

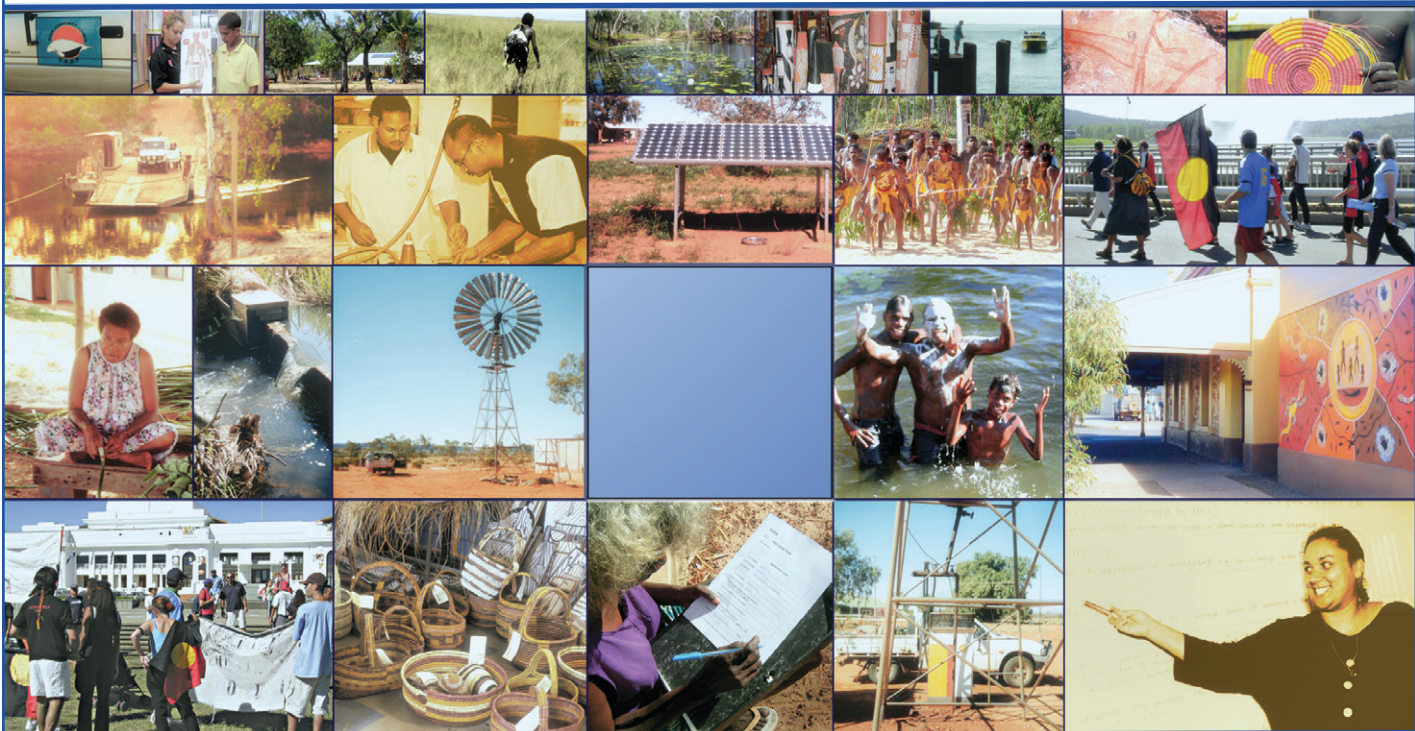
CENTRE FOR ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC
POLICY RESEARCH



Indigenous Cultural and Natural Resource Management Futures

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Indigenous cultural and natural resource management futures

A version of this Topical Issue was provided as a submission to the Australian Government's discussion paper *Review of Caring for Our Country: Australia's Natural Resource Management Investment Initiative*.¹

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INTRODUCTION

This Topical Issue engages with the *Review of Caring for Our Country: Australia's Natural Resource Management Investment Initiative* (henceforth CFoC) discussion paper, with a specific focus on lessons we have learnt from working with Indigenous peoples engaged in cultural and natural resource management (CNRM) projects in northern Australia and New South Wales. It is based on action research currently being undertaken under the five-year research project People on Country, Healthy Landscapes and Indigenous Economic Futures (PoC) and a related three-year project investigating the socioeconomic benefits of Aboriginal people being involved in the sustainable management of their country in NSW. Both projects are located at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR), Research School of Social Sciences, the Australian National University.

BACKGROUND

The PoC research project is collaborative, working with seven community-based Indigenous land and sea management (Caring for Country/ranger) groups in northern Australia currently engaged to varying degrees in CNRM activities (for more information see <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/index.php>>). These CNRM activities are undertaken across vast, biologically rich and diverse land and seascapes. Our Indigenous research partners in northern Australia include: Dhimurru Aboriginal Corporation; Djelk Rangers; Garawa Rangers; Waanyi/Garawa Rangers; Warddeken Land Management Ltd; Yirralka Rangers; and the Yugul Mangi Aboriginal Corporation.

CFoC:

*Review of Caring
for Our Country*

CNRM:

cultural and
natural resource
management

PoC:

People on
Country, Healthy
Landscapes
and Indigenous
Economic Futures

1. Available at <<http://www.nrm.gov.au/review/review-discussion-paper.html>>.

NRS:

National Reserve
System

IPA:

Indigenous
Protected Area

WoC:

Working on
Country

CDEP:

Community
Development
Employment
Projects scheme

NTER:

Northern Territory
Emergency
Response

Together, they manage in excess of 75,000 square kilometres of land as well as many thousands of square kilometres of sea country. Of these groups, four have added their land to the Australian National Reserve System (NRS) through establishing Indigenous Protected Areas (IPAs), with a further two in the stage-one IPA consultation process. The groups' predominant workforce of approximately 100 rangers are funded through the Australian Government's Working on Country (WoC) program.

It is important to note that all of these Caring for Country programs were Aboriginal initiatives that grew out of the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) program in the 1990s and 2000s and that some CDEP organisations and homeland and outstation resource organisations were instrumental as incubators for innovative CNRM programs. CDEP continues to play a vital role in the development and on-going management of the CNRM groups.

The PoC project was conceived in 2006 prior to the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) intervention and prior to the establishment of the WoC program in the 2007 budget. It has two aims. First, to assist Indigenous people living in remote regions of Australia to take advantage of emerging economic development opportunities in CNRM—examining how environmental management and livelihoods for Indigenous people living on the Indigenous estate might be both combined or bundled and improved (for more detail see Appendix 1: refs 2007/1, 2007/3, 2009/5, 2009/6, 2011/3). And, second to produce evidence-based research that can assist Indigenous CNRM groups reduce institutional barriers to growing the Indigenous land and sea management sector.

The New South Wales project on 'Socioeconomic benefits of Aboriginal engagement in sustainable management of country' began in 2009 and involves case study research with three Aboriginal organisations: Banbai Business Enterprises which manages two Indigenous Protected Areas on the northern tablelands; Nyambaga Green Team which undertakes environmental contracts in Gumbaynggirr country near Nambucca; and the Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council which has recently completed a major Land and Sea Country Management Plan. This project also undertook a major scoping study for the NSW Natural Resources Advisory Council on the social benefits of Aboriginal engagement in NRM in NSW (see 2009/16).

In this submission, while we primarily focus on Discussion Point 4 of the discussion document, we note that Indigenous Australians have substantial interests across all six national priority areas. Further, while we realise that both WoC and the IPA programs are Indigenous-specific, we also advocate for an approach that recognises environmental issues need to be considered holistically on a continental basis. This is especially so, because climate science indicates that biodiversity impacts will occur nationally and some early research in 2006 that inspired the PoC project indicated that the large areas of contiguous terrestrial estate now owned by Indigenous peoples could play a crucially important role in ameliorating climate change impacts on people, environments, ecosystems and natural resources (see 2007/3).

METHODOLOGY

During the life of these projects we have engaged in an active publications program in part for public education purposes, but also as input to policy making processes and for the strategic use of our partners. Appended to this submission is an annotated bibliography of 69 items that we believe are of relevance to CFoC. Most of these publications are available online on the CAEPR website.

We are aware that the Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities (DSEWPac), as part of the WoC review, has recently commissioned its own literature review of relevant material but thought it useful to provide comprehensive coverage of our research outputs. In places in

DSEWPac:

Department of
Sustainability,
Environment,
Water, Population
and Communities

this submission we make reference to these publications which are presented in the attached annotated bibliography using a shorthand referencing system (year/publication number e.g. 2007/3 which refers to our project's foundational publication).

DISCUSSION POINT 4: ENGAGING INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS

We welcome the statement that Indigenous participation in CFoC is a priority for the Commonwealth environment portfolio. From our experience environmental management is also a high priority for Indigenous land owners and custodians and residents on the Indigenous estate, many of whom have been required to undertake prolonged legal battles to regain ownership of their ancestral lands, sometimes in a degraded condition from emerging ecological threats and requiring significant rehabilitation and on-going management. Indigenous Australians now own an estimated 23 per cent of the continent (1.7 million sq kms). We term this the Indigenous estate and it includes some of the most biodiverse and intact ecosystems in Australia (see 2007/3, 2011/4).

Enduring Indigenous 'community-government' partnerships will be critically important, but it would be unwise to over-generalise either term: the Australian government is clearly conflicted in its approach to Indigenous development, and, within Indigenous communities too, there are diverse views on what form development should take, some favour natural resource and land conservation, others exploitation. Such political contestation over the nature of development should not be ignored, but should be openly debated as is currently occurring (12 May 2011) in parliamentary inquiries into the Queensland Wild Rivers laws (see 2010/2, 2010/3, 2011/1).

The DSEWPaC, clearly has two strategies for engaging Indigenous Australians in CNRM. One is through direct investment in Indigenous-specific programs—a number are listed at page 7 of the Discussion Paper. However, only IPA and WoC strike us as financially significant. The other is through moral suasion, urging regional NRM organisations to invest significantly in engaging Indigenous communities. Presumably such moral suasion also extends to State and Territory governments.

While the discussion paper acknowledges the unique knowledge and skills of Australia's Indigenous peoples which contribute significantly to Australia's NRM outcomes, it is important to note that Indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK) is often rooted in Indigenous languages and cultures and is often regionally specific. The primary vehicle for the intergenerational transfer of this valuable knowledge is through practice. Practice is enormously difficult or impossible when Indigenous peoples are unable to live on their country due to the failure of Australian governments to deliver citizenship services (see 2008/11, 2009/18, 2010/1). Interestingly, the discussion paper refers to the recording of 'traditional ecological knowledge' rather than promulgating its active use. We note also the importance of IEK not only in land and sea management activities, but also in the development of enterprises based on the utilisation of wildlife enterprises (see 2010/15, 2010/16).

Similarly there is reference to employment and training of hundreds of Indigenous rangers under the WoC program, but no mention of what form either the employment or training might take. We comment on this issue below.

We regard Indigenous engagement in CNRM as an intercultural process and this is a view shared by our project partners. In other words, the particular competitive advantage that both Indigenous rangers and Indigenous people living on their lands might enjoy is in the combination of Indigenous and western knowledge and techniques for effective CNRM (see 2007/2, 2008/2, 2008/3, 2009/17, 2010/1, 2011/2).

IEK:
Indigenous
ecological
knowledge

THEME 1: WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES FOR INDIGENOUS GROUPS UNDER THE CURRENT CARING FOR OUR COUNTRY MODEL?

The challenges for Indigenous groups are principally to gain access to resources to participate in CNRM. For example, Indigenous organisations received less than 3 per cent of NRM funds allocated by the Australian government between 1996 and 2005. This increased to 6.7 per cent under CFoC but considering that Indigenous Australians currently own and manage just under a quarter of the Australia's NRS urgent attention is needed to achieve equity and enable Indigenous communities to better play a crucial role in ameliorating the impacts of invasive species, altered fire regimes and climate change.

Resources can come from three sources, public sector funding, the private sector including philanthropic sources, and from voluntary labour. As a general rule the first two require some form of security of land tenure and this can be a hurdle for groups who do not own land, but wish to engage in CNRM.

For example, New South Wales (NSW) has the largest Indigenous population of any State or Territory, but Indigenous people own less than 1 per cent of the land. With minimal land holdings Aboriginal peoples here have very limited opportunities to develop Caring for Country initiatives, even where exclusive native title determinations have been granted to Indigenous groups. This challenge can be met in two ways. First, by increasing Aboriginal land holdings across NSW, and other States with minimal Indigenous land holdings. Second, by facilitating greater opportunities on public and privately held lands, including through improving funding and engagement by regional natural resource management bodies, such as Catchment Management Authorities (see 2009/16, 2010/17).

Another significant challenge for all Indigenous Australians is exercising management over their sea country and its resources which contribute valuable inputs to community diets (see 2009/7). The extension of the IPA program to include sea country would be one way to meet this challenge and close a significant management gap (see 2008/9).

While the CFoC program emphasises six national priority areas that have a clear environmental focus, we note that since 2007 Indigenous-specific programs also have an additional focus that seeks to engage with the COAG National Indigenous Reform Agreement and its Closing the Gap objectives. Our research indicates that Indigenous engagement in CNRM activities not only contributes to achieving national environmental goals and Indigenous aspirations, it can also make a significant contribution to the broader COAG goals for Indigenous Australians, notably in relation to employment and education targets. However, we have significant concerns that formal Closing the Gap goals might at times be in conflict with Indigenous aspirations and environmental goals. An example might be the focus in government policy on larger priority communities and Territory Growth Towns and an absence of any clear policy on outstations or homelands across northern and central Australia (see 2009/18, 2010/19). We have highlighted in a recent submission about the draft Indigenous Economic Development Strategy that it lacks appropriate reference to Indigenous engagement in NRM (see 2010/20) suggesting that other portfolios (like the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs) might be less sympathetic to Indigenous aspirations and DSEWPoC environmental goals than they should be.

Clearly the issue of capacity to deliver NRM and climate change outcomes is important if Indigenous peoples are going to manage the growing Indigenous estate as well as the growing number of Indigenous Protected Areas in accord with their nominated IUCN criteria. We again note that the Indigenous estate is now estimated to extend over nearly 23 per cent of the continent and that there is an aspiration to declare 40 additional IPAs by 2013. This suggests that the WoC program will need to grow at a rapid rate. But it also suggests that programs will need to be put in place to do two things. First, ensure that a cohort of indigenous rangers is appropriately trained and educated for the fast growing CNRM sector. We note a step in this direction in the 2011-12 Budget with a commitment to \$4.1 million

NSW:
New South Wales

over three years to Indigenous Ranger Cadetships to be trialed at six schools in 2012 and a further six more in 2013—with an investment of about \$140,000 per annum per school. And second, develop the governance capacity of local and regional Indigenous organisations that host CNRM programs to meet the growing role of CNRM across Australia.

Currently, there is significant focus on training Indigenous people as they enter formalised land and sea management programs. However, many Indigenous groups involved in land and sea management programs have been advocating for cultural and resource management issues to be included within school curricula and that 'learning through country', as has been trialed for a number of years in some regions, be adopted (see 2010/4, 2010/14). This is an extremely important area because, as noted above, one of the foundations of Indigenous land and sea management across northern Australia has been the merging of Indigenous and scientific knowledge systems or what Indigenous people refer to as 'two-way' learning/management. An example of this can be clearly seen in fire abatement projects where Aboriginal land owners working in partnership with western-trained scientists have adopted satellite imagery and geographic information systems to inform and implement their management decisions and scientists have utilised IEK to inform their science.

It is our view that training for increased Indigenous participation in NRM should begin long before young Indigenous people become 'rangers'. Education policy, especially for remote areas of Australia, should provide support for Indigenous land and sea management skills acquisition and vocational training, as such skills have application beyond CNRM activities (see 2010/4, 2010/14). Innovative approaches to education and training through participation in CNRM activities are also acting as an incentive to school retention and transformed behaviors in some NSW locations (see 2010/17, 2011/9). We are encouraged by the new Indigenous Ranger Cadetship Program but also note its very limited funding base.

Many indigenous groups interested in CNRM are small and have limited capacity to engage with CFoC funding processes and/or manage the funding. They are in need of a strong organisational base which can provide the management support for their CNRM aspirations and activities. The loss of CDEP programs, for example, in NSW, has reduced this capacity. While the Australian Government strengthened its own architecture for improved delivery of NRM funds to Indigenous Australians during the Natural Heritage Trust 1 process by establishing a network of Indigenous Land Management Facilitators, there was no assistance to improve the architecture of Indigenous governance organisations to receive or manage CNRM funds. There is an urgent need to address this inequity and fund governance and management capacity across Indigenous Australia (see 2008/10, 2009/6, 2010/17).

Another key challenge is the limited availability of information on the environmental condition of Australia at the national scale. We seem to be working with data that are of questionable integrity at the regional level. An appropriate precautionary focus in a rapid climate change situation should prioritise major conservation corridors and the need for investment in land purchase to complete such corridors and provide additional opportunities for enhanced Indigenous engagement. In our view, measurable strategic outcomes at a national scale will need a national strategic approach, not one that is based on a mere aggregation of regional NRM plans. It is far from clear if COAG plays a sufficient role in coordinating Commonwealth, State/Territory and regional NRM activities. It is our view that COAG should play this strategic role.

THEME 2: IN WHAT WAYS COULD THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT IMPROVE INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN'S PARTICIPATION IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT?

To some extent DSEWPaC needs to be commended as a government agency for being among the more responsive to Indigenous aspirations to live on, and especially work on, their land and sea country through CNRM. So, in our view, the Australian government could learn from the DSEWPaC approach that appears consultative and in many contexts relatively at arms length, thus allowing community-initiative and control. This is especially so in the case of declared IPAs that are in the form of agreements to implement community-developed IPA management plans.

Over the past four years we have canvassed a number of ways that the Australian government could improve Indigenous participation in CNRM. These include:

- To promulgate a public discourse that recognises and highlights the contribution that Indigenous involvement in CNRM makes on the Indigenous estate, through IPAs and in co-managed national parks—something the PoC project attempts to do with limited resources.
- To promulgate a development approach that recognises Indigenous aspirations to participate in CNRM that is participatory and acknowledges the livelihood opportunities from working and living on country (see 2007/1, 2007/2, 2008/4).
- To highlight the connections between Indigenous CNRM and some critical national priorities in the areas of carbon pollution reduction, climate change mitigation and biodiversity conservation (see 2008/5, 2008/6, 2008/11, 2009/3).
- To consider how the role of Indigenous people beyond the formal Indigenous estate might be enhanced especially in more settled regions where Indigenous land holdings are extremely limited owing to settler colonisation and land alienation (see 2009/16; 2010/17).
- To recognise the inter-connections between people living on country in a network of small outstation/homeland communities especially evident across the tropical savanna and central Australia and their formal (supported by DSEWPaC) as well as informal engagement in CNRM activities. There is little doubt that the effectiveness of Indigenous environmental services activities will be significantly limited without the support of outstations/homeland residents and their expertise (see 2009/1, 2009/18, 2010/19).
- To recognise the need for appropriate education and training in school and post-school contexts for careers in CNRM. We emphasise that there is some preliminary evidence that curriculum development and change of teaching emphasis might have a very beneficial impact on school attendance and conversely that educational attainments might positively impact on the effectiveness of CFoC funded Indigenous specific programs.
- To recognise the need for appropriate employment programs for rangers. It is noteworthy that the rapid growth of WoC from its original establishment in 2007 has now been enhanced by NTER intervention, the initial plans to abolish, now 'reform' the CDEP scheme, and then from 2008 to form concrete targets to help close the employment gaps. There is a possibility that WoC focuses too much on full-time rather than part-time work and that the role of CDEP (to be effectively abolished as a community-managed employment and development program from April 2012) as an incubator program for WoC has been overlooked (see 2007/2, 2008/1, 2008/8).

- To ensure that opportunities are provided for Indigenous people to be engaged in the various priority projects under other sections of the CFoC Business Plan 2011–2012 (e.g. coastal hotspots, critical aquatic ecosystems Ramsar wetlands, World Heritage Areas, invasive species management and improving native habitats etc).
- To recognise the importance of appropriate community-controlled host organisations for community-based ranger initiatives including IPAs. It is no coincidence, in our view, that some of the most robust ranger groups are linked as business units of large and successful Aboriginal organisations (see 2010/23). The issue of robust governance arrangements including financial management systems for ranger groups needs to be recognised and supported.
- To recognise the need to develop base line biodiversity and ecological data, with Indigenous peoples, to allow assessment of the environmental condition of Australia at appropriate scales and for monitoring of performance against environmental targets (see 2009/10, 2010/10, 2010/11, 2011/5, 2011/6, 2011/7).
- To develop policy further so that IPAs may be declared over sea country where Indigenous groups own the coastal zone (as in the Northern Territory) or have won sea country determinations (as in the Gulf of Carpentaria) and public lands possibly after completing Indigenous Land Use Agreements.

In our view investment time frames should be on a rolling 3 to 5 year basis, always contingent on annual performance reporting and perhaps subject to triennial review. It is far from clear what leverage the Australian government and DSEWPac exercise with the considerable Commonwealth investment in NRM to ensure complementary State and Territory investments. NRM business models that can leverage in private sector support should be facilitated and possibly rewarded, certainly not penalised with public sector support cutbacks.

It is important to ensure a national strategic approach and national leadership but without Canberra paternalism. Clearly COAG is an appropriate forum for discussing national NRM priorities and to marry these with State/Territory initiatives and investments, but there may be need to consider mechanisms to marry Indigenous priorities and perspectives into such an approach given significant Indigenous land assets. It might be appropriate for input to come from regional scale organisations like land councils and native title representative bodies into such planning frameworks. Because of the interdependence of ecosystems beyond State/Territory jurisdictions (most clearly evident in the Murray Darling Basin) there is a need for joint agreements for action and inclusion. There is always a risk of freeloading by a particular jurisdiction and it is clearly not in the national interest for the Australian government to penalise under-investment. Such a prospect constitutes a particular form of moral hazard that needs careful consideration. Given how much there is to do it is hard to believe that there could be duplication of effort.

THEME 3: ARE THE TARGETS THAT ARE INDIGENOUS-SPECIFIC APPROPRIATE AND DO THEY EFFECTIVELY ENGAGE INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT?

It is far from clear what targets are being referred to here; targets in terms of expansion of the IPA share of the NRS (beyond the current 24%) or targets in terms of NRM outcomes.

In terms of the former, the scale of the Indigenous share of the NRS suggests that there may be a need for considered strategic planning of what parts of the Indigenous estate are included in the NRS and a systematic approach to the declaration and resourcing of IPAs. At present one gets the impression that declaration is in part demand driven and in part linked to the organisational capacity of groups. While

these are clearly relevant criteria, a more strategic, systematic approach to identifying priority areas of the Indigenous estate suitable for inclusion in the NRS would be beneficial. This will require some additional capacity development support for relevant Indigenous groups.

In terms of the DESWPaC NRM outcome targets we are acutely aware that there is very limited biological and ecological baseline data that would allow for effective monitoring of performance against environmental targets. This leaves both DSEWPaC and Indigenous land owners and their ranger groups vulnerable to suggestions that the environmental benefits of public investments cannot be clearly demonstrated. We are also acutely aware from our work in Indigenous affairs over many years that such negative suggestions are likely to have more traction in public debate about Indigenous CNRM groups than in relation to non-Indigenous activities or the activities of state environmental and parks agencies.

Community capacity in remote Indigenous Australia in particular is high when people live on country because they have an intimate knowledge of the environment that is linked to their making a livelihood off country and being dependent on natural resources. All too often false distinctions are made between formal and informal NRM activities, with the latter being unrecognised and usually unremunerated.

Robust community-based organisations are well positioned to deliver CNRM outcomes which provide significant benefits to all Australians, but they need to be realistically resourced and supported to focus their activities on environmental objectives. This is especially so in remote regions where robust well-resourced organisations are rare and rangers can be diverted from core business by other pressing needs like supporting remote outstations during extreme weather events etc.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We end with the following set of recommendations that we regard as the minimum requirement for sustainable Indigenous Caring for Country:

1. Align the whole-of-governments response to Indigenous policy development so that it reflects Indigenous aspirations, recognises and supports Indigenous CNRM and its crucial role in ameliorating climate change impacts on populations, ecosystems, and natural resources.
2. Address the NRM inequity issue and increase funding and governance support to Indigenous organisations that manage CNRM operations so that they can develop to meet the challenges of their on-going role in local and regional CNRM issues and continue to play an important role as incubators of innovation and partnerships.
3. Include CNRM, learning through country, within school curricula, especially, but not exclusively, in remote area Indigenous schools and develop more 'two-way' post-school training opportunities in CNRM.
4. Collect 'two-way' biological and ecological base-line data, with Indigenous peoples, to allow for effective and meaningful monitoring of performance against environmental targets.
5. Grow Indigenous land holdings and facilitate Indigenous participation in NRM in more settled regions of Australia.
6. Formally extend the IPA program over sea country so that a significant management gap can be closed.
7. Develop 3 to 5 year investment time-frames on a rolling basis, contingent on annual performance reporting and triennial review.

APPENDIX 1

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF KEY CAEPR CNRM OUTPUTS 2007–11

2007

1. Altman, J.C. 'Alleviating poverty in remote Indigenous Australia: The role of the hybrid economy', Addressing Poverty: Alternative Economic Approaches, *Development Bulletin*, No. 72, March: 47–51, <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/system/files/Publications/topical/Altman_Poverty.pdf>, also published as *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 10/2007*, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2007TI10.php>>.

The various 'poverty traps', such as extremely high effective marginal tax rates, that Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) people in remote and very-remote Australia face are outlined in this paper. The situation of Indigenous Australians is compared to 'Third World' contexts, particularly in the Pacific, and whilst there are many similarities, the central role of the state in supporting customary and market activity for remote Indigenous Australians is distinctive. This paper emphasises the key role of the customary or non-market sector in addressing Indigenous poverty in Australia, and in particular the opportunities and benefits of Indigenous natural resource management.

2. Altman, J. 'Working on Country program: merging indigenous knowledge and science'. Crikey, 4 June 2007, <<http://www.crikey.com.au/2007/06/04/working-on-country-program-merging-indigenous-knowledge-and-science/>>.

The Federal government's commitment to the Working on Country program is seen as "a symbolic and practical breakthrough in recognising, respecting, and recurrently resourcing innovative community-based resource management efforts on the indigenous-owned estate". This article acknowledges the role the Northern Land Council has played in supporting community ranger projects, often through CDEP. The environmental significance of the Indigenous estate is described before an exploration of the ways in which the Working on Country program could be an important part of both natural resource management and addressing Indigenous poverty.

3. Altman, J.C., Buchanan, G. J., and Larsen, L. 'The environmental significance of the Indigenous estate: Natural resource management as economic development in remote Australia', *CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 286*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/DP/2007DP286.php>>.

This paper addresses a significant gap in the literature regarding the biodiversity and environmental values of Indigenous land holdings by overlaying a conservatively-sized estimate of the Indigenous estate with several resource atlas maps, such as those depicting bioregions, environmental threats and degree of land and river disturbance. Payment for Environmental Services (PES) on the Indigenous estate is cited as an opportunity for activity in all sectors of the hybrid economy. The role of CDEP in providing base-level wages for rangers in Indigenous Protected Areas is acknowledged.

2008

1. Altman, J. Submission to the Senate Select Committee on Regional and Remote Indigenous Communities, with a focus on CDEP, 10 June, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/indig_ctte/submissions/sub23.pdf>.

Altman describes CDEP as the most significant program for regional and remote Indigenous communities. The submission was provided to the Northern Territory government in response to its Discussion Paper on CDEP in March 2008 and to the Australian government in response to its Discussion Paper in May of the same year. It recommends better resourcing of successful CDEP organisations, enhanced resourcing per CDEP participant, and realistic consideration of the interdependencies between mainstream agencies and CDEP organisations in service delivery to Indigenous people in remote and regional Australia. Altman notes the many positive reviews of CDEP, and suggests that investing in synergies between CDEP and other government initiatives, such as Working on Country and carbon trading programs, is preferable to another review of CDEP.

2. Altman, J. 'Different governance for difference: The Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation', in J. Hunt, D.E. Smith, S. Garling, and W. Sanders (eds), *Contested Governance: Culture, Power and Institutions in Indigenous Australia*, CAEPR Research Monograph No. 29, ANU E Press, Canberra, pp. 175–201, <http://epress.anu.edu.au/caepr_series/no_29/pdf_instructions.html>.

This chapter charts the organisational history of the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation (BAC), an outstation resource agency based in Maningrida, north-central Arnhem Land, from its establishment in 1979 until late 2007. Altman discusses how BAC has navigated the tensions between market-based and kin-based forms of governance and accountability. BAC is a dynamic organisation with a frequently changing all-Aboriginal executive and a more constant non-Indigenous senior management. In recent times BAC has had to respond to new challenges created by the Northern Territory Emergency Response. Altman notes that the success and robustness of BAC is a crucial example. Ongoing success depends, to some degree, on the state tolerating difference.

3. Altman J.C, assisted by Branchut, V. 'Fresh water in the Maningrida region's hybrid economy: Intercultural contestation over values and property rights', *CAEPR Working Paper No. 46*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, vi+43pp. <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2008WP46.php>>.

This paper looks at the role of the Djelk Rangers in water management at outstations in the region. Two ways to develop the regional economy are canvassed: expanding each sector of the hybrid economy or altering the combination of sectoral activity with policy driving the expansion of private and public activity. Access to water free of charge in Maningrida is key to economic ventures, including the myriad activities undertaken by Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation. This paper calls for more clarity and transparency in water governance and proposes a reconceptualisation of water wherein the full property rights of Indigenous Australians in Arnhem Land are recognised.

4. Altman, J., and Jackson, S. 'Indigenous land and sea management', in P. Lindenmayer, S. Dovers, M. Harris-Olsen and S. Morton (eds), *Ten Commitments: Reshaping the Lucky Country's Environment*, CSIRO Publishing, Melbourne, pp. 207–214.

Indigenous Australians reclaim and manage a significant portion of Australia (approximately 20%), with much of this land of great environmental value. This book chapter cites opportunities (commercial, managerial, and conservation) to promote and expand Indigenous land and sea management and calls for greater resource investment, knowledge exchange, and access to country to do so. It presents the case for greater recognition of Indigenous interests in new forms of property, including fresh water, carbon, and biodiversity offsets, which would pave the way for greater engagement with Payment for Environmental Services scenarios. This in turn would be compatible with other activities, such as art and craft production.

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5. Altman, J., and Jordan, K. 'Impact of Climate Change on Indigenous Australians: Submission to the Garnaut Climate Change Review', 11 April. *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 03/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI3.php>>.

This submission draws on research from CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 286 (see 2007/3). Indigenous Australians could be especially vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, in terms of their health, economic status and, especially in remote areas, environmental uncertainty. However, there are also opportunities in areas where they have comparative advantage, such as carbon trading. Australia lags behind other 'developed' countries in exploring the effects of climate change on Indigenous people; the emerging research agenda in this area needs to be developed.

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6. Altman, J., and Jordan, K. Submission to the Department of Climate Change, a response to the Australian Government's 'Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (Green Paper)', 10 September, <<http://www.climatechange.gov.au/en/government/submissions/cprs-green-paper/~media/submissions/greenpaper/0233-altman-jordan.ashx>>.

This submission includes the document above as an attachment. The authors note that the Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme Green Paper is vague on including and consulting with Indigenous land managers, and state that such inclusion is vital to ensure that the scheme does not further disadvantage Indigenous Australians. They suggest that reforestry be considered as eligible for offset credits and that feral animal management on the Indigenous estate be recognised, based on consultation with Indigenous land managers, as both reducing methane emissions and conserving biodiversity. This submission recommends that the Department of Climate Change release a 'Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme and Indigenous Australians' fact sheet, given that the issues involved are complex and may impact Indigenous Australians disproportionately.

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7. Altman, J.C., and Jordan, K. Submission to the Senate Community Affairs Committee Inquiry into Government Expenditure on Indigenous Affairs and Social Services in the Northern Territory, October, <http://www.aph.gov.au/senate/committee/clac_ctte/gov_exp_indig_affairs/submissions/sublist.htm>.

This submission outlines the structural reasons why the level of service provision and outcomes achieved in Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory are suboptimal in relation to expenditure. These include substitution funding, a lack of clarity in the division of responsibilities between Commonwealth and Territory governments, a failure to adequately distinguish capital from recurrent funding, a lack of distinction between positive and negative funding, a failure to adequately address Indigenous aspirations, and underfunding of Outstation Resource Agencies. Altman and Jordan recommend the negotiation of a new Memorandum of Understanding between the Australian and Northern Territory Governments that addresses the capital and recurrent needs of Indigenous people in the Northern Territory; an inquiry into the funding of outstations and Outstation Resource Agencies and review and resolution of the role of payments from land use agreements on Indigenous-owned land.

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8. Altman, J.C., and Kerins, S. Submission to the Senate Standing Committee on Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport Inquiry into Natural Resource Management and Conservation Challenges, 29 August, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/rrat_ctte/natural_resource/submissions/sub43.pdf>, also published as *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 15/2008*, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI16.php-0>>.

Employment opportunities in cultural and natural resource management for Indigenous people where they reside are culturally, economic and environmentally significant. This submission discusses Caring for Country initiatives and how they were affected by the Northern Territory Emergency Response. It recommends that the importance of a peopled landscape be recognised; that Caring for Country and Caring for Sea Country programs be adequately funded; the important support role that CDEP and Outstation Resource Agencies play be acknowledged; care be taken to appropriately invest in and develop Working on Country; and an assessment of additional jobs that could be generated in land and sea management be undertaken as a matter of urgency.

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9. Altman, J., and Kerins, S. Submission to the Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Communications and the Arts Inquiry into the Operation of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999, 22 September, *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 13/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI13.php>>.

This submission discusses the first ten years of operation of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 (EPBC) as it relates to the formalisation of Indigenous land and sea management programs. Under the EPBC, Indigenous wild resource users have 'passive' use rights but not 'active' management rights. Recommendations include that the Indigenous Protected Areas framework include sea country; and that a more holistic approach to environmental programs be developed so that Indigenous land and sea management organisations can make integrated plans for their regions in concert with one another and informed by their own priorities for the management of critical habitats. Linking caring for country activities to school curriculum is another possibility. The paper identifies a shortfall in funding for Indigenous land and sea management governance.

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10. Altman, J., Kerins, S., Ens, E., and Buchanan, G. Submission to the Independent Review of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999, 21 December, <<http://www.environment.gov.au/epbc/review/submissions/pubs/130-centre-for-aboriginal-economic-policy-research-anu.pdf>>.

This submission focuses on how the EPBC Act interacts with the Indigenous estate and Indigenous land and sea management. It reviews Altman and Kerins' submission (2008/9 above), outlining the need for policy and program innovation to provide holistic support for the expansion of Indigenous community-based land and sea management on the Indigenous estate. Specific recommendations include: recognise the right of traditional owners to actively manage their country; invest in the development of comprehensive land and sea management plans and the development of Indigenous governance of land and sea country; and implement whole-of-governments approach so as to lessen the administrative burden on Indigenous land and sea organisations.

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11. Altman, J., Kerins, S., Fogarty, B., and Webb, K. 'Why the Northern Territory Government needs to support outstations/homelands in the Aboriginal, Northern Territory and national interest', submission to the Northern Territory Government Outstation Policy Discussion Paper, December, *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 17/2008*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2008TI17.php>>.

Aboriginal people living on outstations/homelands create benefits in the critical areas of biodiversity management, ecosystem maintenance, coastal surveillance, border protection and biosecurity. Successful initiatives like the West Arnhem Land Fire Abatement (WALFA) project, where Indigenous ranger groups offset greenhouse gas emissions through active savanna fire management, depend on people living on outstations/homelands. Some Commonwealth government support, such as Indigenous Protected Area and Working on Country programs, acknowledge the importance of Aboriginal people living on and managing country, yet little other support is provided. The authors call for a carefully-planned outstations policy developed with adequate input from Indigenous people and organisations. More equitable resourcing and cooperation between the Commonwealth and Northern Territory governments are also identified as ways forward.

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12. Hunt, J., Smith, D. E., Garling, S., and Sanders, W. (eds), *Contested Governance: Culture, Power and Institutions in Indigenous Australia*, CAEPR Research Monograph No. 29, ANU E Press, Canberra, <http://epress.anu.edu.au/caepr_series/no_29/pdf_instructions.html>.

This edited volume examines the nature of the contestation and negotiation between Australian governments, their agents, and Indigenous groups over the appropriateness of different governance processes, values and practices, and over the application of related policy, institutional and funding frameworks within Indigenous affairs. The long-term, comparative study reported in this book was national in coverage, and community and regional in focus. It brought together a multidisciplinary team to work with partner communities and organisations to investigate Indigenous governance arrangements—the processes, structures, scales, institutions, leadership, powers, capacities, and cultural foundations—across rural, remote and urban settings. The findings suggest that the facilitation of effective, legitimate governance should be a policy, funding and institutional imperative for all Australian governments.

2009

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1. Altman, J. 'No Movement on outstations', Op Ed, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 May, <<http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/no-movement-on-the-outstations-20090525-bkq5.html>>.

This opinion piece describes the outstations movement of the 1970s, noting that Aboriginal people maintained and expanded outstations by and large without material support. As part of the NTER, responsibility for outstations shifted from the Commonwealth government to the Northern Territory government. The latter released its outstations policy framework, 'Working Futures', in 2009. However the policy focuses on service delivery for 20 'Territory Growth Towns', or larger centres, not outstations. Altman cites research demonstrating that the quality of life on outstations is better, and hence that outstations are instrumental to 'closing the gap'. Supporting Aboriginal people managing their country is in the national interest.

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2. Altman, J.C., and Arthur, W.S., Commercial Water and Indigenous Australians: A Scoping Study of Licence Allocations, *CAEPR Working Paper No. 57/2009*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2009WP57.php>>.

This paper is the result of a scoping exercise commissioned by the National Water Commission to study commercial water licences and allocations to Indigenous people across Australia, except the ACT. The absence of a database of Indigenous businesses inhibits investigations such as this one. Data quality and coverage varies by jurisdiction, and individual managers hold much local knowledge, however this could be improved if the volumetric data used in NSW was adopted by other states and territories. This preliminary exercise was more successful in documenting licences than allocations, and can be seen as a starting point in the creation of a more detailed database that could come in the form of a national Indigenous water register.

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3. Altman, J.C., Biddle, N., and Jordan, K. Contributing authors to 'Climate change impacts on livelihoods', in D. Green, S. Jackson and J. Morrison (eds), *Risks from Climate Change to Indigenous Communities in the Tropical North of Australia*, Department of Climate Change, Canberra, pp.66–75, <<http://www.climatechange.gov.au/en/publications/adaptation/risks-from-climate-change-to-indigenous-communities.aspx>>.

This chapter describes the ways in which Indigenous livelihoods in the Northern Territory are highly reliant on natural resources and thus could be dramatically affected by climate change. However, climate change also represents new opportunities, particularly in terms of activities and industries targeting a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions. There is a lack of direct incentives, and indeed the presence of disincentives (e.g. economic opportunities in the north often require that native vegetation be cleared), for Indigenous people to manage their lands with a view to carbon sequestration.

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4. Altman, J.C., and Jordan, K., 'Maningrida region, Arnhem Land, Northern Territory', in D. Green, S. Jackson and J. Morrison (eds), *Risks from Climate Change to Indigenous Communities in the Tropical North of Australia*, Department of Climate Change, Canberra, pp. 99–106, <<http://www.climatechange.gov.au/en/publications/adaptation/risks-from-climate-change-to-indigenous-communities.aspx>>.

This chapter discusses the importance of water-reliant natural resources to the customary economy in Maningrida. Cyclone Monica in 2006 is cited as an example of the direct and indirect impacts severe weather events can have on Indigenous communities, as well as the ability of residents to cope and adapt. The authors recommend extensive consultation with Aboriginal residents to understand local needs in preparing a policy response to climate change.

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5. Altman, J., Jordan, K., Kerins, S., Buchanan, G., Biddle, N., Ens, E., and May, K. Indigenous rights and interests in land and water, in *Sustainable Development of Northern Australia, A Report to Government from the Northern Australia Land and Water Taskforce*, Report for CSIRO, Northern Australia Land & Water Taskforce Work Plan, Chapter 7, <http://www.nalwt.gov.au/files/Chapter_07-Indigenous_interests_in_land_and_water.pdf>.

Many Indigenous people in northern Australia achieve their livelihood through a mixture of customary activity and state-supported market exchange. Water is significant both for customary and commercial economic engagement, including the customary harvest of wildlife and floral species, agricultural and pastoral operations, commercial art sales, nature and cultural tourism, safari/conservation hunting, plant propagation, commercial wildlife and bush foods ventures and land and sea management. All of these depend on natural resources, thus the livelihoods of Indigenous people may be put at risk with the expansion or development of water-reliant industries in northern Australia and ongoing effects of climate change.

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6. Altman, J.C., Kerins, S., Ens, E., Buchanan, G., and May, K. Submission to the Review of the National Biodiversity Strategy: Indigenous people's involvement in conserving Australia's biodiversity, *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 08/2009*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2009TI9.php>>.

The authors argue that Australia's Biodiversity Conservation Strategy 2010–2020 Consultation Draft does not adequately address the role of Indigenous peoples in biodiversity management because it fails to recognise the significant contribution Indigenous Australians make through land and sea management programs beyond Indigenous Protected Areas. Support is expressed for the Consultation Draft's positioning of increased Indigenous involvement as a priority for change. But it is suggested that existing involvement could be better recognised and supported into the future through the expansion of IPA and WoC; supporting Indigenous access to country; providing equitable recognition, remuneration and resourcing of Indigenous people's involvement in biodiversity conservation; supporting local Indigenous organisations in governance and creating land and sea management plans; and adopting best practice in recognising Indigenous customary and commercial use of biodiversity resources.

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7. Buchanan, G., with Altman, J., Arthur, B., Oades, D., and the Bardi Jawi Rangers "Always Part of Us" The socioeconomics of Indigenous customary use and management of dugong and marine turtles: A view from Bardi Jawi sea country, Western Australia', Research report, North Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance, Darwin, <http://www.nailsma.org.au/publications/always_part_of_us.html>.

This report was commissioned by the North Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance (NAILSMA) as part of its Dugong and Marine Turtle Project. It describes the situation in northern Australia, with a detailed case study resulting from collaborative research by the Bardi Jawi Rangers in the West Kimberley region and CAEPR staff, examining harvest and management activities over a 12 month period. Opportunities exist for hybrid solutions combining Indigenous and Western forms of knowledge and expertise regarding sustainability, economic and social value and viability in wildlife management. The report recommends that the economic, cultural and social value of customary use of sea country resources be recognised in policy-making.

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8. Bulloch, H. Indigenous *Freshwater Rights Topic Guide*, CAEPR, Canberra, 21pp, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/docs/FreshwaterRightsGuide.php>>.

Written as a research tool, this topic guide provides synopses of key readings on Indigenous interests in freshwater in Australia. The topic guide includes issues relating to inland waters, groundwater, rivers, billabongs and water-reliant terrestrial ecosystems; water supply and sanitation fall outside of its purview. Key themes include water management and reform, water property rights and the ways Indigenous Australians value water, each with introductions, key readings and further readings.

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9. Ens, E. *Report on Yugul Mangi feral animal exclusion project*, Yugul Mangi Land and Sea Management Corporation, NT.

This report documents a feral animal exclusion fence and ecological monitoring project in SE Arnhem Land. It outlines where and how the fences were constructed as well as the monitoring methods which used CyberTracker to quantify changes in ground surface and ground cover features (including bush tucker species), water quality testing and plant surveys. This ongoing project is facilitating Ranger capacity building for ecological monitoring, fencing and critical analysis of environmental threats to country; raised community awareness of impacts of feral animals; biodiversity and freshwater conservation.

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10. Ens, E. *Yirralka Rangers CyberTracker User Guide*, Report to Yirralka Rangers and the Laynhapuy Homelands Association.

This report outlines how to use the CyberTracker sequence developed by Dr Ens and the Yirralka Rangers to monitor changes in ground surface, ground cover and water quality features following feral pig and buffalo control. This project is building the capacity of Rangers to monitor the ecological outcomes of their work as well as providing evidence of outcomes to external parties.

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11. Ens, E. *Djelk billabong and feral animal damage monitoring: Information and instruction guide*, Report to Djelk Rangers and Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation.

This report outlines how to use the CyberTracker sequence that was developed by Dr Ens and the Djelk Rangers to monitor changes in ground surface, ground cover (including bush tucker species) and water quality features in 12 billabongs in the Djelk IPA that were under different buffalo management strategies (no-cull, safari hunting, customary harvest and extensive cull). This project is building the capacity of Rangers to monitor the ecological outcomes of their work; providing ecological evidence of work outcomes; and informing local decision-makers about the ecological and cultural effects of various feral animal management strategies.

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12. Ens, E. with the Djelk and Warddeken Rangers. *Western and Central Arnhem Land Grassy Weed Strategy*.

This strategy document includes biological information and control strategies for several grassy weeds that are prevalent in central and western Arnhem Land. This project has helped to increase local awareness about the biology and control strategies for these species. Following this report a two-year management plan has been developed for several Indigenous Ranger groups and other regional stakeholders including mining companies, Telstra, West Arnhem Shire Council and the NT Government. This is facilitating regional capacity to reduce the potential impacts of these weeds and conserve biodiversity.

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13. Ens, E., Kalkiwarra, M., Namarnyilk, S., Namundja, S., Towler, G., and Vallance, G. *Collecting plants in the Warddeken IPA*, Report for Warddeken Land Management Limited.

This is a guide for Rangers and the local Indigenous community on how to collect, press and document information for plant surveys in the Warddeken IPA. This project has helped to build the biodiversity surveys skills of Rangers as well as to develop a baseline for botanical evaluation of the region and for future measurement of the outcomes of Ranger management.

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14. Ens, E., and Kerins, S. *Management Strategy for Feral Pigs (Sus scrofa) in the Laynhapuy Indigenous Protected Area, North East Arnhem Land, Australia 2009–2011*, Prepared with and for traditional owners from Laynhapuy homelands for the Laynhapuy Homelands Association.

This document describes the biology, ecology and impacts of pigs, as well as local Indigenous perceptions, the advantages and disadvantages of control measures and a strategic management plan which includes culling and monitoring of outcomes. This has helped to develop Ranger capacity to manage feral pigs in the Laynhapuy IPA and develop a coordinated monitoring program that includes both Indigenous and non-Indigenous methods. The monitoring methods include use of CyberTracker to collect ground surface, ground cover (including bush tucker species) and water quality information which could be used to assess the outcomes of the management plan.

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15. Ens, E., Vallance, G., Namundja, S., GarIngarr, B., Gurwalwal, B., Cooke, P., and McKenzie, K. 'Catching Kordbolbok: From Frog Survey to Closing the Gap in Arnhem Land' *CAEPR Working Paper No. 59*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2009WP59.php>>.

This report documents the outcomes of a frog survey in the Warddeken IPA and was designed to contribute to the baseline biodiversity information for the area. Twenty-two species are recorded (including the cane toad) of which one is likely to be a new species to science. Since this publication the survey has continued and this has further developed Ranger and community capacity for biodiversity surveying using sound recording, photography and CyberTracker technologies.

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16. Hunt, J., Altman, J.C., and May, K. 'Social benefits of Aboriginal engagement in natural resource management, report to Natural Resource Advisory Council', NSW, *CAEPR Working Paper No. 60*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2009WP60.php>>.

This paper documents the wide variety of ways Aboriginal people are involved in CNRM in NSW—on public, private and Aboriginal owned land—and the emergent socio-economic benefits. It highlights some of the barriers to increased involvement and canvasses a range of opportunities for strengthening Aboriginal engagement in CNRM in NSW, illustrated with a number of valuable case studies. This paper provides a number of recommendations for action, including a clearer rights-based policy framework across all government agencies in NSW (as is being developed in Victoria); expediting the backlog of claims pending under the NSW Land Rights Act; the transfer of particular State Forests to Aboriginal people to be maintained as Indigenous Protected Areas; strengthening Indigenous employment, procurement and tendering strategies in cultural and natural resource management; a whole of governments policy approach to Aboriginal development through cultural and natural resource management.

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17. Jackson, S. and Altman, J. 'Indigenous rights and water policy: Perspectives from tropical north Australia', *Australian Indigenous Law Review*, 13 (1): 27–48, <[http://www.ilc.unsw.edu.au/sites/ilc.unsw.edu.au/files/mdocs/13\(1\)_Jackson%20&%20Altman.pdf](http://www.ilc.unsw.edu.au/sites/ilc.unsw.edu.au/files/mdocs/13(1)_Jackson%20&%20Altman.pdf)>.

Jackson and Altman outline findings of an applied research and policy development project undertaken in 2007 for the Indigenous Water Policy Group. The article examines Maningrida and Katherine as case studies. Seasonal availability of water is crucial for customary activity, indeed, fresh water is one of the most valuable resources for Indigenous Australians. Indigenous perspectives on water, constituted by diverse customary and Western social norms, are outlined, as well as the ways in which the dominant paradigm for water management tends to ignore this intercultural reality and the myriad values of water (including religious and livelihood) beyond the market.

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18. Kerins, S. 'The first ever Northern Territory Homelands/Outstations policy'. *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, 7 (14) also available as *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 09/2009*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2009TI9.php-0>>.

This paper focuses on the Northern Territory government's first ever homeland/outstation policy and how it missed the rare opportunity to recognise service delivery as a two-way process—one where governments provide citizenship entitlements to indigenous Australians living in remote regions and, in turn, enjoy the crucially important services Indigenous communities provide to wider Australia through biodiversity management, ecosystem maintenance, coastal surveillance, border protection and bio-security.

2010

1. Altman, J. 'What future for remote Indigenous Australia?: Economic hybridity and the neoliberal turn', in J. Altman and M. Hinkson (eds), *Culture Crisis: Anthropology and Politics in Aboriginal Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 259–280.

Here Altman critiques the National Indigenous Reform Agreement ('Closing the Gap') for being a technical and managerial approach that does not allow for Indigenous difference and diversity, particularly in remote Australia. The hybrid economy is presented as an 'approach that can encompass a wider set of economic forms and intercultural values'. Most productive activity occurs where different sectors meet. Art production and ranger activities in remote Aboriginal Australia are used as examples of intercultural, and inter-sectoral, production. Cybertracker use in ranger programs is cited as an example of hybrid use of technology. The hybrid economy might be a useful framework for Aboriginal people in remote Australia to mount political arguments for more equitable access to resources.

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2. Altman, J. 'Wild Rivers', *Arena Magazine*, No. 106 (June–July): 11–13, <www.arena.org.au>.

The Cape York Wild Rivers issue is here framed in the broader context of resource rights for Indigenous Australians. Commercial market or tradeable rights (including water and carbon) must accompany land and native title rights for Indigenous poverty to be adequately addressed. Altman argues that the Wild Rivers Bill should be supported, but that its provisions should be extended nation-wide lest its exclusive application to Cape York exacerbate regional variability in land rights and native title frameworks. To this end, the Native Title Act 1993 should be amended to confer full resource rights or provide the free prior informed consent rights found in the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976. This could assist in closing some socio-economic gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

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3. Altman, J. 'Wild Rivers and Informed Consent on Cape York', Submission to the Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Legislation Committee Inquiry into Wild Rivers (Environmental Management) Bill 2010 [No.2], Submission No. 14, available as *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 02/2010*, March, 5 pp., <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2010TI2.php>>.

This submission focuses on the property rights implications of the Bill and how it might impact on Indigenous economic development. Altman advocates for increased leverage for Indigenous people in the Native Title Act, either through 'special law' resource rights or free prior informed consent rights, so that the commercial advantage open to Indigenous land owners can be realised. Altman suggests that it would be more productive to bolster the native title regimes nationally, rather than override this State law.

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4. Altman, J., and Fogarty, B. 'Indigenous Australians as 'No Gaps' subjects: Education and development in remote Indigenous Australia', in I. Snyder and J. Nieuwenhuysen (eds), *Closing the Gap in Education: Improving Outcomes in Southern World Societies*, Monash University Publishing, Melbourne, 112–132.

Altman and Fogarty contest the notion that closing the gap in education will improve Indigenous socioeconomic outcomes. They suggest that innovative education targeted to the various vocational needs in the hybrid economies of remote Australia is required, rather than a mainstream statistical approach. The case studies of Ranger activities in Warddeken and Djelk Indigenous Protected Areas in western Arnhem Land are used. The authors advise that educational policy for remote areas of Australia should provide support for Indigenous land and sea management skills transfer and vocational training.

5. Bulliwana, K., Namundja, S., Ens, E., and Vallance, G. 'Looking for Kordbolbok (frogs) in the Warddeken IPA', *Kantri Laif*, Issue 6 July 2010, North Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance, Darwin, p.18–19, <http://www.nailsma.org.au/nailsma/publications/downloads/Kantri_laif_6_small_res.pdf>.

This report on the Warddeken frog surveys was collaboratively written by two female Warddeken Rangers, the Ranger coordinator (Vallance) and Dr Ens. It documents the two-way methods used to conduct the survey and the species collected, including cane toads and one new species). This promoted enhanced literacy and administration capacity for the Rangers and increased community awareness of the work they are doing.

6. Bulliwana, K., Namarnyilk, E., Namundja, S., Vallance, G., and Ens, E., *Warddeken Frog Field Guide*, Warddeken Land Management Limited.

This field guide was developed collaboratively by the Manwurrk Rangers, Ranger coordinator (Vallance) and Dr Ens for use in further frog surveys on the Arnhem Plateau by the Rangers and the community. It includes photos of frogs and where they were found, with space for the inclusion of more locations. The field guide was used on the latest annual 'Stone Country Walk' where over one hundred local Indigenous people traversed a traditional walking route led by senior Traditional Owners and facilitated by Warddeken LML in collaboration with the Djelk Rangers.

7. Campion, F., Campion, S., England, J., Gulwa, H., Richards, S., Rostron, T., Kelly, J., and Ens, E., *Buffalo Culling and Wetlands Monitoring*, Report to Djelk Rangers and Bawininga Aboriginal Corporation.

This report outlines the progress and preliminary results of a billabong monitoring project with the Djelk women Rangers which assessed the ecological and cultural outcomes of different feral animal management strategies. The report was collaboratively written by the Djelk women Rangers and Dr. Ens to inform the community about the project and early findings. It shows that buffalo and pig culling facilitated the significant auto-recovery of billabongs where the ground surface is recovering, ground cover (including bush tucker species - water chestnut and water lilies) is increasing and water quality is also improving. After the first year of monitoring where safari hunting and no-cull options were taking place, the buffalo and pig damage was increasing; and where customary harvest was taking place the damage remained low.

8. Ens, E., Cooke, P., Nadjamerrek, R., Namundja, S., Garlingarr, V., and Yibarbuk, D., 'Combining Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Knowledge to Assess and Manage Feral Water Buffalo Impacts on Perennial Freshwater Springs of the Aboriginal-Owned Arnhem Plateau, Australia'. *Environmental Management*, 45 (4): 751–758, <<http://www.springerlink.com/content/6r61k28684m7074n>>.

This paper details baseline conditions of seven upland spring flats in the Warddeken IPA which were to experience different feral animal management strategies in the future. These wetlands are locally considered threatened by feral buffalo and pigs and this project was designed to quantify the level of damage and whether the wetlands would recover following different levels of culling.

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9. Ens, E., Daniels, C., Thompson, W., Ponto, S., Rogers, K., Roy, J., Dixon, P., and Nelson, E. 'Combining Indigenous ecological knowledge and western science to study the decline in fruit production of a favoured bush tucker shrub, Djutpi, near Ngukurr, Northern Territory'. *Ecological Management and Restoration*, 11(2): 146–147.

This paper investigates the use of Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge to explain decline in fruit production of Djutpi, a bush tucker species near Ngukurr in SE Arnhem Land. It was concluded that the decline was likely to be due to non-customary harvest and feral animal impacts. This research helped to build the two-way analytical skills of the Rangers and Dr Ens.

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10. Ens, E., and the Manwurrk Rangers. *How to make and use a women's land use CyberTracker sequence*, Workshop manual for the NT Womens Land and Sea Management Forum, Ross River, NT.

This manual presents the methods for developing a CyberTracker sequence which was designed to accompany a CyberTracker use workshop run by the authors at the NT Womens Ranger conference at Ross River. The manual has since been distributed and used by Indigenous Rangers and non-Indigenous people across Australia. It has also been linked to the CyberTracker website <www.cybertracker.org.za> allowing for International use. .

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11. Ens, E., and Dixon, P. Yugul Mangi Rangers billabong fencing project. *Ngukurr News*, December Issue, Roper Gulf Shire, NT.

This article documents the Yugul Mangi Ranger's feral animal exclusion fencing project to raise awareness of their work within the community. Some preliminary results are also presented which show the water in the fenced areas clearing as well as increasing ground cover including the regeneration of wild rice that was not present at one billabong before the fencing. This article was co-written with one of the Yugul Mangi Rangers.

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12. Ens, E. J. and Packer, J. *Community report: Antibacterial-testing of sugarbag*, Report to Warddeken IPA.

This report details the results of preliminary tests into the antibacterial testing of sugarbag products. The project was a collaborative effort of Warddeken staff, Emilie Ens and staff of the Macquarie University Bio-Resources Group.

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13. Feary, S., Kanowski, P., Altman, J., and Baker, R., 'Managing forest country: Aboriginal Australians and the forestry sector', *Australian Forestry*, 73 (2): 126–134, <<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=600839772805938;res=IELHSS>>.

This article examines the relationships and degrees of engagement between sustainable forest management and Aboriginal people. The authors note tendencies within the forest sector to see conservation and commercial ventures as oppositional, and mainstream conservation and Indigenous land management or 'caring for country' as essentially similar. After canvassing three case studies, the paper concludes that 'Aboriginal forestry' encompasses a spectrum of diverse and varied economic and social activities and values; forests remain a landscape where opportunities for reconciliation and redressing disadvantage exist. A broader understanding of the forest sector and Aboriginal engagement with it is required so as to take up such opportunities.

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14. Fogarty, B. *Learning through Country: Competing knowledge systems and place-based pedagogy*. PhD Thesis, Australian National University.

Through detailed ethnographic and qualitative data this thesis provides an analysis of the social, physical and economic characteristics of one of the largest remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory, Maningrida in Western Arnhem Land. The thesis demonstrates that remote Indigenous developments and their associated employment roles have specific pedagogic needs that cannot be met solely through generic pedagogy, nor can they be met through the provision of education based solely on 'culturalism'. An analysis of a remote indigenous development, namely Indigenous land and sea management (the Djelk Rangers) is used to generate a model that can be used to assess educational and training requirements.

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15. Fordham, A., Fogarty, B., Corey, B., Fordham, D. 'Knowledge foundations for the development of sustainable wildlife enterprises in remote Indigenous communities of Australia', CAEPR Working Paper No. 62, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2010WP62.php>>.

This paper analyses the relative contribution of Indigenous ecological knowledge and western science to wildlife management. The paper addresses issues of complementarity and conflict across both knowledge systems and the roles Indigenous organisations such as ranger groups and local educational institutions have in the formal transmission of such knowledge, particularly in regard to land, sea and wildlife management. As a result of this study, a Memorandum of Understanding has been established between the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation and the Maningrida Community Education Centre to develop science curricula which promote the incorporation of Indigenous ecological knowledge alongside western science and the importance of Learning through Country. This MOU is providing a basis for the development of similar MOUs across the Top End, between Ranger Groups and local schools.

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16. Fordham, A., Fogarty, B., Fordham, D. 'The viability of wildlife enterprises in remote Indigenous communities of Australia: A case study', CAEPR Working Paper No. 63, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2010WP63.php>>.

This paper examines the viability of a wildlife enterprise in Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, that has been developed for commercial purposes. The enterprise focuses upon the sustainable harvesting of three animal species for commercial sale. Factors influencing the development of the enterprise and its on-going viability are identified, including the extent of collaboration between the local Indigenous community and western scientists; knowledge and skill requirements for a successful wildlife enterprise; and institutional constraints on the effectiveness of wildlife enterprises in remote localities. A significant outcome of the research is improved business planning and performance monitoring.

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17. Hunt, J. 'Looking after country in New South Wales: Two case-studies of socio-economic benefits for Aboriginal people', CAEPR Working Paper No. 75, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2010WP75.php>>.

This paper outlines two case studies of Aboriginal groups engaged in looking after their country in NSW. It documents the emerging social, economic, cultural and environmental benefits including restoring connections with land and culture, mapping and protecting cultural heritage, training, qualifications and employment, organisational capacity development and increased partnership development, growth in Aboriginal self-esteem, confidence and pride, educational incentives and transformed social behavior, improved health, and changing attitudes among the non-Indigenous communities towards Reconciliation. Success factors relate to local leadership in the Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, control of or access to land, strong partnership relationships with environmental and other agencies, flexible training support from TAFE NSW, and holistic support for long-term unemployed Aboriginal people.

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18. Kalkiwarra, M., with Ens, E. *Reviving the Indigenous collection and production knowledge of an Arnhem Plateau staple food, manbulkung*, Report to Warddeken Land Management Limited.

This report details how senior woman, Mary Kolkiwarra, showed community members and the Rangers where to find manbulkung (*Blechnum indicum*) in the Warddeken IPA and how to prepare it for eating. This has facilitated the intergenerational transfer and documentation of Indigenous knowledge. This species was once a staple food for people of the Arnhem Plateau. One of the Rangers also filmed this activity.

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19. Kerins, S. 'The Future of Homelands/Outstations', *Dialogue: the Journal of the Academy of the Social Sciences of Australia*, 29, (1/2010), <<http://www.assa.edu.au>>.

This paper reports on a multi-disciplinary, inter-agency workshop that aimed to give voice to homeland/outstation residents in relation to their growing concerns about being excluded from policy development about their futures. The paper highlights the important role Indigenous Australians play in managing vast areas of the Australian land mass which encompasses many of the most intact and nationally important wetlands, riparian zones, forests, rivers and waterways. The paper also highlights the growing body of evidence pointing to superior health outcomes for adults residing on homelands/outstations compared to those living in large Aboriginal townships.

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20. Kerins, S., and Jordan, K., 'Indigenous Economic Development through Community-Based Enterprise', Submission on the Department of Families, Housing, Communities and Indigenous Affairs 'Draft Indigenous Economic Development Strategy', available as *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 06/2010*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2010TI6.php>>.

This submission is critical of the Australian Government's Indigenous Economic Development Strategy Draft, for, amongst other things, failing to recognise Indigenous community-based enterprises, built on cultural and natural resource management activities, as successful models for Indigenous economic development. It also notes that indigenous community-based CNRM initiatives play a vital role in assisting the Australian Government meet its national targets set out in Australia's Biodiversity Conservation Strategy.

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21. May, K. 'Indigenous cultural and natural resource management and the emerging role of the Working on Country program', *CAEPR Working Paper No. 65*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/WP/2010WP65.php>>.

This paper outlines the development of formalised Indigenous cultural and natural resource management in Australia. The emergence of the Working on Country (WoC) program is discussed in the context of past and current policy. The paper outlines the opportunities and challenges for the future of the program and the development of formalised Indigenous land and sea management in Australia more broadly. It concludes with a note of cautious optimism. While an expanded WoC program underpinned by community-led priorities and aspirations has the potential to simultaneously ameliorate Indigenous poverty and ensure natural resource management, this will require targeted investment and a more holistic and less sectoral approach from government.

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22. May, K. 'National forum calls for an alternative approach to Outstations/Homelands', *Kantri Laif*, Issue 6, July 2010, North Australia Land and Sea Management Alliance, Darwin, p.51, <http://www.nailsma.org.au/nailsma/publications/downloads/Kantri_laif_6_small_res.pdf>.

This article documents the outcomes and recommendations from the National Outstations/Homelands Forum held at the Australian National University in October 2009. The forum brought together Indigenous representatives from outstation/homeland communities, peak Aboriginal organisations and resource agencies, social and physical scientists, educationalists, medical practitioners and bureaucrats to discuss the future of outstations/homelands. The participants highlighted the need for an alternative approach to homeland/outstation policy and the outcomes of the forum culminated in a communiqué sent to the Prime Minister with a number of recommendations.

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23. May, K. 'Government support for Indigenous cultural and natural resource management in Australia: The role of the Working on Country program' *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 45 (3): 395–416, <<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=414919985591618;res=IELHEA>>.

This paper explores government support for Indigenous land and sea management focusing on the Commonwealth government's Working on Country (WoC) program. The paper outlines the development of formalised Indigenous cultural and natural resource management in Australia and the emergence of the WoC program is discussed in the past and present policy context. The opportunities and challenges for the future of the program are discussed and the paper finished with a note of cautious optimism. While an expanded WoC program underpinned by community-led priorities and aspirations has the potential to simultaneously ameliorate Indigenous poverty and ensure natural resource management, this will require targeted investment and a more holistic and less sectoral approach from government.

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24. May, K., Ansell, S., and Koenig, J. Djelk Rangers Annual Report 2009–2010, Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation, Maningrida, Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/research/otherdocs.php>>.

This report documents the activities and outcomes of the work of the Djelk Rangers during 2009–10. These operations incorporate combined environmental and socio-cultural activities including fire management, feral animal control, weed management, cultural and economic site protection, biodiversity monitoring, marine debris control, coastal surveillance and the junior ranger program.

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25. Smyth, D. People on Country project evaluation report, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/research/reports.php>>.

In early 2010 Dr Dermot Smyth undertook an independent evaluation of the activities and outcomes of CAEPR's People on Country (PoC) project. He visited project partners and contacted all stakeholders involved in the project. The evaluation highlighted the significant contribution the PoC project makes to supporting Indigenous land and sea management in the Top End, according to project partners and other stakeholders; and to enhancing understanding in the policy community of the support required to maximise the benefits of the work of Indigenous land and sea management groups.

2011

1. Altman, J.C. Submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Economics Inquiry into Indigenous economic development in Queensland and review of the *Wild Rivers (Environmental Management) Bill 2010*, published as 'Wild rivers and Indigenous economic development in Queensland', *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 06/2011*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2011TI6.php>>.

This builds on Altman's previous Wild Rivers submission (see above). The submission offers support for the Bill, but also supports the Australian Greens' draft Native Title Amendment (Reform) Bill 2011. Altman recommends that effort be made to investigate the diverse meanings Indigenous people ascribe to Indigenous economic development. Further, he argues that the particular mechanisms used to secure free prior informed consent need to be examined, as well as the mechanism to trigger the special property rights mooted for Aboriginal land owners within a wild area, and existing literature on development options in north Australia.

2. Altman, J.C. Submission on the Australian government's Indigenous Economic Development Strategy Draft for Consultation, available as 'The Draft Indigenous Economic Development Strategy: A critical response', *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 03/2011*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2011TI3.php>>.

The direct and indirect benefits of Aboriginal customary economic activity, including self-provisioning and the maintenance and reproduction of local knowledge, are outlined here. Recommendations include a more nuanced definition of economic development; acknowledgement that an intercultural mix of norms inform economic decision-making; engagement with complex issues of identifying and targeting economic development assistance to Indigenous Australians; engagement with past policy reviews; consideration to strengthening Indigenous property rights in commercially valuable resources; a focus on the state getting institutional settings right; improved engagement with Indigenous communities regarding the Draft Strategy and the establishment of a parliamentary enquiry into Indigenous economic development in Australia.

3. Altman, J., and May, K. 'Poverty Alleviation in remote Indigenous Australia', in G. Minnerup and P. Solberg (eds), *First World, First Nations*, Sussex Academic Press, Eastbourne, UK.

Altman and May address concerns that the hybrid economy may be limited to certain geographical areas of Australia by citing data from the 2002 NATSISS suggesting that the customary sector is robust throughout remote Aboriginal Australia. They critique the mainstreaming approach evident in current policy towards Aboriginal people, particularly in regards to homelands or outstations, for overlooking the comparative advantage remote-living Aboriginal people have in the customary sector. This currently dominant approach, the authors suggest, will not reduce poverty and could have the opposite effect.

4. Altman, J.C. 'Alternate Development for Indigenous Territories of Difference', *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 05/2011*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2011TI5.php>>, also published as 'Alternate development for Indigenous territories of difference', *Australian Options*, Summer 2010/11, No. 63: 12–15.

Borrowing from political ecologist Arturo Escobar, Altman argues that Indigenous lands in Australia can be seen as 'territories of difference', where a new form of development could emerge from different ways of thinking about land and resources. This alternate development entails a shift away from a model based solely on production towards a model where self provisioning and conservation are central. This paper describes the environmental significance of the Indigenous estate and threats to its integrity. Altman notes that the Australian state is conflicted in its approach to appropriate development on the Indigenous estate.

5. Djelk Rangers, Ens, E., Bentley-Toon, S., and Towler, G. *Paperbark (kunkod) health research in Djelk IPA billabongs*, Report to Djelk Rangers, Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation.

This report outlines the findings of research into the health of paperbark trees in 5 billabongs of the Djelk IPA. The study found evidence suggesting that the paperbark are dying where the water quality has been reduced by the high activity of feral buffalo and pigs. Not only where the paperbark dying but there was much less regeneration of paperbark trees at high feral animal activity sites. This information will be used to inform community members about the impacts of feral animals in the Djelk IPA.
6. Ens, E. 'Monitoring the outcomes of environmental service provision in low socio-economic Indigenous Australia using innovative CyberTracker technology'. *Conservation and Society* (in press).

This paper offers five case studies showing how Indigenous Ranger groups in Arnhem Land are using innovative technology to monitor the outcomes of their biodiversity recording, ecological monitoring and fire, feral animal and weed management work.
7. Ens, E., and Towler, G. 'People and Plants in Arnhem Land: Maintaining ecological and cultural assets using Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal techniques'. *Australasian Plant Conservation*, 19: 14–15.

This paper presents examples of how the authors have been working with Ranger groups in Arnhem Land to conserve plants and plant knowledge. Two examples of projects are cited: recording of plant knowledge on the Arnhem Plateau and research into the impacts of feral animals on freshwater wetlands in Arnhem Land.
8. Garlmgarr, V., Gurwalwal, B., Ens, E., Bentley-Toon, S., Towler, G., Victor Garlmgarr and Barbara Gurwalwal, 'Caring for country in the Warddeken IPA'. *Australasian Plant Conservation*, 19: 3–4.

This paper is based on a discussion the authors had about plant conservation in the Warddeken IPA. The discussion was recorded and the paper written to reflect the comments of Victor Garlmgarr and Barbara Gurwalwal. It details the work they are doing to care for country and culture in the IPA and highlights the importance of cultural heritage in their work.
9. Hunt, J. 'Learning from Success: A Response to the Draft Indigenous Economic Development Strategy', *CAEPR Topical Issue No. 04/2011*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra, <<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/Publications/topical/2011TI4.php>>.

In this submission Hunt has drawn on a range of experiences of successful Indigenous development to draw out lessons and requirements: international experience of Indigenous development; experience from research on governance; and experience from current research on Aboriginal engagement in NRM in NSW. The submission suggests that the individualistic and 'mainstream' approach to a narrow conception of Indigenous economic development should be reconsidered in light of evidence from what is actually working on the ground in Indigenous communities. This paper suggests governments need to take an 'arms-length' enabling role, removing blockages to development and facilitating support, including through a social enterprise program which could play that facilitative capacity development function. Hunt finishes by emphasising that employment and enterprise development in CNRM should be a significant strand of the strategy as it is working well across Australia and there remain many opportunities to broaden and deepen the benefits already obtained.
10. Manwurrk Rangers, Ens, E., Towler, S., and Bentley-Toon, S. 'Looking for bush tucker and useful plants in the Warddeken IPA'. Film on DVD, Warddeken Land Management Limited.

This DVD is made by the Manwurrk rangers and CAEPR researchers to record the names and information about 30 plant species in Gunemeleng time (wet season build up) in Arnhem Land. The DVD is filmed and edited by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. The film facilitates the inter-generational transfer and documentation of Indigenous Ecological Knowledge, two-way capacity building in Kunwinjku plant names and uses and film making.

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11. Russell, S. *The Hybrid Economy Topic Guide*, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra.

This topic guide outlines Altman's hybrid economy model, summarising key readings under the following themes: cultural and natural resource management, art, mainstreaming and diversity (covering issues on CDEP and the 'real' economy), and hybrid institutions and interculturality. Related approaches examining the convergence of different economic forms are canvassed, and some critical engagements with Altman's hybrid economy model reviewed.

FURTHER INFORMATION

People on Country project website

<<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/index.php>>

People on Country Annual Reports 2008, 2009 and 2010

<<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/research/reports.php>>

People on Country project Newsletters

<<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/poc/research/newsletters.php>>

Communiqué to the Prime Minister on Homelands/Outstations (2009)

<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/system/files/cck_misc_documents/2009/11/communique.pdf>

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