, that's for lunch. I was put in the Home in the dormitory where I stayed for like morning and night time we go back in bed.

Una was not unhappy in the Home, but she does remember getting 'the strap' from the missionaries for running away.

There was lots and lots of children from everywhere, we was all put in the school. Some of them ran away, that was before us, some of them were put in the Home, but they didn't like it so they ran away to their parents and went on and on.

She recalls that they were allowed to speak Ngaanyatjarra in the Home.

I remember I was put in the Home first, then from there I used to go to school then, I was learning how to read and write and from there this school I used to write, write, write. And I was learning more and more.

Una recalls that she stayed in Warburton Ranges Mission 'for loooong time'.

There was a lot of older people working like, older people working with the mission in the early days. But my father used to go out that way where that Brown Range is and get some stones to build around all these places here...They used to have houses like that built for the dormitory and for the school teachers and they used to have a big garage over there and school teachers homes and staff to stay in, *yuma*.

Meanwhile her family maintained a relatively nomadic life.

Come back whenever they want to see us...sometimes they come and visit us, you know, outside the fence. They used to come sit down and talk: 'Are you right?' And we always say: 'Yeah we right.' There used to be a big fence right around, we used to be inside the yard. But that gate was open for us to go out and see them. But they was outside, they used to come and see us when they come in to get some ration. We used to go and see them, we used to go out and see all the older people and young people they used to come in and get food and go out.

Holidays we go out and we get blanket, one blanket, woollen one, not a coloured one, but one each and we go out. All our families come and wait for us and they take us out, maybe for four, three weeks. Then we come back and they put us in... When I was about twelve I was just coming to think to myself: 'Oh, maybe my family they outside they must be want to see me'. So we used to go out in the front of the shop. The shop used to be outside the mission house and we used to see lots and lots of people coming in. And we used to stand around and they was just, they wave us and say: 'Oh come here.' And then I'm thinking: 'Oh maybe my family's this person?' I used to chase after [Patricia's FF], I thought he was my father. I used to cry when they used to have...you know, when little kids see something, you know, good, I used to cry, so they used to give me little bit of dripping, and little bit of sugar to make me satisfied. But we used to have lunch, you know hanging around inside the yard, all sort of boring, because we had a big swing out the back where we used to play in this little shed there so we can sit down and read, anything.

By the time Una was around 13 years old her family had walked out to the Goldfields and Una went to join them. After the UAM mission took over Cosmo Newbery station in 1953 Una's family moved there with other families. The missionary Sam Mollenhauer

remembers Una's FF, then in his mid-70s, setting off on foot for Laverton in 1953, a journey of some 600 kilometers.¹²⁷⁰

My aunty came and picked us up. But we used to go out. Like my father and mother used to like going that way to Cosmo and they used to come and take us to Cosmo, walking, not by car. They used to walk and stay there for little while and come back because my grandfather went down to Cosmo, staying there...my aunty was there, but my father's brothers was in Laverton...they were already in Laverton.

Una continued schooling at Cosmo Newbery when Mr Howell was a teacher there. Una stayed only a short time at school in Cosmo. At that time Una was 'still a little bit not properly learnt' and she never went to high school. She then went to join her family to Bandy Station outside Laverton where her father and his brother were working as stockmen. This was prior to 1966 as she recalls that her father would get his pay in pounds in Laverton.

After a while, when I must have been around 13 or 14 we went out that way to Bandy Station then and my father used to work with his brother over there. They used to go out, I used to see them really early in the morning like five o'clock in the morning they go out on the horse till five and come back.

Una describes how when families moved out that way they had to work, if men were caught sitting around Native Welfare would pick them up and take them up and take them to a station to work. Same with children if they were not at school DNW would forcibly take them to school.

Shortly after Bandy, Una returned to Warburton via Laverton and Cosmo. In Warburton she married her promised husband when she was about 15 years of age. At Warburton she began doing Ngaanyatjarra language work, firstly by observing her mother learning. Over time her fluency in Ngaanyatjarra improved and she began to learn Ngaanyatjarra by transferring her literacy skills from English to Ngaanyatjarra.

Una is now one of the more skilled Ngaanyatjarra literates in her community. Although Una can now read well in Ngaanyatjarra, her writing is not strong. Nevertheless she has 'authored' a number of published Ngaanyatjarra stories, contributed to the translation of the published New Testament and is now working with Glass on translating the Old Testament.¹²⁷¹ Una was one of the main contributors to the *Ngaanyatjarra and Ngaatjatjarra to English Dictionary* and the *Ngaanyatjarra Picture Dictionary*. Una has reflected on the skill needed to work on the dictionary.

¹²⁷⁰ (Mollenhauer 2002: 66).

¹²⁷¹ (Richards 1997).

This one was really, really, really hard one, this one, it was not easy because there's millions and millions and millions of little words becoming to be a long sentence, one little word can make a long sentence. Really hard job...Really *purikanya*. *Wangka purikanya*. We used to slowly, she used to talk to me, answer me all the questions about one little word, then I explain Dorothy and Anee, all that, and it's all written there. They'd give me one little word, maybe like '*nyaapirinypa*' like that. Then I'd put up, make it into a long sentence, then I'd explain it in English then. Then them two: 'Oh yeah, I got it now'. Really hard job.

Translating is a task that entails a high level of metalinguistic skill and a capacity to reflect on language, as Una says she needed to *marlakukutura nintirringama* – reflect and analyse. One day Una explains the translation work she is doing on the Old Testament. Una reads the English and works out a good translation and this is recorded. Una says it is hard work,

Got to use your brains, only special people can do it. Need to get young people learning how to do it, some do, like Patricia and Maisie, but not enough to pass on the skill. Got to really understand English and how to speak good Ngaanyatjarra.

Una knows that her fluency in English has also given her a special skill as an interpreter.

People came to talk for housing and we sat down in our little group starting to talk and ask for houses. I remember we was sitting down outside the school asking for houses: 'Yes, we want more houses to be built'...And when it came I used to help talk for my father, you know, if any other white man came asking questions about: 'You like this?' And I used to help my father: 'You want this?' And my father said: 'Yes' From me I used to help him...I learnt how to you know, just stand up and talk to people like once there was a Government man came out to Mutitjulu and me and Alice went down and just had a little meeting there. We had a little meeting and we was talking for, to that bloke, down at Mutitjulu. And that's how I used to talk strongly for my people. I used to read them, those books you know. I used to sit down slowly and read them...by myself, without anyone reading it for me...I wanted to do that so I can learn more...It was really important for me to do that because I was thinking to myself: 'Oh one day I might speak to, like, when I get up for any other meeting, you know.' We didn't know there was a Women's Council there for us. And then I heard: 'Oh there's a meeting out that way, for only women.' So I always used to get up and talk for all the Warburton women.

When her children were young Una started going to the early NPY Women's Council meetings and she used to participate in the 'Adult Native Education' classes.¹²⁷²

We used to go out here somewhere, I can't remember because that was long time, we used to do something like sewing, and painting, and all sorts of things...I used to get lots of magazines, you know magazines, Women's Weekly and all that. Sometimes I used to sit down and write letters, we used to buy pads, pens and pads. I used to sit down and write and I used to think: 'Oh what I got to put?' Then I used to sit down and write to friends, you know my friends, I'd send letters to my friends.

Una continued representing the needs of Ngaanyatjarra women and children at NPY Women's Council.

At meetings there were all sorts of things, to read they used to give us, hand out sheets...and I used to sit down, and read, read, read...I used to read them and understand it and explain some of the ladies, some of them who don't know how to read. I just explained them: 'Oh this is this one or this is the ones we got to do like that.'

¹²⁷² See Table 3.1 (Chapter 3) for record of ANE at Warburton. A fulltime ANE officer was still working at Warburton during 1976 with 'limited facilities, and unsuitable buildings to accommodate classes' effort was focused on 'running art and craft activities' (George 1979: 447).

Una and her husband have had four daughters. Two of her daughters have also been learning Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

She's been learning with Miss Hackett and Miss Glass, she's been working on that Ngaanyatjarra *nyaapa*. She's been, I made her to go and, you know, little bit by little bit.

Una is aware that she hadn't had much schooling, yet, as she says, 'everyone think I went to high school and came back' because she confidently stands up and speaks at meetings and because she has good command of spoken English.

Whenever I go out I stand up, not stand up, see someone there and I talk to them and they think: 'Oh this woman she knows a English'.

She comments: 'my kids they been to Esperance and they don't speak like me'. Una's spoken and written English has also improved throughout her adult life through participation in community activities.

Una's daughter **Melissa was born in 1974.**

I grew up here in Warburton. [My mother] used to work in the school, when I was little girl, long time. I went to Warburton school, Used to go everyday little bit. Every morning I always go school to afternoon, knock off, schooling right through. Finished about 16.

Her father,

Never went school, he was in the bush...working mission time. He was doing wood. Now he's getting old. He's working with Land Management, show all the work man all the animals.

When Melissa finished school she says she could read and write a 'little bit'. Melissa has worked a little bit 'I was working little bit in the college, cleaning up, mopping and all that'. She thinks education is important, 'to learn, read and write...so we can talk to anyones like, any white people when they coming in'. However she says she reads and writes nothing at home, only,

...write names, like my name, and them kids...on the ground, with story wire. When I take them kids for to tell stories...sometimes I go for try and get my pay, sometime I put my name, write my name...sometime policeman caught me, policeman, and sometime I put my name [for] driving no license.

If personal mail comes for her she needs 'little bit help, sometimes it's a bit hard'.

Her husband says that if a letter comes for him

I pass it on for my wife, or mother in law, she can read it for me, Una, sometimes I pass it to her.

Melissa is learning Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

I'm learning that Ngaanyatjarra one with Miss Hackett. To learn for Ngaanyatjarra words, for the hard words. Reading about what's on the Bible stories.

Sometimes she reads her mother's Bible at home, but does no reading with her children.

Sometimes we send them to school...I don't know what they, they doing a school, they taught to read and write, teach them so they can know more. Put it on the wall, write'em down, blackboard.

Melissa says that most days she,

...sit down at home, sometime I play card, all day. Sometime I go with kids, tell a stories. Watch TVs something like that.

Melissa's husband was born in 1970.

Mother and father, they lived missionary time, they go school every missionary time, long time ago. Mother and all, father he go little bit schooling...He was a worker, he plant all the vegetables, garden, do everything, look after inside the yard, clean the yard every day, watering...He was a hard working man...they went to Laverton, Leonora, Wiluna, mission...they worked there, they was working with Mr Cotterill, long time ago, yuwa...Station somewhere, somewhere in the station, father working on the station. From there we came back, back home this way, start working again. I don't like sitting around, like working to get tjimarri for the kids. My father was a worker at the mission, doing the garden, vegetables. He travelled around working with that missionary Mr Cotterill. Do it like my father, started from when I was little.

Melissa's husband has had many different jobs over the years including: building, mustering, rubbish collecting, carting wood, packing shelves and gardening. He has also tried land management and health work. But most days:

I just wander around, sit down, no work. I just go for walk, go round to the people, sit down, tell a story. Go for a drive, go for hunting, take them football training or something like that. Or go for ride, long ride.

Maisie was born in 1947.

Una and Maisie have one *tjamu*. Una is *tjurtu*, older sister, to Maisie. During the 1950s Maisie's *mama*, father (*Unaku mamaku marlanypa*) was working in and around Laverton.

First when I was at Laverton mum and dad take up hunting, and in those days didn't have much food, only ration, bush tucker like kangaroo, goanna.

Then they found work in the Laverton area.

Father used to go do watering the garden at the clinic in Laverton, plants, all the flowers then go home. They go out station, station person come and they go out work muster the sheep. They go out, he do part of her work by cooking and my father do work, muster the sheep. The person there tell which part of paddock have to be done by this day, do that paddock the other day, make sure every sheep put it in the yard and count it. And the bloke come out and count it and if there wasn't right number they have to go out again and search for the sheep. He was doing them sort of job. He wanted to do that job because that's the only way to get food. That's just part of my history, story.

In the meantime Maisie was left in the Graham Home at Mt Margaret Mission for schooling. Every summer she returned to Laverton to spend the holidays with her family.

Then went back to school staying at Mt Margaret Mission we are taught to speak English, talk English all the time. It was a good chance when it was with our families, but when we were back at school and at home girl's dormitory...They come and visit, only at the school, like Christmas holidays, the missionaries say to us: 'Alright, you children have to wait for your mum and dad to come and pick you, pack all your things ready.' And they come and pick their child and they go and

they come, we're still waiting for our parents to come and pick us up...they came in their early days car...and my uncle came and pick us up...took us to Laverton we got our toy...and had our Christmas holiday, stayed there. When the school started, went back to Mt Margaret, stayed there.

She tells stories of running away to Laverton and being caught and punished by the missionaries. Maisie was at Mt Margaret at the same time as 'May' (Family E). Christian learning was a crucial formative experience for Maisie and provided the foundation for many of her adult literacy practices. After Maisie finished school at Mt Margaret she was sent to Kurrawang Mission and went to Eastern Goldfields High School along with 'May'. When she had been in school for about six or seven years, the missionaries organised for her to go on a holiday to Melbourne. However her family intervened and gave her away to her promised husband.

Life were different because we didn't had much work but we have to go get married, that's he only way, go live with the man, 'cause there wasn't no job for a woman like me...In those days there's no job, only job you can get was going out and helping husband mustering sheep and cooking, that's all job, and housework.

After Maisie married, she and her husband returned to Warburton and after a while she started helping out in the school. Later on she was living in Warakurna and then Blackstone and continued working in the new schools. In 1996 Maisie started working in the child care centre at Blackstone. This was a turning point in her life and working with pre-school aged children has become Maisie's vocation. She now lives in Warburton with her family. Both Maisie and her co-wife Patricia (Family E) are identified with education and language work. Maisie is the co-ordinator of the Best Start playgroup programme and has taught modules in the *Certificate III in Childcare in Aboriginal Communities*.

By doing this I learnt more and I got to still do it more for the sake of Aboriginal people, my skin because we want to get a better job to earn some more money and get a better home and the kids can look at this person and follow on. That was my overlooking, looking front and looking back, thinking when they grow up.

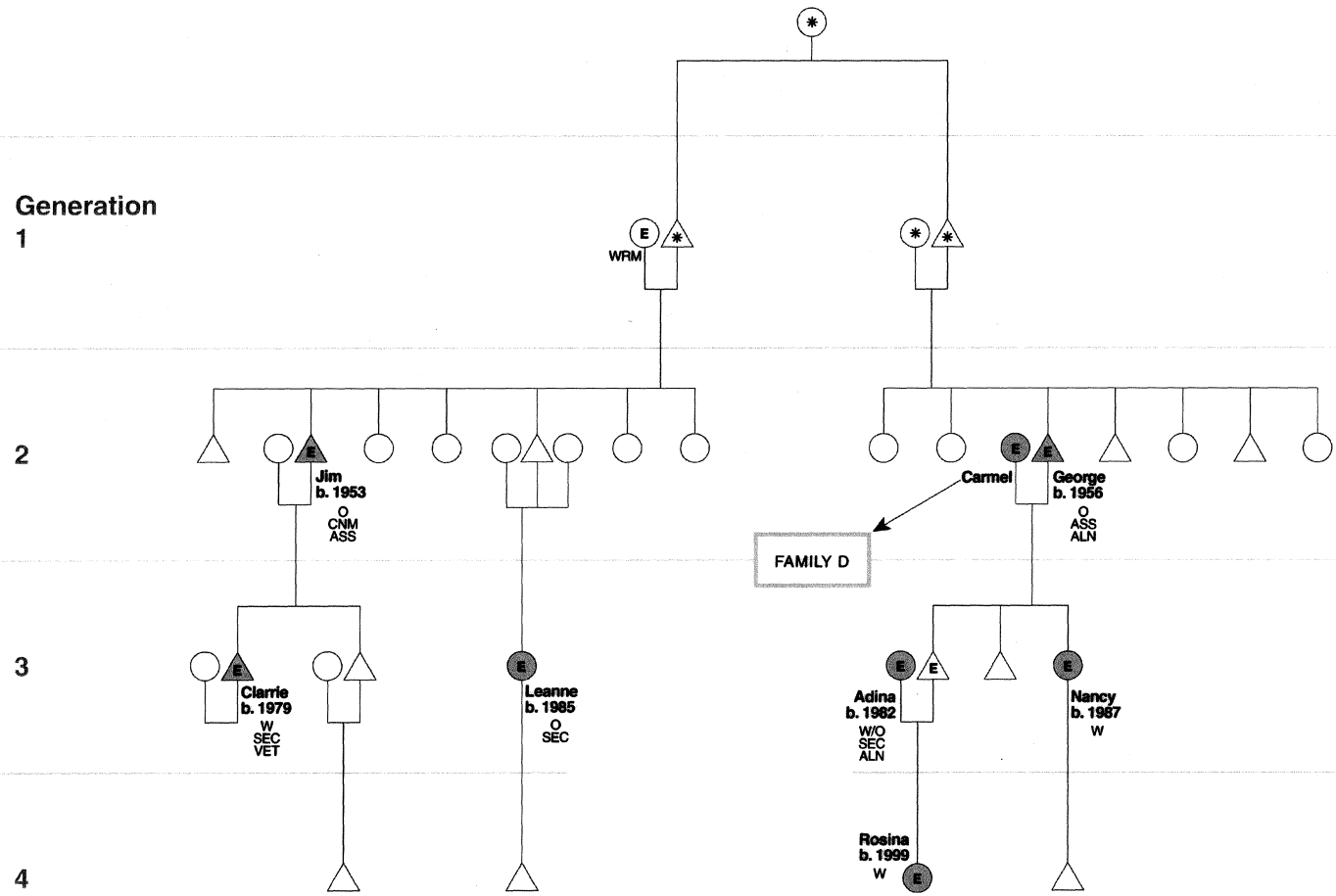
When Maisie was at Mt Margaret she was taught by May O'Brien (nee Miller) who had grown up at Mt Margaret Mission and returned there during the 1960s as one of the first trained Aboriginal teachers in Western Australia (see Chapter 3). May Miller was a role model for Maisie and gave her the confidence to aspire to also teach young children.

I thinking about myself in school when I was learning writing and sums I had the best Aboriginal teacher when I was little she was the one that was my first number one step having Aboriginal teacher at Mt Margaret, thinking about that and how now I can do this work, run playgroup. Now May says: 'Now you're running this playgroup all by yourself.'

Maisie remains a strong Christian, attends church and runs a Sunday School for children which she organises herself, planning and preparing scriptures to read with the children.

I read my Bible. I read it in English and Ngaanyatjarra. I think that help me, reading the Bible and teaching. Once my nanna came and I was reading the Bible of the Two Blind Man in Wangkayi, in language, reading it out loud to her and she was the only one who was with me.

Family I



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

Family I Narratives

Jim was born in 1953.

When Jim was young he heard stories about his mother being in the first mission school at Old Well at Warburton Ranges:

My mother when she was little she came in here and went to mission school here, Old Well. My grandmother left them there and she went to town too and my mother grew up and when she got a little bit older she chased my grandmother behind. I don't know why they went Laverton way, they must be want to find out what's happening on that side way.

When she was old enough his mother followed the family out to the Goldfields. She met Jim's father in Cosmo and they married. Jim's father had walked out from the desert many years previously and had no schooling. Jim's father and George's father (see below) had the same mother.

Jim had eight siblings. Three of Jim's sisters went to school in Laverton and another sister and one brother went to school at Mt Margaret Mission.

My father didn't want me to go in the Home...so I have to stay with the family so I had to travel at different stations working, following my father around until I was old enough to go to school, they brought me back to Laverton.

Jim started school in Laverton around 1959. While his father was out working on stations mustering cattle and sheep, or fencing, Jim remained with the family on the reserve in Laverton.

They had a reserve there, native reserve, from the reserve we used to go to school. We went to school every day. I think it was...If you don't go to school the Welfare will send you away somewhere, must be down somewhere in the mission home somewhere, Kurrawang or Norseman.

Jim remembers that at the school in Laverton Aboriginal and white children were in the same classes.

So we all mixed together and played in school, went to school together. I think it was a good school, for me. Well in that school we learnt everything they didn't put all the Aboriginal kids one side, white kids one side. We all was there doing the same thing.

Jim moved between schools in Laverton and Leonora while his father worked on different stations in the district.

We stayed at that school for maybe two or three years then my father started working in Leonora and he wanted us to go to Leonora to be close to where he was working so we was schooling in Leonora. Then when he was working in Laverton district we were sent back to Laverton, like that keep going.

While Jim's father was working on stations, his mother looked after the family and supported the children's schooling.

He'd go away and work and she'd stop with us. My mother did a little bit of schooling at Old Well, I remember her writing her name. I think about where she got learn? She must have got learnt in the Home here, in old mission schooling. She used to tell a story, Bible story to us, from a book... must be from the picture, I think.

When Jim was about 14 years of age, around 1967, the family went to Cosmo Newbery.

From that we changed into a mission style education, like in round Warburton, got a bit different. Had a whole year there, then had to go to Wongutha Farm in Esperance, Welfare organised that I think. They let the family know and then they'll pick us up and take us and put us on the train. One of them Welfare ladies I think, took us and put us on the train to Leonora. Travelled to Kalgoorlie and we got to stay at Kurrawang Mission for one night then on the bus to Wongutha Farm and we stayed there training for one year.

Jim was at Wongutha Farm for about one year around 1968.

Training we done like farm work doing fences, and mechanic too, we learned how to shear the sheep, train, training for carpentry, building. And for couple, two days we had to go to Esperance for school, junior high school in Esperance, couple of days there and come back and do training, must be two days every week, go to school in Esperance, come back and stay on the farm. I was 15 I think.

Jim also recalls that both boys and girls lived on the farm in separate dormitories and they'd meet up for meals in the dining room. He understood that he was training to get a job.

Well, I came back for holiday this side, Laverton. Looking for holiday, but went working on the station. From there I went back to Esperance, not Wongutha but Esperance in town, Pedlar's Hostel they call it. Where all the boys go there... That time I was bit young and got in trouble and the court sent me over there. So I stayed there for nearly two years, till I turn 18... instead of going to prison I had to go there and work... Yeah, like they called it 'state ward', till you were 18... Go there and the bloke who run the hostel he found a job for us on a farm. I stayed there for must be year and a half... Managing the farm job, working hand on the farm, shearing, mustering sheep, shearing time, help out with the shearers in the shed, doing some fencing.

By this time Jim could read and write. After Jim turned 18 he thought he was independent, but re-entered the DNW hostel system:

I came to Kalgoorlie hanging round Kalgoorlie in the streets, walking round. And I thought to myself: 'Oh I'll have to get a job'. So I went into another hostel in Kalgoorlie, working boys hostel. So when you go in you just get your own room and you get your meal and all there. So I stayed there and I got a job, I worked at the mine, Kalgoorlie mine, big mine... That bloke was finding job for us, he was looking in the paper, you know... He was from the Welfare I think.

So I got a job in the mine, I used to look after eight big engines. Wake up in the morning early, wake up and go along and sign my name. Not the name, I used to put a number, can't put a name there, number. We have to take the little books where you start working, then when you knock off take it like that. Used to start from one engine, right up to eight, knock off time, then go home. I had to look at it give oil, give it service you know, keep it going, for the people down under, air conditioning, lights, power for them. I had to keep it running good. Check if any oil and clean that oil. They just asked me if I know English and if I read... that was all. Working there I got a certificate to work in any mine in Western Australia. Got paid every weekend.

Stayed must be four, six month. There was some other boys was there too, from this side. They was all getting homesick and I was thinking, well I must be join them and come home too. I wanted to stay and work, same time I was thinking about my family too. From Laverton they moved away and they was here [Warburton]. Around 1970, 1971, 72. Then I worked at Laverton at Wonganarra went

it first started.¹²⁷³ I was building, building work, making slabs, footpath slabs, some new houses coming up so we had to help with the houses too.

Jim remembers Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers working side-by-side in Laverton: 'they work good with us too'. Around this time Jim came out to Warburton: 'I think the mission was still going that time. Mission was still running the place. And when I first came here, old school used to be here, before this new building.'

Jim found that 'no work was round until the mission handed over the thing to government placed turned into a settlement in 1973 or 74'. So he took off again moving with the Business and seeking work again in the Eastern Goldfields and then further afield.

From that time I went away in 1974, yeah. We went on the ceremony and I went that way, went to Wiluna. Then that time they had the cyclone in Darwin, Christmas day I think. And I was up that way working in the station, Murchison way. No-one from here, only some people from that way there. I was travelling, getting to know people and some people knew me and took me out to the station. Yeah, working on different stations then, around Meeka. Then I went up north, Kimberley way, come back.

Jim returned to Warburton around 1977. Soon after, he met his wife, a Warburton girl. His wife was born in 1954, and had grown up and gone to school in Warburton Ranges: 'I stayed here then. Stayed here about 25 years from that time. Then my son was born '79, first one, Clarrie, then the other one 1982 I think.'

With his accumulated knowledge and skills Jim was soon employed in the community:

That time I got the job in the office there. Rapkins told me: 'Oh, you can work doing the pays.' I used to do the pays, give the pays out, do'em up, get the people to sign, sometimes when Rapkins goes away for two to three weeks I used to run that office there. Go and get the mail from the airstrip, sign for the things coming on the plane, the money tin. I worked there for must be eight or ten years I think...I worked in the office 10 years, then I was studio manager for that studio over there for a while, recording studio.

Jim also took on community governance roles:

Then I was Regional Councillor [ATSIC], six years, starting about 1990 to '96 and I been away in that ATSIC time, meetings. Always ask for money, you know, money for buildings, house, community money, education. When I was in the Regional Council that time there was a working party in WA, they called Consultative Group, they picked me to be on that Education Group...working for education, adult education and all, do anything with independent schooling and all that. So I joined them, I was on that team, talked about education every time. Get together and we try and get money for school and place like this one here [Ngaanyatjarra Community College], I think we talking about this building here before and we got some money for this. We talking about Tjirrkarli I think, that time, getting all the buildings, school there.

Jim recalls going to one particular meeting in Perth to discuss education:

¹²⁷³ With the support of AAPA the Laverton community established 'Wongatha Wonganarra' community council in 1973.

And I told them what was happening up this way: 'Oh, we're 20 years behind education, still not catching up'. That's why they started talking then. That time I can see what's limiting that education, some of our young kids, you know, late 80s and 90s kids wasn't learning properly, can't speak good English. They can go back home and can talk language really good, but when it comes to talking English and writing, they can't write their own name properly. You seen that book about that teacher who was here before?¹²⁷⁴ Some of them diaries they write there, they done a bit not good spelling, some of the wordings they got a bit wrong.

Education has remained important to Jim and he has passed this ethos down to his two sons.

Jim has kept his own reading and writing strong through employment, governance activities with ATSIC and Ngaanyatjarra Council and home literacy practices.

At home I would read, read like when my sons was little. And I used to tell them to go to school every day and they do hard work in the school you know, they went to school every day, then they went to CAPS for one year I think. One son, he write music too, make songs for the band, Clarrie he plays guitar.

Jim sees that his sons need to be strong in the Law and learn leadership skills.

They gotta be healthy, and listen to their elders, what they tell them, and be strong. If you listen and respect older people you'll go a long way. Education is very important for young people if you got no education you are nowhere, you'll go nowhere. You need that, it's very important for the future... Sometimes I take Clarrie to Council meeting so he can listen and learn so he can be next time when all these people here all pass on they got to take over and run the Council, talk for the people. They got to learn to talk up in public—what they call it? Public speaking, they should do a course here. And train'em up to be a leader.

Jim is concerned that there is not enough employment for young people: 'when you out this way, not enough job for young people'. Jim's wife works in the Playgroup with Maisie and looks after her grandchildren.

Jim's son **Clarrie was born in 1979**. He went to school in Warburton and then went away to Coolgardie CAPS in high school and finished school in Year 10. His younger brother also did secondary schooling at Coolgardie CAPS. He and his brother have worked at the Land Management Unit and done some land management training. Clarrie has also done a range of other CDEP jobs including wood collecting, plumbing, and work at the Drop in Centre. His passion is playing music and writing songs and has a band with his brother and some of the other Warburton young fellas. Like his father Clarrie is quietly taking on leadership responsibilities by being a band leader and the captain of the football team. He also attends Ngaanyatjarra Council meetings on his own initiative. He has been involved in the youth arts work with his band and as a festival director.

¹²⁷⁴ *Desert School* by Neville Green (Green 1983).

George was born in 1956.

This is his story:

George and Jim have the same FM. Jim's father is George's father's oldest brother, but when George was young he only knew about his mother's family.

His mother's family was from around Kintore way. Most of his mother's family went 'Haasts Bluff way, Papunya way'. His grandfather (MF) had five wives and his grandmother was youngest one and she came 'Warburton way', but continued travelling back and forth 'Tjukurla way' after coming into Warburton Ranges Mission. When his mother and father married the missionaries first gave his family a surname. George had two brothers and four sisters.

His family,

...used to come here and go out bush again, go hunting and come back there with the rest of the families. They used to bring all the dingo skin, they used to sell'em and get all the *mirrka* and go out again. They got flour, tea, sugar, tin of meat. Some other families used to come in and they get some *mirrka* and go back. My older sister went in the Home then, and they spent more time here...they put her in the Girl's Home...my two older sisters they been in the Home here, I never went to school here, I was about two years, one and a half, something like that...my father used to work for the missionary, looking after the sheep and goats. We had some people coming from Laverton for ceremony and my father found out he had families that way, that one he been looking for. So that's when we start travelling that way, to look for families too, that's when my father been seen his brother, Jim's old man...my father's oldest brother.

We moved from here in '58...then the families moved that way first and we went behind. With the camel we walk, we start travelling with the camel, we put our swag on the camel then we walk. Camel used to go, wait for us, when old people, they used to go off the road, do hunting, meet up in that place where we gonna camp. Lot of families travelling that same time. I was about two or three. The family stayed in Cosmo for a couple of years, my old man been working round there, looking after the sheeps. It was mission, cattle, growing vegetables there, garden, school. But I wasn't going to school then I was just doing kindergarten, preschool. Till I went to Laverton when I was about five, start going to school then around 1962.

When George's father went to Laverton 'he did a little bit of job, carting wood for Native Welfare...for the reserve' while his mother looked after the children and his older sister who was about 16 worked in Laverton hospital.

That school building still there today in Laverton, small building. Every afternoon after school our class used to go to the big picture hall, we used to polish the floor, had a wooden floor, grab a bag, put some kids on the bag drag it round, good fun, but we didn't know we was working. We was polishing the floor. White kids in that school too. More *Yamangu*, not much white kids, only few, was working families. We lived down the reserve in Laverton. Still same village, reserve we used to have the old house and there'd be the *wiltja* too. We lived in the *wiltja*, there was bottom end side and top end. About as big as Warburton now. In that time it was big, biggest mob there.

The family lived in a *wiltja* on the Laverton reserve from around 1962 for about four years.

Life was hard for my family when I was little...we had to go to school in the 60s, compulsory schooling – Native Welfare would check. Parents always told me to go to school. People thought there would be jobs at the end.¹²⁷⁵

Around 1967 the family moved to Leonora. While living at Nabberu Hostel the children attended Leonora School.

Leonora School had more white kids than Laverton...Mostly the kids who been living that school had their parents working on stations...It was good, go to school every day, night time we used to do our homework, boss set up little night class where they do a homework with kids...school was good...been winning a lot of awards for best in the class and all...for school work. I remember I won a trip, best boy in the class...I stayed there about '68, '69, then '70 I went to Kurrawang another school, Christian Home. I was about 14 then...I think the Native Welfare decided or, must be someone Native Welfare, because they had some kids my age going that other Nindeebai Hostel, going to the old high school in Kalgoorlie. But I stayed at Kurrawang in 1970.

At Kurrawang George would catch the bus to Eastern Goldfields High School in Kalgoorlie. While George was in Kurrawang his family stayed in Leonora,

...because I had a young brother and sister in Nabberu Hostel, so they was there looking after them. They was staying in the Reserve... [siblings] would go out to stop with the families on the weekends, then after the weekends they go back to the school, go back to the hostel.

In 1971 when George was 15 he was sent to Mogumber Agricultural College.

When Native Welfare tell me I got to go to school and my parents they support that Native Welfare. It make me sad when I go away from the family, but now look back it helped me so I can read and write and talk. But I used to come down holiday, during school holiday I used to come back from Mogumber, they used to send me on the plane straight to Leonora, spend time with my family, then I go back. That time my family was in station near Leonora. Glenorn Station.

George had a lot of education in the Goldfields, but as he notes with all his schooling experiences he 'never went to a mission school'.

In 1972 George was sent to Esperance and lived at Pedlar's Hostel where he started training for farm work.

I was there in Esperance working in the farm. We had like a hostel out on the farm called Condingup. That was owned by the Pedlar's, so out on the farm, instead of going back to Esperance we stayed in that little block of land we had from mission.

Up to ten men would work in the surrounding areas and were paid when they went back to Pedlar's where board was deducted from their pay. In 1973 when he was 17 George started an apprenticeship in boiler-making and lived for a short time at Mt Yorkine hostel in Perth.

I shift to Kalgoorlie that time now, apprenticeship as a welder there working on the building the pipelines for the water, pipeline bringing the water.

He used his literacy at work and in his leisure-time. During his apprenticeship he did a little bit of writing: 'write down all the welding rods and all that, name of the helmet and all that,

¹²⁷⁵ Data from (Kral and Ward 2000).

glass, safety glass'. And reading in his spare time: 'Post magazine, news, Readers Digest, had a lot of good stories in them'.

By 1973, his family had returned to Warburton and George followed soon after.

That's when I come through and went through the ceremony and got man then, '73, late '73. And I still went to work around the station when I go back to Yundamindra, yeah, go back there and work sometimes when I go back into town. Then when they start working here... I got a job working [in Warburton]...building the fence, the yard in Snake Well, stockyard...Like mustering cattle, I built the stockyard here...planting trees, sometime I work in the garage, old workshop. People still lived in *wiltja* right round the area...Mr Howell, when I came back he was boss, for a short time till that government took over then...people start working then and they used to get money.¹²⁷⁶ Lot of money. Like before mission time they used to get not much, you know, little bit, but when they was working they got more.

Then he went 'travelling round everywhere again, to Papunya, Amata, working round there, building new house'.

About that time I was working everywhere, round Northern Territory too...Then I travel to Papunya with my mother's family for work there, on the building, they build a big hospital there, '74, '75. Because I had a work experience, my time, I went in another country. But I spoke good English, they let me in because I could understand them, spoke good English. And I asked for a job and they said yes, and they even give me room to stay in the quarters with the workers, white workers.

After his return to the desert communities George had to regain his fluency in Ngaanyatjarra. George undertook learning Ngaanyatjarra literacy.

I did learning to read the language... used to come round, sit down and read books...in language, learning to read language then...from '74 to '76. Ah, it was hard for me [to pronounce the sounds in language] because in language and I finding it a bit hard to make the sound. So Mr Howell, Miss Glass and Miss Hackett, they help me get all the sound right first...I didn't get any certificate or any level, but I just learning how to read

He continued until he gained a competence in Ngaanyatjarra literacy equivalent to his competence in English. In the meantime George's became involved in church and governance activities that gave him purposeful involvement in regular literacy events.

By the early 1980s when they translating the Bible I was one of the first to read that in the church when they had that handover for that New Testament. I been read that, got a video about that somewhere, yeah...I used to work in the church, like caretaker. Reading Bible and looking after the church side here...Sometime I travel to other community tell the good news.

It was around 1985–1986 that George started to participate in activities that sharpened his capacity for leadership, including doing DAA management training, and joining the Land Rights convoy to Perth.

I was living in Cosmo then with my family. With my wife [Carmel – Family D], we was newly married, we shift that way, all her family so I went with them...I been working there training to be a

¹²⁷⁶ On the RED Scheme (see Chapter 4).

manager, looking after Cosmo... DAA from Kalgoorlie, they was learning us, teaching us...we used to go for course in Kalgoorlie with people from Coonana, Cundelee, Warburton... That's when my son been born there... then my daughter 'Nancy' was born in 1987. When they returned from Perth I came back here from Cosmo, shift here... After we left, it [Cosmo Newbery] was finished, nobody lived there, finished. People, when they start the Council they pick it up again... That's when I start get on the Council talking for land rights now, that's when I got the 99 year lease, I was involved in that too, got the 99 year lease at Warlu.

These years were the formative years for the Ngaanyatjarra Council that formed the solid foundation led by strong Ngaanyatjarra leaders including George who increasingly took more responsibility. He continues his story:

Most of the meeting used to happen at Mantamaru, in the bough shed, yeah. Mainly talked about land rights, how we gonna get land rights and that's when I start travelling to Canberra, go to workshop with other people, other Aboriginal people all over Australia, talking for land rights... Across the border they in South Australia they been get their freehold, Northern Territory, and we trying to do the same. And that's when I got involved. Doing the talking, I was involved in the 99 year lease that we got... I go down to Perth, meeting, talk to the Minister. Sometime we get him out here when Ernie Bridge was Aboriginal Affairs Minister. We used to get him down here. Also during that time I used to work for State Working Party, for petrol sniffing, work for AAPA in Perth with Marion Kickett... We did some books in Aboriginal language, Ngaanyatjarra language for young kids.¹²⁷⁷ We made them books for the kids from around this area... Got some of those books in the library and school. That's when we used to have a lot this one here [makes the hand-sign for petrol sniffing] too many young people passed away. And also drinking, people used to cart the drink every day. Till they made the By-laws... made it safe for the old people, old people to live in peace. Still they brought some drink, but not much, before that By-law it was really worse, people used to fight every night, kids had no sleep, somewhere around '83, '84, '85.

Around this time George began working with other Ngaanyatjarra and lawyers around the ultimate establishment of the Shire of Ngaanyatjarraku, as discussed in Chapter 4.

I was really happy back home, still we had problems, you know. Like when I got on the Council all our roads never been done, even this one going up to Laverton. So Council decide to put some member from Council to go on the Shire, Wiluna Shire. That's when my uncle, he was the first one [to be elected onto Wiluna Shire]... I remember the next election I took my little son and went to all the community, talked to people so they could vote me in. So we had the election and I was second one [from the Ngaanyatjarra Lands] into that Council, Wiluna Shire. Every month we used to fly down, we had a small plane, Ngaanyatjarra Council and we used to fly in for the meeting. Camp there, come back in the morning. Three of us Aboriginal men on the Shire including Dusty Stephens... We had a lot of problem in the Shire... We been having hard time with them pastoralists, so we decide to resign. We had a meeting in Warakurna to resign, then we had another election and most of all from this end been there. Ngaanyatjarra people mostly. During that time we had a rough time with the pastoralists. We been on the *7.30 Report* where they mention about having our own Shire out this way. During that time when we still on we did some travelling round Queensland to look at other Aboriginal Shire Councils... Went to see how they run their Council, Shire Council, local government. Came back, that's when after that we decide to all resign. After we resigned from the Wiluna Shire we had another Shire election over there in Wiluna. Most of the men was from this end... From there the Minister for Local Government decided that we should have our own Shire... I was Shire Councillor before I became Ngaanyatjarra Chairman but I was still with Ngaanyatjarra Council before I got on the Shire, *yuma*. I was a member of the Executive of Ngaanyatjarra Council, that's when I got into Shire Council there on Wiluna side.

Now I'm the longest Councillor still on Shire of Ngaanyatjarraku now, longer than anybody else. Work is mainly roads, money for roads, budget, get letters from communities or other department letting us know they are coming to visit, talk to Telstra. Sometimes we have the local government Minister come out here. Minutes get sent to the office, get them. Read all the report from the environmental health, who work for the Shire, their report we read. And like from the Youth

¹²⁷⁷ "Karnanyatjarra – 'Proud and Strong' (Groom 1988).

Development Officer, we read their report, yeah, telling how much money they been spend. People elect me as a Chairman for Ngaanyatjarra Council, '95 I think...

George has also played a key role in the Ngaanyatjarra Council.

We was still a bit worried and people needed a strong bloke to work, lead the Council...I had three terms as Chairman, I think. Chairman from 95-99, four years. Before I became a Chairman I used to help Ngaanyatjarra Council form the, you know what them old people get, that pension, cheque with the Saving Plan, help set that up for the old people. First meeting we had about that was in Kiwirrkura in '91. We said that the government gonna get hard when we get older, got to have some extra money so gonna start saving up so we start a Saving Plan so them old people get that cheque, like a top-up. George recalls how he was instrumental in choosing the site for the first cemetery in the Lands.

I was involved in some changes for setting up of the cemetery in Warburton which was the first in the Ngaanyatjarra Lands, at that time no communities had cemeteries. Then other communities started having them one by one. I was taking care of the church then and we had the first funeral...All those things what I do I don't get paid. I do it for my people. I been doing it for a long time. I do it for my land and for my people so we can live in a good place. Like with this bitumen we got here, airstrip and all. To make things good to live in the community so people can be happy...I like to help people and make me feel good when I help somebody, people, like talking for the Shire to come up here, I'm really happy about that. And with the Council, a lot of things I did with the Council, make me really happy, I feel really happy inside. And for young people too. *Yuma*.

George and Carmel's son (Family D) is married to Adina (Family F) and they have one granddaughter Rosina (see Chapter 6) whom they often look after, along with other children in the extended family.

Family J Narratives

The 'Carpenter' family became associated with the mission at Warburton Ranges early on. The patriarch in the family had four wives.

Veronica was born in 1961 and Wendy was born in 1965. They have the same father and different mothers. They both recall their childhood in the 1960s, living in the camp with 'no houses that time'. They also remember that school in Warburton was 'good'.

Lots of kids was there, people, had good fun there, playing. We used to have big dining room there...big dining room, have a lunch there...big old building, showers, one boys side, and girl side. Come every morning and have a shower and put uniform on...and go to school...run into the dining room and have a breakfast and go. Have breakfast, line up for breakfast, four rows, four rows of girls, four rows of boys. Have breakfast, wash up, wash up, put things away, go to school...we used to sit down and look at the teacher, doing writings for us, we like school, yeah.

Although the family belonged to the Warburton region they also moved around.

They wasn't working...moving round to places in groups...Laverton, then to Mt Margaret. Backwards and forwards...They always go...They moved for ceremony, come back here, then move. People move around each community. People used to go to Wiluna, come back. Some people used to go to...Cundelee Mission, Mt Margaret Mission, Wiluna. Docker River was the other place, and further on Amata...Kids go to school for a little bit then family come and take it away.

The sisters recall going to school when in other locations. Later on they were sent to Fairhaven Hostel in Esperance.

High school. Fairhaven, we lived there, that was a Hostel, school was in a different area, go by motor, school bus, drop us off at the school...Lots of kids. All mixed, white and black...All in different class each...away for long time. School, want to learn more, come back and teach their kids and their grandkids too...We went for school. We learnt cooking, sewing, riding horses and all. We used to ride little ponies and all...little motorbike. And on the weekend time go for ride on boats...Reading and writing in school...When they homesick or fight with someone. Fight with some of our family, start to run away, worry for mother and father...Running away, getting homesick because family is long way.

They recall especially that lots of the teenagers, themselves included, ran away from Esperance and returned to Warburton.

We didn't come by road, we came by aeroplane. GAS plane from Kalgoorlie, Goldfields Air Service, long time. When we came back we did another work here, school, back same school, we was teaching the kids, Kindies, some girls was working in the dining room helping the ladies dish it out food, dishwashing, wash the dishes, sweep the floor, tidy up the tables... Same job, or clean the house, missionary's house, clean it out. Rake up yard. Help clean the store, stack all the tins up ready for shop. All the girls did that. Boys was free, they don't wanted to work. Just hang around. If the boys worked they would rake the yard, with a wheelbarrow, take the rubbish, empty it to the truck, bring the truck to the yard, go for wood, get some wood for old people. Few jobs, just little bit, not enough people was here, only teachers and some missionaries.

They don't remember any reading and writing in the camp when they were young.

There's no books only school books...Some girls used to write letters. They used to, they didn't have biros and all that, pencil and rubber...them girls would read [the letters]...They used to go

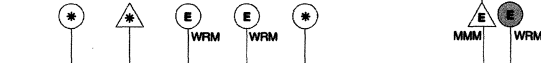
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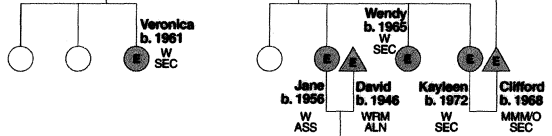
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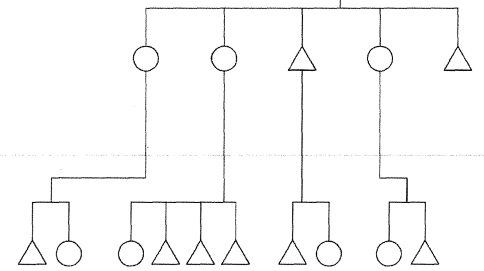
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3



4



*	No school nomadics
E	Education
Primary Schooling	
MMM	Mt Margaret Mission
WRM	Warburton Ranges Mission
CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
Primary (& Secondary Tops) Schooling	
W	Warburton
NL	Ngaanyatjarra Lands
O	Other
Secondary Schooling	
ASS	Assimilation Hostels (Eastern Goldfields)
SEC	Secondary (CAPS / Karalundi / Wiltja / Yirara / EGHS)
Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

church. Only, what that book, Christian one, song, English one, Redemption one. [For] them older peoples. They was taught [to read], here somewhere, mission time. We didn't know, we was little kids.

They describe their literacy practices now.

Some books, read books, magazines, Women's Weekly about stories, or mission book...From the library there, college or at some Christian man's house. Office, letters from someone, family or government. From prison or somewhere. Had some [letters from prison] but threw them away...get it [letters] from family, long way family. Get it from government. Somebody can read it for them.

Veronica describes how at home 'I have some books like this Woman's Weekly or them other ones newsletter, about what's this one...or story about them kids, bedtime story'.

They also try and keep a writing pad at home, but storage is a problem.

Cupboard, kids get it quick, *yuma*, big problem, belt them...phone numbers, address, phone numbers to families, might ring to families or write letter to them. Keep them in the bag or cupboard, on shelf.

The two sisters work at the Shire, where they read whatever books or magazines are around or they read for work.

We can read the fax when it comes through, or get a message when phone call, write the message leave it for the. Write anything, stories on the painting, on the back of the painting, write the stories down, type it down, take a picture, measure it. We do all that here. We do it. She do it on the computer. But I measure it, measure the paintings, get the picture, camera, then make it large and put it on the canvas and the story, clip it on, take it to the Warta Shop, put it in for sale. It's all there. We write, every day we do this. Write the stories down, typing it. When people come ladies come with a painting here for sale, ask us...We explain it: 'no money here, or can't give it out, have to leave your painting here till anybody buys it, leave your stories here and painting, painting and story.' So we do it, type put it away...or if some lady is clever she writes it home, bring it self...I seen a lot of ladies do that. Their names there in the gallery, all the artists.

Outside of work the two sisters are busy.

On weekends, do some little painting, painting on canvas. Watch videos yeah. We go out bush on weekend. We travel around, holidays, that's all, come back here for work. We sit down and do *purmu*, artifacts or painting...these ones I make...We don't do much art, we do little bit, painting, yeah we do little bit...Some do it for a living you know, to have money, keep them going... Some families work. Some don't work. They sit down, get pay.

This family is enterprising and work together as a 'family business' to make *purmu* (see Chapter 5). Consequently, they pay attention to notices up around the community because they are looking for that information 'like *purmu* man coming, we can read'.

Wendy's older sister **Jane was born in 1956**. Jane is married to David.

I was living here in Warburton with my family when I was little. Went to school here. At school used to, from camp we used to go to school, camp was all around here because it was flat, no trees, go in *wiltja*, camp, go and have shower at the big shower block, go to the dining room to have a feed then go to school, get together with them other kids and it was really nice going to school. Camping in *wiltja*, going to school and we used to camp with the parents and go in the morning like for shower and go for breakfast then come to school...they been living in the *wiltja*. Only had couple of houses, only few houses, only three houses was put up that time when I was going to school... That was my brother, he passed away long time. And other one was my cousin, only had two house...He

was working out in the Western Mining thing, out in the copper, yeah... At first they don't get money, only feed I think.

When Jane went to school she remembers having her meals in the dining room and a shower before school.

They used to have school clothes like, not school clothes but they used to have those mission clothes. Yeah we had that white dress sort of thing... I went half to like Laverton school, half here. And I went from here to Kalgoorlie. Because my parents was travelling backwards and forwards. For holiday, families, coming back, staying there for a while, going back. In Laverton I think they were getting rations and here too when they come back... Went to Kalgoorlie District High School... I stayed half there in Nindeebai, was good there, lot of kids there from all over, all around... In the morning we just have like maths or writing.

Jane recalls that the teacher told the students that they were being transferred to Nindeebai Hostel in Kalgoorlie. She thinks that her family understood what was going on and that they trusted the teachers.

Teacher tell us tell to the parents and parents say: 'Yuuwa, you right.' Because my sister was there first. My other two... they was there. So I went.

But Jane was lonely at Nindeebai and finished school around 14 years of age and returned to Warburton.

Warburton, families. Nothing happening. Small, little place, old mission small one. Yeah I was living here in that government time, still here hanging around when the government took over... I didn't do the job, nothing I was still sitting around.

Jane has always lived in Warburton.

I work half at the roadhouse for one year, cleaning units. Looking after the units, like cleaning up laundry, toilets, don't like it mopping too much... and I get pain too, so I thought I leave it, then I came back to same job, health... Long time, long time when that Community Health been running that clinic, 'cause I been working for them, but I never been out for training, nothing. That was only when the Ngaanyatjarra Health took over, so I just wait for a while then I went to... *Certificate III* and *IV*... I'm still looking forward to do one next year... It's a little bit hard.¹²⁷⁸ Writing, you know. I need to do it, I like to learn more, writing. [Read] notes, not of the patient, but like little book in there, got to look at it, read it.

Although Jane reads at work she says,

No, I don't keep any books at home... Bible in there for David got it... I got nothing... Magazines, get it from the clinic, they got a lot... I read it in there, I don't bring it here.

Jane's husband **David was born in 1946.**

David is respected for his role as a Ngaanyatjarra literate (see Chapter 4), yet he had little formal schooling. He gained his literacy competence in his own language as an adult.

Some people they read because they know the English newspaper and all that to read. I don't read the newspaper in English, only in the language I read... You know because I never been went right

¹²⁷⁸ Ngaanyatjarra Health Service is a Registered Training Organisation and delivers *Certificate III in Aboriginal Primary Health Care Work*. *Certificate IV Aboriginal Health Worker* is provided by Bega Garnbirringu AHW Learning Centre in Kalgoorlie.

through in the school because I just been left school when I was 15, aged 15 in Ranges here. That's all in Ranges.

When David came into the mission he was put into the Home. He finished his schooling in the early 1960s he began working in the mission.

I was looking at them when I was, some people was working and I know, well I better start working too...I was fine about the work when I was young fella because my nanna is finished and my father is finished and my mother was, I lost my mother when I was a baby, only second mother been looking after me. And that's why I was working myself because no-one feed me, to give me clothes.

So he started working with the missionaries like the Siggs, Wells and Howells.

One time I was a little bit working with the electrician...That was on mission time, putting in lights for the missionaries when we first built that mission power house there.

Electricity first came to the mission when he was working with Mr Lydon at the power station and the missionaries were 'living in the mud brick houses'.

We don't have a house at that time, we was on the *wiltja*. We used to camp long way, see that airstrip other side airstrip and all, right around we used to shift around, because when we make lot of mess we shift to other place, that way or this way or that way. We just keep shifting around you know.

Then David worked in the old store and in the bakery with Laurie Ash making fresh bread for the community.

From there, I heard that there was a new settlement in Docker River being put up. So I went to Docker River for work. Most of the people working at Docker River were from Warburton. One whitefella put me as the foreman, so I was working through the gap, putting up the stockyards for the bullocks, making fences, blocking up all the gaps so no cattle could go out.

Like other Ngaanyatjarra men David ventured further into the Northern Territory following work that had become available as the new government settlements were built across the Central Desert. After this he returned to Warburton and married his wife Jane and they had five children. This was 'government time' at Warburton and he was involved with building work at Warburton and on the new outstations. David's brother was working hard for Pitjantjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra people during the 70s and 80s and was on Wiluna Shire.

Meanwhile David found his own vocation in Ngaanyatjarra literacy and began working with Glass and Hackett.

I couldn't even read my own language because, I was thinking: 'How come? I should be reading my own language.' And these two ladies been give me, teach me how to talk and write...we went up to Darwin, before the Tracey Cyclone went across, I was in the caravan and we always go out and Dorothy and Anee always teach us how to read through like *pa-pa, ma-ma*...and we got better and better. And he told us, right I want you to, he give us a sort of paper like this and we had old *nyaapa*, what that computer? Typewriter, old typewriter and...we been working together like this...And we write down. I was getting learn how to sort of be fast type writer [laughs]. That's learning, when I was good hand before.

David has written, authored and illustrated many traditional Ngaanyatjarra stories, some of which have been published.¹²⁷⁹

And that's the time we was making, writing a stories too, drawing and writing a story. So all the story and painting and all, just making a pictures and that to go on the, *nyaapa*, story. So from there, Dorothy been send away to Sydney to make books. She made all the books, yeah, *tjuma pimirnya* made into a book. So all the tourist been buying all the books in the city over there, Sydney.

David is also a prolific letter writer as discussed in Chapter 4. Although many years ago his writing arm was injured in a fight in Kalgoorlie and he now dictates his texts and they are scribed by literate friends. At home he keeps a Bible and a few papers in a metal cupboard, everything else he carries in his wallet. He tells me that his wife Jane keeps all her,

...paperwork in his [her] bag because [s]he been working in the clinic and all his[her] paper [s]he got. *Yuma*, I don't have a lot of books and papers and all. Only keeping all the photos, family's photo. Other photos there too. Only the paper I got is the Bible.

Precious family photos have been kept in a bag over many years

I just leave them in a bag. If they want to have a look at the photo they can come and ask me and I'll give them the photo to have a look.

He says his children are,

...learning how to read and write, I mean they trying to read and write. If they bigger they might put one over me or they might go to the highschool and learn properly.

He says of his children:

They never went to the high school and all that, *wiya*... They never been go into the school and all... That's why, that's why I was telling them to keep on going in the school, never mind they getting big and they getting *mimijarra*, they got to keep learning, got to keep going to the high school and all and keep learning properly. Like what they look at on the TV and all. The people, all them girls with *mimi*, they still going, like a woman, they still going to the university and learning everythings, if they want to be a carpenter they can go in and learn how to be a carpenter or electrician.

The youngest sister in the Carpenter family **Kayleen was born in 1972.**

She is married to Clifford. Kayleen went to school in Warburton and recalls that it was 'great fun, reading, writing and other things'. When she was older she went to,

Esperance, highschool, lots of white childrens. I went school there, maybe at the Project Centre. Reading and writing. Sometimes go to white people's school, change classes, like cooking and sewing and all sort of things. At the missionaries hostel, Fairhaven. Nice place. Lots of things like trampolines, and going out to the beach on the boat.

She says she only went halfway 'came home and stopped' because she felt homesick at Fairhaven. When she returned to Warburton she started working.

¹²⁷⁹ (Glass and Newberry 1990 [1979]).

At the store. Looking after the clothes and things in the store, stacking foods, cleaning. We doing stocktake at the store. White people gotta write it down and we do it, put tags and numbers. Little bit writing, messages. Then Clinic, cleaning floors, walls, windows.

Kayleen has now been working in the community office for five years. For the first two years she worked in the office reception just answering phones and talking to people. In this job she has to do a lot of reading and writing. 'Centrelink letters, read it' out to the people 'in language, especially the old people'. She understands these letters a little bit and if the English is too difficult she asks the office staff to explain it to her. A few years ago she started observing and asking questions and was given increasing responsibility. Kayleen has been trained on the job to enter and process payroll data over the past year by an office manager. She also writes, sends and receives office faxes and uses the computer.

Do it by myself. Use the password and open it and do work in the computer. Hard like when they ask for money and say no. Sometimes, get tired, but people never get wild with her over money... Count moneys. Do the pays for people in Warburton, in Patjarr and Kanpa. Add them up [hours on the CDEP timesheets], put the money in payslips. XXX helps, do it together. Me and XXX both... Giving cheques out, writing order for people and send their money away to other places when people ring for their money like in Kalgoorlie, Trilby Cooper Hostel. People ring for their money and we send it, write it down and send it... On a order book.

When I asked how she learnt the skills required for the job, she answered, 'I don't know, learn self'. Kayleen is now the certified Centrelink Agent in the Warburton office and works directly with the Centrelink office in town.

Kayleen describes how her family,

They like working... 'Jane's' Health, 'Wendy' and 'Veronica' at Shire... They don't want to sit down and get little money, they want to work to buy some things for their self.

Asked why she works, she answers, 'it's alright, when it's home it's boring, it's happy to work'. The other money work the family does is *purnu* where the family 'go out bush, cut trees' and make artefacts for sale. She doesn't do painting, and only sometimes goes out bush. At home she reads 'magazines... I got lot in the room, newspapers'. She keeps them in her room 'in a basket'.

I've got that big book at home about all the Aboriginal people from the long time ago... Warburton. You know, *Drop in the Bucket*.¹²⁸⁰ I read that every night... Clifford brought it from Kalgoorlie. Someone gave it to him in the prison.

Kayleen likes reading history especially about the 'Mt Margaret stories, about girls been run away'.¹²⁸¹ That one, mission one, blue one'.¹²⁸² She describes how her husband Clifford likes

¹²⁸⁰ (Morgan 1986).

¹²⁸¹ (Dowley 2000).

¹²⁸² (Plant and Viegas 2002).

reading at home too, 'books, magazines and them other books'. But they don't do any writing at home, except for phone numbers which they keep 'in the little piece of paper'. Clifford buys magazines from the store—*Take 5*—for the word puzzles and they've 'got lots, home'. She goes to church sometimes, 'we've got a little red one [Bible], English one. She recollects the Ngaanyatjarra songbook from her childhood, 'my mother used to have it, she still got it'. Kayleen also used to do Ngaanyatjarra reading 'with Miss Glass and Miss Hackett, they go round and ask, I was doing it long time'.

Kayleen's husband **Clifford was born in 1968**. This is his story:

My mother's from Warburton, she was born in Warburton and she never had much schooling, just to third grade.

His MZ was also in the Baker Home along with 'Mary' and some of the other girls. Clifford's mother ran away from a traditional marriage at Warburton in her teens and went to Cosmo in 1955. Her parents had died and there was no-one here to look after her, and her brother had moved down to Cosmo and Laverton to work. So she moved with her cousins, uncles in April and Patricia's family.

So they just, her sister was down there at Cosmo and they just moved down to the mission... They just grew up and just went working I think, the younger people, younger family, but the older members of the family just went down because other family were there, uncles and aunts. All them mob, they was down Cosmo, Laverton.

His mother lived in the UAM mission at Cosmo till 1963.

Dad's from, he was born in Leonora. He went to school in Mt Margaret, they met in Laverton, he never had much schooling either, just basic, Grades 3, 4 something like that... Mum was, after she done her schooling she was doing house, housework and cleaning and things like that at Cosmo. Dad he was, from the early ages, he just went on stations, basically sheep, cattle stations.

His parents met when his father went to Cosmo to do shearing work. Clifford grew up at Cosmo.

I went to school Laverton. I was moving between Laverton, Cosmo, Laverton, Cosmo, Mt Margaret because my parents they was working on stations all the time. They was out at Laverton Downs, out at Bandy, back to Banjawan Station, back to Leonora area. If they was in the Leonora area we'd go to Mt Margaret stay with relatives there, like if they was at Yundamindra working we'd go to Mt Margaret and stay with my father's uncle. So we'd stay with them and when they moved from that station we'd go back to Laverton, back to Cosmo, in between like that. I'd go and stay with relatives at Cosmo when they was at another station or we'd all be there together.

His parents had to work.

Mum was, after she done her schooling she was doing house, housework and cleaning and things like that at Cosmo. Dad he was, from the early ages, he just went on stations, basically sheep, cattle stations. At that time, that era, that stage that was the law I think. But they was, well Aboriginal people weren't accepted in town, I think. That's what I think, so that's why they mostly out on stations. If they went into town, they was just told to move, go out. Even old people tell them go out, work. There wasn't hardly time to hang around town all the time, they was always work on a station, station work, move to another station, sheep station. I think they learned just to work, look

after yourself, put food on the table, something like that. That's all... Well the people who camped around the mission they were sort of cared for, you know? People who worked down that way Cosmo, Laverton, round Laverton, stations, Leonora, they was just, they had to work or else they wouldn't get nothing coming in. They learnt that habit. They had to work.

Clifford recalls that he never stayed on the station with his parents, but would be left with relatives so he could go to school.

We had to go to school all the time. I think it was in their upbringing you know, they thought it was right. I think they thought we had to go to school. So we was always at school, going to school, yeah, different schools. We got sent to Norseman stayed at the Norseman Mission. Oh, mum, she thought that, she grew up in a Christian sort of environment you know, mission thing. So she thought might do them some good, send them to mission. Like a couple of years I done at Norseman, three years I done there, finished about 15, 16. Then I went to that thing, Wongutha, training centre, had a year up there at Gibson near Esperance. Well there was school, school then just working, farm work. Basic yeah. Three Rs, yeah. When I left there I came back to Cosmo and stayed at Cosmo Newbery. Stayed there for a while, worked on the station... long time ago, in '86, '87. Yeah from there I went into town and Windarra was going and so I got a job at Windarra nickel mine. Oh then it was [easy to get a job]. I just walked in and asked: 'Can you give me a job?' and they said: 'Yeah, come back on this day' and I come back and stayed there for a while.

Clifford found it easy to get work at Mt Windarra nickel mine.

Well, I didn't need this doctor's certificate and all this other certificate. I just walked in and gave them what certificates I had from Wongutha, just show'em that, show the CEO. He said yeah, come back after a certain date and after the interview I got it. I was Trade Assistant in the workshop.

After a while 'things got a bit boring so I got up and headed up this way'

I stayed with my uncle and auntie, they was out at Tjirrkarli, they passed away now, Stayed with them for about a year, just working on CDEP then I came up this way after a year at Tjirrkarli. Did CDEP here [Warburton]. I dug that pool there, the pit for it, planting trees round here, most of the trees around that side, on CDEP we done the landscaping at the Cultural Centre, done a lot of work down there. I didn't read, didn't need reading or writing, basically labour, yeah.

Clifford perceives that nowadays it's harder to get jobs 'because you got to show all doctor's certificates and police clearance and all them sort of things'. Clifford works at the Shire. Until recently, he was on CDEP: 'I was doing a gardener's job, mostly just working around here, manual labouring'.

Now Clifford is a Shire employee and is the overseer for all the men who work at the Shire, driving the truck, collecting garbage, and gardening. Clifford claims that he works to 'put food on the table'. He sees that some people get money from playing cards rather than working, but he's not a gambler.

I suppose they can get it the easy way, they play cards or something... I got to work for it. Got to work for your money.

When he's not working he likes, 'fixing cars, if I got a book, read a book, watch television'.

Clifford reckons that his working habit comes from his family.

Little bit from my family, yeah just from them. I don't know I got family here, cousins from mother's side and I been thinking oh they not gonna help me with: 'Here come to my place and give me a feed'. Try and do something, just put food on the table, work, yeah.

Clifford considers himself a good reader, although he says he has never done any jobs where he has needed to do much reading and writing.

[Just] fill out documents, forms. Filling in forms when I first started...Hours, timesheet, how much hours you do.

For Clifford reading and writing is part of the practice of everyday life.

[I read] all sort of books, newspaper—*Kalgoorlie Miner*. Oh sometimes I just have a quick look. Something, oh anything, especially news, yeah. Read signs on the wall, I suppose [in the office] you walk in, just to see what is happening.

He buys the word puzzle books from the store and takes them with him in the work truck and does the puzzles when he has a spare moment. He and Kayleen keep books at home and he particularly likes reading about the history of his family and the region.

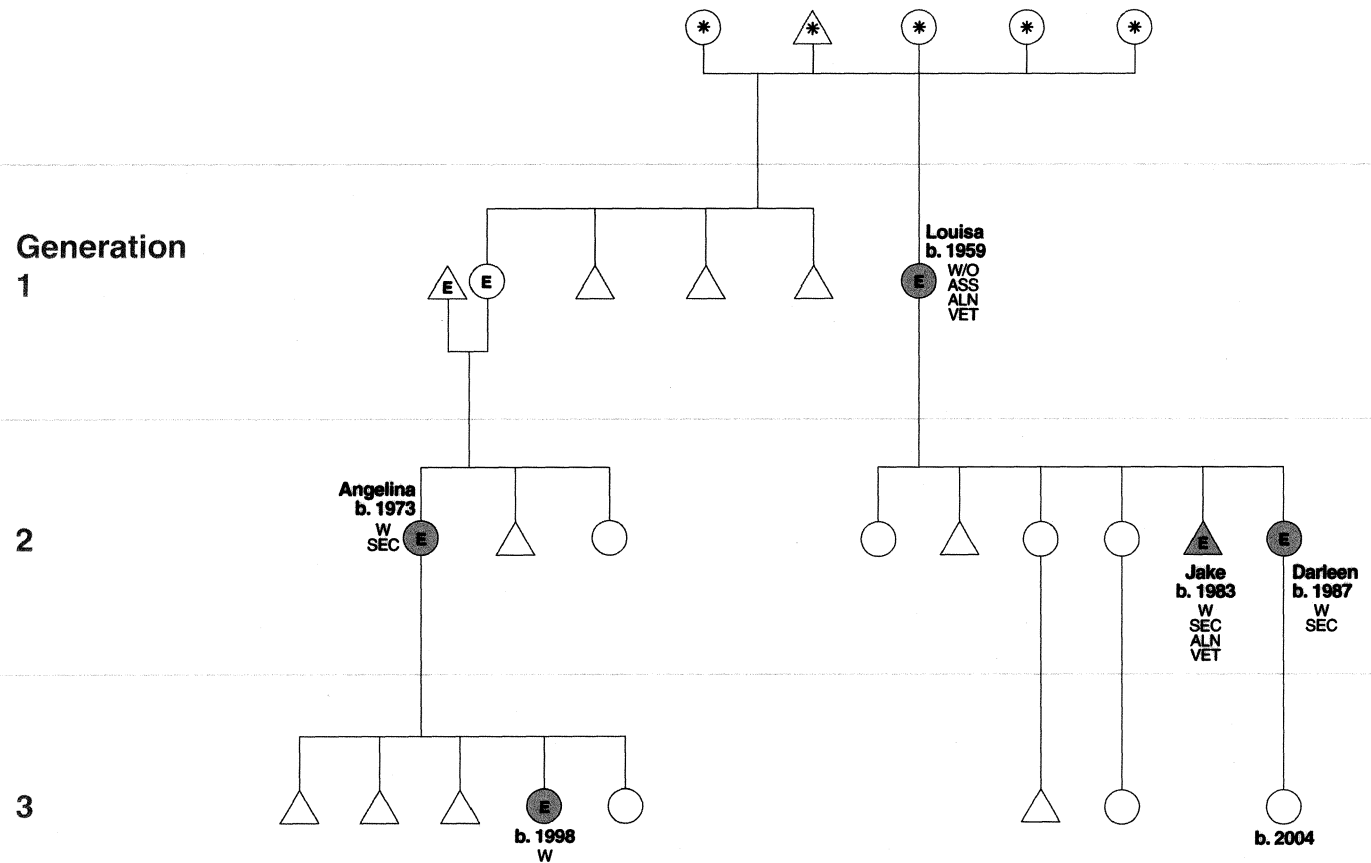
Drop in the Bucket and another one there *Through a Silent Land*, that's about those people down around Laverton way, who got sent away down south. Bit of that's in *Drop in the Bucket* too, my grandmother was a little baby in that story, got sent away from Laverton. Yeah, my grandmother was the child in that group of fifteen people who was sent away.¹²⁸³

He says he finds it hard to find things to read in Warburton.

There's nothing here. Oh at that thing there, college they got books there, you can read there. Oh not much. Because I'm always working and weekends they closed. Afternoons I come back tired, sometimes I get straight into bed.

¹²⁸³ The story of the escape of this group from Moore River is remembered by successive generations and has been recorded in the literature: *Through silent country* (Dowley 2000) documents the story of an incident in 1921 when police 'protectors' rounded up a group of Aborigines in Laverton and sent them by train to Moore River Settlement. It is also described in *Mt Margaret: A drop in the bucket* (Morgan 1986).

Family K



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E	Education
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CNM	Cosmo Newbery Mission
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Adult Education	
ALN	Adult Literacy (Ngaanyatjarra)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Diagram by Clive Hilliker

Family K Narratives

Louisa was born in 1959.

This is her story:

I was born in the bush round Patjarr, roaming around when I was small, when about five came to Warburton...life good up to about 1966, missionaries used to go around and pick people up and bring them to Warburton. Came here and started going to school. My family came from Gibson Desert to Warburton Ranges but only stopped here for a little while. Then stopping with family, camping other side creek, it was little reserve on other side of the creek with little houses, old...iron, just the iron and ground, that's all. Only tanks there.

I went into school, but didn't understand what was going on. School it was just, I thought school, it was fun, but I didn't even really recognise it was school. I didn't know that was the right place to learn, you know, for me. I didn't had no ideas about that. I just went along. The missionaries used to go round and pick us up from the creekbed. And when we got no car we used to walk early in the morning, have a breakfast early, come, have a little shower, used to be a shower block...That's where the boys and girls used to go and shower. In the first, we go shower, put a dress, we used to go to the dinner room, have a breakfast in the dinner room. After that some girls they do washing and dishes in the old dinner room. And we used to go straight to school after that breakfast. Have a dinner. Go back to school. And sometimes we have a sandwiches afternoon, not sandwiches, bun, old bun, stick a bit of cheese, whatever, sultana, all that little early days things.

I was thinking it was good fun, but why these people telling us to go to school. What's school, I couldn't understand what school is, I was a little bit nervous for school. Kids were cheeky to me. Bad kids, I think they don't like me they teased me in the school. Teacher used to go out and pick us up for school. We used to get up early before the sunrise, we had a breakfast and we walked straight to the old school.

I stayed here till seven or eight years old then I went to Laverton school, my grandmother took me there she lived there and she looked after me and put me in the school...I went to Laverton, I went with my granny because I didn't know in the first place, I didn't know Laverton was a town, old town. First time I saw a town. Lots of families went that way...I think they must be early days working there for food sake...I was looking at all the kids playing games and reading books, I used to look at the books 'cause I didn't know how to read. I didn't learn to read until I was about eleven years old at Leonora School. Finished school at about twelve years old.

After school we go play around the big mine, all the school kids...We used to play around the old creek. So when it gets afternoon, we go play around the merry-go-round, Play there and we could just run along home, to the old reserve in Laverton. My granny she took me to mission school [Mt Margaret]. She went to her stepbrother's house, people was there from all that tribe. They was all mixing then in Laverton, old reserve, no, mission. They used to move on to Laverton, move on to mission, move on to Laverton. They used to go up and down. Or go to Leonora, or to old Kookynie. Stop there, because if they don't working old Kookynie, they can't stay in Kookynie. That's the big station used to be. I used to stop with my grandmother at Mt Margaret. Dormitories was a bit finished that time. Was only little school, like cottage school.

Government mob [Native Welfare], that's the time they found out telling us to go to Leonora, to Naberu Hostel, Leonora School. We used to live in the dormitories, boys side, girls side. Two years there. Then family keep on shifting, so we have to go because parents was moving to Wiluna and after that. Then we got to Wiluna and I stayed there two years, and I stayed there, not really two years, just one, couple of half a months, like that and they said: 'We going to Karalundi then'. They went out [across to Wiluna, through Carnegie Station] from Karilwara, Gibson Desert and the Crown Land mob, them people, and this side like...that Tjirrkarli or whatever, that side and all they shift to Leonora...when Tjirrkarli was a nothing, they travelled through. They just came here, some walking in here, some walking went across. Went for business, and big families stayed, They made a big show everywhere: 'Oh we was the family.' And they was introducing everyone, crying to each

other, and they never see your family and you lose it, you came over, what this name and they pass away, you know? They was remembering.

They worked on stations get big money. They shift around Desert Farm or station they can work, or whatever. I was at Karalundi, Marrkilyi was there for few years in the dormitory. I was running amok, used to drink when too young. Welfare found me and said: 'Oh take this girl back to school Kalgoorlie'. They took me back to Kalgoorlie then, ended up over there then. No family never chased me. Stopped at Nindeebai for few years at Project Centre. School in the morning, afternoon, you know what they do? T-shirts or what we want to do, go to the other room. Sometimes I get nuisance so that's why I get a cane, you know.

Louisa remembers how:

At 20 I been working, world was just like free it was'. Came back to Warburton, me and [cousin] training as nurse. Then working YMCA...think one year. Then back to Laverton, I keep on going little bit drink, drink side, come back. Or keep going to Leonora, stay with my other families. Same trip I make it to Wiluna and come back. Come back here. Just get a job, any job. Used to do bits and pieces to get money. It was getting up to CDEP.

I read lot, I get a note from anywhere, you know and just read it with my own... I know how you know. I read it and understand. I have to write my letters to the Indigenous groups, let them know I been enjoying the thing and all that... They told me to put my name on the Internet, but nothing never happen with that Internet about me. I supposed to be in the Internet too...I got all that address for that, phone, email and all that in my office. I train for that Internet, to watch overseas what happening. [I read] note and fax and all that on wall.

I read lot Bible, I read any Chapter or any Prophet who wrote Bible, well I read it. I read but the Bible in bag, suitcase. That's how I get my sense back from reading and all that. Because I don't know the hard word in the Bible, I teach and I read, trying to read it, but I can't read it cause I have to spell it, then I read it. But I pray and like read straight out. Read all the history in the Bible, New Testament, Old Testament. That's what I pray to..., I pray first then I go to the big meeting like Ngaanyatjarra meeting, I pray and I go to any meeting I wanna go to...I read that one and this one [magazines]. I read newspaper.

Got NAATI Certificate for Interpreting. Darwin for leadership course—it was that thing like leader taking the, leading the way to the top, that thing. But lots of others, governance and all that, capacity. It was good. I learn anything like your thing here, there...Different skill, *yuma*. I understand with my knowledge. People speak English, no language, I just interpret straight away. That person say: 'Oh can you explain to me?' But Minister, I always interpret straight when the Minister say everything. I don't need a book or anything, I just put it in the head, all the word, so I can remember what he say. Read it straight out, I pick it up quick. Listen, I like to interpret same, English, what that man say is English, and I say it straight away all this and this and that...No preparation.

I want them to have a good life like I want my kids to train, train, learn, training, learn read. Go to Batchelor College or anywhere they want to go training. Like doing media and all that stuff...they can keep it, European side, you know what I mean, whitefella way, *maru* way. Like that...I want them to go to proper school and when they finish school they can do, you know, study, properly, when they leave school. Study night time, study day time...So they can get more sense, you know, so they can read library, whatever they want to read. Reading you know, giving them more ideas and strong, make them think, you know, tell them what is happening, what gonna happen for the future...I don't want my granddaughter or anybody's granddaughter to grow up lazy way, grow up sit down, no school and not listen to the mother and father...

Louisa has six children including her son Jake and daughter Darleen.

Jake was born in 1983.

This is his story:

My mother she was born in the bush, desert, and my uncles, my mother's brothers... But they went to school, but they smart. My uncle, he a policeman for South Australia, he the cops, he run around with the police Toyota, driving a big truck... I was living at Docker River when I was a baby, went across to, when I got a little bit big, went across to thing, Warakurna there, Giles, stayed there for a while, came this way, stayed here for a while. And we went on the Patjarr truck, old Patjarr truck, we went to Wiluna.

[Later] I came this way, went to Karalundi every year, right up to 2000, close the book. And I came this way, I went '91, '92, '93, '94, '95, '96, '97, '98, '99, 2000 when I came back 2000. I got a little bit of beard, a little bit thing, moustache, came back this way. I went over there when them mans come around and grab me and I went through Law, got free and my age got bigger and they told me to work. They told me: 'Oh you gotta get your pay soon, when you turn 16'. But I really want to go back school... To learn more 'cause you can't just grow up and leave school when you want. All them other like negro and Chinese they go school when they 18, 19 they still go school... Karalundi I was going to school, but, learn about Bible Study, learn all that... When I was at Karalundi when I was 10 I used to go high school 'cause in that little classroom, like 1st class, 2nd class, 3rd, I was the brainiest in them... at Karalundi. When I was nine years old I worked ABCDEFG all that, count numbers right up to 1000, 2000... I was too smart so they put me in high school and people, them students they was more bigger than me. But I used to get up in church and read Bible, preach...

When Jake was about 16 years old the Community Advisor told him,

'You not going school 'cause you getting CDEP work. You get paid, your school is over.' I can go back school, I'll go Perth anyway, go Yirara College Alice Springs

Jake's family takes their responsibilities and obligation in traditional Law seriously and this has been transmitted to the younger generation.

Family... take us out bush... show us how to cook kangaroos proper way, by the Law, and go out bush. I go out with all the mans, learn something from them. All the boys, all the mans, learn culture, come back for lunch, go back, camp. We do everything... all the old people they like say, telling stories about dreamtime and all that... keep culture strong... Because they might get the land off us... They want [us] to learn all them things because they heard about all the Nyoongas on that side, sea side... like them mob there, they lost their culture, they on grog at Perth, lost their stories, taken away from their mother to another place, stolen generation... That make you sad. But only thing in their mind long time is sport, they like playing sport like one fella he played AFL, he was the first Aboriginal man to play out there.

Like many other young men of his generation, Jake has spent time in prison.

Some boys they were in prison and on court time they don't understand what the judge telling them, they get sentence or go in prison for, they get their months, couple of months, they keep on ringing up to the shop, worrying about their children, wife, they keep going in prison. But if they build that prison [in Warburton] they'll get locked up in that prison there, this new one. [I went] Perth, Canning Vale. I was, I jumped onto the wrong car, that was a stolen car, my cousin was driving, he drove us... Cops pick me up at the house, sent me to court, I watched them other fellas, they don't understand lawyer telling them, helping them out. They say dumb way... [But] I understand. He told me: 'Oh you gonna get out in two months time'. I just went [to Canning Vale Prison], I was just doing my fine... No, that was for fine, not fine, that was they'll have to find out if you're really guilty or not guilty [remand].

Jake found that prison was:

Good fun. Sports, play soccer in that other big building, play football in the oval, do gym, everything, canteen, buy a drink, go back in the room, get locked up. They lock you up for 2 hours, let you out, walk around, do your things then come back...I'll go do boxing and all that, some they'll be boring playing pool table...But not much boys out here, only the young boys here...Like my age, but all the big boys there in prison...Too many, some doing life, lifetime. I was in, I seen them youngfellas, I seen them at Tjirrkarli football time last, 8 years ago, but they still in prison. 'Eh' they told me 'Who are you?' But I look at them when they talking, they speak English...Little bit, but they understand you but they been with all the Nyoongar boys. Hanging round with them. When I was hanging round with them they smoke ganja, do speed, aaaye, I walk off, 'Hey come back.' [they said], 'No you're right.' [I replied].

In prison he also met other young men from different cultures.

All the boys, whitefella, Chinese, everyone, negro. My friend he's a negro bloke. They thinking I was a negro bloke walking round, so I put my hat like this, I had a baggy jeans, shirt hanging out and all them Nyoongar boys they was keep staring at me. And all the negro they was staring at me: 'What's up? What's up?' They ask me for smoke, cigarette. They told me: 'Where you from?' 'I'm from Australia, where youse from? I'm from here.'...I learn about negros, play basketball, learn with them. Big fellas. But I was the, they call me Michael Jordan in prison, I have to run, slam it, long way, two step.

Whilst in prison Jake also participated in prison adult education classes.

Education centre, school there. I went in school, there's a big table with the fellas sitting right around. I was desk, they gave us paper each, the screw and the teacher, they go there, all the teacher, every day. When I got there they called me...to the Duty Office and I went: 'Oh what?' and they gave me a card to go down to the school. And I went down to the school, I went to school doing it...You have to go there. They'll find out if you're smart or dumb...Some blokes can't read properly, if you can't read properly you'll be going to school every day till you learn or if, you must be you got one month left, keep going school, get out. If you can read a book then you can go to school once and go out, never go back in...I was reading a book. Read, read, like they gave me the card, like thing, Grade 4, like '*Walykumunu palyarnu*'. Yeah, like that card, I don't know what that word, like excellent 'Grade 4'...No they was saying, "Oh you can read yeah." I was reading...

Jake recalls getting some kind of 'certificate',

That thing now, 'excellent', 'good work'...Yeah, they told me: 'Oh you can take it home, show your mother, families'...Threw it away in the bin in Kalgoorlie when I got out, New Year time I got out. I walked through the streets, seen all the drunken mob here, whitefella and all.

Since returning from prison this last time, Jake has been involved in many community activities in Warburton. He likes working with Mick fixing cars, participating in the Christian Convention and attending early evening Bible reading sessions at the church. Jake has also been participating enthusiastically in the youth arts projects for young people (see Chapter 7).

Louisa's daughter **Darleen was born in 1987.**

I went to school in Blackstone when I was first started pre-primary in Blackstone then we shift here to Warburton then I went school here when I was 6. Then I was still going school here 7 then 8. Then when I was 10 years old I went to Karalundi. My mother been send me. Some kids from Patjarr they go school there before when they had no school in Patjarr.

Gibson Desert families still prefer to send their children to Karalundi:

Because they wanted to, some kids they fight, make trouble, that's why...like my mum used to go there school...Then when I was 13 I stopped going to Karalundi, I don't wanted to go because too

much trouble. People, no, girls looking for fight... Then I was put school here in Warburton... till I was 15 and I went to Esperance, Wongutha CAPS, I went there. Then too much boys annoying me when I was going there. Some girls they look for fight with us.

After Darleen returned to Warburton: 'I was working in the Drop in Centre I was helping Steve for that counter'. She says she doesn't sniff, but spends most days walking around 'just sometimes we cruise around in the car, listen to music... We like going to the Drop in Centre and sometimes when it rains here we like going to the creek when it's full. And that's all.'

Darleen says she would 'like to work in the clinic or office and answer phone when people ring... for money... My mother she work for land management and interpreting... so one of us can, when she pass away we can take over her job'. Darleen describes how her 'favourite thing' is to sometimes 'read Bible with my mother, she got a two Bibles, and it's one youth Bible... young people's, English... because it's got stories in there... I only get magazines from my mother, she buy it and my sister buy magazines.

Angelina was born in 1973. She is the daughter of Louisa's sister and Vincent's brother.

I used to live in Warburton a long time ago, I grew up here and I used to go school here in Warburton. I'm 28 years old and I have five children... I finished my school here, Year 3, 4 and 5 and 6, 7, 8 10, I sent to high school in Esperance and started going school in Esperance, learning to cook recipes, leaning to read and write, painting. I was at Esperance High School and I stayed at Fairhaven Hostel.

She loved living at Fairhaven Hostel.

I wanted to go back I wanted to go there because I love to go school and do fishing and love to have fun, colouring t-shirt, learn about doing the t-shirt colouring the cushion, like dyeing it, lots of things.

She finished at Fairhaven when she was about 15 or 16 years old.

After I finished Fairhaven I came back to Warburton and I came and I was finding out what I'm doing here, where my school life, I lost my school, I was finding out who was organise the person can put me back to the same school... I wanted to learn more and more and more for my kids. I learnt that at school. I learnt to, I learned about how animals lived, how they take over the world, what are mammals, what aren't mammals, what's flying mammals and all sorts, learnt about lots of things. And I learn about going to church in Esperance when I was young, going into church, Sunday School, Bible study, learn about lots... Church is important because it's a life.

In the early 1990s Angelina went to prison for two months for sniffing.

Quit 'cause I don't want to ruin my life, turn around and look... They told me: 'Don't do that again you're a good girl.' And I stopped. Lots of girls used to sniff. Eastern Goldfields was nice, I was sniffing cause I want to go in prison, eat good food, learn, cook, play softball. It was like a hostel on girls side, it was OK nothing wrong. We wasn't really big troublemaker. I wanted fun in the prison, nice bed, shower, nice clothes, softball, that's all I sniff petrol, that's all I went for.

Then she went to Perth with her husband.

When I went to Perth did, when I went to TAFE in Perth...and I learnt about reading book, watching the movie about the world...Taking photo outside, having a cup of tea, reading and writing, math, sums, you know, math...Learn about cooking, learn about computer literacy, learn about going into the city and looking at all the books that Aboriginal people made long time ago...I organised it [course] myself...Because I like it, I like the skill, reading and writing, friend, nice friend, look after you, good friend, girlfriend, boyfriend, not Koori but nice friend, good people.

Angelina has worked as an Aboriginal Health Worker and an AIEO in schools. While she was working in school she was learning language: 'Ngaanyatjarra for kids, kindergarten...I was reading the English, learning the English, I was teaching the English kids, I was also learning myself...Like I want to keep reading.' She keeps up her reading in everyday life:

I like reading cartoon books or ABC, kids book...I read magazine, I read something on the TV. Read anything on the sign when I'm driving past. I read the letters myself [official mail]...I write things like I write my name and when person tell me to write some letter I write some and I ask for help and somebody help me finish my letter. When I'm writing I need a little bit of help from someone.

She keeps her mail:

Keep it, on my, on my bag, safety...I used to look after my reading and writing books and pencil when I used to go TAFE in Perth. I always look after my things.

Most days she,

...clean around, sweep around the verandah, collect the rubbish, burn the rubbish, make my bed up, get ready make dinner. Sometimes, when my time come. I love cooking. I love recipes, vegetable, fruit, but I don't like take-aways. I like cooking it myself... I read and write. But that's help me sometimes. But not really everyday. I listen to music, Celine Dion, reggae song, country gospel. Tambourine, I was using those musical instruments when I was twelve years old at school.

She also likes working:

Work important to me, for everyday life because life is a life, we'll work like everyone work. Some people want to work, some people don't want to work. People work for money because they want to buy food, clothing, fuel to travel.

I ask her if it is important to read and write in English and she answers me enthusiastically.

Yes, because I want to learn lot and lot and lot...Read and write more, learn for, so you can read.

Appendix C Language description

In this thesis I refer to speakers of a number of mutually intelligible dialects in the so-called Western Desert family of languages (within the Wati subgroup of the South-West group of the Pama-Nyungan family of languages).¹²⁸⁴ The Ngaanyatjarra dialect is spoken around Warburton and east towards the Jameson Range. Ngaatjatjarra is spoken round the Jameson Range, Blackstone Range and Rawlinson Ranges. Pitjantjatjara is spoken around the tri-state border region from around Wingellina in Western Australia east to the Mann Ranges in South Australia and into the Northern Territory. Other related dialects include Pintupi which is mainly spoken at Kiwirrkura, a little at Tjukurla and at Kintore in the Northern Territory. Yankunytjatjara is spoken further east of the Pitjantjatjara region in South Australia, and Manyjilyjarra, Gugadja, and Wangkatja are spoken in Western Australia.¹²⁸⁵ Dialect names in the Western Desert have arisen out of lexical distinctions plus the suffix *-jarra* (Ngaanyatjarra) / *-jara* (Pitj./Yank.) meaning ‘having’. For example, Ngaanyatjarra is the language ‘having’ the word *ngaanya* for ‘this’; Ngaatjatjarra is the language ‘having’ the word *ngaatja* for ‘this’ and Pitjantjatjara is the language ‘having’ the word *pitjantja* for ‘coming’.¹²⁸⁶

The letters or digraphs (a combination of two letters) that represent the sounds in Ngaanyatjarra are drawn from the English alphabet system. Ngaanyatjarra has six vowel sounds: short vowels (a, i, u) and long vowels (aa, ii, u). Ngaanyatjarra distinguishes three different kinds of l, n and t sounds (alveolar, dental and retroflex).¹²⁸⁷ The consonant sounds can be grouped as follows:¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸⁴ (Glass and Hackett 2003).

¹²⁸⁵ (Glass 1997; Glass and Hackett 2003; Goddard 1987).

¹²⁸⁶ The various Western Desert dialects have been described by linguists over the decades. Early references can be found (Tindale 1936; Trudinger 1943). In the 1950s Wilf Douglas from the UAM began describing Western Desert dialects including Ngaanyatjarra (Douglas 1955; Douglas 1964). Ameer Glass and Dorothy Hackett commenced work at Warburton in 1963 and have described Ngaanyatjarra from a structuralist ‘tagmemic’ perspective (Glass and Hackett 1970; Glass and Hackett 1979 [1969]; Glass 1980). In the 1970s Ken and Lesley Hansen described Pintupi (Hansen and Hansen 1978) spoken in the Northern Territory and Western Australia. Cliff Goddard produced a semantically-oriented grammar of the Yankunytjatjara dialect in the 1980s (Goddard 1983) and subsequently incorporated theories of ‘natural semantic metalanguage’ (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994). Further descriptive work has focused on Pitjantjatjara including (Bowe 1990) and an analysis by David Rose (Rose 2001) drawing on Michael Halliday’s theory of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1978; Halliday 1985). Daniele Klapproth has explored narrative as social practice (Klapproth 2004) and Annie Langlois has studied language change and teenage Pitjantjatjara (Langlois 2004). Various language learning texts have been produced including (Eckert and Hudson 1988) and a learners’ guide series published by IAD (Glass 2006; Heffernan and Heffernan 2000).

¹²⁸⁷ The retroflex sounds rendered as *rl*, *rn* and *rt* in Ngaanyatjarra are represented using diacritics (*ḷ*, *ṇ*, *ṭ*) in other Western Desert dialects e.g. Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1987) and Pintupi-Luritja (Heffernan and Heffernan 2000).

stops:	p	tj	t	rt	k
nasals:	m	ny	n	rn	ng
l-sounds:		ly	l	rl	
other:	w	y	rr	r	

In Ngaanyatjarra (unlike the closely related dialects Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara) ‘y’ is placed in front of word initial open vowels (e.g. *yuuwa* – ‘yes’ (Ng.) and *uwa* – ‘yes’ (Pitj./Yank.). Word final consonants on nominals are unusual and commonly suffixed with *-pa*. Ngaanyatjarra has a different grammatical system from English and employs suffixes to mark case relationships and bound or clitic pronouns (free pronouns are used less commonly). Some verbs also take prefixes and there are four verb classes (-la; -0; -rra; -wa). Ngaanyatjarra commonly employs enclitics for number marking on singular, dual and plural pronouns. There are two verb types, transitive or intransitive, with ergative marking on nouns.¹²⁸⁹

Warburton residents predominantly speak Ngaanyatjarra as their vernacular or first language, although the speech community includes speakers of other Western Desert dialects. A minority of residents speak English as a first language. A range of Englishes along a continuum from ‘Aboriginal English’ to Standard Australian English (SAE) can be heard:

Table AC.1 Language spoken at Warburton 2001

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>ATSI status by sex (Age 0 > 65+)</i>	<i>194</i>	<i>230</i>	<i>424</i>
Speaks English only	9	16	25
Speaks ATSI language (ATSI language spoken at home) and Speaks English (self-assessed):	175	204	379
Very well or well	113	143	256
Not well	51	45	96
Not at all	11	16	27
Not stated	10	10	20
Total no.	194	230	424

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing Warburton (IARE 23015 Community Profile Series)

¹²⁸⁸ (Glass and Hackett 2003: 3).

¹²⁸⁹ See: (Glass and Hackett 2003; Howell 1996; Obata 2003). Also see: (Blake 1977; Dixon 1980).

Appendix D Ngaanyatjarra glossary

Glossary of words or phrases not self-explanatory within the thesis text.

<i>Ngaanyatjarra word or phrase</i>	<i>English translation</i>
<i>kakarrara</i>	east (spatial adverb)
<i>kamurl(pa)</i>	camel (English loan word)
<i>kapi</i>	1. water 2. rain 3. waterhole (noun)
<i>kata</i>	head
<i>kayili</i>	north (spatial adverb)
<i>kuka</i>	meat (noun)
<i>kulilku</i>	will listen
<i>kunmarranya</i>	name for someone who had a similar name to someone who died (proper noun)
<i>kunmarnu</i>	word to replace words like the name of someone who died (noun)
<i>kungka</i>	girl (noun)
<i>kurra</i>	1. bad / wrong way 2. also used as a slang expression meaning 'fantastic' / 'wow' depending on the context
<i>kurri</i>	spouse; husband or wife (noun)
Rosemaryku <i>kurri</i>	Rosemary's husband
<i>kuru</i>	eye (noun) <i>kuru pirni</i> – many eyes
<i>kutjarra</i>	two
<i>kutju</i>	one
<i>kutjulpirtulpi</i>	1. long ago 2. previously / a while ago (time adverb)
<i>lirru</i>	snake (noun)
<i>marlaku pitjaku</i>	will come back / will return
Mama Godku book	Bible (Father God's book)
<i>maku</i>	'witchetty grub' – a type of bush food
<i>mara</i>	hand
<i>marlu</i>	kangaroo
<i>marlu-marlu</i>	pretend hunting game
<i>marlulu</i>	special boy sent on a journey before he is brought to manhood (noun)
<i>marnkurpa</i>	<i>three</i>
<i>mimitjarra</i>	breast + suffix 'with' (i.e. a teenage girl becomes 'mimitjarra')
<i>minyma</i>	woman
<i>mirrka</i> (syn. <i>mayi</i>)	food / vegetable food (noun)
<i>munta</i>	sorry! (exclamation)
<i>munta yuwa</i>	oh yes (mhmm / indeed)
<i>ngaanya</i>	1. here 2. this
<i>ngaritjutjarra</i>	poor thing (exclamation)
<i>ngayuku</i>	mine / my
<i>ngayuku tjamu</i>	my grandson / grandfather
<i>ngayukutju</i>	my one only
<i>ngula</i>	later, in the future
<i>ngurra</i>	camp
<i>ngurpa-rma</i>	ignorant + 1 st pers. sing. pronoun suffix
<i>ninti</i>	knowledgeable
<i>ninti purika</i>	really knowledgeable (adjective)
<i>nintipukalpayinya</i>	the really knowledgeable one
<i>nintirringku</i>	learn / become knowledgeable (intr. verb)

<i>nintirringkupayi</i>	(always) learning / becoming knowledgeable (habitual)
<i>nyaapa</i>	1. What? e.g. <i>nyaapaku palyala?</i> What [are we] doing it for? 2. thingumabob / whatyamacallit (noun)
<i>nyarratja</i>	there
<i>palunya</i>	1. the end / that's all (particle) 2. that one
<i>palyara</i>	doing
<i>piranpa</i>	1. white 2. white person / whitefella / non-Aboriginal
<i>pirmi</i>	lots of / many
<i>pimiya</i>	many + 1 st pers. plural pronoun suffix: 'many of them'
<i>purtu nyaku kamurl</i>	it can't see the camel
<i>tirtu nyakupayi</i>	always looking / keeps on looking
<i>tawarra</i>	young men's camp (noun)
<i>tawarrangkatja</i>	in the young men's camp
<i>tjilkatja</i>	accompanying a special boy travelling to manhood ceremonies in a ceremonial party (adverb)
<i>tjilkuku turku / nyarnpiku</i>	children's pretend songs / dances
<i>tjinguru</i>	maybe
<i>tjitji</i>	child (noun)
<i>warli</i>	building
<i>warntu</i>	1. blanket 2. clothes (noun)
<i>wangkaratjaku</i>	to talk (verb: purpose different subject)
<i>wanytjatja?</i>	where?
<i>waru</i>	1. fire 2. firewood 3. hot
<i>wati</i>	man
<i>warta</i>	tree/ bush/ plant (noun)
<i>wiltja</i>	1. shade 2. shelter (noun)
<i>wiltja-wiltja</i>	'cubbyhouse' game (i.e. reduplication indicating 'pretend' game)
<i>wilurarra</i>	west (spatial adverb)
<i>wiya / wiyartu</i>	no / nothing
<i>wiyarriku</i>	it will be finished
<i>yapu</i>	1. stone 2. hill (noun)
<i>ywarra</i>	track / road
<i>ywuwa</i>	yes
<i>learnarringu</i> (English loan word)	he/she learned
<i>readtamalpayi</i>	always reading (e.g. <i>jungarralu readtamalpayi</i> – he always reading by himself)
Suffixes	
<i>-ku</i>	possessive or purposive nominal case ending (for, of belonging to)
<i>-lu</i>	ergative ending for a nominal when it is the subject of a transitive sentence (i.e. doing the action) e.g. <i>papa-lu tjilku patjarnu</i> – the dog (subj.) bit the child (obj.).
<i>-nga</i>	ending for name of person or place with word-final consonant e.g. Lorraine- <i>nga</i> , mum- <i>nga</i>
<i>-nya</i>	ending for name of person or place with word-final vowel e.g. Barry- <i>nya</i> (i.e. subject of an intransitive sentence or object of a transitive sentence)
<i>-pa</i>	ending for nominals that are not names with word-final consonants e.g. <i>marlany(pa)</i> , <i>gamepa</i>
<i>-ngka</i>	locative nominal case ending (at, in, by) e.g. <i>ngurrangka</i> – in the camp; <i>songbookangka</i> – in the songbook

Source: (Glass and Hackett 2003; Glass 2006)

Appendix E Population estimates

Table AE.1 Estimated population at Warburton Ranges and Cosmo Newbery 1936–1973

	<i>Warburton Ranges</i>			<i>Cosmo Newbery</i>	
	<i>Estimated population</i>	<i>Children under 16 and attending school</i>	<i>Rations/ subsidies Child Endowment and Pensions</i>	<i>Estimated population</i>	<i>Children under 16 and attending school</i>
1936	--- (Data n/a)	22 ¹	---		
1937	300	20 ²	---		
1940	---	43 ³	---		
1944	403 ⁴	---	---		
1945	370 adults	50 ⁵	---		
1947	---	16 ⁶	---		
1948	120 - 150	27 ⁷	---		
1949	402 ⁸	45 ⁹	---		
1950	500 - 700	87 ¹⁰	---		
1951	-	80 ¹¹	---		
1952	-	-	---		
1953	-	-	66 children, 20 adults ¹²		
1954	-	-	66 children, 20 adults		
1955	250 ¹³	55 ¹⁴	28 children, --- adults		
1956	-	75 ¹⁵	---		
1957	198 ¹⁶	83 ¹⁷	71 children, --- adults		
1958	-	104 ¹⁸	92 children, 21 adults		
1959	300-350 ¹⁹	-	95 children, 27 adults		
1961	400	120 ²⁰	85 children, 8 adults 35 Pensions, £3,000 Child Endowment	12 ²¹	16
1962	450	122 ²²	46 Pensions, £2,000 Child Endowment	16 ²³	
1963	450	100 ²⁴	---	16 ²⁵	12
1964	450	86 ²⁶	---	45 ²⁷	15
1965	450	100 ²⁸	---	25 ²⁹	14
1966	378	101 ³⁰	---	25 ³¹	13
1967	454	118 ³²	---	40 ³³	9
1968	435	118 ³⁴	Pensions & Child Endowment to WRM	43 ³⁵	17
1969	401	120 ³⁶	Pensions & Child Endowment to WRM	54 ³⁷	14
1970	417	136 ³⁸	Pensions to individuals Child Endowment to WRM	46 ³⁹	18
1971	400	104 ⁴⁰	Pensions & Child Endowment to individuals	63 ⁴¹	22
1972	408 ⁴²	104 ⁴³	Pensions & Child Endowment to individuals	50 ⁴⁴	20
1973	435 ⁴⁵	120 ⁴⁶	---	75 ⁴⁷	26

Table AE.2 Estimated Aboriginal population Warburton and Eastern Goldfields towns 1935–1983 (incl. children)

	<i>Warburton</i>	<i>Cosmo Newbery</i>	<i>Laverton</i>	<i>Mt Margaret</i>	<i>Leonora</i>	<i>Wiluna</i>
1935	- (data n/a)	-	790	-	65	87
1936	-	-	700	-	61	76
1937	300	-	700	-	59	74
1944	403 (excl. chn)	150	283	250	262 (excl. chn)	349
1945	420	233	200	114	120	349
1964	450	60	768	96	595	-
1965	450	39	862	-	641	-
1966	378	38	393	100	667	-
1967	454	49	336	86	373	-
1968	435	60	352	63	392	-
1969	401	68	360	92	463	-
1970	417	64	136	143	594	-
1971	400	85	220	233	612	-
1972	408	70	243	167	505	-
1973	435	65	169	70	275	318
1974	438	75	200	73	269	349
1975	251	62	231	107	282	376
1976	273	68	313	130	157	454
1977	350	53	102	151	231	473
1978	350	68	313	140	157	435
1979	230	26	89	126	235	434
1980	400	130	326	170	354	456
1981	400	80	337	176	366	505
1982	573	62	140	173	238	501
1983	453	72	169	151	287	470

Source: Annual Report Chief Protector of Aborigines June 1935–1936
 Annual Report CNA 1937
 Annual Report CNA 1944
 Annual Report CNA 1945
 Annual Reports CNW 1964–1972
 Annual Reports AAPA and ALT 1973–1983

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- ¹ Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines 30th June 1936. Perth: WA
 - ² Report of the Commissioner of Native Affairs (CNA) 30th June 1937. Perth: WA
 - ³ *United Aborigines Messenger*, September 1940
 - ⁴ Report of the CNA 30th June 1944. Perth: WA
 - ⁵ Annual Report of the CNA 30th June 1945. Perth: WA
 - ⁶ WA SRO Acc 1733 511/42—*Warburton Ranges Mission native matters July 1947 Memo from Bisley Inspector of Natives to DCNA*
 - ⁷ *United Aborigines Messenger* February 1948
 - ⁸ WA SRO Acc 1733 511/42—*Warburton Ranges Mission native matters 30/5/50 CNA to D/Director of Rationing*
 - ⁹ Annual Report of the CNA 30th June 1949. Perth: WA
 - ¹⁰ Annual Report of the CNA 30th June 1950. Perth: WA
 - ¹¹ WA SRO ACC 1419 23-7-3—*Missions UAM Mission Reports Annual Inspection 4/12/51 McLarty (District Officer Central) to A/DoNA Kalgoorlie re report on Warburton Ranges Mission*
 - ¹² Annual Report Commissioner of Native Welfare (CNW) 30th June 1954
 - ¹³ (Grayden 1957)
 - ¹⁴ WA SRO ACC 1419 23-7-3—*Missions: UAM Mission Reports Annual Inspection June 1954–June 1955 Annual Report from UAM to DNA re. Warburton Ranges Mission*
 - ¹⁵ *United Aborigines Messenger* May 1956
 - ¹⁶ WA SRO ACC993 360/56—*Warburton Ranges Matters (April–May 1957 H. Moorhouse Survey Report of the Warburton District)*
 - ¹⁷ WA SRO ACC993 360/56—*Warburton Ranges Matters 4/3/57 Sanitation Inspection Report Warburton Ranges*
 - ¹⁸ WA SRO ACC993 360/56—*Warburton Ranges Matters 18/12/58 ADO Eastern Goldfields report on Inspection of WR Mission*
 - ¹⁹ (Berndt and Berndt 1959)
 - ²⁰ WA SRO ACC 1419—23-7-3 15/162 *letter from CNW to Federal Secretary UAM*
 - ²¹ Annual Report Commissioner of Native Welfare (CNW) 1961
 - ²² Annual Report CNW 30th June 1962
 - ²³ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1962
 - ²⁴ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1963
 - ²⁵ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1963
 - ²⁶ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1964
 - ²⁷ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1964
 - ²⁸ *United Aborigines Messenger* February 1965
 - ²⁹ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1965
 - ³⁰ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1966
 - ³¹ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1966
 - ³² Annual Report CNW 30th June 1967
 - ³³ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1967
 - ³⁴ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1968
 - ³⁵ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1968
 - ³⁶ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1969
 - ³⁷ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1969
 - ³⁸ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1970
 - ³⁹ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1970
 - ⁴⁰ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1971
 - ⁴¹ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1971
 - ⁴² Annual Report AAPA and ALT 30th June 1972
 - ⁴³ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1972
 - ⁴⁴ Annual Report CNW 30th June 1972
 - ⁴⁵ Annual Report AAPA and ALT 1973
 - ⁴⁶ *United Aborigines Messenger* September 1973
 - ⁴⁷ Cosmo Newbery Annual Report—UAM, March 1973, NTU Files

Appendix F Post-primary schooling estimates

The following data is an indication of the number of adults who claim to have experienced secondary or post-primary education. The duration is not included and in some cases it may be as short as a few weeks.

	<i>Young (15–25 yrs)</i>		<i>Middle (26–40 yrs)</i>		<i>Old (41–61 yrs)</i>	
	Government schooling + secondary (1984–1993)		Government schooling + secondary (1969–1983)		Mission schooling > assimilation hostels (1948–1968)	
Warburton	27	14.4%	19	9.0%	---	(nil) ---
Other Ng. Lands communities	50	26.7%	9	4.3%	---	---
Mt Margaret	2	1.0%	---	---	2	1.7%
Laverton	5	2.7%	4	1.9%	1	0.62%
Norseman	1	0.5%	14	6.7%	7	5.9%
EGHS	2	1.0%	10	4.8%	14	11.8%
Boulder Project Centre	---	---	6	2.9%	7	5.9%
Wongutha Farm	---	---	1	0.5%	7	5.9%
Esperance H.S.	3	1.6%	19	9.1%	10	8.4%
CAPS	21	11.3%	28	13.4%	---	---
Karalundi	9	4.9%	1	0.5%	2	1.7%
Multiple hostels or schools, WA	7	3.9%	29	14.0%	12	10.0%
Yirara**	6	3.2%	15	7.2%	5	4.2%
Other NT	6	3.2%	2	0.9%	---	---
Wiltja***	21	11.2%	8	3.8%	---	---
Other SA	---	---	3	1.4%	2	1.7%
<i>No post-primary</i>	27	14.4%	38	18.2%	47	39.5%
<i>Unsure</i>	---	---	3	1.4%	3	2.5%
TOTAL No. *	187	35.5%	209	39.6%	119	22.6%

Source: Ngaanyatjarra Council CDEP Skills Audit 2004

* From total interviews (# 527): twelve adults aged 61+ as they had no primary schooling or no secondary schooling.

** Yirara College in Alice Springs opened as a residential secondary college for Indigenous students in 1973 and in 1993 management of the college was transferred to the Lutheran Finke River Mission Board.

*** The Wiltja program for Indigenous students is annexed to Woodville High School in Adelaide, SA. It was initiated by the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee for students from the Pitjantjatjara Lands, SA.

Appendix G Census household data (2001)

Table AG.1 Indigenous households

	<i>Households</i>	<i># persons in household</i>
One family household	23	107
Multi-family household	37	320
Total	60	427

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing
(Warburton (IARE 23015 Community Profile Series))

Table AG.2 Number of persons usually resident in separate households

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7-9</i>	<i>10+</i>	<i>Total</i>
Separate house:	0	4	3	6	7	10	18	12	60
1 bedroom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 bedrooms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 bedrooms	3	4	3	6	7	10	17	12	62
4 bedrooms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 + bedrooms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not stated	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing
(Warburton (IARE 23015 Community Profile Series))

Table AG.3 Selected averages for age, income and rent

	<i>Indigenous</i>	<i>Non-Indigenous</i>
Median age	21	42
Median weekly rent	\$1-\$49	\$1-\$49
Median weekly individual income	\$120-\$159	\$600-\$699
Median weekly family income	\$300-\$399	\$1,200-\$1,499
Median weekly household income	\$700-\$799	\$1,000-\$1,199
Mean household size	6.8	2.6

Source: 2001 Census of Population and Housing
(Warburton (IARE 23015 Community Profile Series))

Fig. AH.1. Written texts assessed at NRS 1

I like going to school
I like doing Painting.
I going out Bush to get Bush Tucker

NRS 1 Female (late 30s)

Yesterday I was waeking With
the Bobcat was canling
the yaert

NRS 1 Male (late teens)

Fig. AH.2. Written texts assessed at NRS 2

Some time I Go out
to the oval and Do
Som training.
and. Going ^{out} bush trip
and Looking for Kangaroo.
and When I ^{am} at home
I Work IN GDEP
like Rebuilding houses.
and doing SOME Dralings.
and Painting. and
I Work at the college and
Do some combuter work

NRS 2 Male (late teens)

When I feel like to
worker at the playgroup
I like there because
it wonderful to be
in the it is great.
When I was worker
at the college I use
to doing some read
and write. And I always
~~answ~~ answer the phone
and doing like copy
on the paper. And answer
the phone and ~~leave~~ leave
some message on the
Table for Miss Paget and
Pam, ~~and~~ And every
worker finish. I use
to doing go bush for
goanna, honeyant, trukey,
~~kangaroo~~ kangaroo, yellow
berries. And go for ride
~~are~~ with my sisters or
mum round Warburton
bush. And look after my
child name [REDACTED]
She is 2 year old she can
walk and talk Nganyatjara.

NRS 2 Female (late teens)

Fig. AH.3. Written texts assessed at NRS 3

~~the~~ Back in 2001/23 I used to work in the college for C.E.P but in the mean time so many course comes in to Warburton College and I think it good to work with the course and I ask the course member I am thinking of working with all the courses so every course come I like doing because it good and interested job like Hairdressing, firstaid, Tourism and office skills. I got lots of CERT I-III from all the courses Now I got one of them job is the Hairdressing because it good have people coming in paying for the hair dye hair cut trim so people can have healthy here settle in the Ngaanyatjarra Remote Area. Now the Hairdressing Ladie who come in a year also in a months like are week in each community and people like Hairdressing but now I work at the clinic just the small hour job like 8:00 to 10:00 while I wait for Hairdressing Lady to come to the communities.

NRS 3 Female (mid 20s)

Long time ago the missionary looked after us in boys home and girls home. Times went by ^{and} the missionary could not keep us in the home no more. And so we had to go with our family. We used to camp at the old well. It's a place where the missionaries first started living there. The mission still had school at Warburton Ranges. And so we had to walk all the way from old well. If we are not in school the teachers would come out and look for us. At that time the missionaries didn't have cars to come out and look for us. They had one Land Rover and some old trucks. Missionaries still go out and find us and get us back to school again. Things have changed now.

NRS 3 Male (mid 50s)

NRS Language, Literacy and Numeracy Assessment Record Sheet

Name: _____ Date: _____

Place: _____

Reading		Competent or Not Yet Competent?
1.1	Reads and identifies letters in the context of whole words, numbers, signs and symbols relating to personal details and immediate environment.	
1.2	Identifies specific information in a personally relevant text with familiar content which may include personal details, location or calendar information in simple graphic, diagrammatic, formatted or visual form.	
2.1	Reads and interprets short simple texts on a personally relevant topic.	
2.2	Locates specific information relating to familiar contexts in a text which may contain data in simple graphic, diagrammatic, formatted or visual form.	
3.1	Reads and interprets texts of some complexity, integrating (where relevant) a number of pieces of information in order to generate meaning.	
3.2	Displays an awareness of purpose of text, including unstated meaning.	
3.3	Interprets and extrapolates from texts containing data which is unambiguously presented graphic, diagrammatic, formatted or visual form.	
4.1	Reads and interprets structurally intricate texts in chosen fields of knowledge which require integration of several pieces of information for generating meaning.	
4.2	Interprets texts which include ambiguity and inexplicitness where reader needs to distinguish fact from opinion and infer purpose.	
4.3	Interprets and extrapolates from texts containing data which includes some abstraction, symbolism and technicality presented in graphic, diagrammatic, formatted and visual form.	
Writing		Competent or Not Yet Competent?
1.3	Copies letters of the alphabet, numbers, and dates in order to convey personal details such as name, address, telephone number.	
1.4	Writes basic personal details about self or others such as name, address and signature.	
1.5	Writes one or two phrases/simple sentences conveying an idea, message or opinion drawing from a modelled text.	
2.3	Writes about a familiar topic using simple sentence structure and joining ideas through conjunctive links where appropriate.	
2.4	Completes forms or writes notes using factual or personal information relating to familiar contexts.	
3.4	Communicates relationships between ideas through selecting and using grammatical structures and notations which are appropriate to the purpose.	
3.5	Produces and sequences paragraphs according to the purpose of the text.	
4.4	Communicates complex relationships between ideas and matches style of writing to purpose and audience.	
4.5	Generates written texts reflecting a range of genres and using appropriate structure and layout.	

Oral Communication		Competent Not Yet Competent?
1.6	Elicits or gives specific information using gestures, single words or formulaic expressions, for the purpose of exchanging or obtaining information, goods or services.	
1.7	Takes part in short interpersonal exchanges for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and developing relationships; exploring issues; or problem solving.	
1.8	Listens for specific items of information in short contextually relevant oral texts.	
2.5	Elicits and gives factual information or personal details for the purpose of exchanging or obtaining goods and services; or gathering/providing information.	
2.6	Takes part in short interpersonal exchanges, clarifying meaning and maintaining interaction, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and developing relationships; exploring issues; or problem solving.	
2.7	Listens for relevant information from oral texts.	
3.6	Participates in short transactions, using basic generic structures, for the purpose of exchanging or obtaining goods and services; or gathering/providing information.	
3.7	Takes part in short interpersonal exchanges, demonstrating some awareness of register and interactional strategies, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and developing relationships; exploring issues; or problem solving.	
3.8	Derives meaning from sustained oral texts.	
4.6	Participates in sustained transactions with flexible use of a range of generic structures, for the purpose of exchanging or obtaining goods and services; or gathering/providing information.	
4.7	Takes part in sustained interpersonal exchanges, demonstrating flexible use of register and a range of interactional strategies, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and developing relationships; exploring issues; or problem solving.	
4.8	Extracts main ideas and most details from sustained oral texts.	
Numeracy		Competent or Not Yet Competent?
1.10	Locates simple key mathematical information in a familiar real life activity or text.	
1.11	Recognises and uses straight forward mathematical actions which relate to immediate contexts.	
1.12	Uses rough estimation and prior experience to identify purpose and check reasonableness of the process and outcomes of a mathematical activity.	
1.13	Uses everyday informal oral language and representation including familiar symbols and diagrams to communicate mathematically.	
2.9	Locates relevant mathematical information in a familiar real life activity or text.	
2.10	Selects and uses straight forward mathematical actions in familiar and predictable contexts.	
2.11	Uses estimation and prior experience to examine purpose and check reasonableness of the process and outcomes of a mathematical activity.	
2.12	Uses oral and written informal and formal language and representation including some symbols and diagrams to communicate mathematically.	
3.10	Selects appropriate mathematical information embedded in a real life activity item or text.	
3.11	Selects and applies a range of mathematical strategies to solve problems in a number of contexts, which are familiar yet may be interrelated.	
3.12	Reflects on and questions reasonableness and appropriateness of the purpose, process and outcomes of a mathematical activity.	
3.13	Uses oral and written informal and formal language and representation including symbols and diagrams to communicate mathematically.	
4.10	Selects and investigates appropriate mathematical information and relationships embedded in an activity, item or text.	
4.11	Selects and applies an expanding range of mathematical strategies flexibly to solve problems in a variety of contexts.	
4.12	Examines and questions the appropriateness, possible interpretations and	

Appendix I Training estimates

Table AI.1 Training noted in CDEP Skills Audit 2004 (Warburton only)

Courses undertaken:	Young (16–25 yrs)	Middle (26–40 yrs)	Old (41–61 yrs)	Total
Health	1	6	7	
Environmental Health	2	3	2	
Education	1	2	8	
Office Skills	2	4	-	
Essential Services	-	1	1	
Tourism	5	5	3	
Hairdressing	2	-	-	
Media	4	3	-	
Interpreting	-	1	1	
Aged Care	1	1	-	
Forklift, etc	4	5	2	
Automotive	4	6	1	
Governance	-	-	4	
Prison	2	5	2	
General Vocational	-	2	10	
Vernacular literacy	2	1	7	
<i>Total no.</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>91</i>
<i>'yes' to training</i>	<i>(46%)</i>	<i>(58%)</i>	<i>(71%)</i>	<i>(57%)</i>
TOTAL	57	57	45	159

Source: Ngaanyatjarra Council CDEP Skills Audit 2004 (Warburton only)

This data was compiled from the Skills Audit questions: 'Have you ever done any training?' and 'What kind of training have you done?'. Training of any type could have taken place at any time, for any duration, anywhere. Whereas Table AI.2 (below) contains data collected from Ngaanyatjarra Community College records and is a record of module and full certificate completions of accredited VET courses.

**Table AI.2 Accredited training completed at Ngaanyatjarra Community College
2000–2003**

2000	1 module completed	2 modules completed	3 modules completed	4 modules completed	Full Certificate
Certificate III in Civil Construction	2	2	4	—	—
Certificate III in Business (Office administration)	—	3	2	—	—
Certificate I in Office Skills	1	1	—	1	1
Certificate III in Office Skills	1	1	2	—	—
Certificate II in Business Service	1	—	—	—	—
Certificate I in Remote Community Essential Services	1	—	—	—	—
Certificate II in Australian Land Management	4	—	—	—	—
2001	1 module completed	2 modules completed	3 modules completed	4 modules completed	Full Certificate
Certificate III in Civil Construction (Backhoe)	—	—	—	—	8
Certificate III in Civil Construction (Forklift)	—	—	—	—	8
Certificate III in Civil Construction (Front end loader/skid steer)	—	—	—	—	9
Certificate III in Civil Construction (Grader operator)	—	—	—	—	1
Certificate III in Civil Construction	4	3	4	1	—
Certificate I in Business (Office Skills)	—	—	—	—	1
Certificate I in Office Skills	—	—	1	—	1
Certificate II in Hairdressing	2	—	—	—	—
Certificate I in Remote Community Essential Services	—	1	1	1	5
Certificate II in Remote Community Essential Services Operations (Power)	—	1	—	—	5
Certificate II in Remote Community Essential Services Operations (Water/Waste water)	—	—	—	—	5
Certificate I in Tourism (Cultural Guiding)	3	3	1	2	2
Diploma in Interpreting (Paraprofessional)	—	—	—	—	3
Certificate I in Family & Community Services	—	2	—	—	1

Appendices

2002	1 module completed	2 modules completed	3 modules completed	4 modules completed	Full Certificate
Certificate III in Civil Construction	11	5	—	—	—
Certificate II in Business Service	2	—	—	—	—
Certificate III in Office Skills	1	—	—	—	—
Certificate I in Office Skills	—	—	—	1	1
Certificate II in Hairdressing	4	—	1	1	—
Certificate III in Tourism (Tour Operations)	8	2	1	—	—
Certificate II in Electrotechnology (Remote Area Essential Services)	—	—	—	—	2
Certificate II in Community Services (Aged Care)	—	2	1	—	—
Certificate 1 in Aboriginal Foundation Education	9	—	—	—	—
Certificate II in Aboriginal Preparatory Education	4	—	—	—	—
2003	1 module completed	2 modules completed	3 modules completed	4 modules completed	Full Certificate
Certificate III in Civil Construction	18	12	2	5	—
Certificate I in Business (Office Skills)	—	—	—	—	2
Certificate II in Metalliferous Mining Operations (Open cut)	15	—	—	—	—
Certificate III in Metalliferous Mining Operations (Open cut)	22	—	—	—	—
Certificate I in Automotive	4	—	—	—	—
Certificate III in Tourism (Tour Operations)	12	1	—	—	—

Source: Ngaanyatjarra Community College records

Appendix J Snapshot distribution of CDEP, Warburton February 2004

<i>Type of work</i>	<i>No. working</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Literacy needed</i>
No job	74	46.5%	No
BRACS / Media work	2	1.3%	Yes
College (cleaning, office, library)	8	5%	Sometimes
Cultural Centre (tourism, gallery tours)	2	1.3%	Yes
Environmental Health Work	1	0.6%	Yes
Aboriginal Health Work	1	0.6%	Yes
AIEO in school	5	3.1%	Yes
Arts Project	2	1.3%	No
Women's Centre (ceramics, etc)	8	5.0%	No
Playgroup	6	3.8%	Yes
Land Management	2	1.3%	Yes
Rubbish/wood (community/home)	12	7.5%	No
Project work/Maintenance	4	2.5%	No
Gardening	1	0.6%	No
Cleaning (school, office, clinic, church)	10	6.3%	No
Community Liaison	1	0.6%	Yes
Warden	6	3.8%	No
Home and Community Care	1	0.6%	Yes
Store	2	1.3%	Sometimes
Office	4	2.5%	Yes
Shire truck	2	1.3%	No
Brickworks	3	1.9%	No
Language work/Interpreting	2	1.3%	Yes
TOTAL	159	100%	

Source: CDEP Skills Audit Ngaanyatjarra Lands 2004

This snapshot was compiled when the CDEP Skills Audit was conducted at Warburton in February 2004. It is indicative of the typical community CDEP profile. At this stage a number of work-sites were not operating, including the youth arts work.

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Additional resources

Newsletters

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Reports

Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines 1935–1936
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Native Affairs 1937–1954
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Native Welfare 1955–1972
Annual Reports of the Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority (AAPA) and Aboriginal Lands Trust (ALT) 1973–1983

Hansard 'Aboriginal Employment' May 26 1977.

Ngaanyatjarra Council Native Title Unit Archives, Alice Springs

Extract from Memo from CNW to MNW 21st March 1957—UAM Files.
Report of the trip to Warburton Ranges 14th to 21st September 1962: UAM Files.
R. Hawthorn, Acting Superintendent, UAM District Office Report, Warburton Ranges August 1964 UAM Files.
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School Policy Warburton Ranges 1974—Education File.
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Government records

Written permission was granted by the Assistant Director Information Management, Department of Indigenous Affairs, WA to view archival records from the Western Australia State Records Office (WA SRO) lodged at the Ngaanyatjarra Council Native Title Unit Archives, Alice Springs.

WA SRO Acc 1733 511/42—*Warburton Ranges Mission native matters 10/8/51 UAM to A/DCNA.*
WA SRO Acc 993 1220/61 17/762—*From CNW to MNW summary of history of Warburton Ranges Mission.*
WA SRO Acc 1733 511/42—*Warburton Ranges Mission native matters 21/4/48 Bisley to CNA re. visit to Warburton 1947.*
WA SRO Acc 1733 511/42—*Warburton Ranges Mission native matters (1942–1956) 27/9/56 letter from Middleton CNW to Editor United Aborigines Messenger.*
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WA SRO Acc 993 360/56—*Warburton Ranges Matters April–May 1957 H. Moorhouse Survey Report of the Warburton District*
WA SRO Acc 1733 511/42—*Warburton Ranges Mission native matters (May 1946) Officer in Charge at Cosmo to CNA.*

- WA SRO Acc 903 901/40—*Cosmo Newbery Native Station. Acting CNA C.L. McBeath to the Hon. MNA 5/9/47.*
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- WA SRO Acc 993 360/56—*Warburton Ranges Matters 18/11/58 from CNW Middleton to MNW*
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- WA SRO Acc 1733 66/65—*Warburton Ranges native matters Report Superintendent of Economic Development to CNW 1965.*
- WA SRO Acc 1733 66/65—*Warburton Ranges Native Matters, letter 27/4/65.*
- WA SRO Acc 993 1220/61 18/7/62—*Notes from meeting between MNW, CNW and UAM.*
- WA SRO Acc 1419 EG 23-1 18/8/54—*ADO Eastern Goldfields to Superintendent Cosmo Newbery Native Mission.*
- WA SRO Acc 1667 444/70—*Central Reserves 1/8/70 notes from DNW Scott Survey Steering Committee.*
- WA SRO Acc 1733 300/64—*Employment Survey Central Reserve and the Eastern Division, inc. Esperance and Kalgoorlie.*
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